# **Annotated Bibliography (Topically Arranged)**

#### **Table of Contents**

(hyperlinked within document – Ctrl+click on the title below and it will take you to the section)

The Fight against the Islamic State

Competition of Narrative

Jihadi Magazines (Inspire, Dabig, Rumiyah)

Fighting ISIS

Fighting ISIS in Iraq

Fighting ISIS (Kurds)
Fighting ISIS in Syria

How to fight ISIS

ISIS

ISIS Aftermath

ISIS inside United States

**ISIS** Objectives

ISIS outside Mesopotamia

Islam and ISIS

**GW Program on Extremism** 

Other Players - China

Other Players – Egypt

Other Players – Hezbollah

Other Players - Indonesia

Other Players – Iran Other Players – Jordan

Other Players – Lebanon

Other Players – Libya

Other Players - Russia

Other Players – Sahel

Other Players - Saudi Arabia

Other Players – Turkey Other Players – Yemen

Syrian Regime

The Region

**United States Doctrine** 

**United States Government Studies** 

The White House

Arab-Israeli Wars

**Operation Desert Storm** 

Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan)

Operation Iraqi Freedom

Islam

Islamist Ideology

**Violent Extremist Ideologies** 

Al-Qaeda

**Cross-Cultural Competence** 

Revolutionary Warfare

**Evolution of Conflict** 

**Historical Context** 

Videos (some audio)

#### **Legend for Entries**

Regular books or articles

- ★ Books or articles that are especially beneficial for understanding the Islamic State
- ★ Books or articles that are must reads to understand the Islamic State

Annotation for books or articles

#### The Fight against the Islamic State

[accessed 20 March 2018].

#### **Competition of Narrative**

- Aviles, Weston and Sarah Canna, editors. White Paper on Influence in an Age of Rising Connectedness. Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Periodic Publication [August 2017].
  - From the preface: "The articles in this white paper explore and present possible implications for how such changing geopolitical and technical factors may necessitate an explicit focus upon "influence," and how influence could exert effects on national, regional, and global levels over the next several decades. It assesses these revolutionary changes from political, sociological, biological, cognitive, and technical perspectives."
- Cleveland, Charles T., Ryan Crocker, Daniel Egel, Andrew M. Liepman, and David Maxwell, "An American Way of Political Warfare: A Proposal," RAND Corporation Perspective [July 2018]. <a href="https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE300/PE304/RAND\_PE304.pdf">https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE300/PE304/RAND\_PE304.pdf</a> [accessed 26 July 2018].
- ★ Green, Stuart A. *Cognitive Warfare*. Thesis for the Joint Military Intelligence College, July 2008.

  This is an excellent work that has been highly influential in shaping my thinking regarding the definition and explanation of narrative space. I met him when he briefed his thesis at a counter-terrorism conference in Israel. Excellent thinker and one who understands the dynamics of narrative.
  - Helmus, Todd C., Elizabeth Bodine-Baron, Andrew Radin, Madeline Magnuson, Joshua Mendelsohn, William Marcellino, Andriy Bega, Zev Winkelman. 2018. *Russian Social Media Influence:*Understanding Russian Propaganda in Eastern Europe. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2018. <a href="https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RR2237.html">https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RR2237.html</a> [accessed 15 October 2018].
  - Holshek, Christopher, editor. *PKSOI Paper Volume 4: 2017-2018 Civil Affairs Issue Papers: Civil Affairs: A Force for Consolidating Gains*. Presented by The Civil Affairs Association In coordination with the U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center & School/Special Operations Center of Excellence, International Peace & Security Institute, Alliance for Peacebuilding and the Foreign Area Officer Association, March 2018.

    <a href="http://pksoi.armywarcollege.edu/default/assets/File/CA%20issue%20paper%20volume%20IV.pdf">http://pksoi.armywarcollege.edu/default/assets/File/CA%20issue%20paper%20volume%20IV.pdf</a>
  - Kuperwasser, Yossi and David Siman-Tov. Editors. 2019. *The Cognitive Campaign: Strategic and Intelligence Perspectives*. Tel Aviv, Israel: *The Institute of National Security Studies*, Memorandum 197 [October 2019]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Memo197">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Memo197</a> e compressed.pdf [accessed 6 November 2019].
  - Marone, Franscesco. *Digital Jihad: Online Communication and Violent Extremism*. Milano, Italy: Ledizioni LediPublishing, 2019.
    - https://www.academia.edu/41450999/IS and the Others. A Topic Analysis of Pro- and Anti-IS Discourse on Arabic-Speaking Twitter [accessed 15 May 2020].
  - McClory, Jonathan. *The Soft Power 30: A Global Ranking of Soft Power 2017*. Portland, USC Center on Public Diplomacy, July 2017. <a href="https://softpower30.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/The-Soft-Power-30-Report-2017-Web-1.pdf">https://softpower30.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/The-Soft-Power-30-Report-2017-Web-1.pdf</a> [accessed 24 April 2018].
  - McFate, Sean, "The West is losing today's infowars and must hit back hard," *The Economist* interview with the author. [5 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.economist.com/open-future/2019/02/05/the-west-is-losing-todays-infowars-and-must-hit-back-hard">https://www.economist.com/open-future/2019/02/05/the-west-is-losing-todays-infowars-and-must-hit-back-hard</a> [accessed 26 February 2019].
  - Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

    A form of maneuver in the narrative space. The difference is that the author only addresses the existence of soft power without explaining how to actually make it effective in engagement and promotion of policy.
  - Paul, Christopher, Jessica Yeats, Colin P. Clarke, and Miriam Matthews. Assessing and Evaluating

- Department of Defense Efforts to Inform, Influence, and Persuade. Desk Reference. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2015.
- https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR800/RR809z1/RAND\_RR809z1. pdf [accessed 2 February 2019].
- Reyna, Stephen P. *Deadly Contradictions: The New American Empire and Global Warring*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016.
  - https://www.berghahnbooks.com/downloads/OpenAccess/ReynaDeadly/9781789209525 OA.pdf [accessed 4 November 2021].
  - This is a Marxist screed with lost of specialized and difficult terms. It does present an interesting approach to war, but I would argue that the gain is not worth the effort needed to be expended. To understand the vocabulary. The gist is that America is bad because it defends the interests of wealthy elites with socially sanctioned violence.
- Riva-Mossman, Susan Kay. *Conflict Narratives: Mediation Case Studies in an Intercultural Context*. Dissertation for University of Nebraska, Omaha, Nebraska. 15 June 2009.
  - https://www.taosinstitute.net/Websites/taos/files/Content/5693761/Susi\_Riva Conflict\_Narratives.pdf [accessed 23 July 2018].
- Tainov, Aidar. *Achilles' Heel of Daesh Propaganda*. MMAS Thesis U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Leavenworth, Kansas, 2017.
  - https://www.academia.edu/40831734/Achilles Heel of Daesh Propaganda [accessed 13 February 2021].
- Treverton, Gregory F., Andrew Thvedt, Alicia R. Chen, Kathy Lee, and Madeline McCue. *Addressing Hybrid Threats*. Swedish Defense University Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies [May 2018]. <a href="https://www.hybridcoe.fi/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Treverton-AddressingHybridThreats.pdf">https://www.hybridcoe.fi/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Treverton-AddressingHybridThreats.pdf</a> [accessed 13 May 2018].
- This is a multi-part series on influence operations (narrative war).
- Part 1: Mattis, Peter, "Contrasting China's and Russia's Influence Operations," War on the Rocks [16 January 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/01/contrasting-chinas-russias-influence-operations/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/01/contrasting-chinas-russias-influence-operations/</a> [accessed 27 February 2018].
- Part 2: Mattis, Peter, "China's 'Three Warfares' in Perspective," War on the Rocks [30 January 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/01/chinas-three-warfares-perspective/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/01/chinas-three-warfares-perspective/</a> [accessed 27 February 2018].
- Part 3: Helfont, Samuel, "Iraq's Real Weapons of Mass Destruction Were 'Political Operations'," War on the Rocks [26 February 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/iraqs-real-weapons-mass-destruction-political-operations/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/iraqs-real-weapons-mass-destruction-political-operations/</a> [accessed 27 February 2018].
- Part 4: Heath, Timothy, "Beijing's Influence Operations Target Chinese Diaspora," *War on the Rocks* [1 March 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/beijings-influence-operations-target-chinese-diaspora/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/beijings-influence-operations-target-chinese-diaspora/</a> [accessed 2 March 2018].
- Ahern, Dylan, "The Social Embeddedness of ISIS Traced: Back to the Roots of the Insurgent Organization," Bachelor's Thesis Political Science: International Relations, June 2015, University of Amsterdam Department of Political Science.
  - https://www.academia.edu/17958590/The Social Embeddedness of ISIS Traced Back to the Roots of the Insurgent Organization [accessed 19 July 2021].
  - The value of this thesis is its use of a social science term called social embeddedness. This thesis provides a definition and literature connections. Based on the author's use of this phrase it seems to be similar to the

- resonance between a story and a societal narrative.
- ★ Allen, T.S. "The Once and Future InfoWars," War on the Rocks [27 March 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/the-once-and-future-infowars/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/the-once-and-future-infowars/</a> [accessed 27 March 2018].
  This is a book review: David Patrikarakos, War in 140 Characters: How Social Media is Reshaping Conflict in the Twenty-First Century (Basic Books, 2017). The review is an excellent challenge to those who espouse and extreme form of narrative war success. It is a useful foil for developing a better and nuanced argument in favor of the importance of narrative.
- ★ Allenby, Brad and Joel Garreau, "Weaponized Narrative Is the New Battlespace," *Defense One* [3 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/01/weaponized-narrative-new-battlespace/134284/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/01/weaponized-narrative-new-battlespace/134284/</a> [accessed 5 January 2017].
  - Short commentary on the relationship between "fake news" and narrative. They use the phrase weaponized narrative rather than MITNS.
  - Asda'a Burson-Marsteller, "8th Annual Asda'a Burson-Marsteller Arab Youth Survey: Inside the Hearts and Minds of Arab Youth," ASDA'A Burson-Marsteller conducted by international polling firm Penn Schoen Berland (PSB) [April 2016]. <a href="mailto:file:///C:/Users/blste/Downloads/2016-AYS-White-Paper-EN 12042016100316.pdf">file:///C:/Users/blste/Downloads/2016-AYS-White-Paper-EN 12042016100316.pdf</a> [accessed 12 April 2016].
  - Astorino-Courtois, Allison, editor. "SMA White Paper: A Cognitive Capabilities Agenda: A Multi-Step Approach for Closing DoD's Cognitive Capability Gap," Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment Office (SMA) [October 2017].
    - The best quotes from the paper include the following:
      - At present, the US military largely considers operations focused on the cognitive effects as "information operations (IO)."
      - Our most pressing strategic objectives, like deterrence and compellance, are ultimately mental concepts without physical reality. They live in the brain. Since war is a human endeavor, all military operations affect the thinking and the behavior of our human adversaries.
  - Atlamazoglou, Stavros, "Taking on Russia and China means US Special Operations Command is rethinking how it fights the propaganda war," *Business Insider* [12 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.businessinsider.com/us-special-operators-rethink-propaganda-to-counter-russia-china-2021-8">https://www.businessinsider.com/us-special-operators-rethink-propaganda-to-counter-russia-china-2021-8</a> [accessed 18 Auguste 2021].
  - Baines, Paul, "Foreign Attempts at Election Manipulation Through Disinformation: An Electoral Resilience Perspective," Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Fake News Speaker Series, Pentagon [21 July 2017].
    - This paper for presentation includes useful information regarding the history of Russian disinformation campaigns.
  - Banach, Stefan J. "From 9/11 to London: The Need for Virtual Battle Space Maneuver Doctrine," *Small Wars Journal* [11 June 2017]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/from-911-to-london-the-need-for-virtual-battle-space-maneuver-doctrine">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/from-911-to-london-the-need-for-virtual-battle-space-maneuver-doctrine</a> [accessed 6 March 2018].
  - Banach, Stefan J. "From Reagan to Entropy: The Need for a U.S. National Technology Based Strategy," Small Wars Journal [24 August 2017]. http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/from-reagan-to-entropy-the-need-for-a-us-national-technology-based-strategy [accessed 6 March 2018].
  - Banach, Stefan J. "Virtual War A Revolution in Human Affairs," Small Wars Journal [1 February 2018]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/virtual-war---a-revolution-in-human-affairs">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/virtual-war---a-revolution-in-human-affairs</a> [accessed 6 March 2018].
- ★ Berger, J.M., "America Isn't Losing the War of Ideas to ISIS", *Defense One* [11 November 2015]. http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/11/america-isnt-losing-war-ideas-isis/123604/ [accessed 13 November 2015].

- ★ Bloch, Marc. Reflections of a Historian on an on an on an on the False News of the War. (originally published in 1921) Translated by James P. Holoka. *Michigan War Studies Review*, 1 July 2013. <a href="http://www.miwsr.com/2013/downloads/2013-051.pdf">http://www.miwsr.com/2013/downloads/2013-051.pdf</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
  - Marc Bloch is a towering historian. His discussion on the accuracy of war reporting is critical to understanding how information and stories are distorted both incidentally and intentionally.
  - Bodo, Lorand, and Anne Speckhard, "Identifying Nefarious Telegram Users without the Help of Telegram Itself: Testing Solutions for Intelligence and Security Professionals in Fighting ISIS in the Encrypted Social Media Space," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism [15 July 2017].

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/33889485/Identifying Nefarious Telegram Users without the Help of Telegram Itself Testing Solutions for Intelligence and Security Professionals in Fighting ISIS in the Encrypted Social Media Space [accessed 16 July 2017].</a>
  - Brandom, Russell, "The Anonymous 'war on ISIS' is already falling apart", *The Verge* [23 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.theverge.com/2015/11/23/9782330/anonymous-war-on-isis-hacktivism-terrorism">http://www.theverge.com/2015/11/23/9782330/anonymous-war-on-isis-hacktivism-terrorism</a> [accessed 24 November 2015].
  - Bridge, Donna J. and Ken A. Paller, "Neural Correlates of Reactivation and Retrieval-Induced Distortion," The Journal of Neuroscience, August 29, 2012, 32(35):12144–12151. <a href="http://www.jneurosci.org/content/jneuro/32/35/12144.full.pdf">http://www.jneurosci.org/content/jneuro/32/35/12144.full.pdf</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
- ★ Brooking, Emerson T. and P.W. Singer, "War Goes Viral," The Atlantic, November 2016. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/11/war-goes-viral/501125/">http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/11/war-goes-viral/501125/</a> [accessed 18 November 2016].
  - I am a big fan of P.W. Singer and strongly recommend reading anything written by him. This article is another one that causes a reader to reassess an understanding of the world. In this case, it is the function of social media in conflict and in redefining conflict. As stated elsewhere in work on Maneuver in the Narrative Space, social media is a tool that both promotes and distorts narratives.
- ★ Chinn, Jacquelyn Nicole. "Communication Power In Israeli Digital Diplomacy: Towards A Networked Theory of Geopolitics." Dissertation, Texas A&M University, 2015.
  - The value in this work is the literature review and the brief summation of soft power.
  - Christian, Patrick James, "A Reformulated Model of Narrative Mediation of Emerging Culture Conflict," The International Journal of Conflict Engagement and Resolution 2014 (2) 2, 76-94. <a href="https://heinonline-org.proxy.library.umkc.edu/HOL/Page?collection=journals&handle=hein.journals/ijconfer2&id=78">https://heinonline-org.proxy.library.umkc.edu/HOL/Page?collection=journals&handle=hein.journals/ijconfer2&id=78</a> [accessed 23 July 2018].
- ★ Cobaugh, Paul, "A Five-Point Strategy to Oppose Russian Narrative Warfare," *Medium* [25 April 2018]. https://medium.com/@paulcobaugh/a-five-point-strategy-to-oppose-russian-narrative-warfare-56e0006aab2a [accessed 28 April 2018].
  - This is a fantastic discussion on the importance of narrative. The article also includes practical approaches for being more successful with narrative. Great job!
  - Cobaugh, Paul, "CVE without narrative "A book without a story"," from *Countering Violent Extremism Building an evidence-base for the prevention of radicalization and violent extremism*, Institute for Applied Prevention Research, 2018, 11-22.
    - http://www.praeventionstag.de/daten/module/buecher/en/ISBN-978-3-96409-063-8/2-Caubaugh.pdf [accessed 8 February 2019].
  - Cobaugh, Paul, "Ethical Influence: the broken-down, rusting vehicle of American power," *Narrative Strategies* [April 2020]. <a href="https://2fb6b479-2a03-4037-9e43-eafca872d49a.filesusr.com/ugd/22e2d2\_e543540ec2444930ad82d62caa18870b.pdf">https://2fb6b479-2a03-4037-9e43-eafca872d49a.filesusr.com/ugd/22e2d2\_e543540ec2444930ad82d62caa18870b.pdf</a> [accessed 20 May 2020].

- ★ Cobb, Sara, David Laws, and Carlos Sluzki, "Modeling Negotiation Using "Narrative Grammar": Exploring the Evolution of Meaning in a Simulated Negotiation," Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2013 [1 February 2013]. <a href="http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs10726-012-9334-2">http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs10726-012-9334-2</a> [accessed 28 March 2016].
  - The Collaborative and Adaptive Security Initiative (CASI), "Engaging Narratives: The New (Old) Battlefield," Washington DC: George Washington University [23 and 24 May 2017].
  - Courty, Audrey, Halim Rane, and Kasun Ubayasiri, "Blood and ink: the relationship between Islamic State propaganda and Western media," *The Journal of International Communication*, 2158-3471 [4 December 2018]. https://doi.org/10.1080/13216597.2018.1544162 [accessed 1 June 2021].
- ★ Crawford, Kate and Trevor Paglen, "Excavating AI: The Politics of Images in Machine Learning Training Sets," AI Now Institute [19 September 2019]. <a href="https://excavating.ai/">https://excavating.ai/</a> [accessed 2 June 2021]
  This is considered to be one of the most important articles identifying problems with AI driven identification and classification.
  - Dasgupta, Rana, "The demise of the nation state," *The Guardian* [5 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/apr/05/demise-of-the-nation-state-rana-dasgupta?CMP=share\_btn\_fb">https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/apr/05/demise-of-the-nation-state-rana-dasgupta?CMP=share\_btn\_fb</a> [accessed 11 August 2018].
  - David, Arnel P. and John DeRosa, "Wargaming Contested Narratives in an Age of Bewilderment," *The Strategy Bridge* [16 January 2020]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2020/1/16/wargaming-contested-narratives-in-an-age-of-bewilderment">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2020/1/16/wargaming-contested-narratives-in-an-age-of-bewilderment</a> [accessed 16 January 2020].
  - Degerlund, Kurt, "Micro-Blog and Lead," *The Strategy Bridge* [15 July 2018]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2015/7/15/micro-blog-and-lead">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2015/7/15/micro-blog-and-lead</a> [accessed 17 July 2018].
- ★ Deibler, Kevin, "#LikeWar: We Need a National Information Strategy," LinkedIn Post [18 October 2018]. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/likewar-we-need-national-information-strategy-kevin-deibler/?lipi=urn%3Ali%3Apage%3Ad flagship3 feed%3BgTjql%2FqzQD%2BNfLtCKYKdDQ%3D%3D &licu=urn%3Ali%3Acontrol%3Ad flagship3 feed-link [accessed 23 October 2018].
- ★ DeRosa, John, "Revising the Battle of the Narrative," Small Wars Journal [16 July 2015]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/revising-the-battle-of-the-narrative">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/revising-the-battle-of-the-narrative</a> [accessed 17 July 2015].
  - DeRosa, John, "Narrative "Braiding" and the Role of Public Officials in Transforming the Public's Conflicts," *Medium* [3 April 2016]. <a href="https://myemail.constantcontact.com/Braiding-New-Narratives-in-Syria-and-Irag---Narrative-Exploration.html">https://myemail.constantcontact.com/Braiding-New-Narratives-in-Syria-and-Irag---Narrative-Exploration.html</a> [accessed 13 August 2020].
- ★ DiResta, Renee, "The Digital Maginot Line," Ribbon Farm.com [28 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.ribbonfarm.com/2018/11/28/the-digital-maginot-line/">https://www.ribbonfarm.com/2018/11/28/the-digital-maginot-line/</a> [accessed 5 December 2018].
  - This is excellent. It is a great companion to Peter W. Singer's book #LikeWar. Though I disagree with the author's reading of the Maginot Line, I think the warnings are truly important. Please read.
- ★ Eisler, David F., "Beyond Finding the Enemy: Embracing Sociocultural Intelligence in Stability Operations", Small Wars Journal [14 July 2015]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/beyond-finding-the-enemy-embracing-sociocultural-intelligence-in-stability-operations">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/beyond-finding-the-enemy-embracing-sociocultural-intelligence-in-stability-operations</a> [accessed 16 July 2015].
  - el-Badawy, Emman, Milo Comerford, and Peter Welby, "Inside the Jihadi Mind: Understanding Ideology and Propaganda," The Centre on Religion & Geopolitics, The Tony Blair Faith Foundation [October 2015].
  - El-Gamal, Jasmine, "Alternative Messaging and Countering Violent Extremism," *Building Peace Forum* [29 April 2016]. <a href="http://buildingpeaceforum.com/2016/04/alternative-narratives-and-countering-violent-extremism/">http://buildingpeaceforum.com/2016/04/alternative-narratives-and-countering-violent-extremism/</a> [accessed 19 August 2016].
- ★ Farwell, James P. "Adversarial Tactics to Undercut US Interests in New Generation Warfare 2019," Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) Future of Global Competition & Conflict [3 May 2019]. <a href="https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Farewell\_Adversarial-Tactics.pdf">https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Farewell\_Adversarial-Tactics.pdf</a>

[accessed 27 May 2019].

Excellent explanation of narrative with respect to Russia and China. The best line is "Story and narrative provide historical, political, military, and cultural context and dimension. Narrative explains who you are, what you are doing, your cause, how you pursue it, why target audiences should be interested, and what it means for them. Narratives bind together players, actions, and objectives in related stories so audiences can make sense of events."

- Ferguson, Kate, "Countering violent extremism through media and communication strategies: A review of the evidence," Partnership for Conflict, Crime and Security Research, University of East Anglia [1 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.paccsresearch.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Countering-Violent-Extremism-Through-Media-and-Communication-Strategies-.pdf">http://www.paccsresearch.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Countering-Violent-Extremism-Through-Media-and-Communication-Strategies-.pdf</a> [accessed 3 July 2018].
- Fernandez, Alberto M. "Here to stay and growing: Combating ISIS propaganda networks," The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, U.S.-Islamic World Forum Papers 2015 [October 2015].
- Finlayson, Mark A. and Steven R. Corman (2013). The Military Interest in Narrative. Sprache Und Datenverarbeitung (International Journal for Language Data Processing), 37(1-2), 173–191.
   <a href="http://www.uvrr.de/index.php/anglistik/SDV">http://www.uvrr.de/index.php/anglistik/SDV</a> Vol 37 1 2 2013 Formal and Computational Models of Narrative.html [accessed 28 June 2016].

Good summary on the value of narrative in conflict. He is overly focused on narrative as a form of story rather than understanding narrative as the environment, but a great source of other information on narrative understanding from a literature perspective.

- Fletcher, Angus and Thomas Gaines, "The Limits of Logic: Why Narrative Thinking is Better Suited to the Demands of Modern Combat," *Modern Warfare Institute* [19 October 2021]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/the-limits-of-logic-why-narrative-thinking-is-better-suited-to-the-demands-of-modern-combat/">https://mwi.usma.edu/the-limits-of-logic-why-narrative-thinking-is-better-suited-to-the-demands-of-modern-combat/</a> [accessed 3 November 2021].
  - I am not a fan of the article, but I think that argument has merit in that the argument is that narrative helps to circumvent problems associated with logic flaws.
- Gambhir, Harleen, "Why ISIS is So Successful," *The Cipher Brief* [9 March 2016]. <a href="http://thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/why-isis-so-successful">http://thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/why-isis-so-successful</a> [accessed 9 March 2016]. The "expert" is wrong in that she advocates for a counter-narrative as offensive not recognizing the importance of the positive narrative message.
- Gambrell, Jon, "In Persian Gulf, computer hacking now a cross-border fear," *Fifth Domain* [12 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.fifthdomain.com/international/2017/09/12/in-persian-gulf-computer-hacking-now-a-cross-border-fear/">https://www.fifthdomain.com/international/2017/09/12/in-persian-gulf-computer-hacking-now-a-cross-border-fear/</a> [accessed 13 September 2017].
- ★ Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed and Nathaniel Barr, "Fixing How We Fight the Islamic State's Narrative", War on the Rocks [4 January 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/01/fixing-how-we-fight-the-islamic-states-narrative/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/01/fixing-how-we-fight-the-islamic-states-narrative/</a> [accessed 4 January 2016].
  - The authors make several mistakes in the article, but this provides some serious and important suggestions for the counter-narrative campaign.
- ★ Giersea, Jeff, "Memetic Warfare Part I: It's Time to Embrace Memetic Warfare," Open Perspectives Exchange Network, NATO Strategic Communication Center of Excellence, Riga, Latvia, Volume 1, Number 5, Spring 2017.
  https://media.wix.com/ugd/b3eb9d\_8ec08636119741b9a877c84763c31560.pdf
  [accessed 16 May 2017].
- Giersea, Jeff, "Memetic Warfare Part II: Hacking Hearts and Minds: How Memetic Warfare is Transforming Cyberwar," Open Perspectives Exchange Network, NATO Strategic Communication Center of Excellence, Riga, Latvia, Volume 1, Number 6, Spring 2017. <a href="https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/b3eb9d">https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/b3eb9d</a> c4eaab8cf2df4d068a33457d53774666.pdf [accessed 16

May 2017].

- Both of these articles are critical for understanding a component of MiTNS. In this case, the author is explaining and advocating for the use of social media as a tool in the current conflict environment.
- Giordano, James, editor. "White Paper on Assessing and Anticipating Threats to US Security Interests: A Bio-Psycho-Social Science Approach for Understanding the Emergence of and Mitigating Violence and Terrorism," Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Periodic Publication [March 2016]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Anticipating-Threats-to-US-Security-Interests-MAR-2016.pdf">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Anticipating-Threats-to-US-Security-Interests-MAR-2016.pdf</a> [accessed 7 June 2017].

Two articles from this white paper have particular value. They are

Understanding The Social Context: Following Social And Narrative Change Via Discourse And Thematic Analysis Surrounding Daesh In The Middle East: Dr. Lawrence A. Kuznar, Indiana University–Purdue University, Fort Wayne, and NSI, Inc.

The Urgency To Shift Paradigm On The War Against ISIS In The Narrative Space: Dr. Christophe Morin, Fielding Graduate University

- Glazzard, Andrew, "Losing the Plot: Narrative, Counter-Narrative and Violent Extremism," International Centre for Counter-Terrorism The Hague, ICCT Research Paper [May 2017 <a href="https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/ICCT-Glazzard-Losing-the-Plot-May-2017.pdf">https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/ICCT-Glazzard-Losing-the-Plot-May-2017.pdf</a> [accessed 3 July 2018].
- ★ Goldberg, Amir; Stein, Sarah K. (2018). Beyond Social Contagion: Associative Diffusion and the Emergence of Cultural Variation. American Sociological Review, September 2018. <a href="http://web.stanford.edu/~amirgo/docs/beyond.pdf">http://web.stanford.edu/~amirgo/docs/beyond.pdf</a> [accessed 25 September 2018].

This is a dense read, but it is useful for those looking seriously at the source of cultural differentiation amongst people.

Excellent support for the narrative landscape expression of culture. In one way, the authors express that people are inclined to accept culturally changing events and experiences that coincide with their previous inclinations. Using the narrative landscape model, people are inclined to go in a direction of least resistance or an object is inclined to roll downhill.

- Goldhill, Olivia, "African Extremist Group Al-Shebab Shows Trump in Latest Recruitment Video", *Defense One* [3 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/01/african-extremist-group-al-shebab-shows-trump-latest-recruitment-video/124818/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/01/african-extremist-group-al-shebab-shows-trump-latest-recruitment-video/124818/</a> [accessed 4 January 2016].
  - This is fulfillment of Hillary Clinton's comments that ISIS would use Trump's comments as part of recruiting video.
- ★ Gould, Joe, "US-ISIS Rumors Hard to Counter, General Says", *Defense News* [21 May 2015]. http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/show-daily/sofic/2015/05/19/us-isis-rumors-hard-to-counter-general-says/27616311/ [accessed 21 May 2015].
  - Harrell, David L. "Before the Engagement: Mapping Social Media for Civil Military Operations," *The Civil Affairs Association* [22 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.civilaffairsassoc.org/single-post/2018/11/22/Before-the-Engagement-Mapping-Social-Media-for-Civil-Military-Operations">https://www.civilaffairsassoc.org/single-post/2018/11/22/Before-the-Engagement-Mapping-Social-Media-for-Civil-Military-Operations [accessed 2 December 2018]
  - Harris, Shane, "This Is ISIS's New Favorite App for Secret Messages", *The Daily Beast* [16 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/16/this-is-isis-new-favorite-app-for-secret-messages.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/16/this-is-isis-new-favorite-app-for-secret-messages.html</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
  - Hartley, Dean S. III and Kenneth O. Jobson, "Persuasion Wars, Part 1: How and why it works: an examination of the power, use and misuse of persuasion from Aristotle to modern-day analytics." *Communications* [17 May 2019]. <a href="https://pubsonline.informs.org/do/10.1287/orms.2019.03.08/full/">https://pubsonline.informs.org/do/10.1287/orms.2019.03.08/full/</a> [accessed 19 July 2021].
  - Hartley, Dean S. III and Kenneth O. Jobson, "Persuasion Wars, Part 2: Why we care and what we should

- do: a continued examination of the power, use and misuse of persuasion from Aristotle to modern-day analytics." *Communications* [30 July 2019].
- https://pubsonline.informs.org/do/10.1287/orms.2019.04.05/full/ [accessed 19 July 2021].
- Hatherell, Michael, "Populist Narratives and the Making of National Strategy," The Strategy Bridge [26 June 2018]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2018/6/26/populist-narratives-and-the-making-of-national-strategy">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2018/6/26/populist-narratives-and-the-making-of-national-strategy</a> [accessed 26 June 2018].
- Heller, Jason, "How Sci-Fi Writers Imagine Iraq's Future," *The Atlantic* [15 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/10/how-sci-fi-writers-imagine-iraqs-future/541512/">https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/10/how-sci-fi-writers-imagine-iraqs-future/541512/</a> [accessed 16 November 2017].
- Herrmann, Jon, "Defense and Self-Defense in the Information Age: Collaborative Strategy and Collective Vision," *The Strategy Bridge* [5 April 2018]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2018/4/5/defense-and-self-defense-in-the-information-age-collaborative-strategy-and-collective-vision">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2018/4/5/defense-and-self-defense-in-the-information-age-collaborative-strategy-and-collective-vision</a> [accessed 9 April 2018].
- Hinnant, Lori, "Islamic State backers find ephemeral platform in Instagram," *Military Times* [21 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/news/2017/09/21/islamic-state-backers-find-ephemeral-platform-in-instagram/">http://www.militarytimes.com/news/2017/09/21/islamic-state-backers-find-ephemeral-platform-in-instagram/</a> [accessed 21 September 2017].
- Hollings, Alex, "21st Century Warfare: SOCOM places fake news, social media in its crosshairs," SOFREP News [13 April 2018]. https://sofrep.com/101901/21st-century-warfare-socom-places-fake-news-social-media-in-its-crosshairs/ [accessed 18 April 2018].
- Hollings, Alex, "SOFREP Exclusive: The battle for perception in 21st century warfare with Dr. Ajit Maan, founder of Narrative Strategies," *SOFREP News* [25 April 2018]. <a href="https://sofrep.com/102427/sofrep-exclusive-the-battle-for-perception-in-21st-century-warfare-with-dr-ajit-maan-founder-of-narrative-strategies/">https://sofrep.com/102427/sofrep-exclusive-the-battle-for-perception-in-21st-century-warfare-with-dr-ajit-maan-founder-of-narrative-strategies/</a> [accessed 26 April 2018].
- Holshek, Christopher, "Populism's Call to Citizenship," *Resilient Civilians in Hybrid and Population-Centric Warfare* [9 May 2019]. <a href="https://site.uit.no/hybrid/2019/05/09/populisms-call-to-citizenship/">https://site.uit.no/hybrid/2019/05/09/populisms-call-to-citizenship/</a> [accessed 13 May 2019].
- ICT Cyber-Desk, "Analysis of Cyber Trends 2016," International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, November 2016.
  - https://www.ict.org.il/Article.aspx?ID=1854&utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=CyberDesk [accessed 26 November 2016].
  - Simple report with a useful summary of cyber trends and the competition between ISIS and al-Qaeda in the cyber domain.
- Ingram, Haroro J. "The strategic logic of Islamic State information operations," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2015 Vol. 69, No. 6, 729–752. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2015.1059799 [accessed 19 April 2018].
- Ingram, Haroro J. "What Happens When ISIS Becomes an Online Caliphate?" *The National Interest* [31 July 2017]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/what-happens-when-isis-becomes-online-caliphate-21732?page=show">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/what-happens-when-isis-becomes-online-caliphate-21732?page=show</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
- ★ Ingram, Haroro J. and Craig Whiteside, "In Search of the Virtual Caliphate: Convenient Fallacy, Dangerous Distraction," War on the Rocks [27 September 2017].
  <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/09/in-search-of-the-virtual-caliphate-convenient-fallacy-dangerous-distraction/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/09/in-search-of-the-virtual-caliphate-convenient-fallacy-dangerous-distraction/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - Critical definition of defeat. It also has an important explanation of the virtual caliphate.
  - Isakhan, Benjamin, "The Islamic State Attacks on Shia Holy Sites and the "Shrine Protection Narrative": Threats to Sacred Space as a Mobilization Frame," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2020, 32:4, 724-

- 748, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1398741 [8 January 2018].
- https://www.academia.edu/36103574/The Islamic State Attacks on Shia Holy Sites and the Sh rine Protection Narrative Threats to Sacred Space as a Mobilization Frame [accessed 21 May 2021].
- The article contains excellent sources and good quotes reference the mobilization of anti-ISIS efforts n Syria and Iraq. The academic approach is that of social movement theory.
- Jackson, Richard, "Language Power and Politics: Critical Discourse Analysis and the War on Terrorism," 49th Parallel, Spring 2005, <a href="https://fortyninthparalleljournal.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/1-jackson-language-powerand-politics.pdf">https://fortyninthparalleljournal.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/1-jackson-language-powerand-politics.pdf</a> [accessed 30 November 2019].
- Jayamaha, Buddhika B. and Jahara Matisek, "Coercion: New Means & Methods: Social Media Warriors: Leveraging a New Battlespace," *Parameters*, 48(4) Winter 2018–19, 11-23. <a href="https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/Parameters/Issues/Winter\_2018-19/5\_Jayamaha.pdf">https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/Parameters/Issues/Winter\_2018-19/5\_Jayamaha.pdf</a> [accessed 28 May 2019].
- Jones, Jeffrey B., Daniel T. Kuehl, Daniel Burgess, and Russell Rochte, "Strategic Communication and the Combatant Commander," *Joint Force Quarterly*, Issue 55, 4th Quarter 2009, 104-108. http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a515171.pdf [accessed 12 September 2017].
- Kalvik, Jan H. "Insight: Interview with Dr. Ajit Maan, Narrative Strategies," *Defence & Intelligence Norway* [17 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.etterretningen.no/2018/03/17/insight-interview-with-dr-ajit-maan-narrative-strategies/">http://www.etterretningen.no/2018/03/17/insight-interview-with-dr-ajit-maan-narrative-strategies/</a> [accessed 18 March 2018].
  - This interview contains a simple and clear definition of the role of narrative in conflict. For those who are confused about the differences in definitions of narrative and story, the definition here should clear up those misconceptions.
- Karl, Luke, Joseph Lane, and David Sanchez, "How to Stop Losing the Information War," *Defense One* [26 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/07/how-stop-losing-information-war/150056/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/07/how-stop-losing-information-war/150056/</a> [accessed 28 July 2018].
- Kheel, Rebecca, "Pentagon blasts ISIS proposals that would lead to 'apocalyptic war'", *The Hill* [9 December 2015]. <a href="http://thehill.com/policy/defense/262634-pentagon-criticizes-ideas-that-feed-apocalyptic-war-with-isis">http://thehill.com/policy/defense/262634-pentagon-criticizes-ideas-that-feed-apocalyptic-war-with-isis</a> [accessed 10 December 2015].
  - Includes Ted Cruz quote about sand glowing in the dark.
- King, Iain, "What Do Cognitive Biases Mean for Deterrence?" *The Strategy Bridge* [12 February 2019]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2019/2/12/what-do-cognitive-biases-mean-for-deterrence">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2019/2/12/what-do-cognitive-biases-mean-for-deterrence</a> [accessed 18 February 2019].
- ★ Koerner, Brendan I. "Why ISIS is Winning the Social Media War." Wired [March 2016]. <a href="http://www.wired.com/2016/03/isis-winning-social-media-war-heres-beat/">http://www.wired.com/2016/03/isis-winning-social-media-war-heres-beat/</a> [accessed 8 April 2016].
  - Krebs, Ronald R. Rethinking the Battle of Ideas: How the United States Can Help Muslim Moderates. *Orbis*, Spring 2008, 332-346.
  - Kuznar, Lawrence A., George Popp, and Nicole Peterson, "Discourse Indicators of Gray Zone Activity: Russian-Estonian Relations Case Study," Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) Contract Publication with NSI Team [11 January 2016]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/NSI-Discourse-Analysis-of-Russian-Cyberattack-on-Estonia.pdf">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/NSI-Discourse-Analysis-of-Russian-Cyberattack-on-Estonia.pdf</a> [accessed 21 June 2017].
    - This paper could be included with the Russian pieces, but the real focus of the paper is on the connection between use of language and actions conducted in the Gray Zone.
  - Kuznar, Lawrence A., George Popp, and Nicole Peterson, "Discourse Indicators of Gray Zone Activity: South China Sea Case Study," Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) Contract Publication with NSI

Team [17 January 2016]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/NSI-Discourse-Analysis-Case-Study-South-China-Sea.pdf">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/NSI-Discourse-Analysis-Case-Study-South-China-Sea.pdf</a> [accessed 20 June 2017].

This paper could be included with the China pieces, but the real focus of the paper is on the connection between use of language and actions conducted in the Gray Zone. The linkages are lose and the article is not as powerful as desired. It still provides some social science background and connectivity between words spoken and actions taken. For that reason, it is worth considering.

- Kuznar, Lawrence A., George Popp, and Nicole Peterson, "Discourse Indicators of Gray Zone Activity: Crimean Annexation Case Study," Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) Contract Publication with NSI Team [5 January 2017]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/NSI-Discourse-Analysis-of-Russian-Annexation-of-Crimea.pdf">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/NSI-Discourse-Analysis-of-Russian-Annexation-of-Crimea.pdf</a> [accessed 21 June 2017].
  - This paper could be included with the Russian pieces, but the real focus of the paper is on the connection between use of language and actions conducted in the Gray Zone.
- Lapowsky, Issie, "Gruesome Jihadi Content Still Flourishes on Facebook and Google+," *Wired* [17 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.wired.com/story/jihadi-content-still-on-facebook-google/">https://www.wired.com/story/jihadi-content-still-on-facebook-google/</a> [accessed 21 May 2018].
- Lindenlaub, Nic, "Lessons from Syria's Low-Profile Narrative War," War Room of the US Army War College [7 January 2021]. <a href="https://warroom.armywarcollege.edu/articles/narrative-war/">https://warroom.armywarcollege.edu/articles/narrative-war/</a> [accessed 22 January 2021].
- ★ Maan, Ajit, "Narrative: The Critical Component of Counter-Terrorism Strategy," Small Wars Journal [14 July 2015]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/narrative-the-critical-component-of-counter-terrorism-strategy">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/narrative-the-critical-component-of-counter-terrorism-strategy</a> [accessed 27 May 2017].
  - This is a short, yet brilliantly written explanation of the value of narrative with the best suggested narrative for the fight at hand.
- ★ Maan, Ajit, "Narratives are about 'meaning,' not 'truth'," Foreign Policy [3 December 2015]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/03/narratives-are-about-meaning-not-truth/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/03/narratives-are-about-meaning-not-truth/</a> [accessed 27 May 2017].
  - An excellent explanation of the difference between ideas and narratives.
  - Maan, Ajit, "Narrative: The Critical Component of Counter-Terrorism Strategy," *Defence and Intelligence Norway* [16 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.etterretningen.no/2016/03/16/narrative-the-critical-component-of-counter-terrorism-strategy/">http://www.etterretningen.no/2016/03/16/narrative-the-critical-component-of-counter-terrorism-strategy/</a> [accessed 13 March 2018].
- ★ Maan, Ajit, "Narrative Warfare," Real Clear Defense [27 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2018/02/27/narrative\_warfare\_113118.html">https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2018/02/27/narrative\_warfare\_113118.html</a> [accessed 27 February 2018].
  - This is a great summary of the importance of narrative in shaping what war really is: influence. In this article, Dr. Maan places narrative at the center of the strategic debate precisely where it should be.
- ★ Maan, Ajit, "Fighting the Fight We Are In," SOF News: Special Operations News From Around the World [27 February 2018]. <a href="http://www.sof.news/io/fighting-the-fight-we-are-in/">http://www.sof.news/io/fighting-the-fight-we-are-in/</a> [accessed 11 December 2018].
  - Fantastic article. Ajit Maan, Ph.D. captures the importance of narrative and its criticality to conflict success.
- ★ Maan, Ajit, "Plato's Fear: The Power of Poetry Over National Security," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [1 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/leadership-management/platos-fear-the-power-of-poetry-over-national-security/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/leadership-management/platos-fear-the-power-of-poetry-over-national-security/</a> [accessed 3 March 2019].
  - Ajit Maan, Ph.D. has effectively nailed the critical explanation of narrative. I must say that I differ slightly from the implication of this piece in that narratives are a thing. I think narrative is the environment in which we operate and make meaning of the world. Though the environment or narrative may not be a thing, it can be

- shaped by the stories, messages, and memes; or, in this case, the poems, songs, movies, and stories of the poets, authors, and actors.
- Maan, Ajit, "Defeat Terrorists by Dominating the Narrative Space," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [22 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/defeat-terrorists-by-dominating-the-narrative-space/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/defeat-terrorists-by-dominating-the-narrative-space/</a> [accessed 29 April 2019].
- ★ Magdin, Radu, "How to Fight Russian Infowar in Central Europe," *Defense One* [12 October 2018].

  <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/10/how-fight-russian-infowar-central-europe/151909/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/10/how-fight-russian-infowar-central-europe/151909/</a> [accessed 15 October 2018].
  - Simple, but accurate to-do list for those interested in effectively engaging in narrative war.
- ★ Marche, Stephen, "Al Qaeda Won," Foreign Policy [10 September 2018]. https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/10/al-qaeda-won/ [accessed 11 September 2018].
  - Absolutely outstanding think piece! Please read. This is the article I wish I had written. Though the article calls it something different, he is expressing the core power of what I call *maneuver in the narrative space* or what others call narrative war.
  - Marchesini, Paula, "The End of Time or Time Reborn? Henri Bergson and the Metaphysics of Time in Contemporary Cosmology," *Philosophy and Cosmology*. Volume 21, 2018, 140-152. <a href="http://ispcjournal.org/journals/2018-21/Marchesinii PhC vol 21 2018.pdf">http://ispcjournal.org/journals/2018-21/Marchesinii PhC vol 21 2018.pdf</a> [accessed 23 September 2018].
- ★ McCauley, Clark, "Toward a Psychology of Humiliation in Asymmetric Conflict," American Psychologist, 2017, Vol. 72, No. 3, 255–265. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/amp0000063">http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/amp0000063</a> [accessed 12 May 2017]. Excellent discussion on the literature and definition of humiliation and how this might play in conflict and,

specifically, terrorism. This is useful in discussing the depositional element of constructing narrative space. Important quotes include:

it is the pernicious effect of repeated, small humiliations that add up to a feeling of nearly unbearable despair and frustration, and a willingness on the part of some to do anything—even commit atrocities—in the belief that attacking the oppressor will restore their sense of dignity. (255)

These two scales were significantly correlated, suggesting that more history of humiliation led to more fear of future humiliation. (257)

In the present article, we propose that for humiliation to be felt, the individual must experience the self in a negative light while concurrently holding a negative attribution of blame to the other. (258)

humiliating situations typically involve a specific appraisal of damage combined with a specific appraisal of failure. (260)

Scheff's (1994) "feeling trap" might be such a system, in which being ashamed about not retaliating for injury makes us angry about being shamed, which makes us shamed for not retaliating, and so forth, in "a self-perpetuating loop of intensely painful feelings" (260)

Any prolonged emotional response is, by definition, a distortion of biobehavioral adaptation, and, as in the case of chronic anxiety, it may have the potential to create a disordered state of mind that affects normal judgment and function. When humiliation occurs on a group level, there may be so many events occurring over so many years that the experience becomes chronic, and that may be a factor in the special fury that is sometimes found in asymmetric group conflicts. (262)

groups with a culture of honor should feel more shame and more humiliation after failure to retaliate. (262)

This symmetry makes humiliation the prototypical emotional experience of asymmetric conflict.

(263)

- Tom Friedman (2003) wrote, "If I've learned one thing covering world affairs, it's this: The single most underappreciated force in international relations is humiliation." (263)
- McKinney, Matt, "Anti-Muslim speaking circuit runs through rural Minnesota," *Kansas City Star* [20 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.kansascity.com/news/nation-world/national/article72968832.html">http://www.kansascity.com/news/nation-world/national/article72968832.html</a> [accessed 21 April 2016].
- Miller, Greg, "Islamist militants turn to less-governed social-media platform," *The Washington Post* [29 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/islamist-militants-turn-to-less-governed-social-media-platform/2015/10/29/265dbaea-7e53-11e5-beba-927fd8634498\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/islamist-militants-turn-to-less-governed-social-media-platform/2015/10/29/265dbaea-7e53-11e5-beba-927fd8634498\_story.html</a> [accessed 3 November 2015].
- Miller, Greg, "Panel casts doubt on U.S. propaganda efforts against ISIS," *The Washington Post* [2 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/panel-casts-doubt-on-us-propaganda-efforts-against-isis/2015/12/02/ab7f9a14-9851-11e5-94f0-9eeaff906ef3\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/panel-casts-doubt-on-us-propaganda-efforts-against-isis/2015/12/02/ab7f9a14-9851-11e5-94f0-9eeaff906ef3\_story.html</a> [accessed 3 December 2015].
  - The article explains the problems with the State department counter-narrative campaign and discusses the office that runs it and a review of actions taken by the office.
- Miller, Greg and Scott Higham, "In a Propaganda War Against the ISIS, the U.S. Tried to Play by the Enemy's Rules", The Washington Post [8 May 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-a-propaganda-war-us-tried-to-play-by-the-enemys-rules/2015/05/08/6eb6b732-e52f-11e4-81ea-0649268f729e\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-a-propaganda-war-us-tried-to-play-by-the-enemys-rules/2015/05/08/6eb6b732-e52f-11e4-81ea-0649268f729e\_story.html</a> [accessed 12 May 2015].
  - Munch, Randall, editor, "SMA White Paper: Maneuver and Engagement in the Narrative Space," Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Periodic Publication [January 2016]. <a href="http://www.soc.mil/swcs/ProjectGray/Maneuver%20in%20the%20Narrative%20Space.pdf">http://www.soc.mil/swcs/ProjectGray/Maneuver%20in%20the%20Narrative%20Space.pdf</a> [accessed 7 June 2017].
- NATO Strategic Communications, "DAESH Information Campaign and its Influence: Results of the Study," NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence Riga, Latvia, 8 January 2016. <a href="http://stratcomcoe.org/download/file/fid/3461">http://stratcomcoe.org/download/file/fid/3461</a> [accessed 1 March 2016].
  - Nesic, Aleksandra and Arnel P. David, "Operationalizing the Science of the Human Domain in Great Power Competition for Special Operations Forces," *Small Wars Journal* [14 April 2019]. <a href="https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/operationalizing-science-human-domain-great-power-competition-special-operations-forces">https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/operationalizing-science-human-domain-great-power-competition-special-operations-forces</a> [accessed 15 April 2019].
  - Nickerson, Raymond S. "Confirmation Bias: A Ubiquitous Phenomenon in Many Guises," *Review of General Psychology*, 1998, vol 2, No 2, 175-220 [accepted 18 December 1997].
  - Ortiz, Michael, "The Power of Persuasion in Countering Terror," *The Cipher Brief* [16 February 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/power-persuasion-countering-terror-1089">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/power-persuasion-countering-terror-1089</a> [accessed 16 February 2017].
    - A former member of the DoS Bureau of Counterterrorism and Countering Violent Extremism he provides perspective on what the administration was doing regarding messaging and counter-messaging.
  - Partnership for Peace Consortium, "Foreign Terrorist Fighter Networks: Threats, Challenges, and Responses Tabletop Exercise Final Report," Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes Combating Terrorism Working Group May 30-31, 2017, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany.
  - Pellerin, Cheryl, "DARPA's Plan X Gives Military Operators a Place to Wage Cyber Warfare," *DoD News, Defense Media Activity* [12 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.defense.gov/News-Article-View/Article/758219/darpas-plan-x-gives-military-operators-a-place-to-wage-cyber-warfare">http://www.defense.gov/News-Article-View/Article/758219/darpas-plan-x-gives-military-operators-a-place-to-wage-cyber-warfare</a>

- [accessed 13 May 2016].
- DARPA is communicating key terrain within cyberspace visually so that cyberspace warriors can "see" what it is they are going after. Can this work for narrative space?
- Pelletier, Ian R., Leif Lundmark, Rachel Gardner, Gina Scott Ligon, and Ramazan Kilinc. "Why ISIS' Message Resonates: Leveraging Islam, Socio-Political Catalysts and Adaptive Messaging." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, volume 39, issue 10, 1-66 [January 2016]. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1139373 [accessed 11 August 2020].
- Polyakova, Alina and Spencer P. Boyer, "The Future of Political Warfare: Russia, the West, and the Coming Age of Global Digital Competition," Brookings Robert Bosch Foundation Transatlantic Initiative [7 March 2018]. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/the-future-of-
- political-warfare.pdf [accessed 29 March 2018].

  Pomerantsev, Peter, Laura Jackson, Timothy Thomas, Mark Laity, and Ben Nimmo, "Information at War: From China's Three Warfares to NATO's Narratives," Legatum Institute Beyond Propaganda,
- - This is one of the best articles dealing with narrative across two non-Middle Eastern conflict zones. In this article are several great resources from Chinese and Russian thought.
  - Prospero, ""City of Ghosts" is an extraordinary look at journalism in Raqqa," *The Economist* [20 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.economist.com/blogs/prospero/2017/07/voices-darkness">https://www.economist.com/blogs/prospero/2017/07/voices-darkness</a> [accessed 24 July 2017].
  - Quick, Christopher R., "Global Engagement Center: GEC101 Brief," Global Engagement Center Presentation to Information Officers Qualification Course, 27 September 2016.
    - This is the organization created by the State Department to oversee and manage the U.S. activity in the narrative space. The briefing provides basic understanding of the organization, scope, and activities.
- ★ Rafiq, Haras, "Countering Extremism: A Problem for Civil Society," The Cipher Brief [16 February 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/countering-extremism-problem-civil-society-1089">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/countering-extremism-problem-civil-society-1089</a> [accessed 16 February 2017].
  - The most important portion of this interview is the author's brief explanation of the steps of progression toward extremism. This is critical for understanding why average people can become terrorists.
  - Rahn, Will, "Commentary: The Unbearable Smugness of the Press," CBS News [10 November 2016]. http://www.cbsnews.com/news/commentary-the-unbearable-smugness-of-the-press-presidential-election-2016/ [accessed 26 December 2016].
    - The online editor for CBS News addresses the press failings during the 2016 Presidential campaign and in doing so he points out failings often seen in narrative space issues as well.
  - Reed, Alastair, "An Inconvenient Truth: Countering Terrorist Narratives Fighting a Threat We Do Not Understand," International Centre for Counter-Terrorism The Hague [2 July 2018]. <a href="https://icct.nl/publication/an-inconvenient-truth-countering-terrorist-narratives-fighting-a-threat-we-do-not-understand/">https://icct.nl/publication/an-inconvenient-truth-countering-terrorist-narratives-fighting-a-threat-we-do-not-understand/</a> [accessed 3 July 2018].
  - Reed, Alastair, Haroro J. Ingram, and Joe Whittaker, "Countering Terrorist Narratives: Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs," Directorate General for Internal Policies Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs, Brussels [November 2017]. <a href="https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Reed-Ingram-Whittaker-Narratives.pdf">https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Reed-Ingram-Whittaker-Narratives.pdf</a> [accessed 3 July 2018].
  - Reus-Smit, Christian, "International Relations Theory Doesn't Understand Culture," *Foreign Policy* [21 March 2019]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/03/21/international-relations-theory-doesnt-understand-culture/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/03/21/international-relations-theory-doesnt-understand-culture/</a> [accessed 1 April 2019].

- Richards, Imogen, ""Flexible" capital accumulation in Islamic State social media," Paper posted on *Academia* [circa 2015].
  - https://www.academia.edu/20205537/ Flexible capital accumulation in Islamic State social media [accessed 19 July 2021].
  - The paper contains an interesting perspective on the use of imagery as a form of social capital. I think that this works within a similar sphere as does the attention economy work.
- Riechmann, Deb, "Die Hard for jihadists? IS recruits with heroic tales," *Associated Press News* [25 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.apnews.com/871704f3833d40c789f3eb6696110214">https://www.apnews.com/871704f3833d40c789f3eb6696110214</a> [accessed 26 November 2017].
- \* Rosand, Eric and Emily Winterbotham, "Do counter-narratives actually reduce violent extremism?," Brookings [20 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/03/20/do-counter-narratives-actually-reduce-violent-extremism/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/03/20/do-counter-narratives-actually-reduce-violent-extremism/</a> [accessed 22 March 2019].
  - I am grateful for this thoughtful piece that questions the latest shiny object in the fight against extremism. This article gives an explanation of why the focus should be on understanding narratives and creating positive stories for one's own narrative rather than trying to counter the enemy's narrative.
  - Ruston, Scott W. "Strategic Communication Challenges: Understanding Rumors As Narrative Landscapes." Presented to the Special Operations Command-Central Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment Group, 29 September 2015.
  - Satter, Raphael, "US military wives threatened by Russian hackers posing as ISIS," *Fifth Domain* [8 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.fifthdomain.com/dod/2018/05/08/us-military-wives-threatened-by-russian-hackers-posing-as-is/">https://www.fifthdomain.com/dod/2018/05/08/us-military-wives-threatened-by-russian-hackers-posing-as-is/</a> [accessed 9 May 2018].
- Schmid, Alex P. "Challenging the Narrative of the "Islamic State"," International Centre for Counter-Terrorism The Hague, ICCT Research Paper [June 2015]. <a href="http://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/ICCT-Schmid-Challenging-the-Narrative-of-the-Islamic-State-June2015.pdf">http://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/ICCT-Schmid-Challenging-the-Narrative-of-the-Islamic-State-June2015.pdf</a> [accessed 1 March 2016].
  - Seese, Gregory S., Nathan Vanderberg, Matthew Martin, Rafael E. Linera Rivera, and Peter Lejeune, "Narratives as the Target: A Human Dimension Paradigm Shift," Strategic Multilayer Assessment Report [unknown date]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/30140753/Narratives">https://www.academia.edu/30140753/Narratives</a> as the Target <a href="https://www.academia.edu/30140753/Narratives">A Human Dimension Paradigm Shift</a> [accessed 6 December 2016].
    - Great quotes from this article regarding the role of narrative. This is a must use article for the dissertation.
  - Seese, Gregory S. and Kendall Haven, "The Neuroscience of Influential Strategic Narratives and Storylines", *IO Sphere* [Fall 2015].
    - This is considered one of the best articles on narrative from the military perspective. It includes information on crafting storylines and developing the stories that make up good narratives.
  - Seese, Gregory S., Rafael E. Linera, and Erinn McQuagge. 2018. "Effects-Based Psychological Operations Measures of Effectiveness: Measuring Change and Impact," In Yager, M. (NSI) (Eds) (2018) White Paper What Do Others Think and How Do We Know What They Are Thinking? A Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Periodic Publication. Washington, DC: Strategic Multilayer Assessment Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/37214726/Effects-Based Psychological Operations Measures of Effectiveness Measuring Change and Impact [accessed 13 August 2018].">https://www.academia.edu/37214726/Effects-Based Psychological Operations Measures of Effectiveness Measuring Change and Impact [accessed 13 August 2018].</a>
  - Seftel, Bennett, "Doubling Down Against the Jihadist Message," *The Cipher Brief* [16 February 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/doubling-down-against-jihadist-message-1089">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/doubling-down-against-jihadist-message-1089</a> [accessed 16 February 2017].
    - Brief discussion of the efforts being made to communicate the ISIS narrative and to combat that communication.

- ★ Sly, Liz, "Iraqis think the U.S. is in cahoots with the Islamic State, and it is hurting the war", Washington Post [1 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraqis-think-the-us-is-in-cahoots-with-isis-and-it-is-hurting-the-war/2015/12/01/d00968ec-9243-11e5-befa-99ceebcbb272\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraqis-think-the-us-is-in-cahoots-with-isis-and-it-is-hurting-the-war/2015/12/01/d00968ec-9243-11e5-befa-99ceebcbb272\_story.html</a> [accessed 2 December 2015].
  - This is ideal support of the primary narrative I describe in my presentations titled Changing the Conversation.
  - Smeets, Max, "How Much Does a Cyber Weapon Cost? Nobody Knows," *Council of Foreign Relations blog* [21 November 2016]. <a href="http://blogs.cfr.org/cyber/2016/11/21/how-much-does-a-cyber-weapon-cost-nobody-knows/">http://blogs.cfr.org/cyber/2016/11/21/how-much-does-a-cyber-weapon-cost-nobody-knows/</a> [accessed 22 November 2016].
    - The blog post presents several key questions regarding the information we do and do not have regarding the cost and development of cyber warfare. What the article asks is whether or not non-state actors can have the capability to conduct real cyber warfare.
  - Sniver, Asaf and Scott Lucas, "The Islamic State lexical battleground: US foreign policy and the abstraction of threat," *International Affairs* 92: 1 (2016) 63–79.

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/20257036/The Islamic State Lexical Battleground US Foreign Policy">https://www.academia.edu/20257036/The Islamic State Lexical Battleground US Foreign Policy</a>
    <a href="mailto:and-the-and-
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "PERSPECTIVE: Challenges in Creating, Deploying Counter-Narratives to Deter Would-be Terrorists," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [27 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-challenges-in-creating-deploying-counter-narratives-to-deter-would-beterrorists/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-challenges-in-creating-deploying-counter-narratives-to-deter-would-beterrorists/</a> [accessed 6 December 2018].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "PERSPECTIVE: Debating the Use of ISIS Counter-Narratives in the Heart of Europe," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [4 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-debating-the-use-of-isis-counter-narratives-in-the-heart-of-europe/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-debating-the-use-of-isis-counter-narratives-in-the-heart-of-europe/</a> [accessed 8 December 2018].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "PERSPECTIVE: Delegitimizing ISIS and Militant Jihadist Ideologies May Also Require Addressing Anti-Western Biases," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [21 April 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-delegitimizing-isis-and-militant-jihadist-ideologies-may-also-require-addressing-anti-western-biases/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-delegitimizing-isis-and-militant-jihadist-ideologies-may-also-require-addressing-anti-western-biases/</a> [accessed 6 May 2020].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "ISIS and the Militant Jihad on Instagram," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [21 July 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/cybersecurity/isis-and-the-militant-jihad-on-instagram/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/cybersecurity/isis-and-the-militant-jihad-on-instagram/</a> [accessed 22 July 2020].
  - Spitaletta, Jason, editor. "White Paper on Bio-Psycho-Social Applications to Cognitive Engagement," Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Periodic Publication [October 2016]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Bio-Psycho-Social-Applications-to-Cognitive-Engagement\_Final25OCTV3.pdf">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Bio-Psycho-Social-Applications-to-Cognitive-Engagement\_Final25OCTV3.pdf</a> [accessed 7 June 2017].
  - Steckman, Laura, "ISIL's Media Machine and Southeast Asia." Presented to the Special Operations Command-Central Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment Group, 29 September 2015.

    Information on ISIS media operations in Indonesia.
  - Stevenson, John A. "Global Influence," Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) Quick Concepts Series [30 September 2019]. <a href="https://nsiteam.com/sma-quick-concepts-series-global-influence/">https://nsiteam.com/sma-quick-concepts-series-global-influence/</a> [accessed 13 October 2019].
  - Styszynski, Marcin, "ISIS communication process," Faculty of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Adam

- Mickiewicz University in Poznan [28 March 2016].
- Sutherlin, Gwyneth, editor, "White Paper on The Key Role of Human Geography, Culture and Language in Effective Communication," Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Periodic Publication [May 2017]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/HumanGeographyFinal.V3.pdf">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/HumanGeographyFinal.V3.pdf</a> [accessed 7 June 2017].
  - Quote from executive summary: "Understanding other cultures well enough to successfully communicate and to navigate each information environment means a profound effort in putting ourselves in other cultures' shoes—trying to understand narratives around identity, political engagement and deeply held beliefs requires looking beyond language and into the cognitive domain to gain a clearer picture of the information environment (IE)."
- Sutherlin, Gwyneth, editor, "Blame, Sway, and Vigilante Tactics: How Other Cultures Think Differently and Implications for Planning," Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Periodic Publication [January 2018]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/SMA-Blame-Sway-and-Vigilante-Tactics Implications-for-Planning.pdf">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/SMA-Blame-Sway-and-Vigilante-Tactics Implications-for-Planning.pdf</a> [accessed 19 February 2018].
- Taylor, Adam, "John Kerry keeps calling the Islamic State 'apostates.' Maybe he should stop." *The Washington Post* [3 February 2016].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/02/03/john-kerry-keeps-calling-the-islamic-state-apostates-maybe-he-should-stop/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/02/03/john-kerry-keeps-calling-the-islamic-state-apostates-maybe-he-should-stop/</a> [accessed 4 February 2016].
- Tierney, Dominic, "How Trump and ISIS Help Each Other", *The Atlantic* [17 December 2015]. <u>HTTP://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/12/trump-ISIS-EXTREMISTS/420984/</u> [accessed 28 December 2015].
  - The gist is that those of extreme opinions generate a supportive cycle that only inspires others of extreme opinions even those who are of opposite ends of the ideological spectrum
- Tripp, Charles, "Theatres of blood: Performative violence in Iraq," *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 12:2, pp. 167–81, [2018]. doi: 10.1386/ jcis.12.2.167\_1 [accessed 31 May 2021].
- Tucker, Patrick, "Pentagon: State Doesn't Have Enough People Tweeting At ISIS," *Defense One* [22 October 2015].
- Tucker, Patrick, "America's New Plan to Fight ISIS Online," *Defense One* [11 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2016/01/americas-new-plan-fight-isis-online/125043/">http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2016/01/americas-new-plan-fight-isis-online/125043/</a> [accessed 12 January 2016].
  - A new U.S. government organization for fighting the social media war against ISIS.
- Tucker, Patrick, "How Special Operators Trained for Psychological Warfare Before the Mosul Fight," *Defense One* [14 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2016/11/how-special-operators-trained-Psychological-warfare-mosul-fight/133166/">http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2016/11/how-special-operators-trained-Psychological-warfare-mosul-fight/133166/</a> [accessed 17 November 2016].
  - The article includes reference to the Strategic Multilayer Assessment conduct of simulations in late 2015 and 2016. I actually participated in the 2015 exercise.
- Vandepeer, Charles, "Self-Deception and the 'Conspiracy of Optimism'," War on the Rocks [31 January 2019]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2019/01/self-deception-and-the-conspiracy-of-optimism/">https://warontherocks.com/2019/01/self-deception-and-the-conspiracy-of-optimism/</a> [accessed 2 February 2019].
- ★ Veilleux-Lepage, Yannick, "Paradigmatic Shifts in Jihadism in Cyberspace: The Emerging Role of Unaffiliated Sympathizers in Islamic State's Social Media Strategy," Journal of Terrorism Research, colume 7, Issue 1 – January 2016, pages 36-51. <a href="http://jtr.st-andrews.ac.uk/articles/10.15664/jtr.1183/">http://jtr.st-andrews.ac.uk/articles/10.15664/jtr.1183/</a> [accessed 15 June 2016].
  - Pivotal information on the evolution of the use of social media by jihadist groups and the methods employed by ISIS currently. The author explains the social media crowd-source philosophy and its roots in the *Inspire* magazine and similar actions.

- Verdon, Theron, "The return of Khilafah: The constitutive narratives of Daesh," *Defence Strategic Communications*, NATO Strategic Communication Center of Excellence, Riga, Latvia, Volume 1, Number 1, Winter 2015, 76-98. <a href="https://www.stratcomcoe.org/download/file/fid/3956">www.stratcomcoe.org/download/file/fid/3956</a> [accessed 16 May 2017].
  - This is a powerful discussion on narrative and how ISIS uses those narratives. Probably the best article on the topic I have yet read.
  - Verrall, Neil, "Re-Learning the Rules of the Game: Challenging and Countering Misinformation and Fakery," Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Fake News Speaker Series, Pentagon [21 July 2017].

    Good information on words and meanings. This includes Russian terms for this effort. Emphasis is on "nothing new."
  - Waddell, Kaveh, "The US Government Is Secretly Huddling With Tech Firms to Fight Extremism," *Defense One* [9 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/03/us-government-secretly-huddling-companies-fight-extremism-online/126542/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/03/us-government-secretly-huddling-companies-fight-extremism-online/126542/</a> [accessed 10 March 2016].
    - The human rights concerns of governments working with tech and entertainment companies on counternarrative related issues.
- Walsh, Declan and Nada Rashwan, "'We're at War': A Covert Social Media Campaign Boosts Military Rulers," The New York Times [6 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/06/world/middleeast/sudan-social-media.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/06/world/middleeast/sudan-social-media.html</a> [accessed 10 September 2019].
  - Really interesting. This is another example of the role of social media in modern conflict. It is unclear how much this campaign actually changes opinions, but it seems to be an example of how social media can form opinions.
  - Warrick, Joby, "Islamic State getting trounced in battle for Arab hearts and minds, survey finds," *The Washington Post* [12 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/islamic-state-getting-trounced-in-battle-for-arab-hearts-and-minds-survey-finds/2016/04/11/71c32774-0024-11e6-9203-7b8670959b88\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/islamic-state-getting-trounced-in-battle-for-arab-hearts-and-minds-survey-finds/2016/04/11/71c32774-0024-11e6-9203-7b8670959b88\_story.html</a> [accessed 12 April 2016].
  - Whiteside, Craig, "Lighting the Path: the Evolution of the Islamic State Media Enterprise (2003-2016)," The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism [November 2016]. <a href="https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/ICCT-Whiteside-Lighting-the-Path-the-Evolution-of-the-Islamic-State-Media-Enterprise-2003-2016-Nov2016.pdf">https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/ICCT-Whiteside-Lighting-the-Path-the-Evolution-of-the-Islamic-State-Media-Enterprise-2003-2016-Nov2016.pdf</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - Whiteside, Craig, "Lighting the Path: The Story of the Islamic State's Media Enterprise," War on the Rocks [12 December 2016]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2016/12/lighting-the-path-the-story-of-the-islamic-states-media-enterprise/">https://warontherocks.com/2016/12/lighting-the-path-the-story-of-the-islamic-states-media-enterprise/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
- ★ Williams, Brad D. "Narrative, Cyberspace and the 21st Century Art of War," Fifth Domain Cyber [22 January 2017]. <a href="http://fifthdomain.com/2017/01/22/narrative-cyberspace-and-the-21st-century-art-of-war/">http://fifthdomain.com/2017/01/22/narrative-cyberspace-and-the-21st-century-art-of-war/</a> [accessed 27 May 2017].
  - Short and concise argument for narrative as the critical element of conflict.
  - Winter, Charlie, "Totalitarianism 101: The Islamic State's Offline Propaganda Strategy," *Lawfare* [27 March 2016]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/totalitarianism-101-islamic-states-offline-propaganda-strategy">https://www.lawfareblog.com/totalitarianism-101-islamic-states-offline-propaganda-strategy</a> [accessed 28 March 2016].
  - Winter, Charlie, "Trump's Immigration Order Is a Propaganda Victory for ISIS," *The Atlantic* [30 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/01/trump-executive-order-isis-propaganda/514968/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/01/trump-executive-order-isis-propaganda/514968/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
- ★ Winter, Charlie, "Media Jihad: The Islamic State's Doctrine for Information Warfare," The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), London: Department of War Studies, King's College

London, February 2017. <a href="http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Media-jihad\_web.pdf">http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Media-jihad\_web.pdf</a> [accessed 23 April 2017].

This is an excellent product for discussing the method and intent of ISIS media operations.

- Winter, Charlie, "ICSR Insight: The ISIS Propaganda Decline," The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), London: Department of War Studies, King's College London, 23 March 2017. http://icsr.info/2017/03/icsr-insight-isis-propaganda-decline/ [accessed 19 April 2018].
- ★ Winter, Charlie, "What I Learned from Reading the Islamic State's Propaganda Instruction Manual," Lawfare [2 April 2017]. <a href="https://lawfareblog.com/what-i-learned-reading-islamic-states-propaganda-instruction-manual">https://lawfareblog.com/what-i-learned-reading-islamic-states-propaganda-instruction-manual</a> [accessed 23 April 2017].

This is an excellent and brief summary of the ISIS vision of the use of media as a weapon.

- Winter, Charlie, "DAESH Propaganda, Before and After Its Collapse: Countering Violent Extremism," Riga, Latvia: NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence [June 2019]. <a href="https://stratcomcoe.org/daesh-propaganda-and-after-its-collapse">https://stratcomcoe.org/daesh-propaganda-and-after-its-collapse</a> [accessed 25 September 2019]. Excellent. Charlie Winter regularly provides the best analysis and this continues that trend. This is a relatively short discussion of two months in the ISIS media campaign (one in 2015 and one in 2019) to express the changes in volume, topic, and geographic distribution. A lot can be gleaned from the 17 or so pages of material.
- ★ Winter, Charlie and Colin P. Clarke, "Is ISIS Breaking Apart? What Its Media Operations Suggest," Foreign Affairs [31 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2017-01-31/isis-breaking-apart">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2017-01-31/isis-breaking-apart</a> [accessed 22 February 2017].
  - Media output from ISIS is declining both in quantity and in the focus of the content. This leads to a conclusion of the inevitable breakup of the organization. Most commentators have failed to understand ISIS from the beginning. Does the decline and probable of its physical presence mean an equivalent decline of its actual presence?
  - Wong, Kristina, "US military drafting 'new narrative' for ISIS war", *The Hill* [27 December 2015]. <a href="http://thehill.com/policy/defense/264219-us-military-drafting-new-narrative-for-isis-war">http://thehill.com/policy/defense/264219-us-military-drafting-new-narrative-for-isis-war</a> [accessed 28 December 2015].

The question is whether or not there is a strategy or a communication problem regarding the strategy.

Yandura, Matthew J. "Voices of Moderate Islam," IO Journal, volume 3, issue 1, 10-16 [March 2011].

★ Zak, Paul J. "Why Inspiring Stories Make Us React: The Neuroscience of Narrative," *The Dana Foundation Cerebrum* [2 February 2015].

http://www.dana.org/Cerebrum/2015/Why Inspiring Stories Make Us React The Neuroscience of Narrative/ [accessed 28 February 2019].

This is great! I express a hierarchy of narrative structure from narrative to master narratives, stories, messages, and finally memes. What this research provides is the importance of connection in the story. Everything in the narrative world needs to connect to the human brain or it has no affect and also no effect.

Ziemke, Jen, "Crowdsourcing a Counter-ISIL Narrative," Endogeneity report from simulation run April 2016 [21 June 2016].

## Jihadi Magazines (Inspire, Dabiq, Rumiyah)

#### Inspire

al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, "The Greatest Special Operation of All Time," Special Issue, *Inspire*, Issue 7, September 2011. <a href="https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/inspire-magazine-7.pdf">https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/inspire-magazine-7.pdf</a> [accessed 15 February 2018].

#### **Dabiq**

Islamic State, "The Return of the Khalifah," Dabiq, issue 1, 5 July 2014. www.ieproject.org/projects/dabiq1.pdf [accessed 22 December 2017].

Islamic State, "The Flood," Dabiq, issue 2, 27 July 2014. <a href="www.ieproject.org/projects/dabiq2.pdf">www.ieproject.org/projects/dabiq2.pdf</a> [accessed 22 December 2017].

"A Call to Hijrah," Issue 3 (10 September 2014).

"The Failed Crusade," Issue 4 (11 October 2014).

"Remaining and Expanding," Issue 5 (21 November 2014).

"Al Qa'idah of Waziristan: A Testimony from Within," Issue 6 (29 December 2014).

Islamic State, "From Hypocrisy to Apostasy: The Extinction of the Grayzone," Dabiq, issue 7, 12 February 2015.

"Shari'ah Alone Will Rule Africa," Issue 8 (30 March 2015).

Islamic State, "They Plot and Allah Plots," Dabig, issue 9, 21 May 2015.

"The Law of Allah or the Laws of Men," Issue 10 (13 July 2015).

"From the Battles of Al-Ahzāb to the War of Coalitions," Issue 11 (9 August 2015).

"Just Terror," Issue 12 (18 November 2015).

"The Rafidah," Issue 13 (19 January 2016).

Islamic State, "The Murtaad Brotherhood," Dabiq, issue 14, 14 April 2016.

https://clarionproject.org/docs/Dabiq-Issue-14.pdf [accessed 18 January 2018].

#### Commentary

Al-Ansari, Salah and Usama Hasan. 2018. *Tackling Terror: A Response to Takfiri Terrorist Theology*. London: The Quilliam Foundation Ltd. <a href="https://www.quilliaminternational.com/shop/e-publications/tackling-terror-a-response-to-takfiri-terrorist-theology/">https://www.quilliaminternational.com/shop/e-publications/tackling-terror-a-response-to-takfiri-terrorist-theology/</a> [accessed 11 June 2020].

Droogan, Julian and Shane Peattie, "Mapping the Thematic Landscape of *Dabiq* Magazine," Australian Journal of International Affairs, 2017, Vol. 71, No. 6, 591–620. <a href="https://Doi.Org/10.1080/10357718.2017.1303443">https://Doi.Org/10.1080/10357718.2017.1303443</a> [accessed 28 May 2019].

Hooker, David. 2015. Leadership in the Reborn Caliphate: Thematic Network Analysis of ISIL's E-zine Dābiq. Thesis for the Macquarie University; Sydney, Australia; Department of Policing, Intelligence, and Counter Terrorism; Submission Date: 9 October 2015.

<a href="https://www.academia.edu/17133271/Leadership">https://www.academia.edu/17133271/Leadership</a> in the Reborn Caliphate Thematic Network A nalysis of ISIL s E-zine Da big [accessed 30 June 2020].

★ Ingram, Haroro J. "Islamic State's English-language magazines, 2014-2017: Trends & implications for CT-CVE strategic communications," The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism [March 2018]. <a href="https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/ICCT-Ingram-Islamic-State-English-Language-Magazines-March2018-1.pdf">https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/ICCT-Ingram-Islamic-State-English-Language-Magazines-March2018-1.pdf</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].

Excellent review of the major ISIS produced English language written works.

Kibble, David G. "Dabiq, the Islamic State's Magazine: A Critical Analysis," *Middle East Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Fall 2016, Pages 133–143 [9 September 2016].

http://pc8ga3qq6a.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx ver=Z39.88-

2004&ctx enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-

8&rfr\_id=info%3Asid%2Fsummon.serialssolutions.com&rft\_val\_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Ajournal&rft.genre=article&rft.atitle=Dabiq%2C+the+Islamic+State%27s+Magazine%3A+A+Critical+Analysis&rft.jtitle=Middle+East+Policy&rft.au=Kibble%2C+David+G&rft.date=2016-01-01&rft.issn=1061-1924&rft.eissn=1475-

4967&rft.volume=23&rft.issue=3&rft.spage=133&rft.epage=143&rft\_id=info:doi/10.1111%2Fmepo. 12222&rft.externalDocID=MEPO12222&paramdict=en-US [accessed 6 April 2017].

Reed, Alistair and Haroro J. Ingram, "Exploring the Role of Instructional Material in AQAP's Inspire and ISIS' Rumiyah," The Hague: Europol [26 May 2017]. <a href="https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/reeda\_ingramh\_instructionalmaterial.pdf">https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/reeda\_ingramh\_instructionalmaterial.pdf</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].

Richards, Imogen, ""Good and Evil" narratives in Islamic State media and Western government statements," Paper posted on *Academia* [circa 2017].

https://www.academia.edu/32370143/ Good and Evil narratives in Islamic State media and W estern government statements [accessed 1 June 2021].

The paper contains some good information on how each side discusses each other with respect to the debate on good and evil.

### **Fighting ISIS**

- CALL. Unmanned Aircraft Systems: The Islamic State & Future Planning: Lessons and Best Practices.

  Center for Army Lessons Learned Special Study 17-25, September 2017.

  <a href="https://call2.army.mil/docs/doc17544/17544.pdf">https://call2.army.mil/docs/doc17544/17544.pdf</a> [accessed 18 September 2017].
- Gorawantschy, Beatrice, Rohan Gunaratna, Megha Sarmah, and Patrick Rueppel. *Panorama: Insights into Asian and European affairs: Countering Daesh Extremism*. Singapore: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Ltd. 2016. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/38847701/The Islamic State s Eastward Expansion">https://www.academia.edu/38847701/The Islamic State s Eastward Expansion</a> [accessed 22 April 2019].
- ★ O'Leary, Carole A. and Nicholas A. Heras. Political Strategy in Unconventional Warfare: Opportunities Lost in Eastern Syria and Preparing for the Future. Joint Special Operations University, JSOU Report 19-1. 2019. <a href="https://jsou.libguides.com/ld.php?content\_id=47854111">https://jsou.libguides.com/ld.php?content\_id=47854111</a> [accessed 22 April 2019]. One of the best products for understanding details within the Syrian Civil War.
  - Pittard, Dana J.H. and Wes J. Bryant. *Hunting the Caliphate: America's War on ISIS and the Dawn of the Strike Cell*. Nashville, TN: Post Hill Press, 2019.

#### OPERATION INHERENT RESOLVE LEAD INSPECTOR GENERAL REPORT TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

- Fine, Glenn A. Lead Inspector General. Report to the United States Congress: Overseas Contingency Operations: Operation Inherent Resolve Operation Pacific Eagle—Philippines, April 1, 2018—June 30, 2018. Washington DC: United States Government Inspectors General, 7 August 2018. <a href="https://media.defense.gov/2018/Aug/07/2001951441/-1/-1/1/FY2018\_LIG\_OCO\_OIR3\_JUN2018\_508.PDF">https://media.defense.gov/2018/Aug/07/2001951441/-1/-1/1/FY2018\_LIG\_OCO\_OIR3\_JUN2018\_508.PDF</a> [accessed 9 August 2018].
- Fine, Glenn A. Lead Inspector General. *Operation Inherent Resolve Lead Inspector General Report to the United States Congress, January 1, 2019–March 31, 2019*. Washington DC: United States Government Inspectors General, 7 May 2019.

  <a href="https://media.defense.gov/2019/May/07/2002128675/-1/-1/1/LIG%20OCO%20OIR%20Q2%20MARCH2019.PDF">https://media.defense.gov/2019/May/07/2002128675/-1/-1/1/LIG%20OCO%20OIR%20Q2%20MARCH2019.PDF</a> [accessed 9 May 2019].
- Fine, Glenn A. Lead Inspector General. *Operation Inherent Resolve Lead Inspector General Report to the United States Congress, April 1, 2019–June 30, 2019*. Washington DC: United States Government Inspectors General, 2 August 2019. <a href="https://media.defense.gov/2019/Aug/09/2002169448/-1/-1/1/Q3FY2019">https://media.defense.gov/2019/Aug/09/2002169448/-1/-1/Q3FY2019</a> LEADIG OIR REPORT.PDF [accessed 12 August 2019].
- Fine, Glenn A. Lead Inspector General. *Operation Inherent Resolve Lead Inspector General Report to the United States Congress, July 1, 2019—October 25, 2019*. Washington DC: United States Government Inspectors General, 19 November 2019. <a href="https://media.defense.gov/2019/Nov/19/2002213188/-1/-1/1/Q4FY2019">https://media.defense.gov/2019/Nov/19/2002213188/-1/-1/Q4FY2019</a> LEADIG OIR REPORT.PDF [accessed 20 November 2019].
- Fine, Glenn A. Lead Inspector General. *Operation Inherent Resolve Lead Inspector General Report to the United States Congress, October 25, 2019-December 31, 2019*. Washington DC: United States Government Inspectors General, 1 February 2020.
- O'Donnell, Sean W. Lead Inspector General. *Operation Inherent Resolve Lead Inspector General Report to the United States Congress, January 1, 2020–March 31, 2020*. Washington DC: United States Government Inspectors General. <a href="https://media.defense.gov/2020/May/13/2002298979/-1/-1/1/LIG\_OIR\_Q2\_MAR2020\_GOLD\_508\_0513.PDF">https://media.defense.gov/2020/May/13/2002298979/-1/-1/LIG\_OIR\_Q2\_MAR2020\_GOLD\_508\_0513.PDF</a> [accessed 20 May 2020].
- Agence France-Presse, "Robert Gates: US Rebel Training Program 'Nuts'," *Defense News* [16 October 2015]. http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/international/mideast-

- <u>africa/2015/10/16/robert-gates-us-rebel-training-program-nuts/74049372/</u> [accessed 19 October 2015].
- Agence France-Presse, "Fewer than 3,000 IS fighters left in Iraq, Syria: coalition," *al Monitor* [5 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/iraq-syria-conflict-isus.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/iraq-syria-conflict-isus.html</a> [accessed 6 December 2017].
- ★ Ali, Wajahat, "I Want 'Allahu Akbar' Back," *The New York Times* [1 November 2017].

  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/01/opinion/manhattan-truck-attack-akbar-terrorism.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/01/opinion/manhattan-truck-attack-akbar-terrorism.html</a>
  [accessed 2 November 2017].
  - Narratives are delivered through stories and those stories are sometimes promulgated or attacked through messages and memes which can be made up of specific words and phrases. Allahu Akbar is one such phrase that has become a powerful meme in both promoting and combatting terrorism. This brief opinion piece expresses what this phrase means to Muslims around the world a benign reference to the power and greatness of God. For us to understand the power of narrative we also need to understand the means of transmitting, magnifying, and transforming narratives through memes, messages, and stories. In the case of Allahu Akbar, the meaning of the meme, message, story, and narrative seems clear to many who report and comment on the news it is a declaration of Islamic terrorism. This simplistic reading of a deeply influential and powerful phrase in a global religion with more than a billion adherents requires more depth and greater appreciation if we are to win through maneuver in the narrative space. We need to build our own positive narrative with supporting stories, messages, and memes that promotes who we are and what we want to accomplish rather than focusing solely on countering the poisonous narrative of the opponent. Countering the poison is important, but it is not the whole, nor even, the most important part of this fight.
  - Al-Jazeera, "United Arab Emirates ready to supply ground troops to fight ISIL in Syria," *Al-Jazeera* [7 February 2016]. <a href="http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2016/2/7/united-arab-emirates-ready-to-supply-ground-troops-to-fight-isil.html">http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2016/2/7/united-arab-emirates-ready-to-supply-ground-troops-to-fight-isil.html</a> [accessed 8 February 2016].
  - Al-Jazeera, "US military releases data on civilian harm in war on ISIL," *Al-Jazeera* [18 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/11/18/us-military-releases-groundbreaking-data-on-civilian-harm-report">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/11/18/us-military-releases-groundbreaking-data-on-civilian-harm-report</a> [accessed 20 November 2020].
  - Allam, Hannah, "Christians, others fighting to survive in age of Islamic State," *McClatchy News* [14 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/article39192624.html">http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/article39192624.html</a> [accessed 19 October 2015].
- ★ al-Tamimi, Aymenn, "A Caliphate under Strain: The Documentary Evidence," CTC Sentinel, April 2016, Volume 9, Issue 4, pages 1-8. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/a-caliphate-under-strain-the-documentary-evidence">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/a-caliphate-under-strain-the-documentary-evidence</a> [accessed 25 April 2016].
  - Anderson, Len "Loni", Nathan Fleischaker, and Brian Russell, "We Are Already Behind Enemy Lines: Lessons from the Secretive Online Fight Against the Islamic State," *War on the Rocks* [7 September 2020]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2020/09/we-are-already-behind-enemy-lines-lessons-from-the-secretive-online-fight-against-the-islamic-state/">https://warontherocks.com/2020/09/we-are-already-behind-enemy-lines-lessons-from-the-secretive-online-fight-against-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 15 September 2020].
- ★ Anderson, Scott, "Fractured Lands: How the Arab World Came Apart," The New York Times Magazine [10 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/08/11/magazine/isis-middle-east-arab-spring-fractured-lands.html?">http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/08/11/magazine/isis-middle-east-arab-spring-fractured-lands.html?</a> r=1 [accessed 12 August 2016].
  - Simply stated, this is the best single article one can read to understand the complex problems embroiling the Middle East. It is long; more than 40,000 words. It is written in a narrative that tells the story of the region through the life experiences of six people from Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Iraq. It is worth the time to read and ponder what this means for the region and for the US.
  - The Associated Press, "U.S.-led coalition: IS has lost 30 percent of its territory," *Military Times* [5 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/05/us-led-coalition-has-lost-30-percent-its-territory/78303036/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/05/us-led-coalition-has-lost-30-percent-its-territory/78303036/</a> [accessed 6 January 2016].

- The Associated Press, "Russian diplomat: There is a 'high probability' that al-Baghdadi was killed in May," *Military Times* [22 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/russian-diplomat-probable-that-isis-leader-was-killed-in-may">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/russian-diplomat-probable-that-isis-leader-was-killed-in-may</a> [accessed 23 June 2017].
  - Is this true? A Washington Examiner article refutes this from the DoD perspective. <a href="http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/pentagon-no-concrete-evidence-isis-leader-killed-by-russia/article/2626918">http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/pentagon-no-concrete-evidence-isis-leader-killed-by-russia/article/2626918</a> [accessed 26 June 2017].
- Axe, David, "Satellites Reveal Secret U.S. Bases Emerging in the Desert," *The Daily Beast* [11 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/satellites-reveal-us-military-bases-emerging-in-the-desert">http://www.thedailybeast.com/satellites-reveal-us-military-bases-emerging-in-the-desert</a> [accessed 12 July 2017].
- Baldor, Lolita C. "Pentagon lays out plan to take back Mosul, Raqqa from ISIS", *Military Times* [13 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/01/13/pentagon-lays-out-plan-take-back-mosul-raqqa-isis/78767786/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/01/13/pentagon-lays-out-plan-take-back-mosul-raqqa-isis/78767786/</a> [accessed 14 January 2016].
  - Upbeat report with few details based off a 13 January speech to the 101st.
- Baldor, Lolita C. "Mattis faces questions from allies on Islamic State strategy," *Military Times* [6 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/06/mattis-faces-questions-from-allies-on-islamic-state-strategy/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/06/mattis-faces-questions-from-allies-on-islamic-state-strategy/</a> [accessed 7 November 2017].
- Behn, Sharon, "Why Is Islamic State So Hard to Beat?", *Voice of America* [7 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/content/why-is-islamic-state-so-hard-to-beat/3135335.html">http://www.voanews.com/content/why-is-islamic-state-so-hard-to-beat/3135335.html</a> [accessed 8 January 2016].
  - Concise summary of the problem in the counter-ISIS fight.
- Bennett, Brian and W.J. Hennigan, "Airstrikes cutting into Islamic State's cash supply, U.S. says," *Las Angeles Times* [21 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-terror-cash-20160218-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-terror-cash-20160218-story.html</a> [accessed 22 February 2016].
- ★ Biddle, Stephen and Jacob Shapiro, "America Can't Do Much About ISIS," The Atlantic [20 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/04/isis-containment-civil-war/478725/">http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/04/isis-containment-civil-war/478725/</a>
  [accessed 21 April 2016].
  - Bin Hassan, Ahmad Saiful Rijal, "De-legitimising Al-Baghdadi's 'Caliphate'," S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses, volume 9, issue 11, 1-6 [November 2017]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/35104314/De-legitimising\_Al-Baghdadis\_Caliphate">https://www.academia.edu/35104314/De-legitimising\_Al-Baghdadis\_Caliphate</a> [accessed 6 September 2019].
  - Boer, Roos, Laurie Treffers, and Chris Woods, "Seeing Through the Rubble: The civilian impact of the use of explosive weapons in the fight against ISIS." *Airwars* [October 2020]. <a href="https://airwars.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/PAXAirwars-Through-the-Rubble.pdf">https://airwars.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/PAXAirwars-Through-the-Rubble.pdf</a> [accessed 20 November 2020].
- ★ Burns, Robert, "US faces shortcomings in coalition-building for anti-IS war", *The Seattle Times* [8 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/nation-politics/us-faces-shortcomings-in-coalition-building-for-anti-is-war/">http://www.seattletimes.com/nation-building-for-anti-is-war/</a> [accessed 9 February 2016].
  - Burns, Robert, "Mattis: ISIS militants caught in Iraq-Syria military vise," *Military Times* [22 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2017/08/22/mattis-isis-militants-caught-in-iraq-syria-military-vise/">http://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2017/08/22/mattis-isis-militants-caught-in-iraq-syria-military-vise/</a> [accessed 22 August 2017].
  - Burns, Robert, "What Trump gets wrong about war against the Islamic State," *Military Times* [23 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/23/what-trump-gets-wrong-about-war-against-the-islamic-state/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/23/what-trump-gets-wrong-about-war-against-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 23 October 2019].
  - Capaccio, Anthony, "Islamic State Positions Tracked by U.S. Satellites as a Bonus," *Bloomberg* [6 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-06/islamic-state-positions-tracked-by-u-s-satellites-as-a-bonus-ity445lk">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-10-06/islamic-state-positions-tracked-by-u-s-satellites-as-a-bonus-ity445lk</a> [accessed 7 October 2016].

- Information on new technology being used to track ISIS through explosions detected from space.
- Carter, Ash, "Carter: US, Allies Will Deliver 'A Lasting Defeat' to ISIL", *Defense News* [13 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/commentary/2015/12/13/carter-us-allies-deliver-lasting-defeat-isil/76939816/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/commentary/2015/12/13/carter-us-allies-deliver-lasting-defeat-isil/76939816/</a> [accessed 14 December 2015].
  - Secretary of Defense statement on the intended success of the U.S. led coalition against ISIL.
- Carter, Ash, "A Lasting Defeat: The Campaign to Destroy ISIS," Special Report from Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, October 2017.
  <a href="https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/Lasting%20Defeat%20-%20final\_0.pdf">https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/Lasting%20Defeat%20-%20final\_0.pdf</a>
  [accessed 31 October 2017].
  - This is the apologia from the Secretary of Defense who oversaw much of the initial fight against ISIS. In this he makes some strong statements. The report has few details and addresses the campaign from the strategic perspective as essentially an American-led endeavor. This should be linked with the video interview with David Gergen at <a href="http://iop.harvard.edu/forum/defeating-isis-inside-campaign-against-brutal-enemy">http://iop.harvard.edu/forum/defeating-isis-inside-campaign-against-brutal-enemy</a>.
  - Cambridge, MA 02138Carter: US, Allies Will Deliver 'A Lasting Defeat' to ISIL", *Defense News* [13 December 2015]. http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/commentary/2015/12/13/carter-us-allies-deliver-lasting-defeat-isil/76939816/ [accessed 14 December 2015].
    - Secretary of Defense statement on the intended success of the U.S. led coalition against ISIL.
  - Chalfant, Morgan, "Top general: ISIS 'extraordinarily savvy' in cyber," *The Hill* [29 March 2017]. <a href="http://thehill.com/policy/cybersecurity/326328-top-general-isis-extraordinarily-savvy-in-cyber">http://thehill.com/policy/cybersecurity/326328-top-general-isis-extraordinarily-savvy-in-cyber</a> [accessed 30 March 2017].
    - GEN Votel essentially says that ISIS is more adaptive than the US.
  - Charlton, Angela, "Europe, US police seize servers used by IS propaganda sites," *Associated Press* [27 April 2018].
    - http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/E/EU\_EUROPE\_US\_ISLAMIC\_STATE?SITE=TXMCA&SECTION=I NTERNATIONAL&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&CTIME=2018-04-27-08-06-26 [accessed 29 April 2018].
  - Coker, Margaret, "Five Top ISIS Officials Captured in U.S.-Iraqi Sting," *The New York Times* [9 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/09/world/middleeast/iraq-isis-islamic-state-arrest.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/09/world/middleeast/iraq-isis-islamic-state-arrest.html</a> [accessed 13 May 2018].
  - Combined Joint Task Force Operation Inherent Resolve News Release. "New Operation Inherent Resolve commander continues fight against ISIL," *Army.mil* [22 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.army.mil/article/173729/new operation inherent resolve commander continues fight against isil [accessed 20 January 2019].">https://www.army.mil/article/173729/new operation inherent resolve commander continues fight against isil [accessed 20 January 2019].</a>
  - Copp, Tara, "US airstrikes have destroyed Islamic State cash worth hundreds of millions," *Stars and Stripes* [17 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.stripes.com/news/us-airstrikes-have-destroyed-islamic-state-cash-worth-hundreds-of-millions-1.394612">http://www.stripes.com/news/us-airstrikes-have-destroyed-islamic-state-cash-worth-hundreds-of-millions-1.394612</a> [accessed 18 February 2016].
  - Copp, Tara, "ISIS must surrender or face death by shovel, top enlisted leader tells troops," *Military Times* [10 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/01/10/isis-must-surrender-or-face-death-by-shovel-top-enlisted-leader-tells-troops/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/01/10/isis-must-surrender-or-face-death-by-shovel-top-enlisted-leader-tells-troops/</a> [accessed 11 January 2018].
  - Copp, Tara, "Pentagon strips Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria troop numbers from web," *Military Times* [9 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/04/09/dod-strips-iraq-afghanistan-syria-troop-numbers-from-web/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/04/09/dod-strips-iraq-afghanistan-syria-troop-numbers-from-web/</a> [accessed 10 April 2018].
  - Correll, Diana Stancy, "Al-Baghdadi's 'number one replacement' is dead, Trump says," *Military Times* [29 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/10/29/al-baghdadis-number-one-replacement-is-dead-trump-says/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/10/29/al-baghdadis-number-one-replacement-is-dead-trump-says/</a> [accessed 31 October 2019].
- ★ Cullison, Allan, "Jihadi Trials: The Circuitous Routes Foreigners Take to Syria and Iraq", The Wall Street

- Journal [2015]. http://graphics.wsj.com/jihadi-trails/ [accessed 27 August 2015].
- deGrandpre, Andrew, "Total annihilation: Mattis maps out the path ahead against ISIS," *Military Times* [19 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/jim-mattis-annihilate-isis-iraq-syria">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/jim-mattis-annihilate-isis-iraq-syria</a> [accessed 22 May 2017].
  - The new task is annihilate ISIS. Is this doable?
- deGrandpre, Andrew and Shawn Snow, "The U.S. military's stats on deadly airstrikes are wrong. Thousands have gone unreported," *Military Times* [5 February 2017].
  - http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/airstrikes-unreported-syria-iraq-afghanistan-islamic-state-algaeda-taliban [accessed 6 February 2017].
  - The headline is much more controversial than the article. This simply is an issue of the USAF not reporting US Army aviation attacks as part of their calculations.
- Dehghanpisheh, Babak, "Islamic State seeking alliance with al Qaeda, Iraqi vice president says," *Reuters* [17 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-islamic-state-idUSKBN17J1DT">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-islamic-state-idUSKBN17J1DT</a> [accessed 18 April 2017].
  - Ayad Allawi makes some assertions regarding a possible alliance. Allawi is becoming rather active regarding statements of intent on the part of ISIS.
- Dettmer, Jamie, "IS Fighters in Disarray in Iraq Due to Air Power, says US General," *Voice of America* [24 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/is-fighters-in-disarray/3956547.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/is-fighters-in-disarray/3956547.html</a> [accessed 25 July 2017].
- Deutsche Welle, "US-led coalition vows to crush 'Islamic State'," *Deutsche Welle* [23 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/us-led-coalition-vows-to-crush-islamic-state/a-38083667">http://www.dw.com/en/us-led-coalition-vows-to-crush-islamic-state/a-38083667</a> [accessed 24 March 2017].
- DeYoung, Karen, "The White House insists it has a plan to fight Islamic State and that it's working", Washington Post [6 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/despite-the-critics-the-white-house-insists-it-has-a-plan-to-fight-islamic-state/2015/12/06/949a1144-9ac2-11e5-8917-653b65c809eb\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/despite-the-critics-the-white-house-insists-it-has-a-plan-to-fight-islamic-state/2015/12/06/949a1144-9ac2-11e5-8917-653b65c809eb\_story.html</a> [accessed 7 December 2015].
  - Relatively comprehensive review of the speech and criticism of administration policy.
- ★ Dougherty, Michael Brendan, "The GOP presidential field's dangerous fantasy on Iraq and Syria", *The Week* [17 August 2015]. <a href="http://theweek.com/articles/571880/gop-presidential-fields-dangerous-fantasy-iraq-syria">http://theweek.com/articles/571880/gop-presidential-fields-dangerous-fantasy-iraq-syria</a> [18 August 2015].
  - Dozier, Kimberly, "U.S. Intel to Obama: ISIS Is Not Contained", *The Daily Beast* [6 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/06/us-intel-to-obama-isis-is-not-contained.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/06/us-intel-to-obama-isis-is-not-contained.html</a> [accessed 7 December 2015].
    - Interesting observation on the semi-desperation of the Secretary of defense to identify what might work.
  - Dozier, Kimberly, "U.S. Special Ops Kill 40 ISIS Operatives Responsible for Attacks From Paris to Egypt," *The Daily Beast* [28 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/28/u-s-kills-isis-operatives-linked-to-europe-attacks.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/28/u-s-kills-isis-operatives-linked-to-europe-attacks.html</a> [accessed 28 April 2016].
  - Dozier, Kimberley, "Have U.S. Officials Given Up on 'Defeating' ISIS?" *The Daily Beast* [1 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/01/u-s-officials-are-no-longer-talking-about-defeating-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/01/u-s-officials-are-no-longer-talking-about-defeating-isis.html</a> [accessed 1 August 2016].
  - Dozier, Kimberley, "Top U.S. General: Two More Years to Beat ISIS," *The Daily Beast* [25 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/25/top-u-s-general-two-more-years-to-beat-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/25/top-u-s-general-two-more-years-to-beat-isis.html</a> [accessed 28 December 2016].
    - Good interview with LTG Townsend (CJTF-OIR / 18th ABN Corps Commander). He speaks relatively straight

- with respect to what it may take to defeat ISIS.
- Dubin, Rhys and Dan De Luce, "Trump Administration Ready to Scrap Envoy to Anti-ISIS Coalition," Foreign Policy [22 February 2018]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/22/trump-administration-weighs-scrapping-envoy-to-counter-isis-coalition-iraq-syria-islamic-state-terrorism-terrorist-daesh/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/22/trump-administration-weighs-scrapping-envoy-to-counter-isis-coalition-iraq-syria-islamic-state-terrorism-terrorist-daesh/</a> [accessed 23 February 2018].
- Duncan, lan, "Cyber campaign against Islamic State marks beginning of a new secret war," *The Baltimore Sun* [6 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/bs-md-secret-cyber-campaign-20160306-story.html">http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/bs-md-secret-cyber-campaign-20160306-story.html</a> [accessed 10 March 2016].
  - Discussion on the use of cyber in the fight against ISIS though there are no details and only vague hints.
- Dunlap, Charlie, "Are 'body counts' really the right measure of success or failure in the fight against ISIS?" *Lawfire* [18 August 2018]. <a href="https://sites.duke.edu/lawfire/2018/08/18/are-body-counts-really-the-right-measure-of-success-or-failure-in-the-fight-against-isis/">https://sites.duke.edu/lawfire/2018/08/18/are-body-counts-really-the-right-measure-of-success-or-failure-in-the-fight-against-isis/</a> [accessed 20 August 2018].
- Eckstein, Megan, "U.S. Evolving Middle East Operations of Carrier Strike Group as ISIS Loses Ground, Iranian Drones Make Daily Appearances," *US Naval Institute News* [19 March 2018]. <a href="https://news.usni.org/2018/03/19/u-s-evolving-middle-east-operations-carrier-strike-group-isis-loses-ground-iranian-drones-make-daily-appearances">https://news.usni.org/2018/03/19/u-s-evolving-middle-east-operations-carrier-strike-group-isis-loses-ground-iranian-drones-make-daily-appearances</a> [accessed 20 March 2018].
- El Deeb, Sarah, "Turkey says it captured al-Baghdadi's sister in Syria," *Military Times* [4 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/11/04/turkey-says-it-captured-al-baghdadis-sister-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/11/04/turkey-says-it-captured-al-baghdadis-sister-in-syria/</a> [accessed 6 November 2019].
- Engel, Richard and Kennett Werner, "White House chaos jeopardizes war on ISIS, U.S. commanders warn," *NBC News* [30 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/white-house-chaos-jeopardizes-war-isis-u-s-commanders-warn-n859966">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/white-house-chaos-jeopardizes-war-isis-u-s-commanders-warn-n859966</a> [accessed 2 April 2018].
- Farrell, Stephen, "Reporting on Airstrikes, the 'Single Biggest Recruiting Tool'," *The New York Times* [10 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/10/insider/reporting-on-airstrikes-the-single-biggest-recruiting-tool.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/10/insider/reporting-on-airstrikes-the-single-biggest-recruiting-tool.html</a> [accessed 11 May 2017].
- Filipovic, Gordana and Misha Savic, "No Islamic State Defeat Without Ground Force, Kerry Says", Bloomberg [3 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-12-03/islamic-state-defeat-impossible-without-ground-force-kerry-says">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-12-03/islamic-state-defeat-impossible-without-ground-force-kerry-says</a> [accessed 4 December 2015]. SecState Kerry states that with political reconciliation in Syria then armies within the region will step forward to fight ISIS.
- Fine, Glenn A., Steve A. Linick, and Ann Calvaresl Barr, "Operation Inherent Resolve and Other Overseas Contingency Operations Lead Inspector General Report to The United States Congress: October 1, 2018–December 31, 2018," U.S. Departments of Defense, State, and USAID Inspectors General [about 5 February 2019]. <a href="https://media.defense.gov/2019/Feb/05/2002086500/-1/-1/1/FY2019">https://media.defense.gov/2019/Feb/05/2002086500/-1/-1/1/FY2019</a> LIG OIRREPORT.PDF [accessed 22 February 2019].
  - This report is largely focused on ISIS and evaluates the anti-ISIS coalition's efforts to reduce or eliminate ISIS's control and influence in Syria and Iraq. Most of the data is as of 31 Dec 18 but there is additional discussion of the administration's policy plans through 5 Feb 19.
- Fishel, Ryan and Aaron Stein, "Lessons Learned from the Air War against the Islamic State," *War on the Rocks* [23 February 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/lessons-learned-air-war-islamic-state/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/lessons-learned-air-war-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 26 February 2018].
- Fox, Amos, "Letter From Iraq: The Battle Of Mosul May Signal The Return Of The Decisive Battle," *Task & Purpose* [26 February 2018]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/letter-from-iraq-the-battle-of-mosul-may-signal-the-return-of-decisive-battle/">https://taskandpurpose.com/letter-from-iraq-the-battle-of-mosul-may-signal-the-return-of-decisive-battle/</a> [accessed 27 February 2018].
  - I disagree with the author as I do not see the battle of Mosul as decisive, however, this is an interesting

- perspective on the battle and what decisive means in an era of indecision.
- Fraser, Suzan, "Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's inner circle trying to enter Turkey, says Erdogan," *Military Times* [7 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/11/07/abu-bakr-al-baghdadis-inner-circle-trying-to-enter-turkey-says-erdogan/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/11/07/abu-bakr-al-baghdadis-inner-circle-trying-to-enter-turkey-says-erdogan/</a> [accessed 9 November 2019].
- Freedberg, Sydney J. Jr. "Cyber War Against ISIL Hones Weapons Vs. Russia, China," *Breaking Defense* [29 February 2016]. <a href="http://breakingdefense.com/2016/02/cyber-war-against-isil-is-model-for-other-threats/">http://breakingdefense.com/2016/02/cyber-war-against-isil-is-model-for-other-threats/</a> [accessed 1 March 2016].
- Friedman, Thomas L. "When the Necessary Is Impossible," *The New York Times* [30 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/30/opinion/when-the-necessary-is-impossible.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/30/opinion/when-the-necessary-is-impossible.html</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
  - Funk, Paul E. II, "Commentary: Iraq endures the crucible, and emerges transformed," Army Times [9 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/opinion/2018/07/09/commentary-iraq-endures-the-crucible-and-emerges-transformed/">https://www.armytimes.com/opinion/2018/07/09/commentary-iraq-endures-the-crucible-and-emerges-transformed/</a> [accessed 10 July 2018].
  - Garland, Chad, "Joint Syria raid killed ISIS oil official who financed sleeper cells," *Stars & Stripes* [21 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/joint-syria-raid-killed-isis-oil-official-who-financed-sleeper-cells-1.615592">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/joint-syria-raid-killed-isis-oil-official-who-financed-sleeper-cells-1.615592</a> [accessed 22 January 2020].
- ★ Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed, "Operation Hemorrhage: The Terror Plans to Wreck the West's Economy,"

  The Daily Beast [24 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/24/operation-hemorrhage-the-terror-plans-to-wreck-the-west-s-economy.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/24/operation-hemorrhage-the-terror-plans-to-wreck-the-west-s-economy.html</a> [accessed 24 March 2016].
  - George, Susannah, "U.S. commander: Mosul and Raqqa should be retaken in 6 months," *Military Times* [8 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-commander-mosul-and-raqqa-should-be-retaken-in-6-months">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-commander-mosul-and-raqqa-should-be-retaken-in-6-months</a> [accessed 9 February 2017].
    - This provides a hard prediction for the capturing of the two major ISIS controlled cities. This means we all need to look for August 2017 for whether or not the prediction holds up.
  - George, Susannah and Josh Lederman, "Iraqi forces capture 5 top ISIS leaders in cross-border raid," *Military Times* [10 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/10/iraqi-forces-capture-5-top-isis-leaders-in-cross-border-raid/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/10/iraqi-forces-capture-5-top-isis-leaders-in-cross-border-raid/</a> [accessed 11 May 2018].
  - Giangreco, Leigh, "USAF: Skies over Iraq and Syria are "treasure trove" for adversary eyes," *Flight Global* [4 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.flightglobal.com/news/articles/usaf-skies-over-iraq-and-syria-are-treasure-trove-444636/">https://www.flightglobal.com/news/articles/usaf-skies-over-iraq-and-syria-are-treasure-trove-444636/</a> [accessed 5 January 2018].
  - Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "Number of foreign fighters entering Iraq and Syria drops by 90 percent, Pentagon says," *The Washington Post* [26 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/04/26/number-of-foreign-fighters-entering-iraq-and-syria-drops-by-90-percent-pentagon-says/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/04/26/number-of-foreign-fighters-entering-iraq-and-syria-drops-by-90-percent-pentagon-says/</a> [accessed 27 April 2016].
  - Gilsinan, Kathy, "How Many ISIS Fighters Has the US Actually Killed?" *Defense One* [15 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2015/10/how-many-isis-fighters-has-us-actually-killed/122847/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2015/10/how-many-isis-fighters-has-us-actually-killed/122847/</a> [accessed 16 October 2015].
  - Godfrey, John, "Briefing with Acting Special Envoy for the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS John Godfrey on U.S. Participation in the Upcoming D-ISIS Ministerial," *Department of State Special Briefing of Acting Special Envoy for the Global Coalition io Defeat ISIS John Godfrey via Teleconference* [29 March 2021]. <a href="https://www.state.gov/briefing-with-acting-special-envoy-for-the-global-coalition-to-defeat-isis-john-godfrey-on-u-s-participation-in-the-upcoming-d-isis-ministerial/">https://www.state.gov/briefing-with-acting-special-envoy-for-the-global-coalition-to-defeat-isis-john-godfrey-on-u-s-participation-in-the-upcoming-d-isis-ministerial/</a> [accessed 31 May 2021].
    - Questions and answers from the press regarding the fight against ISIS in 2021. Includes official response on US actions regarding people in SDF camps and events in Mozambique.

- Goodstein, Laurie, "Muslim Leaders Wage Theological Battle, Stoking ISIS' Anger," *New York Times* [8 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/09/us/isis-threatens-muslim-preachers-who-are-waging-theological-battle-online.html?r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/09/us/isis-threatens-muslim-preachers-who-are-waging-theological-battle-online.html?r=0</a> [accessed 9 May 2016].
- Gordon, Michael R. "U.S.-Led Coalition Counts 229 Civilian Deaths Before Mosul Strike," *The New York Times* [1 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/01/us/politics/isis-iraq-syria-civilians-casualties.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/01/us/politics/isis-iraq-syria-civilians-casualties.html</a> [accessed 3 April 2017].
- Gould, Joe, "US Presidential Candidates Want a Sunni Arab Coalition to Fight ISIS. They Need a Reality Check." *Defense News* [7 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/warfare/2016/01/08/republican-democratic-hopes-for-anti-isis-coalition/78342876/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/warfare/2016/01/08/republican-democratic-hopes-for-anti-isis-coalition/78342876/</a> [accessed 8 January 2016].
  - Good summary of candidate views on the fight and the challenge to the notion that Sunni "boots on the ground" is a simple solution to the problem.
- Gould, Joe, "What's the next step for ISIS? A top US general shares his prediction with lawmakers," *Defense News* [7 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/congress/2019/03/07/whats-the-next-step-for-isis-a-top-us-general-shares-his-prediction-with-lawmakers/">https://www.defensenews.com/congress/2019/03/07/whats-the-next-step-for-isis-a-top-us-general-shares-his-prediction-with-lawmakers/</a> [accessed 9 March 2019].
- The Guardian, "Pentagon puts civilian deaths in strikes on Isis way lower than outside groups," *The Guardian* [30 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/apr/30/pentagon-352-civilians-killed-strikes-isis-iraq-syria">https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/apr/30/pentagon-352-civilians-killed-strikes-isis-iraq-syria</a> [accessed 2 May 2017].
  - US government admits to 352 whereas other groups estimate 3,164 (at least) casualties from coalition airstrikes.
- Gutowski, Alexandra N. and Sarah Nadler, "US has launched over 500 strikes against Islamic States since May," *Long War Journal* [3 August 2018].
  - https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/roundup.php [accessed 3 August 2018].
- Habib, Heba and Louisa Loveluck, "A Syrian soldier has been sentenced for battlefield crimes. Why did it take so long?" *The Washington Post* [1 October 2017].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/a-syrian-soldier-has-been-sentenced-for-battlefield-crimes-why-did-it-take-so-long/2017/09/30/d4ab28d6-a362-11e7-8c37-e1d99ad6aa22\_story.html [accessed 2 October 2017].
- Harris, Shane and Nancy A. Youssef, "CENTCOM Embroiled In Climate of Fear," *The Daily Beast* [13 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/14/centcom-embroiled-in-climate-of-fear.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/14/centcom-embroiled-in-climate-of-fear.html</a> [accessed 14 March 2016].
  - The article gives details on the concerns regarding intelligence analysis on the counter-ISAIS fight and command climate problems in CENTCOM.
- ★ Harrison, Ross, "Newsflash: Time is Running Out to Defeat ISIS", The National Interest [21 August 2015]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/newsflash-time-running-out-defeat-isis-13650">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/newsflash-time-running-out-defeat-isis-13650</a> [accessed August 2015].
- ★ Hendawi, Hamza, "In Europe, Iraqis and Syrians escape Islamists' harsh rule", *Associated Press* [20 September 2015]. <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/urn:publicid:ap.org:a2623767bfb943bc98d65eb97427d791">http://bigstory.ap.org/urn:publicid:ap.org:a2623767bfb943bc98d65eb97427d791</a> [accessed 21 September 2015].
  - Hennigan, W.J. "Pentagon wages cyberwar against Islamic State," *Los Angeles Times* [29 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-fg-isis-cyber-20160228-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-fg-isis-cyber-20160228-story.html</a> [accessed 1 March 2016].
  - Hennigan, W.J. "The U.S. military is targeting Islamic State's virtual caliphate by hunting & killing its online operatives one-by-one," *Los Angeles Times* [5 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-isis-online-20170502-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-isis-online-20170502-story.html</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].

- Herridge, Catherine and Raymond Thomas, "SOCOM: Policing the World," The Aspen Institute: Aspen Security Forum 2017 [21 July 2017]. <a href="https://aspensecurityforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/SOCOM">https://aspensecurityforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/SOCOM</a> Policing-the-World.pdf [accessed 20 August 2018]. Interesting data on the numbers of fighters in ISIS.
- Hinnant, Lori and Paisley Dodds, "IS trains 400 fighters to attack Europe in wave of bloodshed," Associated Press [23 March 2016]. http://bigstory.ap.org/article/1c1661cef71c4a1a93f3a1863d27a284/trains-400-fighters-attack-europe-wave-bloodshed [accessed 24 March 2016].
- ★ Hoffman, Bruce, "ISIL is Winning", *Politico* [10 September 2015]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/09/isil-is-winning-213136">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/09/isil-is-winning-213136</a> [accessed 14 September 2015].
  - Hook, Corey, "US-led coalition fight against ISIS in Syria, Iraq 'far from over'," *Stars & Stripes* [14 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/us-led-coalition-fight-against-isis-in-syria-iraq-far-from-over-1.542599">https://www.stripes.com/us-led-coalition-fight-against-isis-in-syria-iraq-far-from-over-1.542599</a> [accessed 15 August 2018].
  - Hubbard, Ben, Rukmini Callimachi, and Alissa J. Rubin, "Leader's Death Will Damage ISIS, but Not Destroy It," *The New York Times* [27 October 2019].

    <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/27/world/middleeast/isis-leader-dead-impact.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/27/world/middleeast/isis-leader-dead-impact.html</a> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- ★ Ignatius, David, "The new coalition to destroy the Islamic State," Washington Post [22 May 2016].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-new-coalition-to-destroy-the-islamic-state/2016/05/22/54d9b466-2036-11e6-aa84-42391ba52c91\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-new-coalition-to-destroy-the-islamic-state/2016/05/22/54d9b466-2036-11e6-aa84-42391ba52c91\_story.html</a> [accessed 23 May 2016].
  - Ingram, Haroro J. and Craig Whiteside, "Do Great Nations Fight Endless Wars? Against the Islamic State, They Might," *War on the Rocks* [25 February 2019]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2019/02/do-great-nations-fight-endless-wars-against-the-islamic-state-they-might/">https://warontherocks.com/2019/02/do-great-nations-fight-endless-wars-against-the-islamic-state-they-might/</a> [accessed 26 February 2019].
- ★ Johnson, David E., "Fighting the "Islamic State": The Case for U.S. Ground Forces." Parameters 45, Spring 2015 [April 22, 2015].

  <a href="http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/Parameters/Issues/Spring 2015/4\_Special-Commentary\_Johnson.pdf">http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/Parameters/Issues/Spring 2015/4\_Special-Commentary\_Johnson.pdf</a> [14 March 2016].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State has claimed more than 1,000 suicide attacks thus far in 2016," Long War Journal [6 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/12/islamic-state-has-claimed-more-than-1000-suicide-attacks-thus-far-in-2016.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/12/islamic-state-has-claimed-more-than-1000-suicide-attacks-thus-far-in-2016.php</a> [accessed 7 December 2016]. Stats from the ISIS Amaq news agency on suicide attacks in 2016 and also weeks 5, 6, and 7 of the Battle for Mosul.
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "US-led coalition targeted key online operative for Islamic State near Mosul," Foundation for Defense of Democracies' Long War Journal [11 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/02/us-led-coalition-targeted-key-online-operative-for-islamic-state-near-mosul.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/02/us-led-coalition-targeted-key-online-operative-for-islamic-state-near-mosul.php</a> [accessed 13 February 2017].
    - Another operative targeted and possibly killed. This time a French citizen who previously wanted to be a rapper.
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "CENTCOM confirms Islamic State's 'Grand Mufti' killed in airstrike," *Long War Journal* [20 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/06/centcom-confirms-islamic-states-grand-mufti-killed-in-airstrike.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/06/centcom-confirms-islamic-states-grand-mufti-killed-in-airstrike.php</a> [accessed 21 June 2017].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Key Islamic State 'finance emir' killed in eastern Syria, US says," *Long War Journal* [23 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/06/key-islamic-state-finance-emir-killed-in-eastern-syria-us-says.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/06/key-islamic-state-finance-emir-killed-in-eastern-syria-us-says.php</a> [accessed 26 June 2017].

- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Analysis: Coalition, Iraqi forces target Islamic State leaders and fighters," Long War Journal [14 November 2018]. https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/analysis-coalition-iraqi-forces-target-islamic-state-leaders-and-fighters.php [accessed 15 November 2018].

  Includes analysis of new ISIS video series titled "Harvest of the Soldiers."
- Kalin, Stephen, "U.S. volunteers seek adventure fighting Islamic State alongside Kurds," *Reuters* [25 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-peshmerga-idUSKCN0XM0DV">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-peshmerga-idUSKCN0XM0DV</a> [accessed 26 April 2016].
- Kennedy, Merrit, "Trudeau Says Canada Will Cease Airstrikes Against ISIS In Syria And Iraq", *National Public Radio News* [8 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/02/08/466050925/trudeau-says-canada-will-cease-airstrikes-against-isis-in-syria-and-iraq?utm-medium=RSS&utm-campaign=theimpactofwar">http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/02/08/466050925/trudeau-says-canada-will-cease-airstrikes-against-isis-in-syria-and-iraq?utm-medium=RSS&utm-campaign=theimpactofwar</a> [accessed 9 February 2016].
- Kheel, Rebecca, "US military: At least 1,100 civilians killed by coalition since start of ISIS war," *The Hill* [27 September 2018]. <a href="https://thehill.com/policy/defense/408761-us-military-at-least-1114-civilians-killed-by-coalition-since-start-of-isis">https://thehill.com/policy/defense/408761-us-military-at-least-1114-civilians-killed-by-coalition-since-start-of-isis</a> [accessed 28 September 2018].
- ★ Kilcullen, David, "We're Losing the War", The National Interest [15 September 2015]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/we%E2%80%99re-losing-the-war-against-isis-iraq-13848">http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/we%E2%80%99re-losing-the-war-against-isis-iraq-13848</a> [accessed 16 September 2015].
  - Kittleson, Shelly, "Forces in Iraq's Anbar unite for cross-border anti-IS operation," *al-Monitor* [31 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/05/qaim-anbar-iraq-isis-kurds-syria.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/05/qaim-anbar-iraq-isis-kurds-syria.html</a> [accessed 2 June 2018].
  - Knights, Michael, "Campaign Acceleration: How to Build on Progress and Avoid Stalemate Against ISIL," War on the Rocks [3 November 2015]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/11/campaign-acceleration-how-to-build-on-progress-and-avoid-stalemate-against-isil/">http://warontherocks.com/2015/11/campaign-acceleration-how-to-build-on-progress-and-avoid-stalemate-against-isil/</a> [accessed 3 November 2015].
  - Kube, Courtney, Josh Lederman and Carol E. Lee, "ISIS could reclaim territory in months without military pressure, warns Pentagon in draft report," *NBC News* [31 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/mideast/isis-could-reclaim-territory-months-without-military-pressure-warns-pentagon-n965566">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/mideast/isis-could-reclaim-territory-months-without-military-pressure-warns-pentagon-n965566</a> [accessed 5 February 2019].
  - Laessing, Ulf and Omar Fahmy, "Islamic State silent on Baghdadi death as it searches for successor," Reuters [29 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-baghdadi-jihadists/islamic-state-silent-on-baghdadi-death-as-it-searches-for-successor-idUSKBN1X81TZ">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-baghdadi-jihadists/islamic-state-silent-on-baghdadi-death-as-it-searches-for-successor-idUSKBN1X81TZ</a> [accessed 5 November 2019].
  - Lamothe, Dan, "How the Pentagon's cyber offensive against ISIS could shape the future for elite U.S. forces," *The Washington Post* [16 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/12/16/how-the-pentagons-cyber-offensive-against-isis-could-shape-the-future-for-elite-u-s-forces/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/12/16/how-the-pentagons-cyber-offensive-against-isis-could-shape-the-future-for-elite-u-s-forces/</a> [accessed 18 December 2017].
  - Langewiesche, William, "An Extraordinarily Expensive Way to Fight ISIS," *The Atlantic* [July/August 2018 Issue]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/07/william-langewiesche-b-2-stealth-bomber/561719/">https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/07/william-langewiesche-b-2-stealth-bomber/561719/</a> [accessed 25 June 2018].
    - The author accompanies a B-2 strike on an ISIS camp in the Libyan Desert. He does not really make a point in the article though he gives lots of personal details about the main character pilot.
  - Lederer, Edith M., "UN Chief: 34 Groups Now Allied to Islamic State Extremists", *Military.com* [6 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/02/06/un-chief-says-34-groups-now-allied-to-islamic-state-extremists.html">http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/02/06/un-chief-says-34-groups-now-allied-to-islamic-state-extremists.html</a> [accessed 8 February 2016]. <a href="https://wcw.asations.of-sloppy-targeting-dog-the-us-military-as-civilian-casualties-rise/article/2642990">https://www.asations-of-sloppy-targeting-dog-the-us-military-as-civilian-casualties-rise/article/2642990</a> [accessed 11 December 2017].

- Lederer, Edith M., "US urges 'enduring defeat' of ISIS, offers force if necessary", *Military Times* [23 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/08/24/us-urges-enduring-defeat-of-isis-offers-force-if-necessary/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/08/24/us-urges-enduring-defeat-of-isis-offers-force-if-necessary/</a> [accessed 24 August 2018].
- Lederman, Josh and Matthew Lee, "US anti-ISIS office gets reprieve as Syria pullout accelerates," Military Times [20 May 2018]. https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/20/us-anti-isis-office-gets-reprieve-as-syria-pullout-accelerates/ [accessed 21 May 2018].
- The Local, "Lund professor freed student from Islamic State war zone," *The Local Sweden* [13 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.thelocal.se/20181213/lund-professor-freed-student-from-islamic-state-warzone">https://www.thelocal.se/20181213/lund-professor-freed-student-from-islamic-state-warzone</a> [accessed 19 December 2018].
- Losey, Stephen, "Airstrikes against ISIS hit all-time high," *Air Force Times* [13 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.airforcetimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/13/airstrikes-against-isis-hit-all-time-high/">http://www.airforcetimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/13/airstrikes-against-isis-hit-all-time-high/</a> [accessed 14 September 2017].
- Losey, Stephen, "Air Force B-52s shatter Vietnam-era records during two-year ISIS deployment," *Air Force Times* [16 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/04/16/air-force-b-52s-shatter-vietnam-era-records-during-two-year-isis-deployment/">https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/04/16/air-force-b-52s-shatter-vietnam-era-records-during-two-year-isis-deployment/</a> [accessed 17 April 2018].
- Losey, Stephen, "Airstrikes up against ISIS, Taliban," *Air Force Times* [14 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2019/01/14/airstrikes-up-against-isis-taliban/">https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2019/01/14/airstrikes-up-against-isis-taliban/</a> [accessed 19 January 2019].
- Losey, Stephen, "Airstrikes against ISIS dwindle as caliphate crumbles," *Air Force Times* [5 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2019/04/05/airstrikes-against-isis-dwindle-as-caliphate-crumbles/">https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2019/04/05/airstrikes-against-isis-dwindle-as-caliphate-crumbles/</a> [accessed 9 April 2019].
- Mahanty, Daniel R. "Why Are More Civilians Dying in US Airstrikes on ISIS?" *Defense One* [11 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/08/why-are-more-civilians-dying-us-airstrikes-isis/140185/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/08/why-are-more-civilians-dying-us-airstrikes-isis/140185/</a> [accessed 14 August 2017].
- Martelle, Michael, editor, "Joint Task Force ARES and Operation GLOWING SYMPHONY: Cyber Command's Internet War Against ISIL," *National Security Archive George Washington University*, Briefing Book #637 [13 August 2018]. <a href="https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/cyber-vault/2018-08-13/joint-task-force-ares-operation-glowing-symphony-cyber-commands-internet-war-against-isil">https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/cyber-vault/2018-08-13/joint-task-force-ares-operation-glowing-symphony-cyber-commands-internet-war-against-isil</a> [accessed 13 August 2018].
- ★ Matisek, Jahara, "Drones and Airpower: A Lack of Deterrence in Unconventional Warfare?" *Small Wars Journal* [2 September 2015]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/drones-and-airpower-a-lack-of-deterrence-in-unconventional-warfare">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/drones-and-airpower-a-lack-of-deterrence-in-unconventional-warfare</a> [accessed 4 September 2015].
- McCants, William, "Don't celebrate ISIS setbacks too soon," Brookings [9 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/2016/08/09/dont-celebrate-isis-setbacks-too-soon/">https://www.brookings.edu/2016/08/09/dont-celebrate-isis-setbacks-too-soon/</a> [accessed 10 August 2016].
  - Short editorial that answers powerful and troubling issues with the current fight against ISIS.
- McFate, Jessica Lewis, "The ISIS Defense In Iraq And Syria: Countering an Adaptive Enemy," Middle East Security Report 27 for the Institute for the Study of War, May 2015.
  <a href="http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISIS%20Defense%20in%20Iraq%20and%20Syria%20--%20Standard.pdf">http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISIS%20Defense%20in%20Iraq%20and%20Syria%20--%20Standard.pdf</a> [accessed 5 December 2016].
  - The single best summation of ISIS behaviors at the strategic and operational level up through publication.
  - McIntyre, Jamie, "US general blames Russia, Syria for letting Islamic State retake Palmyra," *The Washington Examiner* [14 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/us-general-blames-russia-syria-for-letting-islamic-state-retake-palmyra/article/2609644">http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/us-general-blames-russia-syria-for-letting-islamic-state-retake-palmyra/article/2609644</a> [accessed 20 December 2016].

- Report based on a press conference with LTG Townsend discussing the mid-December loss of Palmyra, Syria to ISIS and indications of a possible future US strike against the captured military equipment.
- McIntyre, Jamie, "Last pocket of ISIS fighters surrounded in Syria, says US military," *The Washington Examiner* [2 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/last-pocket-of-isis-fighters-surrounded-in-syria-says-us-military">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/last-pocket-of-isis-fighters-surrounded-in-syria-says-us-military</a> [accessed 3 October 2018].
- McKay, Hollie, "Trump, Mattis turn military loose on ISIS, leaving terror caliphate in tatters," Fox News [8 December 2017]. http://www.foxnews.com/world/2017/12/08/trump-mattis-turn-military-loose-on-isis-leaving-terror-caliphate-in-tatters.html [accessed 11 December 2017].
- McLeary, Paul, "Kill or Capture: Washington's New ISIS Plan Claims Two," Foreign Policy [9 March 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/09/kill-or-capture-washingtons-new-isis-plan-claims-two/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/09/kill-or-capture-washingtons-new-isis-plan-claims-two/</a> [accessed 10 March 2016].
  - The US seems to have returned to a policy focused on intelligence collection rather than simply decapitation.
- McManus, Doyle, "Trump may actually win the war against Islamic State," *The Los Angeles Times* [29 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-mcmanus-syria-isis-trump-20170329-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-mcmanus-syria-isis-trump-20170329-story.html</a> [accessed 29 March 2017].
- Mehta, Aaron, "How CYBERCOM's efforts against ISIS have changed," *Federal Times* [28 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.federaltimes.com/smr/cybercon/2017/11/28/how-cybercoms-efforts-against-isis-have-changed/">https://www.federaltimes.com/smr/cybercon/2017/11/28/how-cybercoms-efforts-against-isis-have-changed/</a> [accessed 29 November 2017].
- Mehta, Aaron, "No solution on captured foreign ISIS fighters, but Mattis seeks 'responsibility'," *Military Times* [13 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/13/no-solution-on-captured-foreign-isis-fighters-but-mattis-seeks-responsibility/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/13/no-solution-on-captured-foreign-isis-fighters-but-mattis-seeks-responsibility/</a> [accessed 14 February 2018].
- Miller, Greg and Souad Mekhennet, "One woman helped the mastermind of the Paris attacks. The other turned him in." *The Washington Post* [10 April 2016].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/one-woman-helped-the-mastermind-of-the-paris-attacks-the-other-turned-him-in/2016/04/10/66bce472-fc47-11e5-9140-e61d062438bb\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/one-woman-helped-the-mastermind-of-the-paris-attacks-the-other-turned-him-in/2016/04/10/66bce472-fc47-11e5-9140-e61d062438bb\_story.html</a> [accessed 11 April 2016].
- Miller, Zeke, Deb Riechmann, and Robert Burns, "Trump says US forces cornered IS leader in dead-end tunnel," *AP News* [28 October 2019]. <a href="https://apnews.com/2c2c48e64f934d329c72a7af3dc284b1">https://apnews.com/2c2c48e64f934d329c72a7af3dc284b1</a> [accessed 31 October 2019].
- Morris, Loveday and Liz Sly, "Panic spreads in Iraq, Syria as record numbers of civilians are reported killed in U.S. strikes," *The Washington Post* [28 March 2017].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/panic-spreads-in-iraq-syria-as-record-numbers-of-civilians-are-reported-killed-in-us-strikes/2017/03/28/3cbce7f8-13bb-11e7-bb16-269934184168\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/panic-spreads-in-iraq-syria-as-record-numbers-of-civilians-are-reported-killed-in-us-strikes/2017/03/28/3cbce7f8-13bb-11e7-bb16-269934184168\_story.html</a> [accessed 29 March 2017].
  - This article provides useful commentary about the level of human loss of life in coalition airstrikes. The interesting note is how little of this criticism was aired during the previous administration.
- Murdock, Heather, "When Cities Fall," *Voice of America News* [16 October 2017]. <a href="https://projects.voanews.com/when-cities-fall/">https://projects.voanews.com/when-cities-fall/</a> [accessed 16 October 2017].
- Nadeau, Barbie Latza, "The Mafia Runs Guns for ISIS in Europe," *The Daily Beast* [24 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/24/inside-the-mafia-isis-connection.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/24/inside-the-mafia-isis-connection.html</a> [accessed 24 March 2016].
- Naylor, Sean D. "The Army's killer drones: How a secretive special ops unit decimated ISIS," *Yahoo News* [7 March 2019]. <a href="https://news.yahoo.com/how-a-secretive-special-ops-unit-of-killer-drones-decimated-isis-100000657.html">https://news.yahoo.com/how-a-secretive-special-ops-unit-of-killer-drones-decimated-isis-100000657.html</a> [accessed 9 March 2019].
- Ney, Paul C., Jr. "Remarks by Defense Dept General Counsel Paul C. Ney Jr. on the Law of War at the

- Israel Defense Forces 3rd International Conference on the Law of Armed Conflict," *Just Security* [28 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.justsecurity.org/64313/remarks-by-defense-dept-general-counsel-paul-c-ney-jr-on-the-law-of-war/">https://www.justsecurity.org/64313/remarks-by-defense-dept-general-counsel-paul-c-ney-jr-on-the-law-of-war/</a> [accessed 31 May 2019].
- Nordland, Rod, "Captured ISIS Fighters' Refrain: 'I Was Only a Cook'," *The New York Times* [1 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/01/world/middleeast/iraq-islamic-state-kurdistan.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/01/world/middleeast/iraq-islamic-state-kurdistan.html</a> [accessed 2 October 2017].
- ★ Oakford, Samuel, "President Trump's Air War Kills 12 Civilians Per Day," The Daily Beast [17 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/president-trumps-air-war-kills-12-civilians-per-day">http://www.thedailybeast.com/president-trumps-air-war-kills-12-civilians-per-day</a> [accessed 17 July 2017].
  - Criticism of the increase in civilian casualties with the assertion that the increased deaths are a result of changing rules of engagement and sensitivities toward civilian deaths by the Trump administration. The article includes a lot of opinion, but it also has some good reporting.
  - O'Brien, Alexa, "Where's the Coverage of Civilian Casualties in the War on ISIS?" *Defense One* [22 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/07/wheres-coverage-civilian-casualties-war-isis/158585/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/07/wheres-coverage-civilian-casualties-war-isis/158585/</a> [accessed 23 July 2019].
  - "Open Letter to Dr. Ibrahim Awwad Al-Badri, alias 'Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi', and to the fighters and followers of the self-declared 'Islamic State'," online publication with 126 signatories [19 September 2014]. www.LetterToBaghdadi.com [accessed 31 May 2016].
    - This letter includes Islamic arguments against ISIS. The most important element is the discussion on the potential prophetic statement from the Al-Fitan about the Islamic State supposedly a quote from Ali ibn Abi Talib.
  - Oprihory, Jennifer-Leigh, "Canada won't bomb ISIS anymore. Here's what it's doing instead," *Military Times* [9 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/09/canada-justin-trudeau-white-house-obama-islamic-state-refugee-crisis/81537340//">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/09/canada-justin-trudeau-white-house-obama-islamic-state-refugee-crisis/81537340//</a> [accessed 10 March 2016].
    - Coalition dynamics and the results of challenging national issues. These include aging equipment and a different and less-kinetic national priority.
  - Osborn, Andrew, "Russia accuses U.S. of pretending to fight Islamic State in Syria, Iraq," *Reuters* [10 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-russia-usa/russia-accuses-u-s-of-pretending-to-fight-islamic-state-in-syria-iraq-idUSKBN1CFOKN">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-russia-usa/russia-accuses-u-s-of-pretending-to-fight-islamic-state-in-syria-iraq-idUSKBN1CFOKN</a> [accessed 11 October 2017].
  - Panzino, Charlsy, "The U.S. is sending 2,500 troops to Kuwait, ready to step up the fight in Syria and Iraq," *Army Times* [9 March 2017]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/articles/82nd-airborne-syria-iraq-kuwait-islamic-state">https://www.armytimes.com/articles/82nd-airborne-syria-iraq-kuwait-islamic-state</a> [accessed 10 March 2017].
  - Pawlyk, Oriana, "Air war against Islamic State group cost \$5.5 billion", *Air Force Times* [12 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.airforcetimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2016/01/12/air-war-against-islamic-state-group-cost-55-billion/78690338/">http://www.airforcetimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2016/01/12/air-war-against-islamic-state-group-cost-55-billion/78690338/</a> [accessed 13 January 2016].
    - Statistics on cost of OIR for 2015.
- ★ Peritz, Aki, "What Whac-a-Mole Can Teach Us About How to Fight Terrorism", Foreign Policy [12 August 2015]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/12/what-whac-a-mole-can-teach-us-about-how-to-fight-terrorism/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/12/what-whac-a-mole-can-teach-us-about-how-to-fight-terrorism/</a> [accessed 14 August 2015].
  - Peritz, Aki, "U.S. military might already have the data to identify Islamic State leaders," *Reuters* [15 October 2015]. <a href="http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/10/14/u-s-military-might-already-have-the-data-to-identify-islamic-state-leaders/">http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/10/14/u-s-military-might-already-have-the-data-to-identify-islamic-state-leaders/</a> [accessed 19 October 2015].
  - Peterson, Nolan, "'People Are Going to Get Hurt': America's Quiet War in Iraq," *The national Interest* [11 May 2016]. http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/%E2%80%98people-are-going-get-

- hurt%E2%80%99-americas-quiet-war-irag-16150 [accessed 12 May 2016].
- Petty John, Stacie L. and Becca Wasser, "From Forever Wars to Great Power Wars: Lessons Learned from Operation Inherent Resolve." War on the Rocks [20 August 2021].
  - https://warontherocks.com/2021/08/from-forever-wars-to-great-power-wars-lessons-learned-from-operation-inherent-resolve/ [accessed 22 September 2021].
  - Several excellent lessons including the following:
    - Preplanned Airstrikes Struggle to Keep Up With the Speed of Modern Warfare
    - American Forces Are Not Prepared to Operate in Highly Contested Battlespaces
    - U.S. Commanders Need a Dynamic and Agile Way of Managing Airspace
- Pincus, Walter, "Shutting Down ISIS' Digital Platforms," *The Cipher Brief* [19 July 2016]. <a href="http://thecipherbrief.com/column/fine-print/shutting-down-isis-digital-platforms-1089">http://thecipherbrief.com/column/fine-print/shutting-down-isis-digital-platforms-1089</a> [accessed 19 July 2016].
- Pomerleau, Mark, "How are U.S. allies targeting ISIS on the cyber front?" *C4ISRNET* [4 August 2016]. http://www.c4isrnet.com/story/military-tech/cyber/2016/08/04/cyber-isis-coalition-us-nato/87669594/ [accessed 5 August 2016].
- Pomerleau, Mark, "Cyber Command leader: ISIS is 'most adaptive target' seen in 35 years of intel," *C4ISRNET* [13 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.c4isrnet.com/articles/cyber-command-leader-isis-is-most-adaptive-target-seen-in-35-years-of-intel">http://www.c4isrnet.com/articles/cyber-command-leader-isis-is-most-adaptive-target-seen-in-35-years-of-intel</a> [accessed 15 September 2016].
  - Use this article for the headline line of the most adaptive as it fits the justification for change.
- Pomerleau, Mark, "US coalition battles ISIS with EW, counter-drone ops," *C4ISRNET* [27 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.c4isrnet.com/articles/us-coalition-battling-isis-with-ew-counter-drone-ops">http://www.c4isrnet.com/articles/us-coalition-battling-isis-with-ew-counter-drone-ops</a> [accessed 2 May 2017].
  - Interesting details on the counter-drone fight. I expect that this will lead to countries seeking more robust data communication networks.
- Pomerleau, Mark, "How \$650 drones are creating problems in Iraq and Syria," *C4ISRNET* [5 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/uas/2018/01/05/how-650-drones-are-creating-problems-in-iraq-and-syria/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/uas/2018/01/05/how-650-drones-are-creating-problems-in-iraq-and-syria/</a> [accessed 8 January 2018].
- Pomerleau, Mark, "No ISIS targets is no longer a problem for Central Command," *C4ISRNET* [26 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/intel-geoint/isr/2018/04/26/no-isis-targets-is-no-longer-a-problem-for-central-command/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/intel-geoint/isr/2018/04/26/no-isis-targets-is-no-longer-a-problem-for-central-command/</a> [accessed 27 April 2018].
- Pomerleau, Mark, "Will ISIS make up for lost territory virtually?," *C4ISRNET* [24 August 2018]. https://www.c4isrnet.com/show-reporter/technet-augusta/2018/08/24/will-isis-make-up-for-lost-territory-virtually/ [accessed 27 August 2018].
- Pomerleau, Mark, "How Cyber Command can limit the reach of ISIS," *Fifth Domain* [17 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.fifthdomain.com/dod/cybercom/2019/09/17/how-cyber-command-can-limit-the-reach-of-isis/">https://www.fifthdomain.com/dod/cybercom/2019/09/17/how-cyber-command-can-limit-the-reach-of-isis/</a> [accessed 18 September 2019].
- Pompeo, Michael R. Remarks to Ministers of the Global Coalition To Defeat ISIS. US Secretary of State and Iraqi Foreign Minister Mohammed Ali al-Hakim, Loy Henderson Auditorium, Washington, DC [6 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2019/02/288819.htm">https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2019/02/288819.htm</a> [accessed 7 February 2019].
  - Includes a statement from the conferment and the four objectives of US policy.
- Poushter, Jacob and Dorothy Manevich, "Globally, People Point to ISIS and Climate Change as Leading Security Threats: Concern about cyberattacks, world economy also widespread," Pew Research Center Global Attitudes and Trends [1 August 2017].

- http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/08/01/globally-people-point-to-isis-and-climate-change-as-leading-security-threats/ [accessed 24 April 2018].
- ★ Raston, Dina Temple, "How The U.S. Hacked ISIS," NPR [26 September 2019]. https://www.npr.org/2019/09/26/763545811/how-the-u-s-hacked-isis [accessed 19 July 2021].
  - This is one of the best discussions on the cyber attacks and defense related to and expressed through ISIS. It is good for generating discussion.
  - Ray, Siladitya, "DOJ Seizes Accounts With Millions Of Dollars In Cryptocurrency Used By Al-Qaeda, ISIS, Hamas," Forbes [13 August 2020]. <a href="https://www.forbes.com/sites/siladityaray/2020/08/13/doj-seizes-accounts-with-millions-of-dollars-in-cryptocurrency-used-by-al-qaeda-isis-hamas/#5eaa18b740a1">https://www.forbes.com/sites/siladityaray/2020/08/13/doj-seizes-accounts-with-millions-of-dollars-in-cryptocurrency-used-by-al-qaeda-isis-hamas/#5eaa18b740a1</a> [accessed 1 September 2020].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "Army's 10th Mountain Division takes reins in anti-ISIS fight," *Military Times* [19 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/19/armys-10th-mountain-division-takes-reins-in-anti-isis-fight/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/19/armys-10th-mountain-division-takes-reins-in-anti-isis-fight/</a> [accessed 20 March 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "US forces have 1,000 ISIS detainees and don't know what to do with them," *Military Times* [14 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/02/14/us-forces-have-1000-isis-detainees-and-dont-know-what-to-do-with-them/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/02/14/us-forces-have-1000-isis-detainees-and-dont-know-what-to-do-with-them/</a> [accessed 15 February 2019].
- ★ Rempfer, Kyle, "Low aim or intel failure? ISIS' last stand shows the difficulty in estimating enemy manpower," Military Times [27 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/03/27/low-aim-or-intel-failure-isis-last-stand-shows-the-difficulty-in-estimating-enemy-manpower/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/03/27/low-aim-or-intel-failure-isis-last-stand-shows-the-difficulty-in-estimating-enemy-manpower/</a> [accessed 28 March 2019].
  - A powerful example of how much we do not understand about the current opponent. How many of the bad guys are there? We haven't missed this mark by the 10s or 100s or 1,000s. We missed it by the 10,000s. That should tell us a lot about our success of understanding the other. Hopefully, it generates thinking on why we have missed it so badly and what we need to do to prevent such ignorance in the future.
  - Rosenberg, Matthew and Eric Schmitt, "In ISIS Strategy, U.S. Weighs Risk to Civilians", *New York Times* [19 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/20/us/politics/in-isis-strategy-us-weighs-risk-to-civilians.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/20/us/politics/in-isis-strategy-us-weighs-risk-to-civilians.html</a>? r=0 [accessed 21 December 2015].
    - Information on the process of clearing strikes and the role of air strikes in the fight and the problem with the civilian populace.
  - Rosenberg, Matthew, Helene Cooper, and Nicholas Kulish, "U.S. Military Campaign Takes Toll on ISIS' Cash Flow," *The New York Times* [12 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/13/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-syria.html?r=0&r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/13/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-syria.html?r=0&r=0</a> [accessed 13 April 2016].
- ★ Ross, Alice, "Hundreds of civilians killed in US-led air strikes on ISIS targets report", *The Guardian* [ 3 August 2015]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/03/us-led-air-strikes-on-isis-targets-killed-more-than-450-civilians-report">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/03/us-led-air-strikes-on-isis-targets-killed-more-than-450-civilians-report</a> [accessed 5 August 2015].
- Runkle, Benjamin, "The Long Fuse of Obama's Anti-ISIS Strategy", Foreign Policy [18 May 2015].
  <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/05/18/the-long-fuse-of-obamas-anti-isis-strategy/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/05/18/the-long-fuse-of-obamas-anti-isis-strategy/</a> [accessed 19 May 2015].
  - Ryan, Missy and Loveday Morris, "When air power works, and when it doesn't: A snapshot of U.S. operations against the Islamic State," *The Washington Post* [20 December 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/12/20/when-air-power-works-and-when-it-doesnt/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/12/20/when-air-power-works-and-when-it-doesnt/</a> [accessed 22 December 2016].
    - Information on the air campaign against ISIS with associated difficulties.
  - Sanger, David E. "ISIS Targeted by Cyberattacks in a New U.S. Line of Combat," The New York Times [24

- April 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/25/us/politics/us-directs-cyberweapons-at-isis-for-first-time.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/25/us/politics/us-directs-cyberweapons-at-isis-for-first-time.html</a> [accessed 25 April 2016].
- Sanger, David E. "ISIS Targeted by Cyberattacks in a New U.S. Line of Combat," *The New York Times* [24 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/25/us/politics/us-directs-cyberweapons-at-isis-for-first-time.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/25/us/politics/us-directs-cyberweapons-at-isis-for-first-time.html</a> [accessed 25 April 2016].
- Sanger, David E. "Al-Baghdadi Raid Was a Victory Built on Factors Trump Derides," *The New York Times* [27 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/27/us/politics/trump-baghdadi-raid-strategy.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/27/us/politics/trump-baghdadi-raid-strategy.html</a> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- Savage, Charlie, Michael S. Schmidt, and Eric Schmitt, "Lack of Plan for ISIS Detainees Raises Human Rights Concerns," *New York Times* [11 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/12/world/middleeast/lack-of-plan-for-isis-detainees-raises-human-rights-concerns.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/12/world/middleeast/lack-of-plan-for-isis-detainees-raises-human-rights-concerns.html</a> [accessed 12 May 2016].
- Schmitt, Eric, "ISIS Used Chemical Arms at Least 52 Times in Syria and Iraq, Report Says," *New York Times* [21 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/21/world/middleeast/isis-chemical-weapons-syria-iraq-mosul.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/21/world/middleeast/isis-chemical-weapons-syria-iraq-mosul.html</a> [accessed 22 November 2016].
  - Good reporting on the use and quality of chemical weapons used by ISIS.
- Schmitt, Eric, "Aboard a U.S. Eye in the Sky, Staring Down ISIS in Iraq and Syria," *New York Times* [25 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/25/world/middleeast/aboard-a-us-eye-in-the-sky-staring-down-isis-in-iraq-and-syria.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/25/world/middleeast/aboard-a-us-eye-in-the-sky-staring-down-isis-in-iraq-and-syria.html</a> [accessed 28 December 2016].
  - Explains the role of JSTARS as part of the network observing ISIS activity.
- Schmitt, Eric, "Commando Raids on ISIS Yield Vital Data in Shadowy War," *New York Times* [25 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/25/world/middleeast/islamic-state-syria-raqqa-special-operations.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/25/world/middleeast/islamic-state-syria-raqqa-special-operations.html</a> [accessed 26 June 2017].
- Schmitt, Eric, "The Hunt for ISIS Pivots to Remaining Pockets in Syria," *The New York Times* [204 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/24/world/middleeast/last-phase-islamic-state-iraq-syria.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/24/world/middleeast/last-phase-islamic-state-iraq-syria.html</a> [accessed 26 December 2017].
- Schmitt, Eric and Michael R. Gordon, "As U.S. Escalates Air War on ISIS, Allies Slip Away", New York Times [7 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/08/world/middleeast/as-us-escalates-air-war-on-isis-allies-slip-away.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/08/world/middleeast/as-us-escalates-air-war-on-isis-allies-slip-away.html</a> [accessed 9 November 2015].
- Schogol, Jeff, "US Military Says It Can't Take Out Remaining ISIS Fighters Because They're Hiding In Tunnels," *Task and Purpose* [27 November 2018]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/syria-isis-avoids-annhilation/">https://taskandpurpose.com/syria-isis-avoids-annhilation/</a> [accessed 29 November 2018].
- Seldin, Jeff, "US Efforts to Deal Islamic State 'Enduring Defeat' on Hold," VOA News [16 July 2020]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/middle-east/us-efforts-deal-islamic-state-enduring-defeat-hold">https://www.voanews.com/middle-east/us-efforts-deal-islamic-state-enduring-defeat-hold</a> [accessed 17 July 2020].
- Seligman, Lara, "Fighting ISIS: Is Pentagon Using Air Power's Full Potential?" *Defense News* [11 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/air-space/strike/2015/10/11/fighting-isis-pentagon-using-air-powers-full-potential/73667346/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/air-space/strike/2015/10/11/fighting-isis-pentagon-using-air-powers-full-potential/73667346/</a> [accessed 13 October 2015].
- Seligman, Lara, "Baghdadi Is Dead, but ISIS Remains Emboldened Since Trump's Drawdown," *Foreign Policy* [27 October 2019]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/10/27/isis-islamic-state-leader-baghdadi-killed/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/10/27/isis-islamic-state-leader-baghdadi-killed/</a> [accessed 31 October 2019].
- Shiloach, Gilad, "ISIS Loyalists Mock Obama's "Fear" After Oval Office Speech", *Vocativ* [7 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/news/258545/isis-loyalists-obama-is-admitting-his-fear-of-islamic-state-cavalry/">http://www.vocativ.com/news/258545/isis-loyalists-obama-is-admitting-his-fear-of-islamic-state-cavalry/</a> [accessed 9 December 2015].

- Interesting perspective on the 6 December 2015 speech by President Obama.
- ★ Shinkman, Paul D., "Poll: Syrians, Iraqis Believe U.S. Created ISIS, Don't Support War", US News [18 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2015-12-18/poll-majority-of-syrians-iraqis-dont-support-obamas-anti-isis-war-believe-us-created-extremists">http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2015-12-18/poll-majority-of-syrians-iraqis-dont-support-obamas-anti-isis-war-believe-us-created-extremists</a> [accessed 21 December 2015].
  - Data from surveys taken in both Syria and Iraq concerning the perspective of the locals on the US-led coalition operations.
- ★ Shinkman, Paul D., "Kobani's Lesson for Ramadi: Victory Against ISIS Won't End Bloodshed", US News [27 May 2015].
  - https://www.dropbox.com/home/Dad's%20ISIS%20Book?preview=150527+USNews+-+Kobani%27s+Lesson+for+Ramadi-
  - <u>Victory+Against+ISIS+Won%27t+End+Bloodshed+(Great+Article+with+some+Analysis).docx</u> [accessed 27 May 2015].
  - Shinkman, Paul D., "ISIS By the Numbers in 2017," *US News and World Report* [27 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-12-27/isis-by-the-numbers-in-2017">https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-12-27/isis-by-the-numbers-in-2017</a> [accessed 28 December 2017].
- ★ Shroder, Landon, "What if the Islamic State Won?" *Vice News* [16 September 2015]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/what-if-the-islamic-state-won">https://news.vice.com/article/what-if-the-islamic-state-won</a> [accessed 19 September 2015].
  - Simkins, J.D. "Truman Strike Group is pummeling ISIS in Syria," *Navy Times* [11 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2018/05/11/truman-strike-group-is-pummeling-isis-in-syria/">https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2018/05/11/truman-strike-group-is-pummeling-isis-in-syria/</a> [accessed 14 May 2018].
  - Sly, Liz, "In Syria and Iraq, the Islamic State is in retreat on multiple fronts," *The Washington Post* [24 March 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/in-syria-and-iraq-the-islamic-state-is-in-retreat-on-multiple-fronts/2016/03/24/a0e33774-f101-11e5-a2a3-d4e9697917d1\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/in-syria-and-iraq-the-islamic-state-is-in-retreat-on-multiple-fronts/2016/03/24/a0e33774-f101-11e5-a2a3-d4e9697917d1\_story.html</a> [accessed 28 March 2016].
- ★ Sly, Liz, "The war against the Islamic State hits hurdles just as the U.S. military gears up," The Washington Post [8 May 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-war-against-the-islamic-state-hits-hurdles-just-as-the-us-military-gears-up/2016/05/08/013897f8-10ac-11e6-a9b5-bf703a5a7191\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-war-against-the-islamic-state-hits-hurdles-just-as-the-us-military-gears-up/2016/05/08/013897f8-10ac-11e6-a9b5-bf703a5a7191\_story.html</a> [accessed 9 May 2016].
  - Snow, Shawn, "US talks to Russia daily as ISIS battle begins shift to Euphrates River valley," *Military Times* [31 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/31/us-talks-to-russia-daily-as-isis-battle-begins-shift-to-euphrates-river-valley/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/31/us-talks-to-russia-daily-as-isis-battle-begins-shift-to-euphrates-river-valley/</a> [accessed 1 September 2017].
  - Snow, Shawn, "Gen.Townsend: Baghdadi is probably still alive," *Military Times* [31 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/31/gentownsend-baghdadi-is-probably-still-alive/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/31/gentownsend-baghdadi-is-probably-still-alive/</a> [accessed 1 September 2017].
  - Sonne, Paul, "Pentagon: 'No one will ever know' how many civilians U.S. has killed in fight against ISIS," *The Washington Post* [5 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/pentagonno-one-will-ever-know-how-many-civilians-us-has-killed-in-fight-against-isis/2018/06/05/4b3fec30-6900-11e8-bbc5-dc9f3634fa0a story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/pentagonno-one-will-ever-know-how-many-civilians-us-has-killed-in-fight-against-isis/2018/06/05/4b3fec30-6900-11e8-bbc5-dc9f3634fa0a story.html</a> [accessed 6 June 2018].
  - Soufan, Ali H. "Why ISIS Is Delighted That Suleimani Is Dead," *The New York Times* [14 January 2020]. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/14/opinion/iran-isis-irag.html [accessed 15 January 2020].
  - Speckhard, Anne, "Who Will Rescue American Babies From ISIS?" *The Daily Beast* [17 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/who-will-rescue-american-babies-from-isis?ref=scroll">https://www.thedailybeast.com/who-will-rescue-american-babies-from-isis?ref=scroll</a> [accessed 18 April 2018].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne, "PERSPECTIVE: Baghdadi Just Confirmed ISIS 'Martyrdom' Narrative, Ensuring ISIS Will Live," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [29 November

- 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-baghdadi-just-confirmed-isis-martyrdom-narrative-ensuring-isis-will-live/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-baghdadi-just-confirmed-isis-martyrdom-narrative-ensuring-isis-will-live/</a> [accessed 7 November 2019].
- Please read. I am not sure that I agree with the tone of this article, but Anne Speckhard is a legitimate expert with respect to former ISIS members so her work is always worth considering. I think that she is too cynical with respect to the role of religion in ISIS. I think two things can be true at once. Religion can be important and it can also be used to manipulate the actions of the fighters and worker bees. I think this is the case with ISIS. That said, read and think.
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, ""Radical Islamic Terrorists": How is President Trump doing in his first 100 days in Office?" in TRENDS Report *The Changing International Order*, Abu Dhabi: TRENDS RESEARCH & ADVISORY, June 2017, 54-60. <a href="http://trendsinstitution.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Changing-International-Order-Master-File-Columns.pdf">http://trendsinstitution.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Changing-International-Order-Master-File-Columns.pdf</a> [accessed 26 June 2017].
  - The article has some debatable conclusions, but it also includes some excellent quotes from ISIS participants and victims/observers.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "The Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter Narrative Project," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism presentation to the OSCE's Reverse Flow of Foreign Fighters Conference Rome [11 May 2018].

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/36647630/The\_Breaking\_the\_ISIS\_Brand\_Counter\_Narrative\_Project\_faccessed\_17\_May\_2018]">https://www.academia.edu/36647630/The\_Breaking\_the\_ISIS\_Brand\_Counter\_Narrative\_Project\_faccessed\_17\_May\_2018]</a>.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Confronting an ISIS Emir: ICSVE's Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter-Narratives Project Videos," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism, Spring 2018 [15 May 2018].
    - https://globalecco.org/documents/10180/784898/Confronting+ISIS+Emir/4f16b4bb-3d6e-4a72-8f62-f650946288b8 [accessed 16 May 2018].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "The ISIS Spy Who Saved Baghdad from 30 Bombing Missions," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [25 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/the-isis-spy-who-saved-baghdad-from-30-bombing-missions/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/the-isis-spy-who-saved-baghdad-from-30-bombing-missions/</a> [accessed 25 March 2019].
    - This is a fascinating story about the methods used to fight against ISIS.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter Narrative Facebook Campaigns in Europe," *Journal of Strategic Security*, volume 13, number 3, article 6, 120-148 [2020]. <a href="https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1844&context=jss">https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1844&context=jss</a> or DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.13.3.1844">https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.13.3.1844</a> [accessed 21 September 2020].
  - Speckhard, Anne, Ardian Shajkovci, and Lorand Bodo, "Fighting ISIS on Facebook Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter Narratives Project," ICSVE Research Reports [8 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/fighting-isis-on-facebook-breaking-the-isis-brand-counter-narratives-project/">http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/fighting-isis-on-facebook-breaking-the-isis-brand-counter-narratives-project/</a> [accessed 8 March 2018].
  - Speckhard, Anne, Ardian Shajkovci, Lorand Bodo, and Haris Fazliu, "Bringing Down the Digital Caliphate: A Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter-Narratives Intervention with Albanian Speaking Facebook Accounts," ICSVE Research Reports [13 February 2018].

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/35916291/Bringing">https://www.academia.edu/35916291/Bringing</a> Down the Digital Caliphate A Breaking the ISIS

    <a href="mailto:Brand Counter-Narratives">Brand Counter-Narratives</a> Intervention with Albanian Speaking Facebook Accounts [accessed 14 February 2018].
  - Sprenger, Sebastian, "'We're down to the last few villages': British air campaign in Syria faces new phase," *Defense News* [24 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/08/24/were-down-to-the-last-few-villages-british-air-campaign-in-syria-faces-new-phase/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/08/24/were-down-to-the-last-few-villages-british-air-campaign-in-syria-faces-new-phase/</a> [accessed 27 August 2018].

- ★ Star, Barbara, "U.S. intel warns: ISIS not desperate, just 'adapting'," CNN [11 July 2016].

  <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/11/politics/isis-us-intelligence/index.html?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=New%20Campaign&utm\_term=%2ASituation%20Report">http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/11/politics/isis-us-intelligence/index.html?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=New%20Campaign&utm\_term=%2ASituation%20Report</a> [accessed 12 July 2016].
  - Simple article, but still profound in the accuracy that ISIS is consistent in conducting their maneuver in the narrative space with respect to the attacks conducted during Ramadan 2016.
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "After Paris attacks, Pentagon quietly shifts to new phase of ISIS war", *Military Times* [16 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2015/11/16/obama-large-us-troop-deployment-against-islamic-state-mistake/75866046/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2015/11/16/obama-large-us-troop-deployment-against-islamic-state-mistake/75866046/</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "Top U.S. commander in Iraq says Islamic State group will 'morph into a true insurgent force'," *Military Times* [10 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/08/10/top-commander-iraq-says-islamic-state-group-morph-into-true-insurgent-force/88522358/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/08/10/top-commander-iraq-says-islamic-state-group-morph-into-true-insurgent-force/88522358/</a> [accessed 11 August 2016].
- ★ Tilghman, Andrew, "The ISIS war has a new commander and ISIS may be the least of his worries,"

  \*\*Military Times\*\* [21 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/the-isis-war-has-a-new-commander-and-isis-may-be-the-least-of-his-worries">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/the-isis-war-has-a-new-commander-and-isis-may-be-the-least-of-his-worries</a> [accessed 22 August 2016].
  - This article provides a quality summary of the challenges facing the new commander.
  - Townsend, Stephen J. "Reports of Civilian Casualties in the War Against ISIS Are Vastly Inflated," *Foreign Policy* [15 September 2017]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/15/reports-of-civilian-casualties-from-coalition-strikes-on-isis-are-vastly-inflated-lt-gen-townsend-cjtf-oir/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/15/reports-of-civilian-casualties-from-coalition-strikes-on-isis-are-vastly-inflated-lt-gen-townsend-cjtf-oir/</a> [accessed 19 September 2017].
  - Tritten, Travis, "US military cyber group tried to 'manipulate the thinking' of ISIS followers, says general," Washington Examiner [13 March 2018].

    <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/us-military-cyber-group-tried-to-manipulate-the-thinking-of-isis-followers-says-general">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/us-military-cyber-group-tried-to-manipulate-the-thinking-of-isis-followers-says-general</a> 0[accessed 14 March 2018].
  - Tucker, Patrick, "Flow of Foreign Fighters to ISIS Stopped, Trump Tactics Working, McGurk Says," *Defense One* [27 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/news/2017/07/flow-foreign-fighters-isis-stopped-trump-tactics-working-mcgurk-says/139801/">http://www.defenseone.com/news/2017/07/flow-foreign-fighters-isis-stopped-trump-tactics-working-mcgurk-says/139801/</a> [accessed 31 July 2017].
  - Tucker, Patrick, "Syria is a 'Laboratory' for the Air War of the Future," *Defense One* [18 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2017/09/syria-laboratory-air-war-future/141111/">http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2017/09/syria-laboratory-air-war-future/141111/</a> [accessed 20 September 2017].
  - United Nations, "Twenty-second report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2368 (2017) concerning ISIL (Da'esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities," *United Nations Security Council* [27 July 2018]. <a href="https://undocs.org/S/2018/705">https://undocs.org/S/2018/705</a> [accessed 15 August 2018].
  - USCENTCOM and Combined Forces Command, Enduring Themes and Messages, 25 April to 15 May 2016 [25 April 2016].
  - Vanden Brook, Tom, "ISIL death toll at 20,000, but 'stalemate' continues," *USA Today* [12 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/10/12/islamic-state-pentagon/73840116/">http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/10/12/islamic-state-pentagon/73840116/</a> [accessed 13 October 2015].
  - Vanden Brook, Tom, "Islamic State defections mount as death toll rises, U.S. official says", *USA Today* [29 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/11/29/islamic-state-defections-kurds-lloyd-austin-syria-isil/76503736/">http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/11/29/islamic-state-defections-kurds-lloyd-austin-syria-isil/76503736/</a> [accessed 30 November 2015].
    - CENTCOM statements on observations of success in the fight against ISIS. Includes statistical data.
  - Valeriano, Brandon, Heather Roff, and Sean Lawson, "Stop Saying We're Dropping 'Cyber Bombs' On

- ISIS," *Defense One* [24 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/05/stop-saying-were-dropping-cyber-bombs-isis/128581/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/05/stop-saying-were-dropping-cyber-bombs-isis/128581/</a> [accessed 25 May 2016].
- Vlahos, Kelley Beaucar, "Rise of the American Mercenary," *The American Conservative* [25 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/rise-of-the-american-mercenary/?print=1#">http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/rise-of-the-american-mercenary/?print=1#</a> [accessed 26 October 2016].
  - This provides statistics on contractors present in theater and some of their roles.
- Warrick, Joby, "ISIS's second-in-command hid in Syria for months. The day he stepped out, the U.S. was waiting." *The Washington Post* [28 November 2016].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/isiss-second-in-command-hid-in-syria-for-months-the-day-he-stepped-out-the-us-was-waiting/2016/11/28/64a32efe-b253-11e6-840f-e3ebab6bcdd3 story.html [accessed 2 December 2016].
  - Really good information on dates and types of targeting of senior ISIS leaders.
- Warrick, Joby, "Inside the economic war against the Islamic State," *The Washington Post* [31 December 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/take-them-back-to-the-19th-century-inside-the-economic-war-against-the-islamic-state/2016/12/30/5f91f514-ceb7-11e6-a747-d03044780a02\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/take-them-back-to-the-19th-century-inside-the-economic-war-against-the-islamic-state/2016/12/30/5f91f514-ceb7-11e6-a747-d03044780a02\_story.html</a> [accessed 4 January 2017].
  - The coalition is degrading the oil revenue potential of ISIS. This article implies that this is significant.
- Warrick, Joby, "ISIS's propaganda machine is thriving as the physical caliphate fades," *The Washington Post* [18 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/isiss-propaganda-machine-is-thriving-as-the-physical-caliphate-fades/2017/08/18/4808a9f6-8451-11e7-ab27-1a21a8e006ab\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/isiss-propaganda-machine-is-thriving-as-the-physical-caliphate-fades/2017/08/18/4808a9f6-8451-11e7-ab27-1a21a8e006ab\_story.html</a> [accessed 21 August 2017].
- Warrick, Joby, "In fight against ISIS's propaganda machine, raids and online trench warfare," *The Washington Post* [19 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/amphtml/world/national-security/in-fight-against-isiss-propaganda-machine-raids-and-online-trench-warfare/2018/08/19/379d4da4-9f46-11e8-8e87-c869fe70a721\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/amphtml/world/national-security/in-fight-against-isiss-propaganda-machine-raids-and-online-trench-warfare/2018/08/19/379d4da4-9f46-11e8-8e87-c869fe70a721\_story.html</a> [accessed 23 August 2018].
- Watson, Ben, "This is the War Against al-Qaeda the Next US President Will Inherit," Defense One [9 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/08/war-against-al-qaeda-next-us-president-will-inherit/130542/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/08/war-against-al-qaeda-next-us-president-will-inherit/130542/</a> [accessed 10 August 2016].
  - This is a simple summary of the US fighting against each of the major affiliates of al-Qaeda and includes actions against ISIS though the focus is more on al-Qaeda.
  - Wilkinson, Tracy, W.J. Hennigan and Michael A. Memoli, "'The closer we get, the more complex it gets.' White House struggles on strategy as Islamic State nears defeat in Iraq and Syria," Los Angeles Times [2 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-fg-trump-isis-mideast-20170702-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-fg-trump-isis-mideast-20170702-story.html</a> [accessed 3 July 2017].
  - Williams, Katie Bo, "Russia is Winning the Information War in Iraq and Syria: UK General," *Defense One* [8 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/threats/2018/10/information-warfare/151855/">https://www.defenseone.com/threats/2018/10/information-warfare/151855/</a> [accessed 9 October 2018].
- ★ Williams, Dr. Michael J., "ISIS as a Strategic Actor: Strategy and Counter-Strategy", *The Mackenzie Institute* [15 April 2015]. <a href="http://www.mackenzieinstitute.com/isis-strategic-actor-strategy-counter-strategy/">http://www.mackenzieinstitute.com/isis-strategic-actor-strategy-counter-strategy/</a> [accessed 6 November 2015].
- Wilson, Lydia, "What I Discovered From Interviewing Imprisoned ISIS Fighters," The Nation [21 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thenation.com/article/what-i-discovered-from-interviewing-isis-prisoners/">http://www.thenation.com/article/what-i-discovered-from-interviewing-isis-prisoners/</a> [accessed 1 April 2016].
  - Some great quotes and information on why people are fighting for ISIS.

- Wong, Kristina, "Poll: Americans want more action against ISIS, but oppose ground troops", *The Hill* [16 November 2015]. <a href="http://thehill.com/policy/defense/260313-poll-americans-want-more-action-against-isis-but-oppose-ground-troops">http://thehill.com/policy/defense/260313-poll-americans-want-more-action-against-isis-but-oppose-ground-troops</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
- ★ Wright, Robin, "Is the Islamic State Hurting? The President's Point Man on ISIS Speaks Out," *The New Yorker* [3 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/is-the-islamic-state-hurting-the-presidents-point-man-on-isis-speaks-out">http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/is-the-islamic-state-hurting-the-presidents-point-man-on-isis-speaks-out</a> [accessed 6 March 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A., "'Pentagon Insiders: ISIS War Plan is 'Not Working'", *The Daily Beast* [9 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/09/pentagon-insiders-isis-war-plan-is-not-working.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/09/pentagon-insiders-isis-war-plan-is-not-working.html</a> [accessed 10 December 2015].
    - Some good quotes on the problems between the White House and the pentagon in trying to determine the right policy vis-à-vis ISIS.
  - Youssef, Nancy A. "ISIS Is Losing Ground, but Not the War," *The Daily Beast* [5 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/05/isis-is-losing-ground-but-not-the-war.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/05/isis-is-losing-ground-but-not-the-war.html</a> [accessed 5 April 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. and Shane Harris, "America's ISIS War Is Helping Al Qaeda", *The Daily Beast* [7 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/08/america-s-isis-war-is-helping-al-qaeda.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/08/america-s-isis-war-is-helping-al-qaeda.html</a> [accessed 8 February 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. and Shane Harris, "U.S. Captures First ISIS Fighter. Now the Interrogation Begins." *The Daily Beast* [1 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/01/u-s-captures-isis-prisoner.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/01/u-s-captures-isis-prisoner.html</a> [accessed 2 March 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. and Shane Harris, "U.S. Attacks ISIS Chemical Weapons Program." *The Daily Beast* [9 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/09/u-s-attacks-isis-chemical-weapons-program.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/09/u-s-attacks-isis-chemical-weapons-program.html</a> [accessed 10 March 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. and Shane Harris, "ISIS Intel Was Cooked, House Panel Finds," *The Daily Beast* [9 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/09/isis-intel-was-cooked-house-panel-finds.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/09/isis-intel-was-cooked-house-panel-finds.html</a> [accessed 10 August 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. and Michael Weiss, "Big Win Over ISIS Could Mean a New War," *The Daily Beast* [1 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/01/big-win-over-isis-could-mean-a-new-war.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/01/big-win-over-isis-could-mean-a-new-war.html</a> [accessed 2 June 2016].
  - Zavis, Alexandra, "Lessons of war: David Petraeus warns that a bigger challenge awaits after Islamic State is driven from Mosul," Los Angeles Times [28 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-mosul-david-petraeus-q-and-a-snap-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-mosul-david-petraeus-q-and-a-snap-story.html</a> [accessed 18 April 2017].

This interview has one quote of value:

Question: So what does victory against Islamic State look like?

Answer: ... I don't think these are traditional battles where you take the hill, plant the flag and go home to a victory parade. I've actually noted, in fact, that we're engaged in what is likely to be a generational struggle.

We can put a stake through the heart of Islamic State as an army. We can put a stake through the heart of its leaders. You can take away its territory. But you can't put a stake through the heart of the ideas, of the ideology, that sadly, tragically, still has some attraction for some small numbers in the Islamic faith.

Zenko, Micah, "'Kill-Em-All With Airstrikes' Is Not Working", *Defense One* [7 January 2016]. http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/01/kill-em-all-airstrikes-not-working/124946/?oref=d-topstory [accessed 8 January 2016].

This includes some simple and useful statistics for understanding the campaign and the problems regarding a killing approach to this fight.

- Zenko, Micah, "Checking the Math on the Pentagon's ISIS Body Counts," *Foreign Policy* [16 August 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/16/checking-the-math-on-the-pentagons-isis-body-counts/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/16/checking-the-math-on-the-pentagons-isis-body-counts/</a> [accessed 17 August 2016].
  - The US government says that it doesn't do body counts and then it provides them. This article is a good summary of the changing body counts against ISIS over time.
- ★ Zimmerman, Rebecca, "Training Foreign Military Forces: Quality vs. Quantity", War on the Rocks [15 July 2015]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/07/training-foreign-military-forces-quality-vs-quantity/?singlepage=1">http://warontherocks.com/2015/07/training-foreign-military-forces-quality-vs-quantity/?singlepage=1</a> [accessed 16 July 2015].
  - Zoroya, Greg, "ISIL lost 5,000 square miles of territory largely in Northern Syria, Iraq", *USA Today* [21 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.usatoday.com/story/military/war-on-is/2015/12/21/isil-lost-5000-square-miles-of-territory-largely-in-northern-syria-iraq/77718976/">http://www.usatoday.com/story/military/war-on-is/2015/12/21/isil-lost-5000-square-miles-of-territory-largely-in-northern-syria-iraq/77718976/</a> [accessed 22 December 2015].

## Fighting ISIS in Iraq

- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "Report: more than 16,000 civilians killed in Iraq in 2016," *The Washington* Post [12 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/report-iraq-conflict-kills-more-than-16000-people-in-2016/2017/01/12/60eadc0c-d8bf-11e6-a0e6-d502d6751bc8\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/report-iraq-conflict-kills-more-than-16000-people-in-2016/2017/01/12/60eadc0c-d8bf-11e6-a0e6-d502d6751bc8\_story.html</a> [accessed 13 January 2017].
  - Statistics of civilian deaths from 2016 based on the Iraq Body Count report.
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "Spokesman: Iraqi forces launch new push in Mosul's west," *Military Times* [4 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/spokesman-iraqi-forces-launch-new-push-in-mosuls-west">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/spokesman-iraqi-forces-launch-new-push-in-mosuls-west</a> [accessed 5 May 2017].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "Iraqi troops push into ISIS-held town west of Mosul," *Military Times* [23 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/23/iraqi-troops-push-into-isis-held-town-west-of-mosul/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/23/iraqi-troops-push-into-isis-held-town-west-of-mosul/</a> [accessed 23 August 2017].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "ISIS ambushes Iraqi Shiite-led force, killing 27 fighters," *Military Times* [19 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/19/isis-ambushes-iraqi-shiite-led-force-killing-27-fighters/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/19/isis-ambushes-iraqi-shiite-led-force-killing-27-fighters/</a> [accessed 20 February 2018].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "Iraqi official says combat operations against ISIS by US-led coalition ending after troop drawdown," *Military Times* [18 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/11/18/iraqi-official-says-combat-operations-against-isis-by-us-led-coalition-ending-after-troop-drawdown/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/11/18/iraqi-official-says-combat-operations-against-isis-by-us-led-coalition-ending-after-troop-drawdown/</a> [accessed 20 November 2020].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim and Bradley Klapper, "Mattis in talks to keep 'several thousand' US troops in Iraq after ISIS," *Military Times* [4 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/iraq-us-troop-presence">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/iraq-us-troop-presence</a> [accessed 5 May 2017].
  - Will US forces remain in Iraq after ISIS or not?
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim and Samya Kullab, "Iraqi officials say Baghdad wants to minimize reliance on US military in fight against Islamic State," *Military Times* [5 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/02/05/iraqi-officials-say-baghdad-wants-to-minimize-reliance-on-us-military-in-fight-against-islamic-state/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/02/05/iraqi-officials-say-baghdad-wants-to-minimize-reliance-on-us-military-in-fight-against-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 6 February 2020].
- Abdul-Zahra, Wassim and Susannah George, "Iraqis eye next steps in Ramadi as IS claims Baghdad bombing", *Military Times* [9 December 2015].
  - http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/12/09/iraqis-eye-next-steps-ramadi-claims-baghdad-bombing/77045060/ [accessed 10 December 2015].
  - Includes quotes from Iraqi military officials on the progress in Ramadi.
- Abu Zeed, Adnan, "Iraq establishes National Oil Company," *al-Monitor* [16 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/iraq-national-oil-company-economy.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/iraq-national-oil-company-economy.html</a> [accessed 19 March 2018].
- Agence France-Presse, "Iraqi forces claim found 365 IS bodies in Baiji graves," *Yahoo News* [21 October 2015]. <a href="http://news.yahoo.com/iraqi-forces-claim-found-365-bodies-baiji-graves-192845074.html">http://news.yahoo.com/iraqi-forces-claim-found-365-bodies-baiji-graves-192845074.html</a> [accessed 22 October 2015].
- Agence France-Presse, "Iraq parliament demands troops go to areas disputed with Kurds," al Monitor [25 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/09/iraq-kurds-referendum-troops.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/09/iraq-kurds-referendum-troops.html</a> [accessed 26 September 2017].
- Agence France-Presse, "Suicide bombers kill 11 in Iraq attack claimed by IS," *al Monitor* [27 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/11/iraq-conflict-baghdad.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/11/iraq-conflict-baghdad.html</a> [accessed 28 November 2017].

- Agence France-Presse, "Iraqi Shiites slam calls to disband militia group after IS fight," *al-Monitor* [3 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/irak-diplomatie-france-arm%C3%A9e-iran.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/irak-diplomatie-france-arm%C3%A9e-iran.html</a> [accessed 4 December 2017].
- Agence France-Presse, "Iraq death toll at lowest level in five years," *al-Monitor* [4 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/iraq-conflict-toll-un.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/iraq-conflict-toll-un.html</a> [accessed 5 December 2017].
- Ahmed, Hassan Ali, "Iraq captures mastermind of 2016 Islamic State terror attack that killed hundreds," al-Monitor [19 October 2021]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/10/iraq-captures-mastermind-2016-islamic-state-terror-attack-killed-hundreds">https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/10/iraq-captures-mastermind-2016-islamic-state-terror-attack-killed-hundreds</a> [accessed 31 October 2021].
- ★ al-Abadi, Haider, "Iraqi prime minister: My country needs more help from the U.S." The Washington Post [23 March 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/iraqi-prime-minister-my-country-needs-more-help-from-the-us/2017/03/23/3fff51a0-0fdb-11e7-ab07-07d9f521f6b5">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/iraqi-prime-minister-my-country-needs-more-help-from-the-us/2017/03/23/3fff51a0-0fdb-11e7-ab07-07d9f521f6b5</a> story.html [accessed 24 March 2017].
  - The Iraqi Prime Minister makes a call for help directly to the American people. How the American government will respond and how well the American people will support that response is open to question.
  - al-Dagher, Munqith and Karl Kaltenthaler, "Why Iraqis living under the Islamic State fear their liberators," *The Washington Post* [11 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/04/11/why-iraqis-living-under-the-islamic-state-fear-their-liberators/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/04/11/why-iraqis-living-under-the-islamic-state-fear-their-liberators/</a> [accessed 12 April 2016].
- ★ al-Dulaimy, Muhammed and Hannah Allam, "Iraqis recount their lives under the Islamic State: Cheap food, endless rules", McClatchy DC [29 May 2015]. <a href="http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/middle-east/article24785074.html">http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/middle-east/article24785074.html</a> [accessed 4 June 2015].
  - Al-Jazeera, "Iraq: We don't need foreign troops to fight ISIL", *Al-Jazeera* [2 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/12/usa-special-forces-iraq-151201160932529.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/12/usa-special-forces-iraq-151201160932529.html</a> [accessed 2 December 2015].
    - The Iraqi PM refuses the notion of additional U.S. troops being deployed to Iraq as announced on 1 Dec 2015 by SecDef Ashton Carter.
  - Al Jazeera, "Most ISIL weapons were seized from Iraqi army", *Al Jazeera* [8 December 2015]. <a href="http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/12/8/most-isil-weapons-seized-from-iraqi-army.html">http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/12/8/most-isil-weapons-seized-from-iraqi-army.html</a> [accessed 9 December 2015].
    - Nothing new, but good supporting document.
  - Al-Jazeera, "Iraqi cleric Muqtada al-Sadr starts Green Zone sit-in," *Al-Jazeera* [28 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/03/iraqi-cleric-muqtada-al-sadr-starts-green-zone-sit-160328040820897.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/03/iraqi-cleric-muqtada-al-sadr-starts-green-zone-sit-160328040820897.html</a> [accessed 28 March 2016].
  - Al-Jazeera, "Iraq PM: Mosul liberation to be announced in few days," *Al-Jazeera* [23 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/06/iraq-pm-mosul-liberation-announced-days-170622181700272.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/06/iraq-pm-mosul-liberation-announced-days-170622181700272.html</a> [accessed 23 June 2017].
  - Al-Jazeera, "Iraq rejects UAE claims of Qatar funding paramilitaries," *Al-Jazeera* [21 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/iraq-rejects-uae-claims-qatar-funding-paramilitaries-180321132835594.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/iraq-rejects-uae-claims-qatar-funding-paramilitaries-180321132835594.html</a> [accessed 22 March 2018].
  - Al-Jazeera, "Iraq launches 'deadly strikes' against ISIL inside Syria," *Al-Jazeera* [19 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/iraq-fighter-jets-strike-isil-targets-syria-180419125454310.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/iraq-fighter-jets-strike-isil-targets-syria-180419125454310.html</a> [accessed 20 April 2018].
  - Al-Jazeera, "Iraqi air force attacks ISIL targets in Syria," *Al-Jazeera* [6 May 2018]. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/iraqi-air-force-strikes-isil-targets-syria-

- 180506072850413.html [accessed 7 May 2018].
- ★ al-Khalidi, Ashraf and Dr. Thomas Renahan, "Iraq Survey Conclusions," *Daesh Daily: An Update on Daesh Activities* [December 2014]. <a href="http://www.daeshdaily.com/iraq-survey-conclusions-2/">http://www.daeshdaily.com/iraq-survey-conclusions-2/</a> [accessed 29 March 2016].
  - This is not a fully documented survey and it is a bit dated. Despite these problems it still presents some powerful notes.
- ★ Al-Marashi, Ibrahim, "Iraq: The reinvention of Muqtada al-Sadr," *Al-Jazeera* [9 March 2016]. http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/03/iraq-reinvention-muqtada-al-sadr-160309061939234.html [accessed 28 March 2016].
  - al-Marjani, Alaa, "Back to School in Mosul: The ISIS Curriculum," *The Daily Beast* [29 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/29/back-to-school-in-mosul-the-isis-curriculum.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/29/back-to-school-in-mosul-the-isis-curriculum.html</a> [accessed 30 October 2015].
    - Includes links for ISIS textbooks.
  - al-Salhy, Suadad and Tim Arango, "Sunni Militants Drive Iraqi Army Out of Mosul," *The New York Times* [10 June 2014]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/11/world/middleeast/militants-in-mosul.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/11/world/middleeast/militants-in-mosul.html</a> [accessed 25 October 2017].
  - al-Shamary, Ammar and Tom Vanden Brook, "Iraqi military claims key victory in Ramadi, says ISIL is in retreat", *USA Today* [27 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2015/12/27/iraq-ramadi-islamic-state-isil/77945582/">http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2015/12/27/iraq-ramadi-islamic-state-isil/77945582/</a> [accessed 28 December 2015].
    - First report of Iraq having retaken Ramadi. The reports are that the remaining ISIS fighters fled the city with civilian shields to cover their departure.
  - al-Shanoun, Hassan, "Appearances get people killed in Iraq," *al-Monitor* [25 July 2017]. <a href="http://fares.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/07/karar-nushi-lgbt-iraq-human-rights-extreme-militias.html">http://fares.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/07/karar-nushi-lgbt-iraq-human-rights-extreme-militias.html</a> [accessed 28 July 2017].
- Allam, Hannah, "Sense of déjà vu as U.S. once again sees 'victory' coming in Iraq," McClatchy DC [22 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/national/national-security/article91377042.html">http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/national/national-security/article91377042.html</a> [accessed 25 July 2016].
  - The lack of capable Sunni leadership in Iraq presents the probability that Da'ash as a movement or an ideology will not be defeated in Iraq.
  - Altman, Howard, "Battle to retake Mosul has started," *The Tampa Tribune* [6 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.tbo.com/list/military-news/altman/battle-to-retake-mosul-has-started-20160306/">http://www.tbo.com/list/military-news/altman/battle-to-retake-mosul-has-started-20160306/</a> [accessed 7 March 2016].
    - Interview with GEN Kenani.
  - Altman, Howard and Shawn Snow, "New ISIS attack kills Iraqi troops while rockets fall in Green Zone," *Military Times* [5 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/01/05/iraqi-troops-killed-in-attack-by-isis-as-rockets-fall-in-green-zone-iraqis-say/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/01/05/iraqi-troops-killed-in-attack-by-isis-as-rockets-fall-in-green-zone-iraqis-say/</a> [accessed 6 January 2020].
  - Araf, Jane, "More Civilians Than ISIS Fighters Are Believed Killed In Mosul Battle," *National Public Radio All Things Considered* [19 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/12/19/570483824/more-civilians-than-isis-fighters-are-believed-killed-in-mosul-battle">https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/12/19/570483824/more-civilians-than-isis-fighters-are-believed-killed-in-mosul-battle</a> [accessed 6 March 2018].
  - Araf, Jane, "Months After ISIS, Much Of Iraq's Mosul Is Still Rubble," *National Public Radio Weekend Edition Saturday* [3 March 2018].
    - https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2018/03/03/587726649/months-after-isis-much-of-iraqs-mosul-is-still-rubble?sc=17&f=1001 [accessed 6 March 2018].

- Arango, Tim, "In Effort to Defeat ISIS, U.S. and Iran Impede One Another," *The New York Times* [25 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/26/world/middleeast/iraq-falluja-anbar-province-isis.html?r=0& r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/26/world/middleeast/iraq-falluja-anbar-province-isis.html?r=0& r=0</a> [accessed 26 April 2016].
- Arango, Tim, "Iraqis Who Flee Fighting in Falluja Find Hardship and Hunger," *The New York Times* [6 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/07/world/middleeast/iraqis-who-flee-falluja-find-hardship-and-hunger.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/07/world/middleeast/iraqis-who-flee-falluja-find-hardship-and-hunger.html</a>? r=1 [accessed 7 June 2016].
- Arango, Tim, "Another Mass Grave Dug by ISIS in Iraq, and a Ghastly Ritual Renewed," The New York Times [30 November 2016]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/30/world/middleeast/another-mass-grave-dug-by-isis-in-iraq-and-a-ghastly-ritual-renewed.html [accessed 30 November 2016]. Details of a war crime and a mass grave.
- Arango, Tim, "At Site of Deaths, Our Reporters Find Cost of U.S.-ISIS Battle," *The New York Times* [27 March 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/27/world/middleeast/mosul-iraq-isis-civilian-deaths-us-airstrikes.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/27/world/middleeast/mosul-iraq-isis-civilian-deaths-us-airstrikes.html</a> [accessed 28 March 2017].
  - Information on air strike issues in the fighting around Mosul.
- Arango, Tim, "ISIS Loses Another City to U.S.-Backed Iraqi Forces," *The New York Times* [31 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/31/world/asia/iraq-isis-tal-afar-abadi.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/31/world/asia/iraq-isis-tal-afar-abadi.html</a> [accessed 1 September 2017].
- ★ Arango, Tim and Rick Gladstone, "Retaking Mosul From ISIS May Pale to What Comes Next," *The New York Times* [18 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/19/world/middleeast/mosul-iraqisis.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/19/world/middleeast/mosul-iraqisis.html</a> [accessed 19 October 2016].
  - Great summary of the statistical problems following the retaking of Tikrit, Ramadi, and Fallujah as precursors for the challenges associated with retaking Mosul.
  - Arango, Tim and Michael R. Gordon, "Turkey's Push to Join Battle for Mosul Inflames Tension With Iraq," *The New York Times* [23 October 2016].
    - http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/24/world/middleeast/turkeys-push-to-join-battle-for-mosul-inflames-tension-with-iraq.html [accessed 24 October 2016].
    - More complexity for the struggles in Iraq. Will Turkey and Iraq actually come to blows or will northern Iraq become a *de facto* province of Turkey?
- ★ Arango, Tim and Michael R. Gordon, "Iraqi Prime Minister Arrives in Mosul to Declare Victory Over ISIS," The New York Times [9 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/09/world/middleeast/mosul-isis-liberated.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/09/world/middleeast/mosul-isis-liberated.html</a> [accessed 10 July 2017].
  - Is victory declared? The answer is, not yet. This article provides excellent information on the fighting yet to happen and the destruction that has occurred to get to the current level of "success."
- ★ Arango, Tim, Eric Schmitt, and Rukmini Callimachi, "Hungry, Thirsty and Bloodied in Battle to Retake Mosul From ISIS," The New York Times [18 December 2016].
  - http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/18/world/middleeast/iraq-mosul-islamic-state.html [accessed 20 December 2016].
  - This is a powerful article capturing just a few of the critical issues with capturing Mosul from ISIS. One should expect that the Iraqi security forces have taken thousands of casualties thus far as the only UN published number approached 2,000 more than a month ago. The problem is that the lead units are those units that are least sectarian and best positioned to help govern the country in a reasonable way following the fighting and now they are being bled white. There were several reasons the US should have encouraged a delay on the fighting in Mosul and this article identifies two: casualties in crucial elements of the ISF and the suffering and eventual issues with starvation and cholera.
  - The Associated Foreign Press, "Iraq forces launch anti-Daesh push in western desert," *The Associated Foreign Press* [12 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.arabnews.com/node/1098116/middle-east">http://www.arabnews.com/node/1098116/middle-east</a> [accessed 12

- May 2017].
- The Associated Press, "Iraq and U.S. warn Mosul residents of possible dam collapse," *Military Times* [29 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/02/29/mosul-dam-iraq-collapse/81108476/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/02/29/mosul-dam-iraq-collapse/81108476/</a> [accessed 1 March 2016].
- The Associated Press, "Islamic State bombings kill more than 30 people in Iraq," *Los Angeles Times* [1 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-iraq-car-bombings-20160501-snap-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-iraq-car-bombings-20160501-snap-story.html</a> [accessed 2 May 2016].
- The Associated Press, "Iraq hangs 36 over 2014 ISIS massacre of soldiers in Tikrit," CBS News [21 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.cbsnews.com/news/iraq-hangs-36-isis-massacre-soldiers-tikrit/">http://www.cbsnews.com/news/iraq-hangs-36-isis-massacre-soldiers-tikrit/</a> [accessed 22 August 2016].
- The Associated Press, "Iraqi special forces join Mosul offensive against ISIS," *Fox News* [20 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/10/20/iraqi-special-forces-join-mosul-offensive-against-islamic-state.html">http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/10/20/iraqi-special-forces-join-mosul-offensive-against-islamic-state.html</a> [accessed 21 October 2016].
  - Details of the assault against Mosul. This article mostly discusses the actions in surrounding villages.
- The Associated Press, "Iraqi Special Forces Capture New Land in Eastern Mosul," *The New York Times* [7 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2016/12/07/world/middleeast/ap-ml-iraq.html">http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2016/12/07/world/middleeast/ap-ml-iraq.html</a> [accessed 7 December 2016].
  - Information on losses and actions in the neighborhoods of Mosul. As of the accessed date, I am concerned with the effect of the casualties of this battle on Iraqi Security Forces. Based on this article they have suffered as much as a couple of thousand casualties and the have still not crossed the river.
- The Associated Press, "Amal Clooney urges world to stop Islamic State's genocide in Iraq," *The Telegraph* [10 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/10/amal-clooney-urges-world-stop-islamic-states-genocide-iraq/">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/10/amal-clooney-urges-world-stop-islamic-states-genocide-iraq/</a> [accessed 10 March 2017].
- The Associated Press, "Coalition official: ISIS-held Mosul completely surrounded," *Military Times* [12 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/coalition-official-isis-held-mosul-completely-surrounded">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/coalition-official-isis-held-mosul-completely-surrounded</a> {accessed 14 March 2017].
  - This is a positive report of progress around Mosul. Are things really going this well? Brett McGurk is now using the term ISIS.
- The Associated Press, "Iraq Paramilitaries Move on Key Town Near Syrian Border," *Voice of America News* [29 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/a/iraq-paramilitaries-town-near-syrian-border/3875359.html">http://www.voanews.com/a/iraq-paramilitaries-town-near-syrian-border/3875359.html</a> [accessed 30 May 2017].
- The Associated Press, "AP: Death toll in Mosul 10 times higher than acknowledged," *US News and World Report* [20 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-12-27/isis-by-the-numbers-in-2017">https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-12-27/isis-by-the-numbers-in-2017</a> [accessed 28 December 2017].
- The Associated Press, "US, Iraqi forces kill dozens of Islamic State fighters," *Military Times* [11 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/11/11/us-iraqi-forces-kill-dozens-of-islamic-state-fighters/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/11/11/us-iraqi-forces-kill-dozens-of-islamic-state-fighters/</a> [accessed 12 November 2018].
- The Associated Press, "Iraqi forces launch anti-ISIS operation north of Baghdad," *Military Times* [21 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/07/21/iraqi-forces-launch-anti-isis-operation-north-of-baghdad/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/07/21/iraqi-forces-launch-anti-isis-operation-north-of-baghdad/</a> [accessed 22 July 2019].
- Atran, Scott, "Report from the Field: The Battle of Kudilah: Pitfalls in Coalition Strategy Against ISIS," Strategic Multilayer Assessment Report from the Field [February 2016].
- Atran, Scott, "Report from the Field: The Battle of Kudilah: Pitfalls in Coalition Strategy Against ISIS," Strategic Multilayer Assessment Report from the Field [24 March 2016].
  - Discussion on specific events of a company-sized attack and defense in a small village in northern Iraq. The

- details are fantastic and provide great insight into the power of narrative as well as the realities on the ground. The battle took place in February 2016.
- ★ Atran, Scott, "On the Front Line Against ISIS: Who Fights, Who Doesn't, and Why," *The Daily Beast* [19 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/19/on-the-front-line-against-isis-who-fights-who-doesn-t-and-why.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/19/on-the-front-line-against-isis-who-fights-who-doesn-t-and-why.html</a> [accessed 19 April 2016].
  - Australian Associated Press, "Australia to end airstrikes in Iraq and Syria following victory over Isis," *The Guardian* [21 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/dec/22/australia-to-end-airstrikes-in-iraq-and-syria-following-victory-over-isis">https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/dec/22/australia-to-end-airstrikes-in-iraq-and-syria-following-victory-over-isis">https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/dec/22/australia-to-end-airstrikes-in-iraq-and-syria-following-victory-over-isis</a> [accessed 22 December 2017].
  - Baldor, Lolita C., "Pentagon chief: Iraqi strike may be 'mistake' by both sides", *The Day* [19 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.theday.com/nationworld/20151219/pentagon-chief-iraqi-strike-may-be-mistake-by-both-sides">http://www.theday.com/nationworld/20151219/pentagon-chief-iraqi-strike-may-be-mistake-by-both-sides</a> [accessed 21 December 2015].
    - In mid-December US aircraft killed Iraqi Security Forces in Fallujah. This article gives some of the details of this airstrike.
  - Baron, Kevin, "The Battle for Mosul Has Begun," *Defense One* [29 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/02/battle-mosul-has-begun/126304/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/02/battle-mosul-has-begun/126304/</a> [accessed 1 March 2016].
  - Bassem, Wassim, "Violence still plagues Christians in Iraq," al-Monitor [6 September 2017]. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/armenians-iraq-minorities-christian.html [accessed 8 September 2017].
  - BBC, "US-Iraqi rescue operation 'foils IS mass execution'," *BBC News* [22 October 2015]. http://www.bbc.com/news/34607471 [accessed 23 October 2015].
  - BBC, "Islamic State: Up to \$800m of funds 'destroyed by strikes'," *BBC News* [26 April 2016]. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36145301 [accessed 27 April 2016].
  - BBC, "Iraq forces retake town of Hawija from IS," *BBC News* [5 October 2017]. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-41509085 [accessed 5 October 2017].
  - Beck, John, "The ruins of Mosul have exposed the future of high-tech warfare," *Wired* [8 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.wired.co.uk/article/mosul-iraq-bomb-disposal-unit">https://www.wired.co.uk/article/mosul-iraq-bomb-disposal-unit</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - Bender, Bryan, "Pentagon leery of political pressure to move quickly on ISIL stronghold", *Politico* [16 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/story/2016/02/defense-mosul-iraq-isil-islamic-state-219227">http://www.politico.com/story/2016/02/defense-mosul-iraq-isil-islamic-state-219227</a> [accessed 17 February 2016].
  - Bender, Jeremy, "One Paragraph Explains How ISIS Managed To Seize Iraq's Second-Largest City," *The Business Insider* [14 October 2014]. <a href="http://www.businessinsider.com/how-isis-managed-to-take-mosul-2014-10">http://www.businessinsider.com/how-isis-managed-to-take-mosul-2014-10</a> [accessed 25 October 2017].
- ★ Boghani, Priyanka, "Iraq's Shia Militias: The Double-Edged Sword Against ISIS," *PBS Frontline* [21 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/iraqs-shia-militias-the-double-edged-sword-against-isis/">http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/iraqs-shia-militias-the-double-edged-sword-against-isis/</a> [accessed 25 March 2017].
  - Updated discussion on the role and allegations against Shia militias in the anti-ISIS fight.
  - Booth, William and Aaso Ameen Shwan, "Trapped in a house with Islamic State fighters," *The Washington Post* [1 November 2016].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/trapped-in-a-house-with-islamic-state-fighters/2016/11/01/4d884226-9fdf-11e6-8864-6f892cad0865\_story.html [accessed 2 November 2016].
    - Report of a group of female Christian students holed up in their student house when ISIS fighters come in. This happens in Kirkuk.

- Bourke, Latika, "Foreign Islamic State fighters are 'fighting to the death' in Mosul," *Sydney Morning Herald* [28 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.smh.com.au/world/foreign-islamic-state-fighters-are-fighting-to-the-death-in-mosul-20170427-gvu69o.html">http://www.smh.com.au/world/foreign-islamic-state-fighters-are-fighting-to-the-death-in-mosul-20170427-gvu69o.html</a> [accessed 1 May 2017].
- Brannen, Kate, "Pentagon Ready to Pay for the Iraqi Civilians It Kills. Next Step: Admit It Kills Civilians", The Daily Beast [8 November 2015]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/08/pentagon-ready-to-pay-for-the-iraqi-civilians-it-kills-next-step-admit-it-kills-civilians.html [accessed 9 November 2015].
- Brown, David, "Iraqi leader says ISIS is at its end; the US military says not so fast," *The Washington Examiner* [29 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/iraqi-leader-says-isis-is-at-its-end-the-us-military-says-not-so-fast/article/2627481">http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/iraqi-leader-says-isis-is-at-its-end-the-us-military-says-not-so-fast/article/2627481</a> [accessed 1 July 2017].
- Bulos, Nabih, "Islamic State has been cranking out car bombs on an industrial scale for the battle of Mosul," *The Los Angeles Times* [25 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iraq-car-bombs-2017-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iraq-car-bombs-2017-story.html</a> [accessed 28 February 2017].
  - Information on the development and use of car bombs in Mosul.
- Bulos, Nabih, "Islamic State is showing stunning resistance as Iraqi troops try to breach west Mosul," *The Los Angeles Times* [26 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iraq-mosul-resistance-20170226-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iraq-mosul-resistance-20170226-story.html</a> [accessed 28 February 2017].
  - Specifics on the attack into western Mosul from the south.
- Bulos, Nabih, "Government forces begin storming Mosul's Old City as Islamic State makes a last stand in its Iraqi 'capital'," *The Los Angeles Times* [18 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-mosul-old-city-20170618-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-mosul-old-city-20170618-story.html</a> [accessed 19 June 2017].
- Burns, Robe, "US Says Iraqis Now in Position to Retake Ramadi," *Military.com* [13 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.military.com/daily-news/2015/10/13/us-says-iraqis-now-position-retake-ramadi.html">http://www.military.com/daily-news/2015/10/13/us-says-iraqis-now-position-retake-ramadi.html</a> [accessed 14 October 2015].
- Buzzard, Curtis A., John C. White, and Jared N. Ferguson, "An Exercise in Mission Command: The Panther Brigade in Operation Inherent Resolve," *Infantry*, April-July 2016, 32-41.
  - http://www.benning.army.mil/infantry/magazine/issues/2016/APR-JUL/pdf/1)%20Buzzard PantherOIR TXT.pdf [accessed 19 July 2017].
  - This brigade was present during my time in Iraq in 2015. This is useful perspective from that of the US soldier and operator. Great statement on the dynamics in Iraq as the US forces understood them.
- Chandler, Adam, "The Painful Loss of Ramadi," *The Atlantic* [18 May 2015]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/05/the-painful-loss-of-ramadi/393566/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/05/the-painful-loss-of-ramadi/393566/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
- Chernov, Mstyslav and Felipe Dana, "Patrolling western Mosul a weary grind for Iraqi police," *The Washington Post* [17 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/patrolling-western-mosul-a-weary-grind-for-iraqi-police/2017/04/17/47519602-233b-11e7-928e-3624539060e8">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/patrolling-western-mosul-a-weary-grind-for-iraqi-police/2017/04/17/47519602-233b-11e7-928e-3624539060e8</a> story.html [accessed 18 April 2017].
  - This article includes a short vignette on the exhaustion experienced by the Iraqi Security Forces. Excellent context.
- Chmaytelli, Maher and Ahmed Rasheed, "Exclusive: Iraqi army needs Kurds' help to retake Mosul Zebari," *Reuters* [29 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-exclusive-idUSKBNOUC0JP20151229">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-exclusive-idUSKBNOUC0JP20151229</a> [accessed 29 December 2015].
  - Interesting article in terms of the objectives of the Iraqi government. Are they really going to go to Mosul and will they really get the Kurds to be a part of it?
- Chmaytelli, Maher, "Iraq's Abadi keeps Iran at arm's length in war on Islamic State," Reuters [22]

- February 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-abadi-insight-idUSKCN0VU0ER">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-abadi-insight-idUSKCN0VU0ER</a> [accessed 22 February 2016].
- Chmaytelli, Maher, "Iraq bombing Islamic State-held Tal Afar ahead of assault: Iraqi military spokesman," *Reuters* [15 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-talafar-idUSKCN1AVOJF">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-talafar-idUSKCN1AVOJF</a> [accessed 15 August 2017].
- Chulov, Martin, "Dozens of Iraqis killed as Isis targets Baghdad during Ramadan," *The Guardian* [30 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/30/baghdad-ice-cream-shop-isis-car-bomb-attack">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/30/baghdad-ice-cream-shop-isis-car-bomb-attack</a> [accessed 31 May 2017].
- Chulov, Martin, "Isis surrenders Iraqi hideout of leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi," *The Guardian* [4 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/04/iraqi-forces-retake-key-town-of-baaj-from-isis">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/04/iraqi-forces-retake-key-town-of-baaj-from-isis</a> [accessed 6 June 2017].
  - Great quote from an unnamed diplomat: "This is all coming to a head now," said a senior regional diplomat. "But not in a coordinated way at all. Everyone has their own agenda. There is no common purpose here. And there sure as hell isn't a strategy."
- Chulov, Martin, "Iraqi forces advance on Isis-held city of Tal Afar," *The Guardian* [20 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/20/iraqi-forces-advance-on-isis-held-city-of-tal-afar">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/20/iraqi-forces-advance-on-isis-held-city-of-tal-afar</a> [accessed 21 August 2017].
- ★ Coles, Isabel, "Islamic State settles into Ramadi, but Iull unlikely to last", Reuters [28 May 2015].
  <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/28/us-mideast-crisis-ramadi-idUSKBN0OD2OS20150528">http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/28/us-mideast-crisis-ramadi-idUSKBN0OD2OS20150528</a>
  [accessed 29 May 2015].
  - Coles, Isabel, "U.S.-trained Iraqi army unit committed war crimes in Mosul: HRW," *Reuters* [27 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-watch-idUSKBN1AC1L4">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-watch-idUSKBN1AC1L4</a> [accessed 28 July 2017].
  - Coles, Isabel and John Davison, "Iraqi forces retake Mosul museum, close in on IS-controlled old town," *Reuters* [7 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-idUSKBN16E0DG">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-idUSKBN16E0DG</a> [accessed 8 March 2017].
    - Iraqi forces capture key facilities in the center of the city. Predictions of imminent ISIS collapse.
- ★ Collard, Rebecca, "Why ISIS Can Still Defeat the Iraqi Army in Spite of U.S. Help", Time Magazine [18 May 2015]. <a href="http://time.com/3882745/isis-ramadi-anbar/#3882745/isis-ramadi-anbar/">http://time.com/3882745/isis-ramadi-anbar/#3882745/isis-ramadi-anbar/</a> [accessed 19 May 2015].
  - Combined Joint Task Force Operation Inherent Resolve, "Iraqis air drop 'Letters to Mosul," Combined Joint Task Force -Operation Inherent Resolve Release #20161222-02 [22 December 2016].

    Millions of letters were air dropped into Mosul by the Iraqi Air Force to encourage the citizens of Mosul. These letters were solicited online.
  - Cooper, Helene, "As U.S. Hails Iraqi Success in Ramadi, Focus Turns to Next Move in ISIS Fight", *New York Times* [29 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/30/world/middleeast/isis-ramadi-iraq.html?r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/30/world/middleeast/isis-ramadi-iraq.html?r=0</a> [accessed 30 December 2015].

    Good news for the coalition.
  - Copp, Tara, "Carter: Mosul battle support not dependent on Iraqi political gains," *Stars and Stripes* [11 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.stripes.com/carter-mosul-battle-support-not-dependent-on-iraqi-political-gains-1.403944">http://www.stripes.com/carter-mosul-battle-support-not-dependent-on-iraqi-political-gains-1.403944</a> [accessed 12 April 2016].
  - Cumming-Bruce, Nick, "ISIS Has Killed Hundreds of Civilians in Mosul, U.N. Says," *The New York Times* [8 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/08/world/middleeast/iraq-mosul-isis.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/08/world/middleeast/iraq-mosul-isis.html</a> [accessed 9 June 2017].
  - Cunningham, Erin, "After Islamic State collapse in Ramadi, militants intensify siege of Haditha",

- Washington Post [5 January 2016].
- https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/following-islamic-state-collapse-in-ramadimilitants-intensify-siege-of-haditha/2016/01/05/7abf4840-b316-11e5-8abc-d09392edc612\_story.html [accessed 6 January 2016].
- Is this the next position to which ISIS flows? Has ISIS moved from seizing communities to laying siege or is this all the same general operational theme?
- D'Agata, Charlie, "ISIS battles U.S.-backed troops to vicious standoff in Mosul," *CBS News* [21 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.cbsnews.com/news/isis-iraq-standoff-western-mosul-dagata-front-line-brutal-street-fighting/">http://www.cbsnews.com/news/isis-iraq-standoff-western-mosul-dagata-front-line-brutal-street-fighting/</a> [accessed 24 March 2017].
- Daragahi, Borzou, "Iraq's Looming Election Has ISIS Spooked," *The Atlantic* [10 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/05/iraq-election-sunni-shi-islamic-state-abadi/559808/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/05/iraq-election-sunni-shi-islamic-state-abadi/559808/</a> [accessed 10 May 2018].
- Davis, Daniel, "Exclusive: The Coming Battle for Mosul Will Be Tougher Than You Think," *The National Interest* [30 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/exclusive-the-coming-battle-mosul-will-be-tougher-you-think-15998">http://www.nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/exclusive-the-coming-battle-mosul-will-be-tougher-you-think-15998</a> [accessed 2 May 2016].
- Davison, John, "Iraqi general says 30 percent of west Mosul recaptured from Islamic State," *Reuters* [12 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-idUSKBN16J0F2">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-idUSKBN16J0F2</a> [accessed 14 March 2017].
  - The CTS is suggesting that they are moving faster on the West side of the river and this battle may be over in a couple more months.
- Davison, John, "Weary and Wary, Iraq Special Forces Fight 'House-By-House' in Mosul," *Reuters* published in *US News* [13 March 2017]. <a href="https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-03-13/weary-and-wary-iraq-special-forces-fight-house-by-house-in-mosul">https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-03-13/weary-and-wary-iraq-special-forces-fight-house-by-house-in-mosul</a> [accessed 16 March 2017]. Update on CTS performance.
- Davison, John and Patrick Markey, "Iraqis pouring out of Mosul find no place at crowded camps," Reuters [20 March 2017]. http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-camps-idUSKBN16R0U1 [accessed 21 March 2017].
- deGrandpre, Andrew, "U.S. troops will be needed in Iraq after Mosul falls, Pentagon chief says," *Military Times* [10 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-troops-mosul-iraq-islamic-state">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-troops-mosul-iraq-islamic-state</a> [accessed 11 January 2017].
  - Secretary Carter and GEN Dunsford make explicit that the US will be in Iraq for some time to come.
- ★ Detmer, Jamie, "Islamic State Regroups in Parts of Iraq," Voice of America [2 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-regoups-iraq/3834148.html">http://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-regoups-iraq/3834148.html</a> [accessed 3 May 2017].
  Brief restatement of challenges still remaining in Iraq regardless of Mosul falling or not. ISIS is present in multiple locations and the rush to Mosul needs to be followed up with comprehensive security. Great quote from Adnani.
  - "Were we defeated when we lost the cities in Iraq and were in the desert without any city or land? ...It is the same, whether Allah blesses us with consolidation or we move into the bare, open desert, displaced and pursued."
  - Deutsche Welle, "Civilians told to leave 'IS'-held Iraqi city of Ramadi," *Deutsche Welle* [30 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/civilians-told-to-leave-is-held-iraqi-city-of-ramadi/a-18884014">http://www.dw.com/en/civilians-told-to-leave-is-held-iraqi-city-of-ramadi/a-18884014</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
    - The article states that an announcement went out telling civilians to leave Ramadi. It also contains suppositions on what this might mean.
  - Deutsche Welle, "Hundreds of civilians flee Mosul as IS loses grip on city," Deutsche Welle [24 June

- 2017]. http://www.dw.com/en/hundreds-of-civilians-flee-mosul-as-is-loses-grip-on-city/a-39401175 [accessed 26 June 2017].
- Some good details on the events of the weekend of 24 June 2017. The best detail is about 1.2 square miles of ground is all that ISIS controls in Mosul.
- Diehl, Jackson, "There's good news in Mosul for now," *The Washington Post* [25 December 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/theres-good-news-in-mosul--for-now/2016/12/25/265ad37a-c876-11e6-85b5-76616a33048d\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/theres-good-news-in-mosul--for-now/2016/12/25/265ad37a-c876-11e6-85b5-76616a33048d\_story.html</a> [accessed 28 December 2016].
  - Here is a positive report on the events around Mosul. It is critical to keep in mind that this report is positive only in relation to Aleppo.
- Dozier, Kimberley, "Satellite Photos Show ISIS Getting Squeezed in Mosul," *The Daily Beast* [3 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/03/satellite-photos-show-isis-getting-squeezed-in-mosul.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/03/satellite-photos-show-isis-getting-squeezed-in-mosul.html</a> [accessed 5 December 2016].
  - Great images and discussion of the dropping of bridges over the Tigris River in Mosul.
- El-Ghobashy, Tamer and Mustafa Salim, "Iraqi military reclaims city of Tal Afar after rapid Islamic State collapse," *The Washington Post* [27 August 2017].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraqi-military-reclaims-city-of-tal-afar-after-rapid-islamic-state-collapse/2017/08/27/a98e7e96-8a53-11e7-96a7-d178cf3524eb\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraqi-military-reclaims-city-of-tal-afar-after-rapid-islamic-state-collapse/2017/08/27/a98e7e96-8a53-11e7-96a7-d178cf3524eb\_story.html</a> [accessed 28 August 2017].
- Fordham, Alice, "In Chaotic Iraq, ISIS Is Just One Challenge Among Many", *National Public Radio* [9 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/02/09/465146827/in-chaotic-iraq-isis-is-just-one-challenge-among-many">http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/02/09/465146827/in-chaotic-iraq-isis-is-just-one-challenge-among-many</a> [accessed 10 February 2016].
- Fordham, Alice, "An Iraqi Town Is Retaken From ISIS, And Looting And Retribution Begin," *National Public Radio* [16 November 2015].

  <a href="http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2015/11/16/456246515/after-taking-back-iraqi-town-yazidis-vow-revenge-on-isis-supporters?utm\_medium=RSS&utm\_campaign=conflictzones">http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2015/11/16/456246515/after-taking-back-iraqi-town-yazidis-vow-revenge-on-isis-supporters?utm\_medium=RSS&utm\_campaign=conflictzones</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
- Fordham, Alice, "No One Was Prepared To Care For So Many Wounded In Mosul," *National Public Radio* [5 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2017/03/05/518360464/no-one-was-prepared-to-care-for-so-many-wounded-in-mosul">http://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2017/03/05/518360464/no-one-was-prepared-to-care-for-so-many-wounded-in-mosul</a> [accessed 6 March 2017].
  - This article angers me, because it should not be true. Two years ago, we addressed these issues and raised these concerns. The idea that two years later no one was ready only goes to show the failure to engage with the Iraqis on what was truly important.
- Frantzman, Seth J. "Mosul Op: The Kurdish perspective and the battle for Mosul," Presentation at Rudaw Conference [October 2016].

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/29943849/Mosul">https://www.academia.edu/29943849/Mosul</a> Op The Kurdish perspective and the battle for M osul [accessed 2 June 2021].
- Garland, Chad, "ISIS 'massacred' scores of civilians escaping Mosul, Iraqi officials say," *Stars and Stripes* [8 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/isis-massacred-scores-of-civilians-escaping-mosul-iraqi-officials-say-1.462588">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/isis-massacred-scores-of-civilians-escaping-mosul-iraqi-officials-say-1.462588</a> [accessed 10 April 2017].
  - Simple information on the adaptability of ISIS. Only a couple of weeks ago the US and Iraq adjusted targeting requirements based off civilian casualties in Mosul and here we have an almost immediate real-time adjustment to the actions on the ground.
- Garland, Chad, "Military doctors busy treating Iraqi forces as ISIS continues fight," *Stars and Stripes* [22 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/military-doctors-busy-treating-iraqi-forces-as-isis-continues-fight-1.518075">https://www.stripes.com/news/military-doctors-busy-treating-iraqi-forces-as-isis-continues-fight-1.518075</a> [accessed 22 March 2018].

- Garland, Chad, "Coalition strike kills senior ISIS leader wanted by the US," *Stars and Stripes* [29 May 2020]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/coalition-strike-kills-senior-isis-leader-wanted-by-the-us-1.631644">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/coalition-strike-kills-senior-isis-leader-wanted-by-the-us-1.631644</a> [accessed 5 June 2020].
- Garland, Chad, "US-trained Iraqi counterterrorism forces capture ISIS child recruiter in independent operation," *Stars and Stripes* [4 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/us-trained-iraqi-counterterrorism-forces-capture-isis-child-recruiter-in-independent-operation-1.650986">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/us-trained-iraqi-counterterrorism-forces-capture-isis-child-recruiter-in-independent-operation-1.650986</a> [accessed 12 November 2020].
- George, Susannah, "Washington, Baghdad on different pages in fight against IS", *Military Times* [8 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/12/08/washington-baghdad-different-pages-fight-against/76969174/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/12/08/washington-baghdad-different-pages-fight-against/76969174/</a> [accessed 9 December 2015].
  - This article includes excellent observations of the challenging and complex dynamics of Iraqi politics.
- George, Susannah, "1 month in, Iraq still faces grueling urban combat in Mosul," *Chicago Tribune* [17 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-iraq-battle-for-mosul-20161117-story.html">http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-iraq-battle-for-mosul-20161117-story.html</a> [accessed 18 November 2016].
  - Includes quality details on the fighting in Mosul in the later Fall 2016.
- George, Susannah, "Former US prisoner now leading Iraq's Interior ministry," *Military Times* [8 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/former-us-prisoner-now-leading-iraqs-interior-ministry">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/former-us-prisoner-now-leading-iraqs-interior-ministry</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
  - A new member of the Badr Corps is the Mol minister.
- George, Susannah, "US trumpets Mosul gains, but Iraq says more aid needed," *Military Times* [15 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-trumpets-mosul-gains-but-iraq-says-more-aid-needed">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-trumpets-mosul-gains-but-iraq-says-more-aid-needed</a> [accessed 16 May 2017].
  - Brett McGurk is the US official prominent in the story.
- George, Susannah, "Tensions rise between Iraqi forces and civilians in Mosul," *Military Times* [6 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/tensions-rise-between-iraqi-forces-and-civilians-in-mosul">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/tensions-rise-between-iraqi-forces-and-civilians-in-mosul</a> [accessed 8 July 2017].
- George, Susannah, "Iraqi prime minister declares 'total victory' in Mosul over ISIS," *Military Times* [10 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-led-coalition-says-iraqi-forces-have-retaken-all-of-mosul-from-isis">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-led-coalition-says-iraqi-forces-have-retaken-all-of-mosul-from-isis</a> [accessed 11 July 2017].
- George, Susannah, "As ISIS caliphate crumbles, US builds outposts in western Iraq," *Military Times* [10 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/10/as-isis-caliphate-crumbles-us-builds-outposts-in-western-iraq/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/10/as-isis-caliphate-crumbles-us-builds-outposts-in-western-iraq/</a> [accessed 10 November 2017].
- ★ George, Susannah, "Mosul is a graveyard: Final IS battle kills 9,000 civilians," Associated Press [21 December 2017]. <a href="https://apnews.com/bbea7094fb954838a2fdc11278d65460/9,000-plus-died-in-battle-with-Islamic-State-group-for-Mosul">https://apnews.com/bbea7094fb954838a2fdc11278d65460/9,000-plus-died-in-battle-with-Islamic-State-group-for-Mosul</a> [accessed 22 January 2018].
  - Some of the best, specific data available on the casualties in the fight to regain Mosul.
  - George, Susannah, "Thousands remain missing after Iraq's victories against ISIS," *Military Times* [31 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/31/thousands-remain-missing-after-iraqs-victories-against-isis/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/31/thousands-remain-missing-after-iraqs-victories-against-isis/</a> [accessed 2 January 2018].
- ★ George, Susannah and Qassim Abdul-Zahra, "As army rebuilds, Iraqi assault to retake Mosul months away," *Military Times* [6 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/06/army-rebuilds-iraqi-assault-retake-mosul-months-away/81402704/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/06/army-rebuilds-iraqi-assault-retake-mosul-months-away/81402704/</a> [accessed 7 March 2016].
- ★ George, Susannah, Desmond Butler, and Maya Alleruzzo, "Iraq Routed is from Ramadi at a High Cost: A City Destroyed," Associated Press [5 May 2016].

- http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/M/ML\_ISLAMIC\_STATE\_SCORCHED\_EARTH?SITE=AP&SECTIO N=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&CTIME=2016-05-05-02-24-54#a3dfb8b1-c3d5-45ea-8ab7-2963b530e736 [accessed 5 May 2016].
- George, Susannah and Balint Szlanko, "U.S. changes rules of engagement for Mosul fight in Iraq," *Military Times* [24 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-changes-rules-of-engagement-for-mosul-fight-in-iraq">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-changes-rules-of-engagement-for-mosul-fight-in-iraq</a> [accessed 28 February 2017].
  - US forces are currently supporting Iraqi security forces attacking into Mosul.
- George, Susannah and John Beck, "Inside the fight against ISIS sleeper cells in liberated Mosul," *Military Times* [26 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/inside-the-fight-against-isis-sleeper-cells-in-liberated-mosul">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/inside-the-fight-against-isis-sleeper-cells-in-liberated-mosul</a> [accessed 28 February 2017].
  - How will the insurgency develop post-ISIS defeat.
- George, Susannah and Malak Harb, "West Mosul battle looks to be deadliest yet for Iraqis," *Military Times* [19 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/west-mosul-battle-looks-to-be-deadliest-yet-for-iraqis">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/west-mosul-battle-looks-to-be-deadliest-yet-for-iraqis</a> [accessed 21 March 2017].
- George, Susannah and Zeina Karam, "Allegations of abuse, mismanagement shadow gains against ISIS," *Military Times* [30 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/allegations-of-abuse-mismanagement-shadow-gains-against-isis">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/allegations-of-abuse-mismanagement-shadow-gains-against-isis</a> [accessed 31 May 2017].
  - In many ways this could be in the Syria section as it deals with Syria issues as much or even more than Iraq issues.
- George, Susannah and Andrea Rosa, "With fight for Mosul in final stage, militants strike back," *Military Times* [3 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/with-fight-for-mosul-in-final-stage-militants-strike-back">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/with-fight-for-mosul-in-final-stage-militants-strike-back</a> [accessed 5 July 2017].
- Georgy, Michael, Ahmed Rasheed, and Raya Jalabi, "Special Report: In Mosul's fall, informers played vital role against Islamic State," *Reuters* [4 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-specialrepo/special-report-in-mosuls-fall-informers-played-vital-role-against-islamic-state-idUSKCN1C916U">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-specialrepo/special-report-in-mosuls-fall-informers-played-vital-role-against-islamic-state-idUSKCN1C916U</a> [accessed 4 October 2017].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "Pentagon: Iraqi units move into Kurdistan in prep for battle of Mosul," *The Washington Post* [17 February 2016].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/02/17/pentagon-iraqi-units-move-into-kurdistan-in-prep-for-battle-of-mosul/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/02/17/pentagon-iraqi-units-move-into-kurdistan-in-prep-for-battle-of-mosul/</a> [accessed 18 February 2016].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "ISIS video shows how the group has turned car bombs into its version of airstrikes," *The Washington Post* [15 November 2016].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/11/15/isis-video-shows-how-the-group-has-turned-car-bombs-into-its-version-of-airstrikes/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/11/15/isis-video-shows-how-the-group-has-turned-car-bombs-into-its-version-of-airstrikes/</a> [accessed 16 November 2016].

  ISIS video emphasizes that they are still in the fight.
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas and Mustafa Salim, "Final stages of Mosul battle will be 'extremely violent,' U.S. commander says," *The Washington Post* [22 May 2017].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/05/22/final-stages-of-mosul-battle-will-be-extremely-violent-u-s-commander-says/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/05/22/final-stages-of-mosul-battle-will-be-extremely-violent-u-s-commander-says/</a> [accessed 23 May 2017].

  Some data on ISF casualties in this fight.
- Gienger, Viola, "In the Shadow of a Massacre, a Peaceful Return in Iraq USIP Partners Ease Tensions Over 2014 Slaughter by Islamic State," Center for Middle East and Africa (MEA), Iraq Program, United States Institute of Peace (USIP), 16 July 2015.
- ★ Giglio, Mike, "Inside the Real US Ground War On ISIS," BuzzFeed News [16 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.buzzfeed.com/mikegiglio/inside-the-real-us-ground-war-on-isis">https://www.buzzfeed.com/mikegiglio/inside-the-real-us-ground-war-on-isis</a> [accessed 18 August

2016].

The author portrays the US military involvement in Iraq through a series of anecdotes involving engagements resulting in US casualties. His contention is that the US involvement is much greater than the administration admits.

- ★ Gordon, Michael R. "Iraqi Forces Open a Front in West Mosul, Trying to Squeeze ISIS," *The New York Times* [4 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/04/world/middleeast/iraqi-forces-west-mosul-isis.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/04/world/middleeast/iraqi-forces-west-mosul-isis.html</a> [accessed 5 May 2017].
  - Great detail on the leadership struggles among the various components of the Iraqi Security Forces. The battle for Mosul is over seven months old. Will it really end in three weeks?
- ★ Gordon, Michael R. "U.S. Army Study Finds Flaws With Military's Pivotal Assault on Mosul," *The Wall Street Journal* [15 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-army-study-finds-flaws-with-militarys-pivotal-assault-on-mosul-1513333800">https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-army-study-finds-flaws-with-militarys-pivotal-assault-on-mosul-1513333800</a> [accessed 18 December 2017].
  - Excellent information on the challenges associated with fighting ISIS in Mosul.
  - Gordon, Michael R. and Eric Schmitt, "U.S. and Iraqi Forces Take Offensive Against ISIS on Several Fronts," *The New York Times* [19 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/middleeast/us-and-iraq-pursuing-isis-on-several-fronts.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/world/middleeast/us-and-iraq-pursuing-isis-on-several-fronts.html</a> [accessed 20 October 2015].
- ★ Gopal, Anand, "The Hell After ISIS," *The Atlantic* [May 2016].

  <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/05/the-hell-after-isis/476391/">http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/05/the-hell-after-isis/476391/</a> [accessed 15 April 2016].
  - Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, "A Challenging Path toward Reconciliation: December 2015 January 2016 Survey Findings," Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Campaigns, Corporations, Advocacy, Worlwide [February 2016].
    - PowerPoint presentation featuring polling data on what Iraqis think of the Abadi administration and the fight against Da'ash and the potential for reconciliation.
  - Gulmohamad, Zana, "Unseating the Caliphate: Contrasting the Challenges of Liberating Fallujah and Mosul," United States Military Academy Counter Terrorism Center, CTC Sentinel, Volume 19, Issue 101, October 2016. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/CTC-SENTINEL Vol9Iss10.pdf">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/CTC-SENTINEL Vol9Iss10.pdf</a> [accessed 24 October 2016].

The paper contains excellent quotes and details on the attacks against both Fallujah in 2016 and Mosul. As this was published just as the Mosul operation began in earnest it provides information on the forces involved, but not on results.

- Gutowski, Alexandra, "Iranian-linked bomb kills American soldier in Iraq," *Long War Journal* [12 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/10/efp.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/10/efp.php</a> [accessed 17 October 2017].
- Hars, Ghazi, "The fall of Mosul: anatomy of a city's collapse," *Rudaw* [10 June 2015]. <a href="http://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/iraq/100620153">http://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/iraq/100620153</a> [accessed 25 October 2017].
- Hawaz, Abdulla, "Iraq's Shia Militias Accused of War Crimes in Fight Against ISIS," *The Daily Beast* [8 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/08/iraq-s-shia-militias-accused-of-war-crimes-in-fight-against-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/08/iraq-s-shia-militias-accused-of-war-crimes-in-fight-against-isis.html</a> [accessed 9 June 2016].
- Hawaz, Abdulla, "The Torturers Taking on ISIS in Fallujah," *The Daily Beast* [15 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/15/the-torturers-taking-on-isis-in-fallujah.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/15/the-torturers-taking-on-isis-in-fallujah.html</a> [accessed 15 June 2016].
- Hawramy, Fazel, "Mosul's residents tell of hopes and fears after Isis flees Iraqi city," *The Guardian* [15 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/15/mosul-residents-iraqi-troops-shias-battle-isis-stronghold">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/15/mosul-residents-iraqi-troops-shias-battle-isis-stronghold</a> [accessed 16 July 2017].
  - Most interesting is the accusations of the casualties inflicted on the Iraqi civilian populace by coalition

airstrikes.

- Hawramy, Fazel, "Kirkuk not as liberated from IS as claimed," *al-Monitor* [26 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/02/kirkuk-iraq-kurdistan-islamic-state.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/02/kirkuk-iraq-kurdistan-islamic-state.html</a> [accessed 2 March 2018].
- ★ Hay, John, "The Deciders: The disastrous Iraq policies that led to ISIS were not President Bush's", The American Conservative.com [27 October 2015]. <a href="http://TheAmericanConservative.com">http://TheAmericanConservative.com</a> [accessed 29 October 2015].
  - Hennessy-Fiske, Molly, "Iraqi forces accused of human rights abuses against Islamic State fighters during Mosul offensive," Los Angeles Times [15 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iraq-mosul-human-rights-20161115-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iraq-mosul-human-rights-20161115-story.html</a> [accessed 16 November 2016].
    - The article makes accusations of human rights abuses by Iraqi security forces.
  - HRW, "Iraq: ISIS Attacking Civilians in Mosul Retreat: Calls 'Unbelievers' Valid Targets," *Human Rights Watch* [20 December 2016]. <a href="https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/12/20/iraq-isis-attacking-civilians-mosul-retreat">https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/12/20/iraq-isis-attacking-civilians-mosul-retreat</a> [accessed 5 January 2017].
    - Direct quotes from escaped civilians detail the war crimes committed by ISIS in the defense of and battle for Mosul.
  - Hussein, Rikar, "Iraqi Forces Bogged Down Against IS in Old Mosul," *Voice of America* [3 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/iraqi-forces-bogged-down-again-st-is-in-old-mosul/3885632.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/iraqi-forces-bogged-down-again-st-is-in-old-mosul/3885632.html</a> [accessed 6 June 2017].
  - International Crisis Group, "Winning the Post-ISIS Battle for Iraq in Sinjar," *International Crisis Group Middle East Briefing*, Number 183, 20 February 2018. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/183-winning-the-post-isis-battle-for-iraq-in-sinjar.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/183-winning-the-post-isis-battle-for-iraq-in-sinjar.pdf</a> [accessed 21 February 2018].
  - ISW, "ISIS's Explosive Attacks in Greater Baghdad: April 4 to May 11, 2016," *Institute for the Study of War* [11 May 2016].

    <a href="http://post.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISIS's%20Explosive%20Attacks%20in%20Greater%20Baghdad%20April%204%20to%20May%2011%2C%202016%20PDF.pdf">http://post.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISIS's%20Explosive%20Attacks%20in%20Greater%20Baghdad%20April%204%20to%20May%2011%2C%202016%20PDF.pdf</a> [accessed 12 May 2016].
- ★ Jaffe, Greg and Loveday Morris, "A desperate woman's email from Iraq reveals the high toll of Obama's low-cost wars," The Washington Post [9 June 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-desperate-womans-email-from-iraq-reveals-the-high-toll-of-obamas-low-cost-wars/2016/06/09/3e572976-2725-11e6-b989-4e5479715b54\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-desperate-womans-email-from-iraq-reveals-the-high-toll-of-obamas-low-cost-wars/2016/06/09/3e572976-2725-11e6-b989-4e5479715b54\_story.html</a> [accessed 10 June 2016].

  The story is compelling and concerning. In the competition of narrative the manner in which the US fights the kinetic or competition of violence is damaging any ability to communicate concern for Iraqi people.
  - Jakes, Lara, "The March to Mosul Continues While Fallujah Starves," Foreign Policy [8 April 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/08/the-march-to-mosul-continues-while-fallujah-starves/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/08/the-march-to-mosul-continues-while-fallujah-starves/</a> [accessed 11 April 2016].
  - Janssen, Bram, "Iraqi army hunts ISIS remnants spreading fear in former 'caliphate'," *Military Times* [14 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/05/14/iraqi-army-hunts-isis-remnants-spreading-fear-in-former-caliphate/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/05/14/iraqi-army-hunts-isis-remnants-spreading-fear-in-former-caliphate/</a> [accessed 15 May 2019].
- ★ Jensen, Sterling, "The Fall of Iraq's Anbar Province." The Middle East Quarterly, Winter 2016, Volume 23, Number 1. <a href="http://www.meforum.org/meq/pdfs/5687.pdf">http://www.meforum.org/meq/pdfs/5687.pdf</a> [accessed 13 September 2016]. The article provides excellent information on the success or reasons for success of *The Surge* and the complexities associated with that success.
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Iraqi forces launch offensive against Islamic State in Hawijah," Long War Journal [21

- September 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/iraqi-forces-launch-offensive-against-islamic-state-in-hawijah.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/iraqi-forces-launch-offensive-against-islamic-state-in-hawijah.php</a> [accessed 25 September 2017].
- Kalin, Stephen, "Bombs laid by Islamic State hamper Iraqi troops in Ramadi after victory", *Reuters* [10 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-ramadi-idUSKCN0UO07U20160110">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-ramadi-idUSKCN0UO07U20160110</a> [accessed 11 January 2016].
  - Information on the relative quantity of explosives in Ramadi and the impact of these bombs on the city and the ability to return people to their homes.
- Kalin, Stephen, "Islamic State battle turns Iraq's Ramadi into ghost town", Reuters [18 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-ramadi-idUSKCN0UW1FN?feedType=RSS&feedName=topNews">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-ramadi-idUSKCN0UW1FN?feedType=RSS&feedName=topNews</a> [19 January 2016].
- Kalin, Stephen, "U.S. general sees Islamic State's capability waning in east Mosul," *Reuters* [2 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-usa-idUSKBN14M0P3">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-usa-idUSKBN14M0P3</a> [accessed 4 January 2017].
  - Useful data regarding the attack on Mosul in terms of the danger to the Iraqi Security Forces. Generally, this is a positive article about how well things are going. The most important quote is from PM Abadi and his prediction to have Mosul secure by April 2017.
- Kalin, Stephen and John Davison, "Iraqi forces advance in Mosul but civilian toll mounts," *Reuters* [10 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-idUSKBN14U1VI">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-idUSKBN14U1VI</a> [accessed 11 January 2017].
  - Statistics on civilian casualties and data on the advance into Mosul.
- Kenner, David, "Reporting Behind Enemy Lines in Mosul," Foreign Policy [2 January 2017]. http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/02/reporting-behind-enemy-lines-in-mosul/ [accessed 5 January 2017].
  - Short article on the travails of a journalist escaping Mosul. The information is limited and is one of many terrifying stories of the brutality of ISIS.
- Khalilzad, Zalmay, "Haider al-Abadi's Dangerous Gamble," *The New York Times* [12 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/13/opinion/haider-al-abadis-dangerous-gamble.html?r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/13/opinion/haider-al-abadis-dangerous-gamble.html?r=0</a> [accessed 13 April 2016].
- Kheel, Rebecca, "Iraqi PM predicts three months to defeat ISIS in his country," *The Hill* [27 December 2016]. <a href="http://thehill.com/policy/defense/311918-iraqi-pm-predicts-three-months-to-defeat-isis-in-his-country">http://thehill.com/policy/defense/311918-iraqi-pm-predicts-three-months-to-defeat-isis-in-his-country</a> [accessed 28 December 2016].
  - The comments are in response to LTG Townsend's comments regarding two years to defeat ISIS. Here the Iraqi PM wants to assure people that it will happen faster. He comments that Americans are pessimistic.
- Kittleson, Shelly, "Local Iraqi forces testing IS defenses in Anbar," *al-Monitor* [25 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/anbar-iraq-usa-isis-pmu.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/anbar-iraq-usa-isis-pmu.html</a> [accessed 28 August 2017].
- Kittleson, Shelly, "Islamic State resurfaces with attacks in Iraq's Diyala province," *al-Monitor* [4 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/11/iraq-diyala-terrorism-isis-sectarianism.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/11/iraq-diyala-terrorism-isis-sectarianism.html</a> [accessed 12 November 2020].
- Knights, Michael, "The Liberation of Mosul Has Begun," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* [30 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-liberation-of-mosul-has-begun">http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-liberation-of-mosul-has-begun</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
- Kohnavard, Nafiseh, "Mosul: Smuggled diary reveals life of fear under IS," *BBC News* [22 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-37411167">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-37411167</a> [accessed 27 September 2016]. Interesting set of personal observations of life in Mosul by a young man who eventually escaped.

- Kossov, Igor, "'Mosul Is Completely Destroyed': The impossible task of rebuilding the recently reclaimed city," *The Atlantic* [10 July 2017].
  - https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/07/mosul-iraq-abadi-isis-corruption/533067/ {accessed 2 April 2019].
- Kuntz, Katrin, "Life After Islamic State: 'They Taught Us How To Decapitate a Person'," *Der Spiegel* [14 April 2017]. Part One: http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/mosul-schools-reopen-after-islamic-state-occupation-a-1142905.html [accessed 18 April 2017]. Part Two: http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/mosul-schools-reopen-after-islamic-state-occupation-a-1142905-2.html [accessed 18 April 2017].
  - Two-part article that includes testimonials from students and teachers functioning in Mosul.
- Kuntz, Katrin, "Taking Islamic State to Court: Iraq's Challenging Path to Reconciliation," Der Spiegel Issue 17/2017 [22 April 2017]. Part One: <a href="http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/mosul-judges-try-to-bring-islamic-state-criminals-to-justice-a-1144790.html">http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/mosul-judges-try-to-bring-islamic-state-criminals-to-justice-a-1144790-2.html</a> [accessed 6 May 2017].
  - Two-part article on the legal and judicial response to Iraqi participants in ISIS. Not a lot of details, but excellent context.
  - Lafta, R., V. Cetorelli, and G. Burnham, "Living in Mosul during the time of ISIS and the military liberation: results from a 40-cluster household survey," *Conflict and Health*, 12:31 [1 August 2018]. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-018-0167-8">https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-018-0167-8</a> [accessed 2 June 2021].
  - Lamothe, Dan, "Sights from the battle for Ramadi as Iraqi forces take over the city center", Washington Post [28 December 2015].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/12/28/sights-from-the-battle-for-ramadi-as-iraqi-forces-take-over-the-city-center/ [accessed 29 December 2015].
  - Lamothe, Dan, "The fight against the Islamic State just entered a new phase and it could grow soon", Washington Post [20 January 2016].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/01/20/fight-against-the-islamic-state-enters-a-new-phase-with-pledge-from-seven-countries/ [accessed 21 January 2016].
  - Lamothe, Dan, "The 'biggest strategic concern' about Mosul? Putting it back together after ISIS loses." Washington Post [20 July 2016].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/07/20/the-biggest-strategic-concern-about-mosul-putting-it-back-together-after-isis-loses/ [accessed 22 July 2016].
  - Lamothe, Dan and Louisa Loveluck, "Two Americans killed in Iraq in operation targeting ISIS mountain hideout," *The Washington Post* [9 March 2020]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2020/03/09/two-americans-killed-iraq-operation-targeting-isis-mountain-hideout/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2020/03/09/two-americans-killed-iraq-operation-targeting-isis-mountain-hideout/[accessed 10 March 2020].</a>
  - Lamothe, Dan and Loveday Morris, "Pentagon will send hundreds more troops to Iraq following seizure of key airfield," Washington Post [11 July 2016].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/07/11/seizure-of-key-air-base-near-mosul-raises-prospect-of-u-s-escalation-against-isis/ [accessed 11 July 2016].
  - Lamothe, Dan, Thomas Gibbons-Neff, Laris Karklis and Tim Meko, "Battle of Mosul: How Iraqi forces defeated the Islamic State," *Washington Post* [10 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/world/battle-for-mosul/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/world/battle-for-mosul/</a> [accessed 27 February 2017].
  - Landler, Mark and Eric Schmitt, "Battle for Mosul Tests Obama Strategy to Shift Fight's Burden From

- U.S." The New York Times [17 October 2016].
- http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/18/us/politics/mosul-iraq-obama-strategy.html [accessed 18 October 2016].
- The article is about how the Obama Doctrine will be viewed based off the battle for Mosul.
- Leoni, Victoria, "US forces on guard in Iraq, even as troop levels are expected to decline," *Military Times* [7 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/07/us-forces-on-guard-in-iraq-even-as-troop-levels-are-expected-to-decline/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/07/us-forces-on-guard-in-iraq-even-as-troop-levels-are-expected-to-decline/</a> [accessed 8 February 2018].
- Lister, Tim, "The Mosul Campaign: From Here to the Horizon," CTC Sentinel, November/December 2016, Volume 9, Issue 11, pages 31-38. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CTC-Sentinel Vol9Iss1116.pdf">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CTC-Sentinel Vol9Iss1116.pdf</a> [accessed 2 December 2016].
  - The best analysis of the early fighting around Mosul. The author points out both the successes and challenges at the tactical and strategic levels.
  - Losey, Stephen, "Airstrikes against ISIS ramp up with fights for Mosul, Raqqa," *Air Force Times* [20 December 2016]. <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/articles/airstrikes-isis-afghanistan-afcent">https://www.airforcetimes.com/articles/airstrikes-isis-afghanistan-afcent</a> [accessed 22 December 2016].
    - Data on air strikes over the past 12 months.
  - Losey, Stephen, "As Mosul battle neared end, anti-ISIS airstrikes reached new peak," *Air Force Times* [10 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/articles/as-mosul-battle-neared-end-anti-isis-airstrikes-reached-new-peak">https://www.airforcetimes.com/articles/as-mosul-battle-neared-end-anti-isis-airstrikes-reached-new-peak</a> [accessed 11 July 2017].
  - Loveluck, Louisa and Mustafa Salim, "An ISIS attack in Iraq provokes conflict between neighbors, stirring sectarian violence," *The Washington Post* [11 November 2021].

    <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraq-islamic-state-attacks-badr/2021/11/11/08518c9c-3ca8-11ec-bd6f-da376f47304e\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraq-islamic-state-attacks-badr/2021/11/11/08518c9c-3ca8-11ec-bd6f-da376f47304e\_story.html</a> [accessed 13 November 2021].
  - MacDiarmid, Campbell, "Iraq Army's Mosul offensive stalls in face of fierce fighting, desertions," *Military Times* [29 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/29/iraq-armys-mosul-offensive-stalls-face-fierce-fighting-desertions/82393264/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/29/iraq-armys-mosul-offensive-stalls-face-fierce-fighting-desertions/82393264/</a> [accessed 30 March 2016].
- ★ Malik, Hamdi, "Iraq and Iran struggle for control over Popular Mobilization Units," Al Monitor: the Pulse of the Middle East [4 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/iraq-iran-popular-mobilization-units.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/iraq-iran-popular-mobilization-units.html</a> [accessed 7 August 2017].
  - Interesting explanation of the potential friction between elements of the Shia militia. The article explains the actions of one group that is emphasizing its connections only to the government of Iraq. There is additional information on the militia of Moqtada al-Sadr following suit. This is fascinating stuff.
  - Mannocchi, Francesca, "Iraqi forces find 'underground city' abandoned by IS," *Middle East Eye* [14 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/iraq-islamic-state-tunnels-mosul-264473157">http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/iraq-islamic-state-tunnels-mosul-264473157</a> [accessed 16 May 2016].
  - Markey, Patrick and Abdelaziz Boumzar, "IS Mosul commander killed, government forces battle for bridge," *Reuters* [14 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-casualties-idUSKBN16K1Q1">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-casualties-idUSKBN16K1Q1</a> [accessed 16 March 2017].
  - McCausland, Phil, "Iraqi Prime Minister Declares End of ISIS Caliphate in Iraq," *NBC News* [29 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-terror/iraqi-prime-minister-declares-end-isis-caliphate-iraq-n778341">http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-terror/iraqi-prime-minister-declares-end-isis-caliphate-iraq-n778341</a> [accessed 1 July 2017].
  - McIntyre, Jamie, "Mosul offensive producing treasure trove of intel," *The Washington Examiner* [15 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/mosul-offensive-producing-treasure-trove-of-intel/article/2614917">http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/mosul-offensive-producing-treasure-trove-of-intel/article/2614917</a> [accessed 16 February 2017].

- Very short. Lots of documents being collected. Predictions of ultimate success for the anti-ISIS coalition.
- McIntyre, Jamie, "Iraqi generals thank US for helping to liberate Mosul at Pentagon briefing," *The Washington Examiner* [13 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/iraqi-generals-thank-us-for-helping-to-liberate-mosul-at-pentagon-briefing/article/2628604">http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/iraqi-generals-thank-us-for-helping-to-liberate-mosul-at-pentagon-briefing/article/2628604</a> [accessed 14 July 2017].
- McKay, Hollie, "ISIS burns fighters alive for letting Ramadi fall", Fox News [12 January 2016]. http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/01/12/isis-burns-fighters-alive-for-letting-ramadi-fall.html [accessed 13 January 2016].
  - The article asserts that ISIS is feeling significant pressure and is therefore acting out with respect to their own people.
- ★ McLeary, Paul, "Why Are the Islamic State's Commanders so Much Better than the Iraqi Army?", Foreign Policy [26 May 2015]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/05/26/why-are-the-islamic-states-commanders-so-much-better-than-the-iraqi-army/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/05/26/why-are-the-islamic-states-commanders-so-much-better-than-the-iraqi-army/</a> [27 May 2015].
  - McLeary, Paul, "A Look at the U.S. Rockets About to Rock ISIS in Mosul," *Foreign Policy* [27 April 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/27/a-look-at-the-u-s-rockets-about-to-rock-isis-in-mosul/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/27/a-look-at-the-u-s-rockets-about-to-rock-isis-in-mosul/</a> [accessed 28 April 2016].
  - Michaels, Jim, "Iraq's army making slow progress on Mosul, but quick victory unlikely," *USA Today* [3 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/11/03/iraqs-army-making-slow-progress-mosul-but-quick-victory-unlikely/93190998/">http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/11/03/iraqs-army-making-slow-progress-mosul-but-quick-victory-unlikely/93190998/</a> [accessed 4 November 2016].
    - Simple report that provides great insights into the exercise of firepower theory in the current fight for Mosul.
  - Modern War Institute, "Urban Warfare Project Case Study Series: Case Study #2 Mosul," *Modern War Institute* [August 2021]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/urban-warfare-project-case-study-2-battle-of-mosul/">https://mwi.usma.edu/urban-warfare-project-case-study-2-battle-of-mosul/</a> [accessed 22 September 2021].
  - Morgan, Wesley, "What the Army's top-secret commando unit Delta Force is doing back in Iraq," *The Washington Post* [23 October 2015]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/10/23/what-the-armys-top-secret-
- ★ Morris, Loveday, "Mosul commander was on vacation despite warnings of attack, report says", The Washington Post [27 August 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/mosul-commander-was-on-vacation-despite-warnings-of-attack-report-says/2015/08/27/c6e39a46-4a9d-11e5-9f53-d1e3ddfd0cda\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/mosul-commander-was-on-vacation-despite-warnings-of-attack-report-says/2015/08/27/c6e39a46-4a9d-11e5-9f53-d1e3ddfd0cda\_story.html</a> [accessed 31 August 2015].

commando-unit-delta-force-is-doing-back-in-iraq/ [accessed 26 October 2015].

- Morris, Loveday, "Iraqi armed forces see chance for redemption as they close in on Ramadi", Washington Post [13 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraqi-armed-forces-see-chance-for-redemption-as-they-close-in-on-ramadi/2015/12/13/1f453690-9f6c-11e5-9ad2-568d814bbf3b\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraqi-armed-forces-see-chance-for-redemption-as-they-close-in-on-ramadi/2015/12/13/1f453690-9f6c-11e5-9ad2-568d814bbf3b\_story.html</a> [accessed 14 December 2015].
  - This article makes the capture of Ramadi seem to be inevitable and it is praising of the role of the U.S. in training and preparing the Iraqi Army to be successful in the fight.
- Morris, Loveday, "Carter takes stock of Islamic State battles as Iraqis seek to retake Ramadi", Washington Post [16 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/carter-takes-stock-of-islamic-state-campaign-as-iraqis-seek-to-reclaim-ramadi/2015/12/16/87245edc-a3c5-11e5-b53d-972e2751f433\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/carter-takes-stock-of-islamic-state-campaign-as-iraqis-seek-to-reclaim-ramadi/2015/12/16/87245edc-a3c5-11e5-b53d-972e2751f433\_story.html</a> [accessed 20 December 2015].
  - This article communicates the complexities of the political dynamics in Iraq along with the seemingly impending success at Ramadi.
- Morris, Loveday, "Thousands of protesters threaten to storm Iraq's parliament," Washington Post [26 April 2016]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/as-protesters-step-up-pressure-

- <u>iraqi-parliament-endorses-partial-cabinet-reshuffle/2016/04/26/be01fb8c-0bbf-11e6-bc53-db634ca94a2a\_story.html</u> [accessed 27 April 2016].
- Morris, Loveday, "Protesters leave Baghdad's Green Zone a day after ransacking parliament," Washington Post [1 May 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iraqi-prime-minister-orders-arrest-of-troublemaking-protesters/2016/05/01/e6e4d070-0f24-11e6-bc53-db634ca94a2a\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iraqi-prime-minister-orders-arrest-of-troublemaking-protesters/2016/05/01/e6e4d070-0f24-11e6-bc53-db634ca94a2a\_story.html</a> [accessed 2 May 2016].
- Morris, Loveday, "These Iraqis dodged bombs and bullets to escape the Islamic State, but their misery hasn't ended," Washington Post [15 June 2016].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/these-iraqis-dodged-bombs-and-bullets-to-escape-the-islamic-state-but-their-misery-hasnt-ended/2016/06/14/ca2f194c-2f52-11e6-b9d5-3c3063f8332c\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/these-iraqis-dodged-bombs-and-bullets-to-escape-the-islamic-state-but-their-misery-hasnt-ended/2016/06/14/ca2f194c-2f52-11e6-b9d5-3c3063f8332c\_story.html</a> [accessed 15 June 2016].
- Morris, Loveday, "The force leading the Iraq army's fight against ISIS went from 'dirty division' to Golden Boys," Washington Post [26 July 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-force-leading-the-iraqi-militarys-fight-against-isis-went-from-dirty-division-to-golden-boys/2016/07/25/8e6b0164-389e-11e6-af02-1df55f0c77ff\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-force-leading-the-iraqi-militarys-fight-against-isis-went-from-dirty-division-to-golden-boys/2016/07/25/8e6b0164-389e-11e6-af02-1df55f0c77ff\_story.html</a> [accessed 26 July 2016]. One of the best articles explaining the role of the counter-terrorism service or, as given in this article, the Golden Division. Recommend watching the Vice News video "Fighting the Islamic State with Iraq's Golden Division: The Road to Fallujah" to provide important context (<a href="https://news.vice.com/video/fighting-the-islamic-state-with-iraqs-golden-division-the-road-to-fallujah">https://news.vice.com/video/fighting-the-islamic-state-with-iraqs-golden-division-the-road-to-fallujah</a>).
- ★ Morris, Loveday, "Battle for Islamic State stronghold could trigger a new crisis: A million displaced Iraqis," Washington Post [3 October 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/battle-for-islamic-state-stronghold-could-trigger-a-new-crisis-a-million-displaced-iraqis/2016/10/03/91840e08-8408-11e6-92c2-14b64f3d453f\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/battle-for-islamic-state-stronghold-could-trigger-a-new-crisis-a-million-displaced-iraqis/2016/10/03/91840e08-8408-11e6-92c2-14b64f3d453f\_story.html</a> [accessed 4 October 2016]. It should be expected that the catastrophic collapse of Mosul will risk the lives of tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands as neither the government of Iraq nor the international community is ready to resolve the needs of the people once ISIS is defeated there. If the liberation of Mosul happens as expected then it will be in the middle of winter.
  - Morris, Loveday, "Battle to banish Islamic State from Mosul could become a mess," Washington Post [12 October 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/battle-to-banish-islamic-state-from-mosul-could-become-a-mess/2016/10/11/a78d78d2-8a58-11e6-8cdc-4fbb1973b506\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/battle-to-banish-islamic-state-from-mosul-could-become-a-mess/2016/10/11/a78d78d2-8a58-11e6-8cdc-4fbb1973b506\_story.html</a> [accessed 12 October 2016].
    - Good report on the complex challenges associated with an attack on Mosul. That said, this doesn't really offer something new.
  - Morris, Loveday, "'I thought, this is it': One man's escape from an Islamic State mass execution," Washington Post [15 November 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/i-thought-this-is-it-one-mans-escape-from-an-islamic-state-massacre/2016/11/14/c026418e-aa7a-11e6-8f19-21a1c65d2043">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/i-thought-this-is-it-one-mans-escape-from-an-islamic-state-massacre/2016/11/14/c026418e-aa7a-11e6-8f19-21a1c65d2043</a> story.htm [accessed 16 November 2016].
    - Report of a man who escaped an ISIS firing squad
  - Morris, Loveday, "'ISIS militants accused of using 'blistering chemical agent' in attacks in Mosul," Chicago Tribune from the Washington Post [4 March 2017].
    - http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-isis-chemical-attack-mosul-20170304-story.html [accessed 6 March 2017].
    - Is this actual blister agent? The reports coming from Mosul are notoriously poor and uncertain. This could be from the release of industrial chemicals that have similar effects.
  - Morris, Loveday and Mustafa Salim, "Iraq's army retakes village south of Mosul three months after launch of offensive," *Washington Post* [14 June 2016].

- https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iraqs-army-retakes-village-south-of-mosul-3-months-after-launch-of-offensive/2016/06/14/6ae5c6c2-3239-11e6-ab9d-1da2b0f24f93\_story.html [accessed 15 June 2016].
- Mouchantaf, Chirine, "The ISIS tactics that have left Iraqi special forces weakened," *Defense News* [8 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/sofex/2018/05/08/the-isis-tactics-that-have-left-iraqi-special-forces-weakened/">https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/sofex/2018/05/08/the-isis-tactics-that-have-left-iraqi-special-forces-weakened/</a> [accessed 9 May 2018].
- Mroue, Bassem, "ISIS tries to stage comeback amid rising US-Iran tensions," *Military Times* [28 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/01/28/isis-tries-to-stage-comeback-amid-rising-us-iran-tensions/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/01/28/isis-tries-to-stage-comeback-amid-rising-us-iran-tensions/</a> [accessed 29 January 2020].
- Murdock, Heather, "In Mosul Fight, Winter Delays Slow Push to Tal Afar," *Voice of America News* [19 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/a/mosul-fight-winter-slows-push-tal-afar/3642612.html">http://www.voanews.com/a/mosul-fight-winter-slows-push-tal-afar/3642612.html</a> [accessed 22 December 2016].
  - This story provides a positive spin on the popular mobilization forces or Shia militias.
- Murdock, Heather, "Buried in Old Mosul," *Voice of America News* [26 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/buried-in-old-mosul/3916532.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/buried-in-old-mosul/3916532.html</a> [accessed 27 June 2017]. Heart rending details of the fight for Mosul and the lives that are lost that will never be properly remembered nor the stories told.
- Murdock, Heather, "As Mosul Battle Ends, Iraq Forces Brace for Future," *Voice of America News* [1 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/as-mosul-battle-ends-iraq-forces-brace-for-future/3924263.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/as-mosul-battle-ends-iraq-forces-brace-for-future/3924263.html</a> [accessed 3 July 2017].
- Murdock, Heather, "The Day Islamic State Came Back," *Voice of America News* [3 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/day-so-called-islamic-state-came-back-tenek-mosul-iraq/3926675.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/day-so-called-islamic-state-came-back-tenek-mosul-iraq/3926675.html</a> [accessed 5 July 2017].
  - These repeated returns may create the future of ISIS presence in Iraq.
- Murdock, Heather, "Islamic State Militants Attempt Ambush in Mosul," *Voice of America News* [1 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-militatns-attempt-ambush-in-mosul/4051570.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-militatns-attempt-ambush-in-mosul/4051570.html</a> [accessed 2 October 2017].
- Nabeel, Gilgamesh, "Q & A with the "Mosul Eye" Historian," *al-Fanar Media* [9 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.al-fanarmedia.org/2015/10/mosul-eye-writer-talks-about-life-under-the-islamic-state/">http://www.al-fanarmedia.org/2015/10/mosul-eye-writer-talks-about-life-under-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 23 October 2015].
- ★ Nance, Malcom W., "ISIS Forces That Now Control Ramadi Are Ex-Baathist Saddam Loyalists", The Intercept [3 June 2015]. <a href="https://theintercept.com/2015/06/03/isis-forces-exbaathist-saddam-loyalists/">https://theintercept.com/2015/06/03/isis-forces-exbaathist-saddam-loyalists/</a> [accessed 5 June 2015].
  - Natali, Denise, "Shi'a Dynamics, ISIS, and U.S.-Iraqi Strategic Relations", Trip Report for Institute for National Strategic Studies [7 December 2015].
    - An excellent report on the dynamics of the Iraqi government and significant players in the Iraqi environment.
  - Natali, Denise, "The Long Road to Mosul", *War on the Rocks* [4 February 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/02/the-long-road-to-mosul/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/02/the-long-road-to-mosul/</a> [accessed 5 February 2016].
  - Natali, Denise, "The myth of a tripartite Iraq," *al-Monitor* [23 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/06/iraq-myth-tripartite-sunni-shia-kurd-stability-isis.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/06/iraq-myth-tripartite-sunni-shia-kurd-stability-isis.html</a> [accessed 27 June 2016].
  - Natali, Denise, "Beyond Mosul: The Battle for Borders and Authority in Post-ISIL Iraq," Trip Report for Institute for National Strategic Studies [24 October 2016].
    - This report is for official use only and therefore no links are provided.

- This report came from a conference of more than a hundred experts on ISIS and the Middle East. This is one of the best assessments and set of recommendations that has been published so far. The assessment is sober and reasoned based off observed realities rather than political motivations. The report paints a stark picture of possibilities though it addresses the topic as if ISIS will be defeated.
- ★ Natali, Denise, "Stabilizing Iraq With and Without the Islamic State," War on the Rocks [16 November 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/11/stabilizing-iraq-with-and-without-the-islamic-state/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/11/stabilizing-iraq-with-and-without-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 17 November 2016].
  - Natali provides excellent analysis of the governance challenges for Iraq post-ISIS.
  - Naylor, Hugh, "Iraqis trapped in Fallujah face twin peril of Islamic State and militia fighters," *The Washington Post* [7 June 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iraqis-in-fallujah-caught-in-perils-between-islamic-state-and-militia-fighters/2016/06/07/b23d59ea-27e4-11e6-8329-6104954928d2">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iraqis-in-fallujah-caught-in-perils-between-islamic-state-and-militia-fighters/2016/06/07/b23d59ea-27e4-11e6-8329-6104954928d2</a> story.html [accessed 8 June 2016].
  - Neuhof, Florian, "On the Ground as the Massive, High-Risk Attack on ISIS in Mosul Begins," *The Daily Beast* [17 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/17/on-the-ground-as-the-massive-high-risk-attack-on-isis-in-mosul-begins.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/17/on-the-ground-as-the-massive-high-risk-attack-on-isis-in-mosul-begins.html</a> [accessed 17 October 2016].
    - The attack against Mosul began on 16 October 2016. This identifies some of the challenges associated with the program as currently staged.
- ★ Niqash, "Where ISIS In Iraq Will Make Its Last Stand—or Its Comeback," The Daily Beast [28 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/where-isis-in-iraq-will-make-its-last-standor-its-comeback">http://www.thedailybeast.com/where-isis-in-iraq-will-make-its-last-standor-its-comeback</a> [accessed 28 July 2017]
  - Excellent discussion on the dynamics and difficulties associated with regaining governmental control over all of Iraq. The author identifies three areas of concern, but there are others, as well.
- Nordland, Rod, "Iraq Forces, Pushing ISIS Out of Tikrit, Give Few Thanks for U.S. Air Strikes." The New York Times [April 2, 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/03/world/middleeast/isis-forces-pushed-out-of-tikrit.html?smid=pl-share&r=1">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/03/world/middleeast/isis-forces-pushed-out-of-tikrit.html?smid=pl-share&r=1</a> [accessed 2 April 2015].
- ★ Nordland, Rod, "ISIS Fighters, Having Pledged to Fight or Die, Surrender en Masse," The New York Times [8 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/08/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-surrender.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/08/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-surrender.html</a> [accessed 8 October 2017].
  - Is the Islamic State over? Comments in this report can cause one to believe so. This is great news. ISIS has been a blight on Iraq and Syria. The surrender of hundreds and thousands of fighters over the last few weeks is a positive sign. The questions that people need to be asking now and in the near future is why, what happened, and how can we prevent this from happening again.
- ★ Oakford, Samuel, "Counting the Dead in Mosul," *The Atlantic* [5 April 2018]. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/04/counting-the-dead-in-mosul/556466/ [accessed 26 December 2018].
  - One of the best accounts of the casualties associated with the Battle of Mosul. The author is inaccurate, but he acknowledges he is only capturing a portion of the killed unlike official statements.
  - O'Connor, Tom, "War in Iraq: Islamic State Collapses as Military Kills ISIS Commander in West Mosul," Newsweek [10 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.newsweek.com/war-iraq-islamic-state-military-kill-isis-commander-mosul-607055">http://www.newsweek.com/war-iraq-islamic-state-military-kill-isis-commander-mosul-607055</a> [accessed 12 May 2017].
  - O'Connor, Tom, "U.S. Military Still Bombing ISIS After Iraq Declares Defeat of Islamic State in Mosul," Newsweek [12 July 2017]. http://www.newsweek.com/us-military-bombing-isis-iraq-declare-victory-islamic-state-635500 [accessed 14 July 2017].
  - Ollivant, Douglas A. and Erica Gaston, "The Problem with the Narrative of 'Proxy War' in Iraq," War on the Rocks [31 May 2019]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2019/05/the-problem-with-the-narrative-of-proxy-war-in-iraq/">https://warontherocks.com/2019/05/the-problem-with-the-narrative-of-proxy-war-in-iraq/</a> [accessed 31 May 2019].

- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Commander: US-led assault in Iraq 'incidentally' benefits Iran-backed militias," *Military Times* [25 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/global/mideast-africa/2017/08/25/commander-us-led-assault-in-iraq-incidentally-benefits-iran-backed-militias/">http://www.militarytimes.com/global/mideast-africa/2017/08/25/commander-us-led-assault-in-iraq-incidentally-benefits-iran-backed-militias/[accessed 28 August 2017].</a>
  - This is a statement of the obvious: US air strikes benefit those fighting ISIS regardless of our opinions of the benefitting groups.
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, Joe Gould, and Awad Mustafa, "Iraqi Forces Add Russian Guns to US Tanks for ISIL Fight," *Defense News* [15 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/10/15/iraq-russian-gun-iranian-ammo-found-us-origin-tank/73999398/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/10/15/iraq-russian-gun-iranian-ammo-found-us-origin-tank/73999398/</a> [accessed 16 October 2015].
- Orto, Nino, "The fall of Mosul: How Daesh managed to take Iraq's second largest city," *The Conflict Archives* [5 January 2018]. <a href="http://theconflictarchives.com/latest-articles/2018/1/4/the-fall-of-mosul">http://theconflictarchives.com/latest-articles/2018/1/4/the-fall-of-mosul</a> [accessed 23 March 2020].
- Otten, Cathy, "Exclusive: Inside America's ISIS Air Strike Center in Iraq", *The Daily Beast* [19 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/19/exclusive-inside-america-s-isis-air-strike-center-in-iraq.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/19/exclusive-inside-america-s-isis-air-strike-center-in-iraq.html</a> [accessed 22 November 2015].
- Parker, Ned, "Special Report: How Mosul fell An Iraqi general disputes Baghdad's story," *Reuters* [14 October 2014]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-gharawi-special-report/special-report-how-mosul-fell-an-iraqi-general-disputes-baghdads-story-idUSKCN0I30Z820141014">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-gharawi-special-report/special-report/special-report-how-mosul-fell-an-iraqi-general-disputes-baghdads-story-idUSKCN0I30Z820141014</a> [accessed 25 October 2014].
- ★ Parker, Ned, "Power failure in Iraq as militias outgun state", Reuters [21 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/iraq-abadi/?utm\_source=twitter/">http://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/iraq-abadi/?utm\_source=twitter/</a> [accessed 22 October 2015].
  - Pawlyk, Oriana, "No ISIS Surge During Pause in US Operations, General Says," *Military.com* [22 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/2020/01/22/no-isis-surge-during-pause-us-operations-general-says.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/2020/01/22/no-isis-surge-during-pause-us-operations-general-says.html</a> [accessed 23 January 2020].
- ★ Perry, Mark, "How Iraq's Army Could Defeat ISIS in Mosul—But Lose Control of the Country," Politico [15 December 2016]. http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/12/iraq-army-mosul-isis-214531 [accessed 5 January 2017].
  - Excellent article on the challenges facing the Golden Division and post-war Iraq. The author raises one of the most significant concerns for the post-ISIS environment an ineffective Iraqi special operations force because they are bled out on the streets of Mosul.
  - Peyre-Costa, Tom, "Mosul: One year on: After ISIL, a city still in ruins." *Al Jazeera* [6 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/mosul-year-180705153004918.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/mosul-year-180705153004918.html</a> [accessed 12 July 2018].
    - Great data on the destruction of Mosul.
- ★ Pollack, Kenneth M. "Iraq Situation Report, Part I: The military campaign against ISIS," Brookings [28 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2016/03/28-military-campaign-against-isis-pollack">http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2016/03/28-military-campaign-against-isis-pollack</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
- ★ Pollack, Kenneth M. "Iraq Situation Report, Part II: Political and economic developments," *Brookings* [29 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2016/03/29-iraq-situation-report-politics-economics-pollack">http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2016/03/29-iraq-situation-report-politics-economics-pollack</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
  - Pollack, Kenneth M. "Iraq Situation Report, Part III: Kurdistan," *Brookings* [30 March 2016]. http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2016/03/30-iraq-situation-report-kurdistan-pollack [accessed 4 April 2016].

- Pollack, Kenneth M. Statement before the United States House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations On Securing the Peace After the Fall of ISIL "US Policy Toward Iraq" American Enterprise Institute Resident Scholar [3 October 2017]. <a href="https://docs.house.gov/meetings/AS/AS06/20171003/106400/HHRG-115-AS06-Bio-PollackK-20171003.pdf">https://docs.house.gov/meetings/AS/AS06/20171003/106400/HHRG-115-AS06-Bio-PollackK-20171003.pdf</a> [accessed 3 October 2017].
- ★ Prothero, Mitchell, "U.S. training helped mold top Islamic State military commander," McClatchy DC [15 September 2015]. <a href="http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/middle-east/article35322882.html">http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/middle-east/article35322882.html</a> [accessed 16 September 2015].
  - Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, "IS Group 'Kills Dozens Of Tribesmen' In Iraq," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* [5 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/content/iraq-islamic-state-massacres-sunni-tribesmen/27289337.html">http://www.rferl.org/content/iraq-islamic-state-massacres-sunni-tribesmen/27289337.html</a> [accessed 6 October 2015].
  - Rasheed, Ahmed, "Iraqi politicians, militias warn Abadi against U.S. force deployment," *Reuters* [2 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/12/02/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-usa-idUSKBNOTL1U120151202#bGA4bYk8U443b5EQ.97">http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/12/02/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-usa-idUSKBNOTL1U120151202#bGA4bYk8U443b5EQ.97</a> [accessed 3 December 2015].

    Iraqi parliament members are in opposition to the 1 December announcement by SecDef on adding special
  - Rasheed, Ahmed, "Sunni mosques in east Iraq attacked after ISIS-claimed blasts," *Reuters* [12 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-violence-idUSKCN0UP1R420160112">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-violence-idUSKCN0UP1R420160112</a> [accessed 13 January 2016].
    - Information on sectarian attacks and tensions current within Iraq.

operators to the fight in Iraq.

- Rasheed, Ahmed, "Iraqi commander says to complete capture of Mosul in May," *Reuters* [30 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-idUSKBN17W0DG">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-idUSKBN17W0DG</a> [accessed 2 May 2017].
- Rasheed, Ahmed and Saif Hameed, "Iraqi troops storm into center of Islamic State-held Ramadi", Reuters [22 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-ramadi-idUSKBN0U50TL20151222">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-ramadi-idUSKBN0U50TL20151222</a> [accessed 22 December 2015]. Iraqi forces are in Ramadi.
- Rasheed, Ahmed, Aref Mohammed and Stephen Kalin, "Exclusive: Radioactive material stolen in Iraq raises security fears," *Reuters* [17 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-radiation-idUSKCN0VQ22F">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-radiation-idUSKCN0VQ22F</a> [accessed 18 February 2016].
- Rasheed, Ahmed and Isabel Coles, "Iraqi forces attack Islamic State in Mosul as battle approaches endgame," *Reuters* [14 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-idUSKCN18A0CQ">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-mosul-idUSKCN18A0CQ</a> [accessed 15 May 2017].
  - Only 9% of Mosul remains under the control of ISIS.
- Rempfer, Kyle, "'Unlike anything I had ever seen': Airman to receive Silver Star for actions in fierce Mosul fight," *Air Force Times* 16 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-airforce/2018/01/16/unlike-anything-i-had-ever-seen-airman-to-receive-silver-star-for-actions-infierce-mosul-fight/">https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-airforce/2018/01/16/unlike-anything-i-had-ever-seen-airman-to-receive-silver-star-for-actions-infierce-mosul-fight/</a> [accessed 17 January 2018].
  - This includes some good supporting details for the fighting in Mosul in 2016 and 2017.
- Rempfer, Kyle, "'US, coalition want to shrink role in Iraq, but ISIS fighters linger in the desert," *Military Times* [27 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/27/us-coalition-want-to-shrink-role-in-iraq-but-isis-fighters-linger-in-the-desert/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/27/us-coalition-want-to-shrink-role-in-iraq-but-isis-fighters-linger-in-the-desert/</a> [accessed 28 March 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "'Why did this Iraqi army brigade swap its American Abrams tanks for Russian ones?" *Military Times* [13 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/06/13/why-did-this-iraqi-army-brigade-swap-its-american-abrams-tanks-for-russian-ones/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/06/13/why-did-this-iraqi-army-brigade-swap-its-american-abrams-tanks-for-russian-ones/</a> [accessed 14 June 2018].

- ★ Reuter, Christoph, "Battling Islamic State: A Visit to the Mosul Front," *Der Spiegel* [29 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/islamic-state-battles-the-iraqi-army-in-mosul-a-1149696.html">http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/islamic-state-battles-the-iraqi-army-in-mosul-a-1149696.html</a> [accessed 30 May 2017].
  - One of the most experienced authors regarding violent extremism giving an honest and slightly different assessment on the fighting in and around Mosul.
  - Reuters, "Iraq PM's helicopter takes ISIL ground fire in Ramadi," *Al Jazeera* [30 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/12/2016-year-victory-isil-iraq-pm-151229044047318.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/12/2016-year-victory-isil-iraq-pm-151229044047318.html</a> [accessed 30 December 2015].
    - Is Ramadi taken back or are the recent statements a publicity ploy? Where did the fighters go? No real information other than the fact of a supposed attack on the PM's helicopter.
  - Reuters, "Iraqi Forces Fight Door-to-Door in Mosul," *Voice of America* [17 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/a/iraqi-forces-fight-door-to-door-in-mosul-as-battles-enter-seventh-month/3813077.html">http://www.voanews.com/a/iraqi-forces-fight-door-to-door-in-mosul-as-battles-enter-seventh-month/3813077.html</a> [accessed 18 April 2017].
    - Some details on the devastation and problems with the fighting in Mosul.
  - Reuters, "Islamic State Tightens Grip on Village Near Mosul After Defeat," *Voice of America* [11 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-tighten-grip-on-village-near-mosul/3937194.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-tighten-grip-on-village-near-mosul/3937194.html</a> [accessed 12 July 2017].
  - Reuters, "Iraq Collectively Punishing Islamic State Families: Rights Group," *US News* [13 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-07-13/iraq-collectively-punishing-islamic-state-families-hrw">https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-07-13/iraq-collectively-punishing-islamic-state-families-hrw</a> [accessed 14 July 2017].
  - Reuters, "Iran-backed Iraqi militia leader urges formal security role on border with Syria," *English al-Arabiya* [27 November 2018]. <a href="http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2018/11/27/Iran-backed-Iraqi-militia-leader-urges-formal-security-role-on-border-with-Syria.html">http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2018/11/27/Iran-backed-Iraqi-militia-leader-urges-formal-security-role-on-border-with-Syria.html</a> [accessed 29 November 2018].
  - RFE/RL, "IS Attack Kills Iraqi Troops, Wounds Turkish Trainers", *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* [17 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-attacks-kills-iraqi-troops-wounds-turkish-trainers/27432700.html">http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-attacks-kills-iraqi-troops-wounds-turkish-trainers/27432700.html</a> [accessed 17 December 2015].
  - Robinson, Linda and Shelly Culbertson, "If We Don't Get the Peace Right, Iraq Will Slide Back Into the Morass," *Newsweek* [11 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.newsweek.com/if-we-dont-get-peace-right-iraq-will-slide-back-morass-802779">www.newsweek.com/if-we-dont-get-peace-right-iraq-will-slide-back-morass-802779</a> [accessed 24 April 2018].
- ★ Roblin, Sébastien, "Baghdad Doesn't Want You to Know How Many of Its Soldiers Are Dying," War is Boring [3 January 2017]. <a href="https://warisboring.com/baghdad-doesnt-want-you-to-know-how-many-of-its-soldiers-are-dying-f46adacb463c#.jp4p1wf68">https://warisboring.com/baghdad-doesnt-want-you-to-know-how-many-of-its-soldiers-are-dying-f46adacb463c#.jp4p1wf68</a> [accessed 5 January 2017].
  - This is an opinion piece, but it is concise and it includes several key figures regarding casualties in the battle for Mosul. The author raises one of the most significant concerns for the post-ISIS environment an ineffective Iraqi special operations force because they are bled out on the streets of Mosul.
- ★ Roggio, Bill and Caleb Weiss, "Iraqi Army, Shiite militias report success in Baiji", The Long War Journal [19 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/iraqi-army-shiite-militias-report-success-in-baiji.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/iraqi-army-shiite-militias-report-success-in-baiji.php</a> [accessed 20 October 2015].
  - Roggio, Bill, "Sadr's 'Peace Brigades' prepares for Mosul offensive," *The Long War Journal* [17 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/sadrs-peace-brigades-prepares-for-mosul-offensive.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/sadrs-peace-brigades-prepares-for-mosul-offensive.php</a> [accessed 18 May 2016].
  - Roggio, Bill and Amir Toumaj, "Iran-backed militia prepares 'special forces' for Fallujah offensive," *The Long War Journal* [19 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/iran-backed-militia-prepares-special-forces-for-fallujah-offensive.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/iran-backed-militia-prepares-special-forces-for-fallujah-offensive.php</a> [accessed 19 May 2016].

- Roggio, Bill and Amir Toumaj, "Qods Force commander an official advisor to government, Iraq's foreign minister says," *The Long War Journal* [7 June 2016].

  <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/06/qods-force-commander-an-official-advisor-to-government-iraqs-foreign-minister-says.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/06/qods-force-commander-an-official-advisor-to-government-iraqs-foreign-minister-says.php</a> [accessed 8 June 2016].
- Roggio, Bill and Caleb Weiss, "Iraqi Army, Shiite militias report success in Baiji," *The Long War Journal* [19 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/iraqi-army-shiite-militias-report-success-in-baiji.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/iraqi-army-shiite-militias-report-success-in-baiji.php</a> [accessed 20 October 2015].
- Rohan, Brian, "Iraq's ascendant Shiite militias take the fight to Tal Afar," *Military Times* [21 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/iraqs-ascendant-shiite-militias-take-the-fight-to-tal-afar">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/iraqs-ascendant-shiite-militias-take-the-fight-to-tal-afar</a> [accessed 22 November 2016].
  - Shia militias attacking and possibly taking Telafar poses something of a real challenge for the coalition as their behavior may, in fact, destabilize relations between Turkey and Iraq. This is critical to observe, but it gets very little coverage.
- Rovner, Joshua and Caitlin Talmadge, "Why Victory in Mosul Won't Solve America's Iraq Conundrum," Lawfare [10 April 2010]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/why-victory-mosul-wont-solve-americas-iraq-conundrum">https://www.lawfareblog.com/why-victory-mosul-wont-solve-americas-iraq-conundrum</a> [accessed 11 April 2016].
- Rubin, Alissa J. "ISIS, Weakened, Finds New Bombers: Cows Wearing Explosive Vests," *The New York Times* [4 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/04/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-cow-attack.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/04/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-cow-attack.html</a> [accessed 6 September 2019].
- Rudaw, "Iraqi Sunni leader says no backing down on creating self-governing regions," *Rudaw Media Network* [3 January 2017]. <a href="http://rudaw.net/english/interview/03012017">http://rudaw.net/english/interview/03012017</a> [accessed 5 January 2016]. Interview with Iraqi vice president Osama al-Nujaifi. He provides frank assessments of post-ISIS problems within Iraq and the region. This is mostly political issues inside Iraq.
- ★ Ryan, Missy, "Expanding US role in Iraq strains awkward alliance with Iran", The Washington Post [8 August 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/expanding-us-role-in-iraq-strains-awkward-alliance-with-iran/2015/08/08/15cbfbe6-39da-11e5-b3ac-8a79bc44e5e2\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/expanding-us-role-in-iraq-strains-awkward-alliance-with-iran/2015/08/08/15cbfbe6-39da-11e5-b3ac-8a79bc44e5e2\_story.html</a> [accessed 10 August 2015].
  - Saadoun, Mustafa, "Will US keep military bases in Iraq after IS?" *Al-Monitor* [31 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/03/iraq-usa-security-mosul-iran-military-base.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/03/iraq-usa-security-mosul-iran-military-base.html</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
  - Salaheddin, Sinan, "Iraq says forces recapture refinery town from IS militants," *Military Times* [20 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/10/20/iraq-says-forces-recapture-refinery-town-militants/74273096/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/10/20/iraq-says-forces-recapture-refinery-town-militants/74273096/</a> [accessed 21 October 2015].
  - Salaheddin, Sinan, "Amid battle with IS, Iraq parliament approves next budget," *Military Times* [16 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/12/16/amid-battle-with-is-iraq-parliament-approves-next-budget/77445856/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/12/16/amid-battle-with-is-iraq-parliament-approves-next-budget/77445856/</a> [accessed 20 December 2015]. Information includes Iraqi budgetary and political dynamics.
  - Salaheddin, Sinan, "Iraqi official blames IS for bombing Sunni mosques in Shiite city, says group stoking tensions," *US News* [4 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2016-01-04/iraq-official-blames-islamic-state-for-bombing-sunni-mosques">http://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2016-01-04/iraq-official-blames-islamic-state-for-bombing-sunni-mosques</a> [accessed 5 January 2016]. Is this related to conspiracy theory or accurate?
  - Salaheddin, Sinan, "Iraq says it's launched offensive to retake Islamic State-held Mosul," *Stars and Stripes* [24 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/iraq-says-it-s-launched-offensive-to-retake-islamic-state-held-mosul-1.400864">http://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/iraq-says-it-s-launched-offensive-to-retake-islamic-state-held-mosul-1.400864</a> [24 March 2016]. Is this related to conspiracy theory or accurate?

- Salaheddin, Sinan, "Iraqi commander: Fallujah 'fully liberated' from ISIS," *Military Times* [26 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/06/26/iraqi-commander-fallujah-fully-liberated-isis/86402970/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/06/26/iraqi-commander-fallujah-fully-liberated-isis/86402970/</a> [accessed 27 June 2016].
- Salaheddin, Sinan, "Rights group: State-backed Iraqi militia killed ISIS captives," *Military Times* [18 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/rights-group-state-backed-iraqi-militia-killed-isis-captives">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/rights-group-state-backed-iraqi-militia-killed-isis-captives</a> [accessed 20 December 2016].
  - A report on a possible atrocity committed by a Sunni militia group.
- Salaheddin, Sinan, "Iraqi troops move into Mosul's Old City, last ISIS stronghold," *Military Times* [18 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/islamic-state-threat-in-southeast-asia-raises-alarm-in-washington">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/islamic-state-threat-in-southeast-asia-raises-alarm-in-washington</a> [accessed 19 June 2017].
- Salaheddin, Sinan, "Iraq celebrates victory over ISIS while grappling with legacy," *Military Times* [10 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/12/10/iraq-celebrates-victory-over-isis-while-grappling-with-legacy/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/12/10/iraq-celebrates-victory-over-isis-while-grappling-with-legacy/</a> [accessed 11 December 2018].
- Salaheddin, Sinan and Susannah George, "Gains in Iraqi city vindicate US-led strategy, at high cost", Associated Press [29 December 2015].
  - http://www.bigstory.ap.org/article/afff69acf5da48d4a0c83e982c2a3c2c/calm-prevails-after-iraq-troops-routed-ramadi-center [accessed 30 December 2015].
  - The primary discussion revolves around the destruction associated with the style of fighting necessary to defeat ISIS. This is rarely reported news item.
- ★ Salaheddin, Sinan and Susannah George, "US struggles to convince Iraqis it doesn't support IS,"

  Associated Press [8 May 2016].

  <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/article/6a235d57456b41edae135cf0ce275233/us-struggles-convince-iraqis-it-doesnt-support">http://bigstory.ap.org/article/6a235d57456b41edae135cf0ce275233/us-struggles-convince-iraqis-it-doesnt-support</a> [accessed 9 May 2016].
- ★ Salama, Vivian and Qassim Abdul-Zahra, "Iraqi Militias Train Young Teens to Face the Threat of IS", Associated Press [28 July 2015]. <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/article/41c185b1794c4021b747d3993dfe58c4/summer-camp-iraqi-shiite-boys-training-fight">http://bigstory.ap.org/article/41c185b1794c4021b747d3993dfe58c4/summer-camp-iraqi-shiite-boys-training-fight</a> [accessed 28 July 2015].
  - Saleh, Mahmud, "Iraqi families risk all to flee jihadist-held Hawijah", *Yahoo* [10 January 2016]. <a href="http://news.yahoo.com/iraqi-families-risk-flee-jihadist-held-hawijah-191222336.html">http://news.yahoo.com/iraqi-families-risk-flee-jihadist-held-hawijah-191222336.html</a> [accessed 11 January 2016].
    - Anecdotes of the flight of people from ISIS controlled areas. Hawijah is a central area in the fight against and the support of extreme views of Islam and Sunni nationalism.
  - Salim, Mustafa and Hugh Naylor, "Iraqi troops close in on Ramadi, retake army headquarters", Washington Post [8 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iraqi-troops-close-in-on-ramadi-retake-army-headquarters/2015/12/08/fa1ccd76-9dbb-11e5-9ad2-568d814bbf3b">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iraqi-troops-close-in-on-ramadi-retake-army-headquarters/2015/12/08/fa1ccd76-9dbb-11e5-9ad2-568d814bbf3b</a> story.html [accessed 9 December 2015].
    - Ramadi is falling to the Iraq Security Force efforts. There are several articles along this line.
  - Salim, Mustafa and Hugh Naylor, "Iraqi forces send additional reinforcements to Ramadi", *Washington Post* [9 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iraqi-forces-send-additional-reinforcements-to-ramadi/2015/12/09/68c2dbc8-9de7-11e5-9ad2-568d814bbf3b\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iraqi-forces-send-additional-reinforcements-to-ramadi/2015/12/09/68c2dbc8-9de7-11e5-9ad2-568d814bbf3b\_story.html</a> [accessed 9 December 2015].
    - Ramadi is falling to the Iraq Security Force efforts. There are several articles along this line.
  - Salim, Mustafa and Hugh Naylor, "Iraqi forces appear close to retaking Ramadi from Islamic State", Washington Post [28 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraqi-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-against-islamic-state/2015/12/28/fe68a4ea-ad60-forces-seek-to-tighten-hold-in-ramadi-after-gains-gains-gains-gains-gains-gains-gains-gains-gains-gai

- 11e5-b820-eea4d64be2a1 story.html [accessed 29 December 2015].
- Ramadi has almost fallen or has. Iraqis report that it has, but not entirely.
- Sattar, Omar, "Why is Baghdad removing checkpoints during security crisis?" *al-Monitor Iraq Pulse* [5 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/01/baghdad-security-concrete-barriers-checkpoints.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/01/baghdad-security-concrete-barriers-checkpoints.html</a> [accessed 9 January 2017].
  - The article explains about the removal of concrete barriers from Baghdad neighborhoods. It also mentions a variety of security measures occurring in Baghdad without providing context. This gives concerns about the efficacy of any of the measures and whether or not removing these walls will result in more sectarian killing or greater cross-sectarian interaction.
- Schmidt, Michael S. and Eric Schmitt, "As ISIS Loosens Grip, U.S. and Iraq Prepare for Grinding Insurgency," New York Times [25 July 2016].
  <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/26/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-insurgency.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/26/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-insurgency.html</a> [accessed 26 July 2016].
  - The article does not really have new information, but it does synthesize lots of other information into a general argument about concerns for a post-ISIS Iraq.
  - Schogol, Jeff, "After Mosul: What's next for the fight in Iraq," *Marine Corps Times* [20 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/articles/after-mosul-whats-next-for-the-fight-in-iraq">https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/articles/after-mosul-whats-next-for-the-fight-in-iraq</a> [accessed 21 July 2017].
    - The interview includes questions and answers on the need to reset Iraqi forces after Mosul and before Hawija or Telafar.
  - Schogol, Jeff, "US forces in Iraq are facing more attacks from Shiite militias than ISIS, commander says," *Task and Purpose* [22 January 2020]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/iraq-attacks-shiite-militias-isis">https://taskandpurpose.com/iraq-attacks-shiite-militias-isis</a> [accessed 23 January 2020].
- ★ Schwartzstein, Peter, "The perfect recipe for making jihadis was developed in this small Iraqi town,"

  \*\*Quartz\* [22 April 2016]. <a href="http://qz.com/667051/the-perfect-recipe-for-making-jihadis-was-developed-in-this-small-iraqi-town/">http://qz.com/667051/the-perfect-recipe-for-making-jihadis-was-developed-in-this-small-iraqi-town/</a> [accessed 25 April 2016].
  - Shakir, Layal, "'Main' ISIS hideout destroyed in Hamrin mountains," *Rudaw* [23 September 2021]. <a href="https://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/iraq/230920213">https://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/iraq/230920213</a> [accessed 30 September 2021].
- ★ Shear, Michael D., "Biden Sites Progress in Iraq's War with ISIS." The New York Times [9 April 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/10/world/middleeast/biden-cites-progress-in-iraqs-war-with-isis.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/10/world/middleeast/biden-cites-progress-in-iraqs-war-with-isis.html</a> [6 November 2016].
  - Shinkman, Paul D., "Study: Iraq Violence Not Caused by Sectarian Tensions," *US News* [5 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2016-01-05/study-violence-in-iraq-that-bolstered-isis-not-caused-primarily-by-sunni-shiite-rift">http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2016-01-05/study-violence-in-iraq-that-bolstered-isis-not-caused-primarily-by-sunni-shiite-rift</a> [accessed 6 January 2016].
    - The article essentially argues the opposite of the headline for the article. The author states that most violence is the result of a loss of trust in the government to deal justly with the various sects based on sectarian reasons.
  - Shinkman, Paul D., "Reports: Mosul Civilians Without Escape Route on Eve of ISIS Fight," *US News* [31 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2016-10-31/reports-mosul-civilians-without-escape-route-on-eve-of-isis-fight">http://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2016-10-31/reports-mosul-civilians-without-escape-route-on-eve-of-isis-fight</a> [accessed 2 November 2016].
    - Have we left an escape route for civilians from Mosul or not? This article says not.
  - Sisk, Richard, "Iraqi Army -- And US -- Go Back to Conventional War Basics," *Military.com* [12 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.military.com/daily-news/2015/10/12/iraqi-army-and-us-go-back-to-conventional-war-basics.html">http://www.military.com/daily-news/2015/10/12/iraqi-army-and-us-go-back-to-conventional-war-basics.html</a> [accessed 13 October 2015].
  - Sisk, Richard, "Mission to Retake Fallujah from ISIS Delayed as Forces Focus on Mosul," *Military.com* [16 May 2016]. http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/05/16/mission-to-retake-fallujah-isis-

delayed-forces-focus-mosul.html [accessed 17 May 2016].

The article features the following quote that explains the challenges associated with conducting war in a narrative environment.

Warren said, "I am confident that the Iraqis are aware that they need to liberate Fallujah. Where it falls into the sequence -- Fallujah before Mosul, Fallujah after Mosul -- is unclear.

- "From a military perspective, Fallujah doesn't have much impact on Mosul. So, you know, you don't need to liberate Fallujah in order to get to Mosul," he said. "Fallujah doesn't really have any tactical influence on Mosul. So then it becomes a political decision, right? This becomes a decision that, you know, is made at the political level. There is no military reason to liberate Fallujah now, to answer your question."
- Sisk, Richard, "US Tactics to Accelerate Mosul Campaign Not Yet in Place," *DoD Buzz* [3 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.dodbuzz.com/2016/08/03/us-tactics-to-accelerate-mosul-campaign-not-yet-in-place/">http://www.dodbuzz.com/2016/08/03/us-tactics-to-accelerate-mosul-campaign-not-yet-in-place/</a> [accessed 4 August 2016].
- Sisk, Richard, "Massive US Airstrike Hits Suspected ISIS Chemical Weapons Factory," *Military.com* [13 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/09/13/massive-us-airstrike-hits-isis-chemical-weapons-factory.html">http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/09/13/massive-us-airstrike-hits-isis-chemical-weapons-factory.html</a> [accessed 15 September 2016].
  - Information on a large airstrike carried out against a suspected chemical weapons manufacturing plant on Monday, 12 September 2016 in Mosul, Iraq.
- ★ Sky, Emma, "The Carcass of a City ISIS Left Behind", *The Daily Beast* [12 January 2016]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/12/the-carcass-of-a-city-isis-left-behind.html [accessed 12 January 2016].
  - Solid summary of the costs of retaking Ramadi and the general context of the fighting around Ramadi and the challenges in Iraq.
  - Sky, Emma, "How the 'Green Zone' Helped Destroy Iraq," *Politico* [1 May 2016]. http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/05/how-americas-green-zone-helped-destroy-iraq-213863 [accessed 2 May 2016].
  - Sly, Liz, "Plans by U.S. to capture Islamic State's capital already go awry," *The Washington Post* [22 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/us-plans-to-capture-the-islamic-states-capital-already-go-awry/2015/10/22/c07a7349-a53b-4beb-9f80-f0db02c647fd\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/us-plans-to-capture-the-islamic-states-capital-already-go-awry/2015/10/22/c07a7349-a53b-4beb-9f80-f0db02c647fd\_story.html</a> [accessed 23 October 2015].
  - Smith, Matt, "To silence propaganda, Iraq seeks to take Islamic State offline", *Reuters* [4 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-internet-insight-idUSKCNOVDOLM">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-internet-insight-idUSKCNOVDOLM</a> [accessed 4 February 2016].
    - Interesting point with regard to the control of satellite communications and how its control might affect ISIS operations.
- ★ Snow, Shawn, "U.S. military: ISIS largely to blame for deadly March 17 airstrike in Mosul," *Military Times* [25 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/iraq-mosul-airstrike-secondary-explosive-isis">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/iraq-mosul-airstrike-secondary-explosive-isis [accessed 26 May 2017].
  - The article includes the US official response to allegations of US bombing resulting in the deaths of dozens in Mosul. The blame is on ISIS for essentially creating an environment that would result in such a tragedy.
  - Snow, Shawn, "ISIS is in shambles,' says 82nd Airborne brigade commander," *Army Times* [10 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/10/isis-is-in-shambles-says-82nd-airborne-brigade-commander/">https://www.armytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/10/isis-is-in-shambles-says-82nd-airborne-brigade-commander/</a> [accessed 11 October 2017].
  - Snow, Shawn, "Iraqi forces launch operation to retake last ISIS stronghold in Iraq," *Military Times* [27 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/26/iraqi-forces-launch-operation-to-retake-last-isis-stronghold-in-iraq/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/26/iraqi-forces-launch-operation-to-retake-last-isis-stronghold-in-iraq/</a> [accessed 28 October 2017].

- Snow, Shawn and Andrew deGrandpre, "The Pentagon says this video shows ISIS using 'sinister' new tactics in Mosul," *Military Times* [21 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/isis-human-shields-mosul-airstrike-civilians-killed">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/isis-human-shields-mosul-airstrike-civilians-killed</a> [accessed 24 April 2017].
  - The video and its link is located in the video portion of this bibliography. The video is not as clear as the article makes it out to be.
- Solomon, Ben C. "Journalist's Notebook: Into the Battle of Mosul, Armed With a Camera," *The New York Times* [20 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/20/insider/journalists-notebook-into-the-battle-of-mosul-armed-with-a-camera.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/20/insider/journalists-notebook-into-the-battle-of-mosul-armed-with-a-camera.html</a> [accessed 21 June 2017].
- South, Todd, "Major combat operations against ISIS in Iraq have ended. What happens now?" *Military Times* [30 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/30/major-combat-operations-against-isis-in-iraq-have-ended-what-happens-now/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/30/major-combat-operations-against-isis-in-iraq-have-ended-what-happens-now/</a> [accessed 1 May 2018].
- South, Todd, "Why a self-reliant Iraqi military may take 'years, if not decades' and could require a 'generation' to reform," *Military Times* [5 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/11/05/why-a-self-reliant-iraqi-military-may-take-years-if-not-decades-and-could-require-a-generation-to-reform/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/11/05/why-a-self-reliant-iraqi-military-may-take-years-if-not-decades-and-could-require-a-generation-to-reform/</a> [accessed 6 November 2018].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "How can Hollywood help Fight ISIS and similar Terrorist Groups?" ICSVE Research Reports [7 March 2018].

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/36105877/How">https://www.academia.edu/36105877/How</a> can Hollywood help Fight ISIS and similar Terrorist

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/36105877/How">Groups</a> [accessed 8 March 2018].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Is Iran Testing Trump With Little Attacks in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the Persian Gulf?" *The Daily Beast* [20 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/is-iran-testing-trump-with-little-attacks-in-iraq-saudi-arabia-and-the-persian-gulf">https://www.thedailybeast.com/is-iran-testing-trump-with-little-attacks-in-iraq-saudi-arabia-and-the-persian-gulf</a> [accessed 20 May 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne, Ardian Shajkovci, and Neima Izadi, "PERSPECTIVE: Using Counter-Narrative Campaigns to 'Break the ISIS Brand' in Iraq," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [13 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-using-counter-narrative-campaigns-on-facebook-to-break-the-isis-brand-in-iraq/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-using-counter-narrative-campaigns-on-facebook-to-break-the-isis-brand-in-iraq/</a> [accessed 15 November 2018].
- Starr, Barbara, "Carter: Iraqis showed 'no will to fight' in Ramadi", CNN [24 May 2014]. <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2015/05/24/politics/ashton-carter-isis-ramadi/index.html">http://www.cnn.com/2015/05/24/politics/ashton-carter-isis-ramadi/index.html</a> [accessed 26 May 2015].
- Starr, Barbara, "First on CNN: U.S. bombs 'millions' in ISIS currency holdings", CNN [11 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2016/01/11/politics/us-bombs-millions-isis-currency-supply/">http://www.cnn.com/2016/01/11/politics/us-bombs-millions-isis-currency-supply/</a> [accessed 12 January 2016].
  - US forces attacking cash reserves for ISIS in Mosul to try and reduce the currency capacity of the organization.
- Stuster, J. Dana, "Iraqi Military Finishes Clearing Ramadi as Coalition Weighs Changes", Foreign Policy [9 February 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/09/iraqi-military-finishes-clearing-ramadi-as-coalition-weighs-changes/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/09/iraqi-military-finishes-clearing-ramadi-as-coalition-weighs-changes/</a> [accessed 10 February 2016].
  - Round up of several short paragraphs of different information regarding the fight against ISIS in Iraq.
- Szlanko, Balint, "Islamic State destroys iconic al-Nuri mosque in Mosul," *Military Times* [21 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/islamic-state-destroys-iconic-great-mosque-of-mosul">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/islamic-state-destroys-iconic-great-mosque-of-mosul</a> [accessed 22 June 2017].
- Szlanko, Balint, "Islamic State fighters launch counterattacks in west Mosul neighborhood," *Military Times* [26 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/islamic-state-fighters-launch-counterattacks-in-west-mosul-neighborhood">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/islamic-state-fighters-launch-counterattacks-in-west-mosul-neighborhood</a> [accessed 27 June 2017].
- Szlanko, Balint and Salar Salim, "Iraq holding hundreds of foreign ISIS family members," *Military Times* [10 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/10/iraq-holding-">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/10/iraq-holding-</a>

- hundreds-of-foreign-isis-family-members/ {accessed 11 September 2017].
- ★ Taddonio, Patrice, ""I Was Not Prepared for the Level of Killing": Ramita Navai on "Iraq Uncovered"," PBS Frontline [21 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/i-was-not-prepared-for-the-level-of-killing-ramita-navai-on-iraq-uncovered/">http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/i-was-not-prepared-for-the-level-of-killing-ramita-navai-on-iraq-uncovered/</a> [accessed 25 March 2017].
  - Thoughts that expand on the debate regarding the behavior of Shia militias toward Sunnis.
  - Telegraph Reporters, "British troops in Iraq bolstered as fight to wipe out Islamic State enters final push, Defence Secretary says," *The Telegraph* [31 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/08/31/british-troops-iraq-bolstered-fight-wipe-islamic-state-enters/">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/08/31/british-troops-iraq-bolstered-fight-wipe-islamic-state-enters/</a> [accessed 1 September 2017].
  - Tilgham, Andrew, "Iraqis begin 'clearing' Ramadi, bracing for a long fight", *Military Times* [2 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/12/02/iraqis-begin-clearing-ramadi-bracing-long-fight/76684874/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/12/02/iraqis-begin-clearing-ramadi-bracing-long-fight/76684874/</a> [accessed 3 December 2015].
    - Another article on the Iraqi army being ready to attack into Ramadi.
  - Tilgham, Andrew, "U.S. troops, aircraft may enter battle for Ramadi, Carter says", *Military Times* [9 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/12/09/us-troops-aircraft-may-enter-battle-ramadi-carter-says/77039736/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/12/09/us-troops-aircraft-may-enter-battle-ramadi-carter-says/77039736/</a> [accessed 10 December 2015].
    - A statement by the SecDef on the possible employment of AH-64s in the fight.
  - Tilgham, Andrew, "Iraq declines U.S. offer of more troops, attack helicopters", *Military Times* [16 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/12/16/iraq-declines-us-offer-more-troops-attack-helicopters/77420634/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/12/16/iraq-declines-us-offer-more-troops-attack-helicopters/77420634/</a> [accessed 17 December 2015].
  - Tilgham, Andrew, "'Squad-size' ISIS units remain in Ramadi", *Military Times* [6 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2016/01/06/squad-size-isis-units-remain-ramadi/78356108/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2016/01/06/squad-size-isis-units-remain-ramadi/78356108/</a> [accessed 7 January 2016].
  - Tilgham, Andrew, "Hundreds more U.S. troops may go to Iraq", *Military Times* [20 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/20/us-mulls-sending-more-troops-iraq/79076740/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/20/us-mulls-sending-more-troops-iraq/79076740/</a> [accessed 21 January 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "U.S. troops in Iraq move into region where ISIS just used mustard gas", *Military Times* [17 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/02/17/80505318/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/02/17/80505318/</a> [accessed 18 February 2016].
- ★ Tilghman, Andrew, "Ramadi was supposed to be rid of ISIS. That's not entirely true," *Military Times* [17 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/17/ramadi-islamic-state-isis-airstrikes-mosul/81859636/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/17/ramadi-islamic-state-isis-airstrikes-mosul/81859636/</a> [accessed 20 March 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "A key Iraqi offensive sputters, and the Pentagon pushes hard for more U.S. troops," *Military Times* [31 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/31/pentagon-us-troops-mosul-iraq/82451868/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/31/pentagon-us-troops-mosul-iraq/82451868/</a> [accessed 1 April 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "1 in 3 Iraqis thinks the U.S. is supporting ISIS. Seriously." *Military Times* [7 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/04/07/many-iraqis-believe-conspiracy-theories-us-supporting-isis/82754502/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/04/07/many-iraqis-believe-conspiracy-theories-us-supporting-isis/82754502/</a> [accessed 8 April 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "Moqtada al Sadr and his followers in Iraq are 'thirsty for Americans' blood'," *Military Times* [30 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/07/30/moqtada-al-sadr-shiite-cleric-iraq-american-troops/87718934/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/07/30/moqtada-al-sadr-shiite-cleric-iraq-american-troops/87718934/</a> [accessed 1 August 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "The U.S. military is still whacking moles in Iraq's Anbar province," *Military Times* [29 September 2016]. http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/the-us-military-is-still-whacking-moles-in-

irags-anbar-province [accessed 30 September 2016].

Anbar is not secure and Ramadi is still a place of regular engagement.

- Toumaj, Amir, "Qassem Soleimani spotted near the Syrian border with Iraqi militias," *Long War Journal* [2 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/06/qassem-soleimani-spotted-near-the-syrian-border-with-iraqi-militias.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/06/qassem-soleimani-spotted-near-the-syrian-border-with-iraqi-militias.php</a> [accessed 6 June 2017].
  - Interesting statements regarding the goal of Shia militias to control the Iraqi-Syrian border.
- ★ Tucker, Patrick, "US Helicopter Shot at by Anti-ISIS Forces; Commander Blames Iran", Defense One [19 May 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2015/05/us-helicopter-shot-anti-isis-forcescommander-blames-iran/113242/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2015/05/us-helicopter-shot-anti-isis-forcescommander-blames-iran/113242/</a> [accessed 21 may 2015].
  - United States Army. *Mosul Study Group: What the Battle for Mosul Teaches the Force*. No. 17-24, September 2017. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: United States Army Combined Arms Center. Downloaded from https://call2.army.mil/toc.aspx?document=17572 [accessed 27 March 2018].
    - This is a profoundly disappointing document. The title suggests something truly useful for the military force. Rather, this is almost solely a tactics, techniques, and procedures discussion of the unpleasant nature of fighting in large cities. The document is For Official Use Only or FOUO. That means that the document, as a whole is not available for download and there are numerous specific portions of the document that are not accessible to the average reader. My comments have nothing to do with the classification or the material so classified. As I listened to a briefing about the product and then later read the document, I could not help but think how much we missed in what happened. The coalition against ISIS destroyed Mosul. It is unlikely that the city will be rebuilt to its pre-war or historical glory. At least it is unlikely that this will happen in the next decade. If we must destroy a city to liberate it, what message are we sending to the people of the world? How does this shape and transform the narrative? I would suggest that our opponents already believe and communicate that we, the West (America in specific), do not care about the people living in the rest of the world. Our actions in Mosul, Ragga, Kobane, Tikrit, Ramadi, Falluja, and many smaller towns and cities communicate this in ways much stronger than the propaganda of our adversaries. The first step to improving this poisonous narrative is to recognize the importance and holistic nature of narrative. Our actions are narrative. The images we broadcast are narrative. The words we tweet, write, or speak are narrative. The identity we have that shapes how we receive and perceive each of these actions, images, and words is also narrative. The narrative terrain and our fighting there is much more important than is the urban terrain and our fighting there.
  - United States Institute of Peace, "Community Reconciliation Yathrib Update," Center for Middle East and Africa (MEA), Iraq Program, United States Institute of Peace (USIP), June 2016.
  - VICE News and Reuters, "The Fight for Fallujah Is Becoming Iraq's Next 'Human Catastrophe,' Aid Official Warns," *Vice News* [31 May 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/the-fight-for-fallujah-is-becoming-iraqs-next-human-catastrophe-aid-official-warns">https://news.vice.com/article/the-fight-for-fallujah-is-becoming-iraqs-next-human-catastrophe-aid-official-warns</a> [accessed 1 June 2016].
  - Voice of America News, "Iraq Celebrates Victory Over Islamic State With Parade," *Voice of America News* [10 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/iraq-celebrates-victory-over-islamic-state-with-parade/4157231.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/iraq-celebrates-victory-over-islamic-state-with-parade/4157231.html</a> [accessed 11 December 2017].
  - Washington Post Editorial Board, "The Obama administration is pushing Iraq into further chaos," *The Washington Post* [29 September 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/the-obama-administration-is-pushing-iraq-into-further-chaos/2016/09/29/315365e8-8646-11e6-92c2-14b64f3d453f">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/the-obama-administration-is-pushing-iraq-into-further-chaos/2016/09/29/315365e8-8646-11e6-92c2-14b64f3d453f</a> story.html [accessed 30 September 2016].
    - Editorial pointing out the fact that little accomplishment exists regarding the development of Iraq support for liberated areas.
  - Watson, Ben, "Q&A: Deputy Commander of the War on ISIS," *Defense One* [29 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/09/interview-deputy-commander-war-isis/141377/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/09/interview-deputy-commander-war-isis/141377/</a> [accessed 2 October 2017].

- ★ Weiss, Michael, "Fallujah and the Failed Iraqi State," *The Daily Beast* [6 June 2016]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/06/fallujah-and-the-failed-iraqi-state.html [accessed 6 June 2016].
  - A single-source Iraqi exile expounding on the political challenges for Iraq. Despite the focus on a single source the article provides insight into the complexity of the Iraqi views of Iran's role and the dynamics of the region as they play out in the fight against ISIS.
- ★ Whiteside, Craig, "The Moral Hazard of the Fight Against the Islamic State in Iraq," War on the Rocks [22 February 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/02/the-moral-hazard-of-the-fight-against-the-islamic-state-in-iraq/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/02/the-moral-hazard-of-the-fight-against-the-islamic-state-in-iraq/</a> [accessed 22 February 2016].
  - Whiteside, Craig, "Winning the Blame Game: The Caliphate of Complete Disaster," International Centre for Counter-Terrorism The Hague, ICCT Research Paper [13 July 2017]. <a href="https://icct.nl/publication/winning-the-blame-game-the-caliphate-of-complete-disaster/">https://icct.nl/publication/winning-the-blame-game-the-caliphate-of-complete-disaster/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - Woody, Christopher, "Iraqi forces are going after the last ISIS holdouts in Iraq here's what they're up against," *Business Insider* [26 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.businessinsider.com/us-led-coalition-fighting-isis-in-hawija-in-iraq-2017-9">http://www.businessinsider.com/us-led-coalition-fighting-isis-in-hawija-in-iraq-2017-9</a> [accessed 27 September 2017].
- ★ Wright, Robin, "On the American Front Line Against ISIS," The New Yorker [29 March 2016].
  <a href="http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/on-the-american-front-line-against-isis">http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/on-the-american-front-line-against-isis</a> [accessed 29 March 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. "'The U.S. War Casualties the Pentagon Doesn't Want You to See," *The Daily Beast* [27 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/27/the-u-s-war-casualties-the-pentagon-doesn-t-want-you-to-see.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/27/the-u-s-war-casualties-the-pentagon-doesn-t-want-you-to-see.html</a> [accessed 28 October 2015].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. and Shane Harris, "'Is This Big 'Win' Over ISIS for Real?," *The Daily Beast* [28 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/28/ramadi-victory-don-t-screw-it-up.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/28/ramadi-victory-don-t-screw-it-up.html</a> [accessed 29 December 2015].
    - Does a win in Ramadi translate to a future win in Mosul?
- ★ Youssef, Nancy A. and Shane Harris, "How ISIS Actually Lost Ramadi", The Daily Beast [30 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/30/how-isis-actually-lost-ramadi.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/30/how-isis-actually-lost-ramadi.html</a> [accessed 30 December 2015].
  - This article provides insight into the fight in Ramadi who really did the fighting, how the battle progressed conceptually, and the destruction inflicted on the city to accomplish all of this.
  - Youssef, Nancy A. and Shane Harris, "Pentagon Won't Say How Many Troops Are Fighting ISIS", *The Daily Beast* [1 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/02/pentagon-won-t-say-how-many-troops-are-fighting-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/02/pentagon-won-t-say-how-many-troops-are-fighting-isis.html</a> [accessed 3 February 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. "Behind the Carnage in Iraq: ISIS Intends to Divide and Conquer," *The Daily Beast* [11 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/11/behind-the-carnage-in-iraq-isis-intends-to-divide-and-conquer.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/11/behind-the-carnage-in-iraq-isis-intends-to-divide-and-conquer.html</a> [accessed 12 May 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. "Baghdad Bombings Reveal ISIS's New Plan: Tearing Iraq Apart," *The Daily Beast* [17 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/17/baghdad-bombings-reveal-isis-new-plan-tearing-iraq-apart.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/17/baghdad-bombings-reveal-isis-new-plan-tearing-iraq-apart.html</a> [accessed 18 May 2016].
- ★ Youssef, Nancy A. "The Mystery Battle for Fallujah, the Heart of ISIS in Iraq," The Daily Beast [24 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/24/the-mystery-battle-for-fallujah-the-heart-of-isis-in-iraq.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/24/the-mystery-battle-for-fallujah-the-heart-of-isis-in-iraq.html</a> [accessed 25 May 2016].
  - Youssef, Nancy A. "This Is Where the Next Battle Against ISIS Will Be," *The Daily Beast* [30 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/09/30/this-is-where-the-next-battle-against-isis-will-be.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/09/30/this-is-where-the-next-battle-against-isis-will-be.html</a> [accessed 30 September 2016].

The next attack may be against Hawija rather than Mosul.

Youssef, Nancy A. "The Biggest Battle Yet Against ISIS Has Begun in Mosul," *The Daily Beast* [16 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/16/the-biggest-battle-yet-against-isis-has-begun-in-mosul.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/16/the-biggest-battle-yet-against-isis-has-begun-in-mosul.html</a> [accessed 17 October 2016].

Mosul begins on 16 October and Dabiq falls the same day.

Youssef, Nancy A. "There Are Really Two Battles for Mosul," *The Daily Beast* [17 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/17/there-are-really-two-battles-for-mosul.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/17/there-are-really-two-battles-for-mosul.html</a> [accessed 18 October 2016].

Everyone has their own narrative and broadcasting it to set conditions for the post-Mosul posturing.

Zucchino, David and Rod Nordland, "Iraq Claims Victory in ISIS' Last Urban Stronghold," *The New York Times* [5 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/05/world/middleeast/iraq-hawija-isis.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/05/world/middleeast/iraq-hawija-isis.html</a> [accessed 6 October 2017].

## Fighting ISIS (Kurds)

- Torelli, Stefano M., editor. 2016. *Kurdistan: An Invisible Nation*. Italian Institute for International Political Studies. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/26624778/Kurdistan\_An\_Invisible\_Nation">https://www.academia.edu/26624778/Kurdistan\_An\_Invisible\_Nation</a> [accessed 11 December 2019].
- Agence France-Presse, "Half of Yazidis kidnapped by IS still missing," *al-Monitor* [3 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/iraq-conflict-religion-yazidis-kurds.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/iraq-conflict-religion-yazidis-kurds.html</a> [accessed 4 December 2017].
- Agence France-Presse, "Kurds announce IS losses in east Syria with US, Russia help," *al-Monitor* [3 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/syria-conflict-kurds-is-russia.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/syria-conflict-kurds-is-russia.html</a> [accessed 4 December 2017].
- Agencies in Kirkuk, "Curfew imposed in Iraqi city before Kurdish independence vote," *The Guardian* [19 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/19/curfew-imposed-iraqi-city-kirkuk-before-kurdish-independence-vote">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/19/curfew-imposed-iraqi-city-kirkuk-before-kurdish-independence-vote</a> [accessed 20 September 2017].
- Alaaldin, Ranj and Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, "Iraqi Kurdistan's Economy Is a Worse Threat Than ISIS," *The Daily Beast* [11 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/11/iraqi-kurdistan-s-economy-is-a-worse-threat-than-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/11/iraqi-kurdistan-s-economy-is-a-worse-threat-than-isis.html</a> [accessed 11 April 2016].
- Alter, Charlotte, "A Yezidi Woman Who Escaped ISIS Slavery Tells Her Story", *Time* [20 December 2015]. <a href="http://time.com/4152127/isis-yezidi-woman-slavery-united-nations/">http://time.com/4152127/isis-yezidi-woman-slavery-united-nations/</a> [accessed 21 December 2015]. This article includes details on the rape of Yazidi women.
- The Associated Press, "US-backed Kurdish forces foil Islamic State prison break," *Military Times* [7 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/04/07/us-back-kurdish-forces-foil-islamic-state-prison-break/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/04/07/us-back-kurdish-forces-foil-islamic-state-prison-break/</a> [accessed 9 April 2019].
- The Associated Press, "Kurds look to Syria for protection after U.S. pullout," *Politico* [13 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.politico.com/news/2019/10/13/kurds-syria-assad-turkey-trump-046343">https://www.politico.com/news/2019/10/13/kurds-syria-assad-turkey-trump-046343</a> [accessed 14 October 2019].
- Bacon, Kevin, "EXCLUSIVE: ISIS 'Will Fight to the Death' for Mosul, Says Top Peshmerga General," Defense One [22 September 2016]. http://www.defenseone.com/politics/2016/09/exclusive-isis-will-fight-death-mosul-says-top-peshmerga-general/131751/ [accessed 24 September 2016]. The Kurdish commander is asking for the US to remain after Mosul is retaken. Why? It is so that he can ensure KRG survival for fear of Baghdad. He is creating a problem in suggesting the issues post-ISIS to make sure that he has stability post conflict.
- Baldor, Lolita C. "Mattis: US arms for Syrian Kurds will continue after Raqqa," *Military Times* [27 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/mattis-us-arms-for-syrian-kurds-will-continue-after-raqqa">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/mattis-us-arms-for-syrian-kurds-will-continue-after-raqqa</a> [accessed 28 June 2017].
- Bonsey, Noah, "Will the Americans Abandon Us?" *International Crisis Group* [17 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/will-americans-abandon-us">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/will-americans-abandon-us</a> [accessed 17 July 2017].
  - This is labeled as commentary and it provides only anecdotal evidence for the assertions in the paper. Regardless, this is still useful for understanding the mindset of those trying to govern Rojava.
- Chulov, Martin, "Kurds see chance to advance their cause in ruins of Islamic State," *The Guardian* [24 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/24/kurds-see-historic-chance-advance-cause-ruins-islamic-state">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/24/kurds-see-historic-chance-advance-cause-ruins-islamic-state</a> [accessed 26 June 2017].
- Chulov, Martin and Paul Johnson, "Fearful neighbours look on as Iraq's Kurds stake claim to

- nationhood," *The Guardian* [23 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/23/kurds-kurdish-referendum-independence-pollirag">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/23/kurds-kurdish-referendum-independence-pollirag</a> [accessed 25 September 2017].
- ★ Coles, Isabel, "In remote corner of Iraq, an unlikely alliance forms against Islamic State," Reuters [11 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-sinjar-idUSKCN0Y20TC">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-sinjar-idUSKCN0Y20TC</a> [accessed 11 May 2016].
  - Copp, Tara, "Why US forces remain near Manbij while ISIS has moved elsewhere in Syria," *Military Times* [17 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/04/17/us-forces-remain-near-manbij-isis-has-moved-on/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/04/17/us-forces-remain-near-manbij-isis-has-moved-on/</a> [accessed 18 April 2018].
  - Detsch, Jack, "US faces uphill battle recouping arms from Syrian Kurds," *al-Monitor* [28 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/us-faces-uphill-battle-arms-syria-kurds-trump.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/us-faces-uphill-battle-arms-syria-kurds-trump.html</a> [accessed 29 November 2017].
  - El Deeb, Sarah, "Senior Kurdish official, key to US policy in Syria, killed," *Military Times* [15 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/15/senior-kurdish-official-key-to-us-policy-in-syria-killed/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/15/senior-kurdish-official-key-to-us-policy-in-syria-killed/</a> [accessed 16 March 2018].
  - El Deeb, Sarah, "Syrian Kurds say US seeking deal to prevent a Turkish attack after withdrawal," *Military Times* [29 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/01/29/syrian-kurds-say-us-seeking-deal-with-turkey/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/01/29/syrian-kurds-say-us-seeking-deal-with-turkey/</a> [accessed 2 February 2019].
- ★ Feldman, Emily, "This Man Helped Save a Thousand Escaped ISIS Slaves," *The Daily Beast* [15 May 2017]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/05/15/this-doctor-saved-a-thousand-isis-slaves [accessed 16 May 2017].
  - This a very clear story of good and evil. The good done by a doctor for his Yazidi community and the evil experienced by those he saved. The details are thankfully limited, but the information is powerful.
  - Francis, Ellen and Tuvan Gumrukcu, "Russia-backed Syrian forces enter Kurdish-held region amid U.S. retreat," *Reuters* [14 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-security-turkey-usa/syrian-troops-enter-northeastern-town-after-deal-with-kurdish-forces-state-media-idUSKBN1WTOZC">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-security-turkey-usa/syrian-troops-enter-northeastern-town-after-deal-with-kurdish-forces-state-media-idUSKBN1WTOZC</a> [accessed 14 October 2019].
  - Frantzman, Seth, "The Kurdistan Regional Government between the Islamic State and Shi'i Militias," Tel Aviv Notes, The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies [1 March 2016]. https://www.academia.edu/23706063/The\_Kurdistan\_Regional\_Government\_between\_the\_Islamic \_\_State\_and\_Shi'i\_Militias?email\_work\_card=title [accessed 16 December 2019].
  - Frantzman, Seth, "Mosul Op: The Kurdish perspective and the battle for Mosul," written for presentation at a Rudaw conference in October, 2016.

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/29943849/Mosul">https://www.academia.edu/29943849/Mosul</a> Op The Kurdish perspective and the battle for M osul [accessed 6 December 2019].
  - Frantzman, Seth J. "Kurdistan After Islamic State: Six Crises Facing the Kurds in Iraq," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Winter 2016), 12-23.

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/30606052/KURDISTAN\_AFTER\_ISLAMIC\_STATE\_SIX\_CRISES\_FACING\_TH\_E\_KURDS\_IN\_IRAQ">IRAQ</a> [accessed 11 December 2019].
  - Fraser, Susan and Josh Lederman, "US cutting off its supply of arms to Kurds fighting in Syria," *Military Times* [26 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2017/11/25/us-cutting-off-its-supply-of-arms-to-kurds-fighting-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2017/11/25/us-cutting-off-its-supply-of-arms-to-kurds-fighting-in-syria/</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
  - Garland, Chad, "Kurdish forces: Two American ISIS fighters captured," *Stars and Stripes* [6 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/kurdish-forces-two-american-isis-fighters-captured-1.563406">https://www.stripes.com/news/kurdish-forces-two-american-isis-fighters-captured-1.563406</a> [accessed 13 January 2019].
  - Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "Inside the Kurdish fighting forces: the U.S.'s proxy ground troops in the war

- against ISIS", Washington Post [2 February 2016].
- https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/02/02/inside-the-kurdish-fighting-forces-the-u-s-s-proxy-ground-troops-in-the-war-against-isis/ [accessed 3 February 2016].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "Music videos and mortars: What the frontline near the ISIS stronghold of Mosul looks like", *The Washington Post* [3 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/02/03/what-the-frontline-near-the-isis-stronghold-of-mosul-looks-like/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/02/03/what-the-frontline-near-the-isis-stronghold-of-mosul-looks-like/</a> [accessed 4 February 2016].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "Watch Islamic State fighters attack Kurdish positions in a U.S.-made Humvee," The Washington Post [27 April 2016].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/04/27/watch-isis-fighters-attackkurdish-positions-in-a-u-s-made-humvee/ [accessed 28 April 2016].
- Gordon, Michael R., "ISIS Captives Say They Faced Blade as Rescue Came," *The New York Times* [27 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/28/world/middleeast/freed-prisoners-of-isis-tell-of-beatings-and-torture.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/28/world/middleeast/freed-prisoners-of-isis-tell-of-beatings-and-torture.html</a> [accessed 28 October 2015].
- Gordon, Michael R., "Kurds, Backed by U.S. Air Power, Try to Regain Sinjar From ISIS," *The New York Times* [11 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/12/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-syria.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/12/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-syria.html</a> [accessed 12 November 2015].
- Gordon, Michael R. and Tim Arango, "Kurdish Troops Advance on ISIS-Held Villages East of Mosul," *The New York Times* [17 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/17/world/middleeast/iraqisis-mosul-battle.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/17/world/middleeast/iraqisis-mosul-battle.html</a> [accessed 17 October 2016].
  - This is the best of three articles in this bibliography on the beginning of the battle to retake Mosul. This provides excellent coverage of challenges and actions.
- Gutman, Roy and Zakaria Zakaria, "Kurds, Arab allies hit hard by Islamic State car bomb," *McClatchy DC* [2 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/middle-east/article42319425.html">http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/middle-east/article42319425.html</a> [accessed 3 November 2015].
- Harris, Shane and Nancy A. Youssef, "'They're Being Tortured': U.S. Ally Accused of Abusing ISIS Prisoners", *The Daily Beast* [29 November 2015].
  - http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/29/i-m-sure-they-re-being-tortured-u-s-ally-accused-of-abusing-isis-prisoners.html [accessed 30 November 2015].
  - This article makes accusations of Kurdish torture of ISIS captives though they have no evidence other than hearsay. The article does present a useful ethical set of questions regarding U.S. involvement with forces that they believe may conduct actions considered inappropriate or illegal by U.S. or international standards.
- Hawramy, Fazel, "The other Iranians fighting in Iraq," *al-Monitor* [7 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/iran-iraq-kirkuk-pak-yazdanpanah-kdp-iranian-kurds.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/iran-iraq-kirkuk-pak-yazdanpanah-kdp-iranian-kurds.html</a> [accessed 8 November 2017].
- Hawramy, Fazel, Shalaw Mohammad, and David Smith, "Kurdish fighters say US special forces have been fighting Isis for months", *The Guardian* [30 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/nov/30/kurdish-fighters-us-special-forces-isis-combat">http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/nov/30/kurdish-fighters-us-special-forces-isis-combat</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
  - This article discusses Peshmerga assertions that U.S. military forces are operating in combat alongside Kurds. U.S. spokesman denies the assertions. Some think tank types gives some thoughts on how everyone might be telling the truth.
- ★ Hiltermann, Joost, "The Perils of a Post-ISIS Iraq," Foreign Policy [22 September 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/22/the-perils-of-a-post-isis-iraq">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/22/the-perils-of-a-post-isis-iraq</a> [accessed 24 September 2016]. The troubles with Kirkuk and what happens after ISIS is defeated.
  - Hinnant, Lori, Maya Alleruzzo, and Balint Szlanko, "Islamic State tightens grip on captives held as sex

- slaves," Associated Press [5 July 2016]. <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/article/bc71decfae2f4fee8196a20515b4c5fc/islamic-state-tightens-grip-captives-held-sex-slaves">http://bigstory.ap.org/article/bc71decfae2f4fee8196a20515b4c5fc/islamic-state-tightens-grip-captives-held-sex-slaves</a> [accessed 7 July 2016].
- Hubbard, Ben and Eric Schmitt, "As Kurds Tracked ISIS Leader, U.S. Withdrawal Threw Raid Into Turmoil," *The New York Times* [28 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/28/world/middleeast/isis-kurds-baghdadi.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/28/world/middleeast/isis-kurds-baghdadi.html</a> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- Hussein, Rikar, "Islamic State Regrouping in Iraqi, Kurdish Disputed Territories," *Voice of America News* [26 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-regrouping-in-iraqi-kurdish-disputed-territories/4317597.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-regrouping-in-iraqi-kurdish-disputed-territories/4317597.html</a> [accessed 27 March 2018].
- Isakhan, Benjamin, "The Iraqi Kurdish response to the 'Islamic State': Political Leverage in Times of Crisis," in Stansfield, G. & Shareef, M. (Eds.), *The Kurdish Questions Revisited* (p. 437-448). London: Hurst, 2017.
  - https://www.academia.edu/33918413/The Iraqi Kurdish Response to the Islamic State Political Leverage in Times of Crisis [accessed 29 December 2019].
- Kadercan, Burak, "Between a Rock and Dynamite: American Options in the Face of the Turkish-YPG Crisis," War on the Rocks [6 April 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/04/between-a-rock-and-dynamite-american-options-in-the-face-of-the-turkish-ypg-crisis/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/04/between-a-rock-and-dynamite-american-options-in-the-face-of-the-turkish-ypg-crisis/</a> [accessed 9 April 2018].
- ★ Kalin, Stephen, "Scarred Yazidi boys escape Islamic State combat training," Reuters [26 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-children-idUSKCN0XN19Q">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-children-idUSKCN0XN19Q</a> [accessed 27 April 2016].
  - Khalil, Aldar, "PERSPECTIVE: U.S. Must Back Semi-Autonomous Rojava Region Post-ISIS," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [18 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-u-s-must-back-semi-autonomous-rojava-region-post-isis/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-u-s-must-back-semi-autonomous-rojava-region-post-isis/</a> [accessed 21 March 2019].
  - Laizer, Sheri, "DAESH's Distinct Threat to the Kurdistan Regional Government," Academia.edu [21 September 2019].

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/17950761/DAESH">https://www.academia.edu/17950761/DAESH</a> S DISTINCT THREAT TO THE KURDISTAN REGION AL GOVERNMENT by Sheri Laizer [accessed 29 December 2019].
  - Lemmon, Gayle Tzemach, "Syrian Women Helped Find Baghdadi, Beat ISIS, Will Face 'Tough Time' Ahead, Leader Says," *Defense One* [28 October 2019].

    <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/10/syrian-women-who-helped-find-baghdadi-now-face-tough-time-leader-says/160896/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/10/syrian-women-who-helped-find-baghdadi-now-face-tough-time-leader-says/160896/</a> [accessed 31 October 2019].
  - Lister, Tim and Clarissa Ward, "U.S. man fighting ISIS: It's not 'Call of Duty'," CNN [30 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2015/10/30/middleeast/randy-roberts-u-s-man-fighting-isis/">http://www.cnn.com/2015/10/30/middleeast/randy-roberts-u-s-man-fighting-isis/</a> [accessed 30 October 2015].
  - McIntyre, Jamie, "The US could finish off ISIS if Turkey would stop fighting the Kurds, Pentagon says," Washington Examiner [15 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/the-us-could-finish-off-isis-if-turkey-would-stop-fighting-the-kurds-pentagon-says">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/the-us-could-finish-off-isis-if-turkey-would-stop-fighting-the-kurds-pentagon-says</a> [accessed 16 March 2018].
  - McKay, Hollie, "Former ISIS sex slaves now army of 'Sun Ladies' ready to defeat terror group", Fox News [8 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/02/08/former-isis-sex-slaves-now-army-sun-ladies-ready-to-defeat-terror-group.html">http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/02/08/former-isis-sex-slaves-now-army-sun-ladies-ready-to-defeat-terror-group.html</a> [accessed 9 February 2016].
  - Mehta, Aaron, "State OKs Humvees, howitzers for Iraqi peshmerga in ISIS fight," *Defense News* [19 April 2017]. http://www.defensenews.com/articles/state-oks-humvees-howitzers-for-iraqi-peshmerga-in-

- isis-fight [accessed 20 April 2017].
- Mellen, Ruby, "A brief history of the Syrian Democratic Forces, the Kurdish-led alliance that helped the U.S. defeat the Islamic State," *The Washington Post* [7 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/10/07/brief-history-syrian-democratic-forces-kurdish-led-alliance-that-helped-us-defeat-islamic-state/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/10/07/brief-history-syrian-democratic-forces-kurdish-led-alliance-that-helped-us-defeat-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 11 October 2019].
- Milburn, Franc, "Iranian Kurdish Militias: Terrorist-Insurgents, Ethno Freedom Fighters, or Knights on the Regional Chessboard?" *CTC Sentinel*, Volume 10, Issue 5, 29-35, May 2017. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel Vol10Iss512.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel Vol10Iss512.pdf</a> [accessed 31 December 2018].
- Miller, Anna Lekas, "Life After Sexual Slavery Inside ISIS," *The Daily Beast* [3 May 2016]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/03/life-after-sexual-slavery-inside-isis.html [accessed 4 May 2016].
- Morris, Loveday "As their power grows, Iraq's Kurds are fighting among themselves," *The Washington Post* [12 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/as-their-power-grows-iraqs-kurds-are-fighting-among-themselves/2015/10/12/2f86ef74-70d4-11e5-ba14-318f8e87a2fc\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/as-their-power-grows-iraqs-kurds-are-fighting-among-themselves/2015/10/12/2f86ef74-70d4-11e5-ba14-318f8e87a2fc\_story.html</a> [accessed 13 October 2015].
- Morris, Loveday "In an Islamic State prison, he had no hope. But then he heard the drones," *The Washington Post* [8 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/in-anislamic-state-prison-he-had-no-hope-but-then-he-heard-the-drones/2015/11/08/8e429ccf-784f-4b5e-b0de-5ac6f0a7000c\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/in-anislamic-state-prison-he-had-no-hope-but-then-he-heard-the-drones/2015/11/08/8e429ccf-784f-4b5e-b0de-5ac6f0a7000c\_story.html</a> [accessed 9 November 2015].
- Morris, Loveday, "Report: Kurds displacing Arabs in Iraq in what could be 'war crimes'", *The Washington Post* [19 January 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/report-kurds-displacing-arabs-in-iraq-in-what-could-be-war-crimes/2016/01/19/d864e87c-bee9-11e5-98c8-7fab78677d51">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/report-kurds-displacing-arabs-in-iraq-in-what-could-be-war-crimes/2016/01/19/d864e87c-bee9-11e5-98c8-7fab78677d51</a> story.html [accessed 21 January 2016].
  - Provides support to the thesis that the fight against ISIS is only a small part of what will happen following the fight over the green line, etc.
- Mroue, Bassem, "US-backed Syria Kurds say fight against Islamic State threatened by Turkey," *Military Times* [13 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/12/13/us-backed-syria-kurds-say-fight-against-islamic-state-threatened-by-turkey/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/12/13/us-backed-syria-kurds-say-fight-against-islamic-state-threatened-by-turkey/</a> [accessed 17 December 2018].
- Natali, Denise, "The Kurdish Quasi-State: Leveraging Political Limbo," *The Washington Quarterly* [30 July 2015], 38:2, 145-164, DOI: 10.1080/0163660X.2015.1064715.
- Natali, Denise, "Northern Iraq: Syrian spillover and intra-Kurdish dynamics," Trip Report for Institute for National Strategic Studies [17 May 2017].
- ★ Natali, Denise, "Islamic State Infiltrates Iraqi Kurdistan", Al-Monitor [4 June 2015]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/06/is-infiltration-iraqi-kurdistan.html#">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/06/is-infiltration-iraqi-kurdistan.html#</a> [accessed 6 June 2015].
  - Natali, Denise, "Lessons from the Liberation of Sinjar", *War on the Rocks* [25 November 2015]. http://warontherocks.com/2015/11/lessons-from-the-liberation-of-sinjar/ [accessed 25 November 2015].
    - This includes an interesting assessment on the complexities of Kurdish politics and the dynamics of control in Iraq.
- ★ Natali, Denise, "Debunking Myths About the Kurds, Iraq, and Iran," War on the Rocks [26 October 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/10/debunking-myths-about-the-kurds-iraq-and-iran/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/10/debunking-myths-about-the-kurds-iraq-and-iran/</a> [accessed 28 October 2017].
  - Dr. Natali always provides excellent insights into the political and governance challenges of the Kurdish Regional Government and the complex relations with Baghdad. The thoughts and policy recommendations in

- this article are important to read and consider.
- Neuhof, Florian, "Elite U.S. Soldiers and Kurdish Troops Moving on ISIS Near Mosul," *The Daily Beast* [30 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/31/elite-u-s-soldiers-and-kurdish-troops-moving-on-isis-near-mosul.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/31/elite-u-s-soldiers-and-kurdish-troops-moving-on-isis-near-mosul.html</a> [accessed 31 May 2016].
- Neurink, Judit, "Expect change in Iraq when embattled Kurds cast ballots," *al-Monitor* [4 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/04/kurdistan-protest-violence-iraq.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/04/kurdistan-protest-violence-iraq.html</a> [accessed 6 April 2018].
- Pawlyk, Oriana, "Female Army vet leads 'dream team' to fight ISIS in Iraq", *Army Times* [5 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.armytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/05/female-army-vet-leads-dream-team-fight-isis-iraq/77960606/">http://www.armytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/05/female-army-vet-leads-dream-team-fight-isis-iraq/77960606/</a> [accessed 6 January 2016].
- Peterson, Nolan, "The Face of Evil: Surveying the ISIS Killing Fields in Northern Iraq," *The Daily Signal* 2 June 2016]. <a href="http://dailysignal.com/2016/06/02/the-face-of-evil-surveying-the-isis-killing-fields-in-northern-iraq/">http://dailysignal.com/2016/06/02/the-face-of-evil-surveying-the-isis-killing-fields-in-northern-iraq/</a> [accessed 3 June 2016].
- Petkova, Mariya, "Why is oil-rich Kirkuk so poor? While political parties squabble over power and oil in the Iraqi city of Kirkuk, local residents suffer." *Al Jazeera* [24 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/oil-rich-kirkuk-poor-181023230125504.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/oil-rich-kirkuk-poor-181023230125504.html</a> [accessed 25 October 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "US-backed Syrian fighters spotted in MRAPs prior to ISIS assault," *Military Times* [8 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/08/us-backed-syrian-fighters-spotted-in-mraps-prior-to-isis-assault/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/08/us-backed-syrian-fighters-spotted-in-mraps-prior-to-isis-assault/</a> [accessed 9 May 2018].
- Saadoun, Mustafa, "Islamic State awakens sleeper cells in Iraq's Kirkuk," *al-Monitor* [5 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/07/kirkuk-iraq-isis-terrorism.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/07/kirkuk-iraq-isis-terrorism.html</a> [accessed 6 July 2018].
- Said, Rodi, "Syria's female soldiers prepare to take on Isis in battle for Raqqa," *The Independent* [10 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/syria-isis-women-soldiers-raqqa-female-fighters-syrian-democratic-forces-sdf-islamic-state-daesh-a7885901.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/syria-isis-women-soldiers-raqqa-female-fighters-syrian-democratic-forces-sdf-islamic-state-daesh-a7885901.html</a> [accessed 11 August 2017].
- Sisk, Richard, "US Sends More Troops to Syrian Town Where US, British Soldiers Killed," *military.com* [2 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/04/02/us-sends-more-troops-syrian-town-where-us-british-soldiers-killed.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/04/02/us-sends-more-troops-syrian-town-where-us-british-soldiers-killed.html</a> [accessed 3 April 2018].
- Snow, Shawn, "US leaves behind dozens of high-value ISIS detainees as Turkey rolls through Syria," *Military Times* [14 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/14/us-leaves-behind-dozens-of-high-value-isis-detainees-as-turkey-rolls-through-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/14/us-leaves-behind-dozens-of-high-value-isis-detainees-as-turkey-rolls-through-syria/</a> [accessed 14 October 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne, "Who are the Real Terrorists in North East Syria?" *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [13 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.icsve.org/who-are-the-real-terrorists-in-north-east-syria/">https://www.icsve.org/who-are-the-real-terrorists-in-north-east-syria/</a> [accessed 14 October 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne, "SPECKHARD: Syria's Budding Democracy Is Being Destroyed, But It's Not Too Late To Save It," *Daily Caller* [7 November 2019]. <a href="https://dailycaller.com/2019/11/07/speckhard-syria-democracy">https://dailycaller.com/2019/11/07/speckhard-syria-democracy</a> [accessed 7 November 2019].
- Stein, Aaron, "The Roadmap to Nowhere: Manbij, Turkey, and America's Dilemma in Syria," War on the Rocks [29 June 2018]. https://warontherocks.com/2018/06/the-roadmap-to-nowhere-manbij-turkey-and-americas-dilemma-in-syria/ [accessed 2 July 2018].
- Tachibana, Yuka and Kelly Cobiella, "Once Used as Sex Slaves by ISIS, These Yazidi Women Are Rebuilding Their Lives," *NBC News* [24 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-">https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-</a>

- terror/once-used-sex-slaves-isis-these-yazidi-women-are-rebuilding-n801226 [accessed 25 September 2017].
- Taşpınar, Ömer, "ISIS and the false dawn of Kurdish statehood," *Brookings* [13 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/12/13/isis-and-the-false-dawn-of-kurdish-statehood/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/12/13/isis-and-the-false-dawn-of-kurdish-statehood/</a> [accessed 3 January 2020].
- Taylor, Adam, "Yes, the Islamic State's attacks on the Yazidis constitute genocide, new report says", Washington Post [12 November 2015]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/11/12/yes-the-islamic-states-attacks-on-the-yazidis-are-a-genocide-new-report-says/ [accessed 13 November 2015].
- Thielemans, Thomas, "Greater Kurdistan: Between Gains and Losses," Brussels, Belgium: Kring voor Internationale Betrekkingen [17 April 2015].

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/19560978/Greater Kurdistan\_Between gains and losses">https://www.academia.edu/19560978/Greater Kurdistan\_Between gains and losses</a> [accessed 2 January 2020].
- Voice of America News, "Iraqi Kurds Criticize Abadi for Not Recognizing them in Fight against IS," Voice of America News [10 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/iraqi-kurds-criticize-abadi/4157547.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/iraqi-kurds-criticize-abadi/4157547.html</a> [accessed 11 December 2017].
- Yazda, "ISIL: Nationals of ICC states parties committing genocide and other crimes against the Yazidis," Houston, Texas: Yazda and the Free Yezidi Foundation [September 2015].

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/37176233/ISIL">https://www.academia.edu/37176233/ISIL</a> Nationals of ICC states parties committing genocide and other crimes against the Yazidis [accessed 18 December 2019].
- YouGov, "Life in Mosul under Islamic State rule," YouGov Special Projects [December 2015].

  The report provides specific quotes from Mosalawis regarding reactions to life under ISIS.
- YouGov, "Life in Mosul under Daesh rule," YouGov Special Projects [January 2016]. Specific quotes from Mosalawis regarding reactions to life under ISIS.

[accessed 28 September 2017].

- Zhdannikov, Dmitry, "The great Russian oil game in Iraqi Kurdistan," *Reuters* [19 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-rosneft-iraq-insight/the-great-russian-oil-game-in-iraqi-kurdistan-idUSKBN1HQ1R3">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-rosneft-iraq-insight/the-great-russian-oil-game-in-iraqi-kurdistan-idUSKBN1HQ1R3</a> [accessed 20 April 2018].
- Zucchino, David and Margaret Coker, "Iraq Escalates Dispute With Kurds, Threatening Military Action," The New York Times [27 September 2017]. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/27/world/middleeast/kurdistan-referendum-iraq.html

## Fighting ISIS in Syria

- Agence France-Presse, "UK 'Letting Down' Allies Over IS in Syria, Defence Chief Says," *Defense News* [8 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/11/08/uk-letting-allies-syria-defence-chief-says/75420102/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/11/08/uk-letting-allies-syria-defence-chief-says/75420102/</a> [accessed 9 November 2015].
- Agence France-Presse, "US-backed force tightens noose on IS-held Raqa hospital," *al-Monitor* [1 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/10/syria-conflict-raqa-hospital.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/10/syria-conflict-raqa-hospital.html</a> [accessed 2 October 2017].
- Agence France-Presse, "US-backed force scours former IS fort in Raqa," *al-Monitor* [2 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/10/syria-conflict-raqa-intelligence.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/10/syria-conflict-raqa-intelligence.html</a> [accessed 3 October 2017].
- Agence France-Presse, "IS counter-attacks kill 47 US-backed fighters in east Syria: monitor," *Yahoo.com* [24 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.yahoo.com/news/counter-attacks-kill-47-us-backed-fighters-east-224338052.html">https://www.yahoo.com/news/counter-attacks-kill-47-us-backed-fighters-east-224338052.html</a> [accessed 26 November 2018].
- Agence France-Presse, "IS counterattack in east Syria leaves 32 dead: monitor," *Agence France-Presse* [8 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.afp.com/en/news/3954/counterattack-east-syria-leaves-32-dead-monitor-doc-1c23sk2">https://www.afp.com/en/news/3954/counterattack-east-syria-leaves-32-dead-monitor-doc-1c23sk2</a> [accessed 13 January 2019].
- Agence France-Presse, "Syria force evacuates 'human shields' in push to crush IS remnant," *Agence France-Presse* [4 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.afp.com/en/news/3954/syria-force-evacuates-human-shields-push-crush-remnant-doc-1e69vx4">https://www.afp.com/en/news/3954/syria-force-evacuates-human-shields-push-crush-remnant-doc-1e69vx4</a> [accessed 6 March 2019].
- Agence France-Presse and Chris Dyer, "From caliphate to car park: ISIS fighters hunker down in makeshift camp beside battered vehicles on their last scrap of territory as US-backed fighters prepare to move in," *Daily Mail* [8 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6785989/In-Syrian-riverside-camp-IS-clings-scrap-caliphate.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6785989/In-Syrian-riverside-camp-IS-clings-scrap-caliphate.html</a> [accessed 11 March 2019].
- Ahmado, Nisan, "IS Vows to Fight to Death in Battle for Areas Near Deir el-Zour," *Voice of America News* [14 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/is-vows-to-fight-to-death-as-us-backed-forces-close-in-on-last-is-pockets/4394143.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/is-vows-to-fight-to-death-as-us-backed-forces-close-in-on-last-is-pockets/4394143.html</a> [accessed 15 May 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Jordan army says several ISIL fighters killed in border clashes," *Al Jazeera* [2 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/08/jordan-army-isil-fighters-killed-border-clashes-180802135231069.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/08/jordan-army-isil-fighters-killed-border-clashes-180802135231069.html</a> [accessed 3 August 2018].
- al-Kanj, Sultan, "How the Islamic State found a haven in Syrian desert," *al-Monitor* [15 September 2020]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/09/syria-desert-islamic-state-attacks-regime-russia.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/09/syria-desert-islamic-state-attacks-regime-russia.html</a> [accessed 16 September 2020].
- al-Kanj, Sultan, "Islamic State continues to pose threat in Syrian desert," *al-Monitor* [16 December 2020]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/12/syria-desert-islamic-state-cells-attacks-regime-iranian-sdf.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/12/syria-desert-islamic-state-cells-attacks-regime-iranian-sdf.html</a> [accessed 1 January 2021].
- Aji, Albert, "Syria's Assad authorizes Iraqi forces to strike ISIS in Syria," *Military Times* [30 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/12/30/syrias-assad-authorizes-iraqi-forces-to-strike-isis-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/12/30/syrias-assad-authorizes-iraqi-forces-to-strike-isis-in-syria/</a> [accessed 31 December 2018].
- Aji, Albert and Bassem Mroue, "After Palmyra, Syrian troops take another IS-controlled town," *Yahoo* [3 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.yahoo.com/news/activists-battle-syria-kills-several-hezbollah-fighters-102113801.html">https://www.yahoo.com/news/activists-battle-syria-kills-several-hezbollah-fighters-102113801.html</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
- Alami, Mona, "The geopolitics behind race for eastern Syria," *Al Monitor*: Syria Pulse [21 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/06/syria-north-east-players-race-army-rebels-us.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/06/syria-north-east-players-race-army-rebels-us.html</a> [accessed 27 June 2017].
  - Hezbollah is operating around Raqqa!

- Alami, Mona, "All eyes are on Hezbollah in Syria's Deir ez-Zor," *Al Monitor*: Syria Pulse [15 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/syria-war-hezbollah-lebanon-deir-es-zor-regime-is-battles.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/syria-war-hezbollah-lebanon-deir-es-zor-regime-is-battles.html</a> [accessed 17 October 2017].
- ★ Allam, Hannah, "The 'magic words:' How a simple phrase enmeshed the U.S. in Syria's crisis", *McClatchy* [13 August 2015]. <a href="http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/article31016274.html">http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/article31016274.html</a> [accessed 14 August 2015].
  - al-Sharif, Osama, "Has Jordan Acquiesced to Assad Regime Offensive in Southern Syria?", *Middle East Institute* [12 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.mei.edu/content/article/has-jordan-acquiesced-assad-regime-offensive-southern-syria">http://www.mei.edu/content/article/has-jordan-acquiesced-assad-regime-offensive-southern-syria</a> [accessed 16 January 2016].
    - Details on the dynamics ongoing in southern Syria and Jordan's role in the fighting or non-fighting.
  - al-Tamimi, Aymenn, "Putin and Assad Score a Major Victory Against ISIS, After Hitting Syrian Rebels for Months," *The Daily Beast* [28 March 2016].
  - Amos, Howard, "Russian general claims US-led coalition hit Tabqa dam in Syria," *Military Times* [28 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/tabqa-dam-syria-russia">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/tabqa-dam-syria-russia</a> [accessed 29 March 2017].
  - The Associated Press, "Syria Says 3 Soldiers Killed in US-Led Coalition Airstrikes", New York Times [7 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2015/12/07/world/middleeast/ap-islamic-state.html?ref=world&r=1">http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2015/12/07/world/middleeast/ap-islamic-state.html?ref=world&r=1</a> [accessed 7 December 2015].
  - The Associated Press, "Syria rebels battle IS for control of Iraq crossing," *The Associated Press* [5 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/05/syria-rebels-take-iraq-border-crossing/81360304/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/05/syria-rebels-take-iraq-border-crossing/81360304/</a> [accessed 7 March 2016].
  - The Associated Press, "Report: U.S. Offers Russia to Join Forces in New Syria Military Pact," *Ha'aretz* [14 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/1.730823">http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/1.730823</a> [accessed 14 July 2016].
  - The Associated Press, "US-backed Syrian fighters reach gates of ISIS capital of Raqqa," *Military Times* [30 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-syrian-fighters-reach-gates-of-isis-capital-of-raqqa">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-syrian-fighters-reach-gates-of-isis-capital-of-raqqa</a> [accessed 31 May 2017].
  - The Associated Press, "US-backed Syrian fighters seize parts of ISIS 'capital' Raqqa," *Military Times* [11 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-syrian-fighters-seize-parts-of-isis-capital-raqqa">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-syrian-fighters-seize-parts-of-isis-capital-raqqa</a> [accessed 12 June 2017].
  - The Associated Press, "US-backed forces battle ISIS in heart of Syria's Raqqa," *Military Times* [17 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-forces-battle-isis-in-heart-of-syrias-raqqa">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-forces-battle-isis-in-heart-of-syrias-raqqa</a> [accessed 18 July 2017].
  - The Associated Press, "The Latest: US-backed forces advance in Syria's Raqqa," *The Washington Post* [3 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/04/the-latest-us-backed-forces-advance-in-syrias-raqqa/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/04/the-latest-us-backed-forces-advance-in-syrias-raqqa/</a> [accessed 5 September 2017].
  - The Associated Press, "IS claims Damascus attack, capture of Russian soldiers," *Military Times* [4 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/russia-says-its-strikes-killed-hundreds-of-is-in-east-syria/2017/10/03/e12046d8-a811-11e7-9a98-07140d2eed02\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/russia-says-its-strikes-killed-hundreds-of-is-in-east-syria/2017/10/03/e12046d8-a811-11e7-9a98-07140d2eed02\_story.html</a> [accessed 4 October 2017].
  - The Associated Press, "7 US-backed Kurdish fighters killed in ISIS attack in Manbij," *Military Times* [27 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/27/7-us-backed-kurdish-fighters-killed-in-isis-attack-in-manbij/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/27/7-us-backed-kurdish-fighters-killed-in-isis-attack-in-manbij/</a> [accessed 27 March 2019].
  - The Associated Press, "US-backed Kurdish fighters clash with ISIS days after declaring victory," *Military Times* [2 April 2019]. https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/04/02/us-backed-kurdish-

- fighters-clash-with-isis-days-after-declaring-victory/ [accessed 3 April 2019].
- The Associated Press, "Did ISIS militants blow themselves up in a city that was liberated nearly 2 years ago?," *Military Times* [3 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/04/03/didisis-militants-blow-themselves-up-in-a-city-that-was-liberated-nearly-2-years-ago/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/04/03/didisis-militants-blow-themselves-up-in-a-city-that-was-liberated-nearly-2-years-ago/</a> [accessed 4 April 2019].
- Axe, David, "ISIS Could Kill Thousands With 'Biblical' Weapon," *The Daily Beast* [31 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/03/31/isis-could-kill-thousands-with-biblical-weapon.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/03/31/isis-could-kill-thousands-with-biblical-weapon.html</a> [accessed 3 April 2017].
  - Discussion of the possible failing of the Tabqa Dam. Is it intentional on the part of the coalition or ISIS? Arguments are made for either.
- Baker, Peter and Eric Schmitt, "Discordant Verdicts on U.S. Forces in Syria: Too Much, or Too Little," *The New York Times* [31 October 2015]. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/01/world/middleeast/discordant-verdicts-on-us-forces-in-syriatoo-much-or-too-little.html [accessed 2 November 2015].
- Balanche, Fabrice, "The Battle of Aleppo Is the Center of the Syrian Chessboard", *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* [5 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-battle-of-aleppo-is-the-center-of-the-syrian-chessboard">http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-battle-of-aleppo-is-the-center-of-the-syrian-chessboard</a> [accessed 8 February 2016].
- Baldor, Lolita C. "U.S. commander signals larger, longer U.S. presence in Syria," *Military Times* [9 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-commander-signals-larger-longer-us-presence-in-syria">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-commander-signals-larger-longer-us-presence-in-syria</a> [accessed 10 March 2017].
- Baldor, Lolita C. "Mattis signals military shift in Syria to reflect ISIS defeat," *Military Times* [3 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/03/mattis-signals-military-shift-in-syria-to-reflect-isis-defeat/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/03/mattis-signals-military-shift-in-syria-to-reflect-isis-defeat/</a> [accessed 4 December 2017].
- Baldor, Lolita C. "Syrian forces capture 2 members of Islamic State 'Beatles'," *Military Times* [9 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/09/syrian-forces-capture-2-members-of-islamic-state-beatles/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/09/syrian-forces-capture-2-members-of-islamic-state-beatles/</a> [accessed 10 February 2018].
- Baldor, Lolita C. "Coalition airstrike targets mosque used by Islamic State," *Military Times* [21 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/10/21/coalition-airstrike-targets-mosque-used-by-islamic-state/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/10/21/coalition-airstrike-targets-mosque-used-by-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 22 October 2018].
- Balkiz, Ghazi, "Inside Raqqa: A city reduced to rubble after years of brutal ISIS rule," CNN [31 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2017/10/19/middleeast/raqqa-syria-isis/index.html">http://www.cnn.com/2017/10/19/middleeast/raqqa-syria-isis/index.html</a> [accessed 1 November 2017].
- Baron, Kevin and Patrick Tucker, "Army Chief Confirms US Will Hand off ISIS Fight in Syria," *Defense One* [16 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/news/2019/01/army-chief-confirms-us-will-hand-isis-fight-syria/154237/">https://www.defenseone.com/news/2019/01/army-chief-confirms-us-will-hand-isis-fight-syria/154237/</a> [accessed 18 January 2019].
- BBC, "Raqqa: The desperate fight for Islamic State group's 'capital'," *BBC* [22 June 2017]. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-40374094 [accessed 23 June 2017].
- BBC, "Islamic State group: Civilians evacuated from last Syria enclave," *BBC* [20 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-47306633">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-47306633</a> [accessed 21 February 2019].
- Bendix, Aria, "Victory in Raqqa Offensive," *The Atlantic* [12 June 2017]. https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2017/06/syrian-rebels-close-to-victory-in-raqqaoffensive/530064/ [accessed 19 June 2017].
- Bendix, Aria, "ISIS Claims Attack on U.S.-Backed Troops in Syria," *The Atlantic* [29 July 2017]. https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2017/07/isis-claims-attack-on-us-backed-troops-in-

- syria/535353/ [accessed 31 July 2017].
- Berman, Asher, "How the Success of U.S.-Backed Kurdish Forces Will Enable ISIL's Continued Presence in Eastern Syria," *Lawfare* [10 July 2016]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/how-success-us-backed-kurdish-forces-will-enable-isils-continued-presence-eastern-syria">https://www.lawfareblog.com/how-success-us-backed-kurdish-forces-will-enable-isils-continued-presence-eastern-syria</a> [accessed 11 July 2016].
  - Article includes polls and interviews that express with some data the problems with a Kurdish ruled northeast of Syria. In these interviews some Arabs expressed that they would rather live under ISIS than Kurdish rule.
- Birnbaum, Emily, "US-led coalition strikes another Syrian mosque used by ISIS fighters," *The Hill* [22 October 2018]. <a href="https://thehill.com/policy/defense/412563-us-led-coalition-strikes-second-syrian-mosque-used-by-isis-fighters">https://thehill.com/policy/defense/412563-us-led-coalition-strikes-second-syrian-mosque-used-by-isis-fighters</a> [accessed 23 October 2018].
- ★ Brannen, Kate, "The Company Getting Rich off the ISIS War", The Daily Beast [2 August 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/08/02/the-company-getting-rich-off-the-isis-war.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/08/02/the-company-getting-rich-off-the-isis-war.html</a> [accessed 4 August 2015].
  - Burns, Robert, "For US in Syria, end game gets murkier as ISIS shrinks," *Military Times* [9 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/09/for-us-in-syria-end-game-gets-murkier-as-isis-shrinks/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/09/for-us-in-syria-end-game-gets-murkier-as-isis-shrinks/</a> [accessed 10 February 2018].
  - Burns, Robert, "Pentagon: Operations against ISIS in eastern Syria 'paused'," *Military Times* [5 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/05/pentagon-operations-against-isis-in-eastern-syria-paused/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/05/pentagon-operations-against-isis-in-eastern-syria-paused/</a> [accessed 6 March 2018].
  - Burns, Robert, "Mattis foresees 're-energized' fight against ISIS in Syria," *Military Times* [26 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/26/mattis-foresees-re-energized-fight-against-isis-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/26/mattis-foresees-re-energized-fight-against-isis-in-syria/</a> [accessed 27 April 2018].
- Butler, Daren, "Kurds' advance in Syria divides U.S. and Turkey as Russia bombs," *Reuters* [17 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-kurds-idUSKCNOVQ1FR">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-kurds-idUSKCNOVQ1FR</a> [18 February 2016].
  - CBS News, "ISIS defeat in Syria enclave a milestone, but the fight won't end," CBS News [21 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/isis-defeat-in-syria-enclave-a-milestone-but-the-fight-won-t-end/ar-BBV3f5g">https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/isis-defeat-in-syria-enclave-a-milestone-but-the-fight-won-t-end/ar-BBV3f5g</a> [accessed 22 March 2019].
  - Chicago Tribune, "U.S.-led coalition forces target Islamic State oil facilities in eastern Syria", *Chicago Tribune* [3 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-islamic-state-oil-facilities-syria-20151203-story.html">http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-islamic-state-oil-facilities-syria-20151203-story.html</a> [accessed 4 December 2015].
    - Information on the air campaign with the addition of UK in the coalition against Syrian targets.
  - Chulov, Martin, "Hundreds of Isis defectors mass on Syrian border hoping to flee," *The Guardian* [12 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/12/hundreds-of-isis-defectors-mass-on-syrian-border-hoping-to-flee">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/12/hundreds-of-isis-defectors-mass-on-syrian-border-hoping-to-flee</a> [accessed 13 September 2017].
  - Cole, Juan, "ISIS's Days in Syria Are Numbered, but Does Trump Have More Wars to Fight There?" *The Nation* [3 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.thenation.com/article/isiss-days-in-syria-are-numbered-but-does-trump-have-more-wars-to-fight-there/">https://www.thenation.com/article/isiss-days-in-syria-are-numbered-but-does-trump-have-more-wars-to-fight-there/</a> [accessed 5 August 2017].
  - Conn, Jordan Ritter, "The Fevered Dream Of A Freedom Fighter," *ESPN* [2 June 2016]. <a href="http://espn.go.com/espn/feature/story/">http://espn.go.com/espn/feature/story/</a> /page/enterprise-syria160602/syrian-pro-soccer-player-fled-turkey-play-free-syrian-national-team [accessed 3 June 2016].
  - Copp, Tara, "US won't strike remaining ISIS fighters migrating to western Syria," *Military Times* [27 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/27/us-wont-strike-remaining-isis-fighters-migrating-to-western-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/27/us-wont-strike-remaining-isis-fighters-migrating-to-western-syria/</a> [accessed 28 December 2017].
  - Copp, Tara, "Defeat of ISIS in Syria just 2 to 3 months away, commander says," *Military Times* [24 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/07/24/defeat-of-isis-in-syria-just-2-3-months-away-commander-says/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/07/24/defeat-of-isis-in-syria-just-2-3-months-away-commander-says/</a> [accessed 25 July 2018].

- Cordall, Simon Speakman, "Islamic State threat remains in Syria," *United Press International* [13 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.upi.com/Top\_News/Voices/2018/03/13/Islamic-State-threat-remains-in-Syria/1351520943434/">https://www.upi.com/Top\_News/Voices/2018/03/13/Islamic-State-threat-remains-in-Syria/1351520943434/</a> [accessed 14 March 2018].
- Cordall, Simon Speakman, "ISIS attack in Sweida a bloody reminder that Syria's horrors are not over," *The Arab Weekly* [29 July 2018]. <a href="https://thearabweekly.com/isis-attack-sweida-bloody-reminder-syrias-horrors-are-not-over">https://thearabweekly.com/isis-attack-sweida-bloody-reminder-syrias-horrors-are-not-over</a> [accessed 29 July 2018].
- Correll, Diana Stancy, "U.S.-led coalition: ISIS militants cleared from Syrian village in massive operation," *Military Times* [28 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/06/28/us-led-coalition-isis-militants-cleared-from-syrian-village-in-massive-operation-since-isis-lost-its-caliphate/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/06/28/us-led-coalition-isis-militants-cleared-from-syrian-village-in-massive-operation-since-isis-lost-its-caliphate/</a> [accessed 1 July 2019].
- Correll, Diana Stancy, "US resumes more robust counter-ISIS ops in Syria," *Military Times* [25 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/11/25/us-resumes-more-robust-counter-isis-ops-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/11/25/us-resumes-more-robust-counter-isis-ops-in-syria/</a> [accessed 30 November 2019].
- Crowell, Maddy, "Mustard gas in Syria: What happened to the ban on chemical weapons?", Christian Science Monitor [8 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2015/1108/Mustard-gas-in-Syria-What-happened-to-the-ban-on-chemical-weapons">http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2015/1108/Mustard-gas-in-Syria-What-happened-to-the-ban-on-chemical-weapons</a> [accessed 9 November 2015].
- ★ Daragahi, Borzou, "The US Is Far More Deeply Involved In Syria Than You Know," BuzzFeed News [6 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.buzzfeed.com/borzoudaragahi/the-war-on-isis-in-raqqa">https://www.buzzfeed.com/borzoudaragahi/the-war-on-isis-in-raqqa</a> [accessed 7 August 2017].
  - The title oversells the meat of the article. This is still an article worth reading to understand what is happening in Syria in August 2017.
  - Davison, John, "U.S.-backed forces push back Islamic State in Raqqa campaign officials," *Reuters* [11 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-raqqa-idUSKBN17D1PX">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-raqqa-idUSKBN17D1PX</a> [accessed 12 April 2017].
  - Davison, John and Ahmed Rasheed, "U.S. allies tighten grip around Islamic State stronghold in Syria," Reuters [9 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-manbij-idUSKCN0YU1QM">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-manbij-idUSKCN0YU1QM</a> [accessed 9 June 2016].
  - Detsch, Jack, "US-backed forces cut off Islamic State in Raqqa," *al-Monitor* [11 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/us-backed-forces-islamic-state-raqqa-syria-mcgurk.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/us-backed-forces-islamic-state-raqqa-syria-mcgurk.html</a> [accessed 14 August 2017].
  - Detsch, Jack, "US hopes for a quick Syria exit run into a minefield in Raqqa," *al-Monitor* [1 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/us-hopes-quick-syria-exit-minefield-raqqa.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/us-hopes-quick-syria-exit-minefield-raqqa.html</a> [accessed 4 June 2018].
  - Detsch, Jack, "US pushes for Plan B in Syria," *al-Monitor* [29 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/us-push-plan-b-syria-trump-iran-troops.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/us-push-plan-b-syria-trump-iran-troops.html</a> [accessed 2 July 2018].
  - Detsch, Jack, "Watchdog: Islamic State fighters numbers increase in Syria," *al-Monitor* [8 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/islamic-state-fighters-syria-increase.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/islamic-state-fighters-syria-increase.html</a> [accessed 9 August 2018].
  - Detsch, Jack, "Pentagon sustains budget for arming local anti-IS forces amid US pullout," *al-Monitor* [25 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/03/pentagon-budget-arming-local-anti-is-forces-pullout.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/03/pentagon-budget-arming-local-anti-is-forces-pullout.html</a> accessed 27 March 2019].
  - Dettmer, Jamie, "Who Will Retake Raqqa?" *Voice of America News* [3 April 2017]. https://www.voanews.com/a/who-will-retake-raqqa/3794450.html [accessed 5 April 2017].

- Deutsche Welle, "US-backed forces in Syria breach Raqqa's old city wall," *Deutsche Welle* [4 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/us-backed-forces-in-syria-breach-raqqas-old-city-wall/a-39532170">http://www.dw.com/en/us-backed-forces-in-syria-breach-raqqas-old-city-wall/a-39532170</a> [accessed 5 July 2017].
- Deutsche Welle, "Syrian army pushes IS out of last stronghold in Homs," *Deutsche Welle* [6 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/syrian-army-pushes-is-out-of-last-stronghold-in-homs/a-39981906">http://www.dw.com/en/syrian-army-pushes-is-out-of-last-stronghold-in-homs/a-39981906</a> [accessed 7 August 2017].
- Deutsche Welle, "Islamic State' (IS) fighters evacuate as battle for Raqqa nears end," *Deutsche Welle* [15 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-is-fighters-evacuate-as-battle-for-raqqa-nears-end/a-40957599">http://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-is-fighters-evacuate-as-battle-for-raqqa-nears-end/a-40957599</a> [accessed 16 October 2017].
- Deutsche Welle, "Islamic State' massacres dozens in central Syria: report," *Deutsche Welle* [23 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-massacres-dozens-in-central-syria-report/a-41080311">http://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-massacres-dozens-in-central-syria-report/a-41080311</a> [accessed 24 October 2017].
- Deutsche Welle, "Syria: Russia's Vladimir Putin orders partial withdrawal of troops," *Deutsche Welle* [11 December 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/syria-russias-vladimir-putin-orders-partial-withdrawal-of-troops/a-41741591">http://www.dw.com/en/syria-russias-vladimir-putin-orders-partial-withdrawal-of-troops/a-41741591</a> [accessed 12 December 2017].
- Deutsche Welle, "German rapper-turned-jihadi Denis Cuspert reportedly killed in Syria," *Deutsche Welle* [18 January 2018]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/german-rapper-turned-jihadi-denis-cuspert-reportedly-killed-in-syria/a-42213092">http://www.dw.com/en/german-rapper-turned-jihadi-denis-cuspert-reportedly-killed-in-syria/a-42213092</a> [accessed 19 January 2018].
- Deutsche Welle, "'IS' leaves last pocket of Damascus," *Deutsche Welle* [21 May 2018]. http://www.dw.com/en/is-leaves-last-pocket-of-damascus/a-43868476 [accessed 23 May 2018].
- Deutsche Welle, "Islamic State' kidnaps dozens of women and children in Syria," *Deutsche Welle* [30 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-kidnaps-dozens-of-women-and-children-in-syria/a-44878428">https://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-kidnaps-dozens-of-women-and-children-in-syria/a-44878428</a> [accessed 31 July 2018].
- Deutsche Welle, "Islamic State': Up to 30,000 fighters still in Syria and Iraq, UN says," *Deutsche Welle* [13 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-up-to-30000-fighters-still-in-syria-and-iraq-un-says/a-45070311">https://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-up-to-30000-fighters-still-in-syria-and-iraq-un-says/a-45070311</a> [accessed 14 August 2018].
- DeYoung, Karen, "Kerry sees Islamic State as 'gravest extremist threat faced by our generation'," *The Washington Post* [12 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/kerry-calls-islamic-state-the-gravest-extremist-threat-faced-by-our-generation/2015/11/12/b4bda354-8970-11e5-9a07-453018f9a0ec\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/kerry-calls-islamic-state-the-gravest-extremist-threat-faced-by-our-generation/2015/11/12/b4bda354-8970-11e5-9a07-453018f9a0ec\_story.html</a> [accessed 13 November 2015].
- DeYoung, Karen and Missy Ryan, "Allies decline request to stay in Syria after U.S. troops withdraw," *The Washington Post* [20 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/allies-say-they-wont-remain-in-syria-after-us-troops-withdraw/2019/02/20/62e503b2-3532-11e9-a400-e481bf264fdc\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/allies-say-they-wont-remain-in-syria-after-us-troops-withdraw/2019/02/20/62e503b2-3532-11e9-a400-e481bf264fdc\_story.html</a> [accessed 22 February 2019].
- El Deeb, Sarah, "US-backed Syrian fighters now control almost half of IS City," AP News [28 July 2017]. https://apnews.com/177997cb672f4c5faed5925c66905c29/US-backed-Syrian-fighters-control-almost-half-of-Raqqa [accessed 28 July 2017].
- El Deeb, Sarah, "Cease-fires in battle against ISIS on Lebanon-Syria border," *Military Times* [27 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/27/cease-fires-in-battle-against-isis-on-lebanon-syria-border/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/27/cease-fires-in-battle-against-isis-on-lebanon-syria-border/</a> [accessed 28 August 2017].
- El Deeb, Sarah, "Cornered in Syria, ISIS lays groundwork for a new insurgency," *Military Times* [6 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/02/06/cornered-in-syria-isis-lays-groundwork-for-a-new-insurgency/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/02/06/cornered-in-syria-isis-lays-groundwork-for-a-new-insurgency/</a> [accessed 8 February 2019].
- El Deeb, Sarah, "Besieged IS militants refuse to surrender, ask for an exit," Fox News [18 February 2019].

- https://www.foxnews.com/world/besieged-is-militants-refuse-to-surrender-ask-for-an-exit [accessed 19 February 2019].
- El Deeb, Sarah, "Fierce fighting as US-backed forces advance on last Syria territory controlled by ISIS," *Military Times* [3 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/03/fierce-fighting-as-us-backed-forces-advance-on-last-syria-territory-controlled-by-isis/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/03/fierce-fighting-as-us-backed-forces-advance-on-last-syria-territory-controlled-by-isis/</a> [accessed 4 March 2019].
- El Deeb, Sarah, "To the bitter end, IS militants remain organized and brutal," *Associated Press* [8 March 2019]. <a href="https://apnews.com/421ae3b080a94f1a9948ada0b311a278">https://apnews.com/421ae3b080a94f1a9948ada0b311a278</a> [accessed 11 March 2019].
- El Deeb, Sarah and Lolita C. Baldor, "US-backed Syrian forces raid camp of ISIS families, arrest 9," *Military Times* [28 March 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2021/03/29/us-backed-syrian-forces-raid-camp-of-isis-families-arrest-9/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2021/03/29/us-backed-syrian-forces-raid-camp-of-isis-families-arrest-9/</a> [accessed 31 May 2021].
- El Deeb, Sarah and Philip Issa, "As Trump mulls a pullout, ISIS attempts to re-emerge in Syria," *Military Times* [6 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/06/as-trump-mulls-a-pullout-isis-attempts-to-re-emerge-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/06/as-trump-mulls-a-pullout-isis-attempts-to-re-emerge-in-syria/</a> [accessed 6 April 2018].
- ★ El-Ghobashy, Tamer, "How American Neglect Imperils the Victory over ISIS," The Washington Post [19 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/world/syria/raqqa-residents-abandoned-and-forgotten/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/world/syria/raqqa-residents-abandoned-and-forgotten/</a> [accessed 20 April 2018].
  - The article has great quotes about what ISIS did well vis-à-vis the coalition as well as quotes that express the problems with how "liberation" from ISIS is perceived. The single best element is the graphic representation of building destruction in Raqqa from early 2017 to late 2017. The image expresses the destruction of the city.
  - El Husseini, Rouba, "Secret math classes and electronic dead-drops: How Syrians in Raqqa resisted ISIS rule," *Business Insider* [6 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.businessinsider.com/afp-secret-maths-dead-drops-how-syrias-raqa-resisted-is-rule-2017-6">http://www.businessinsider.com/afp-secret-maths-dead-drops-how-syrias-raqa-resisted-is-rule-2017-6</a> [accessed 7 June 2017].

    A day in the life of ISIS sort of story.
  - El Husseini, Rouba, "Syria force battles into last jihadist pocket," *Yahoo* [2 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.yahoo.com/news/syria-force-battles-last-jihadist-pocket-103111040.html">https://www.yahoo.com/news/syria-force-battles-last-jihadist-pocket-103111040.html</a> [accessed 4 March 2019].
  - El Husseini, Rouba, "'Blood up to your knees': defeated IS jihadists still defiant," *Yahoo* [8 March 2019]. <a href="https://news.yahoo.com/blood-knees-defeated-jihadists-still-defiant-160042423.html">https://news.yahoo.com/blood-knees-defeated-jihadists-still-defiant-160042423.html</a> [accessed 11 March 2019].
  - Entous, Adam, Greg Jaffe, and Missy Ryan, "Obama's White House worked for months on a plan to seize Raqqa. Trump's team took a brief look and decided not to pull the trigger." *The Washington Post* [2 February 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/obamas-white-house-worked-for-months-on-a-plan-to-seize-raqqa-trumps-team-deemed-it-hopelessly-inadequate/2017/02/02/116310fa-e71a-11e6-80c2-30e57e57e05d\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/obamas-white-house-worked-for-months-on-a-plan-to-seize-raqqa-trumps-team-deemed-it-hopelessly-inadequate/2017/02/02/116310fa-e71a-11e6-80c2-30e57e57e05d\_story.html</a> [accessed 3 February 2017].
  - Fahim, Kareem, "Scenes From Palmyra Indicate ISIS Slowed Assault on Treasures," *New York Times* [28 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/29/world/middleeast/scenes-from-palmyra-indicate-isis-slowed-assault-on-treasures.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&r=1">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/29/world/middleeast/scenes-from-palmyra-indicate-isis-slowed-assault-on-treasures.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&r=1</a> [accessed 29 March 2016].
- ★ Finucane, Brian, "An Unauthorized War: The Shaky Legal Ground for the U.S. Operation in Syria," Foreign Affairs [11 January 2022]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2022-01-11/unauthorized-war">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2022-01-11/unauthorized-war</a> [accessed 11 January 2022]
  - A discussion on the legality of the US intervention in Syria.
  - Fisher, Matthew, "Even in Lebanon, Syrian refugees can't escape horrors of ISIL: 'I could not believe the

- dead in the road'," *National Post* [14 November 2015]. <a href="http://news.nationalpost.com/news/even-in-lebanon-syrian-refugees-cant-escape-horrors-of-isil-i-could-not-believe-the-dead-in-the-road">http://news.nationalpost.com/news/even-in-lebanon-syrian-refugees-cant-escape-horrors-of-isil-i-could-not-believe-the-dead-in-the-road</a> [16 November 2015].
- Fox News, "US Conveys 'Regret' For Anti-ISIS Strike That Killed Syrian Forces," Fox News [18 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/09/18/us-conveys-regret-for-strike-that-killed-syrian-forces.html">http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/09/18/us-conveys-regret-for-strike-that-killed-syrian-forces.html</a> [accessed 19 September 2016].
  - This is a simple and yet powerful supporting piece to the argument that people in the Middle East believe that the US supports ISIS. The strike in question happened 17 September 2016. This includes a great quote about the US supporting ISIS.
- France 24, "Foreign fighters still joining IS in Syria: US general," France 24 [16 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.france24.com/en/20181016-foreign-fighters-still-joining-syria-us-general">https://www.france24.com/en/20181016-foreign-fighters-still-joining-syria-us-general</a> [accessed 18 October 2018].
- Fraser, Suzan, "US reassures Turkey over arms provided to Syrian Kurds," *Military Times* [22 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-reassures-turkey-over-arms-provided-to-syrian-kurds">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-reassures-turkey-over-arms-provided-to-syrian-kurds</a> [accessed 23 June 2017].
- Gamal-Gabriel, Tony, "Toiling up Syrian cliff, hundreds in exodus from dying IS 'caliphate'," MSN News [14 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/toiling-up-syrian-cliff-hundreds-in-exodus-from-dying-is-caliphate/ar-BBUMH6e">https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/toiling-up-syrian-cliff-hundreds-in-exodus-from-dying-is-caliphate/ar-BBUMH6e</a> [accessed 14 March 2019].
- Gebeily, Maya, "Syria regime advances in northwest ahead of peace talks", *Yahoo news* [24 January 2016]. <a href="http://news.yahoo.com/syria-army-seizes-key-rebel-held-town-latakia-085537098.html">http://news.yahoo.com/syria-army-seizes-key-rebel-held-town-latakia-085537098.html</a> [accessed 25 January 2016].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "Mapped: Russian vs. U.S. airstrikes in Syria," *The Washington Post* [13 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/10/13/mapped-russian-vs-u-s-airstrikes-in-syria/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/10/13/mapped-russian-vs-u-s-airstrikes-in-syria/</a> [accessed 14 October 2015].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "Pentagon official: ISIS Secretary of Defense likely killed in airstrike," *The Washington Post* [8 March 2016].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/03/08/top-isis-leader-potentially-killed-in-airstrike-pentagon-official-says/ [accessed 9 March 2016].
  - Omar al-Shishani probably killed.
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "The Islamic State just took a page from the 'Battle of Stalingrad'," *The Washington Post* [29 June 2016].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/06/29/the-islamic-state-just-took-a-page-from-the-battle-of-stalingrad/ [accessed 30 June 2016].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "An old American rifle gains prominence in Islamic State propaganda footage," *The Washington Post* [7 September 2017].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/09/07/an-old-american-rifle-gains-prominence-in-islamic-state-propaganda-footage/ [accessed 8 September 2017].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "U.S. military closes outpost in southeastern Syria, ceding territory to Iranian proxies," *The Washington Post* [19 September 2017].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/09/19/u-s-military-closes-outpost-in-southeastern-syria-ceding-territory-to-iranian-proxies/ [accessed 20 September 2017].
- Gladstone, Rick and Somini Sengupta, "Unrelenting Assault on Aleppo Is Called Worst Yet in Syria's Civil War," *The New York Times* [26 September 2016].
  - http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/27/world/middleeast/aleppo-syria.html [accessed 27 September 2016].

- Information on the renewed attacks on Aleppo that began on 23 September 2016.
- Gould, Joe and Tara Copp, "Bolton: US troops staying in Syria until Iran leaves," *Defense News* [24 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/the-americas/2018/09/24/bolton-us-troops-staying-in-syria-until-iran-leaves/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/the-americas/2018/09/24/bolton-us-troops-staying-in-syria-until-iran-leaves/</a> [accessed 25 September 2018].
- ★ Gould, John, "Was Syrian Train-and-Equip Effort Always a 'Mission Impossible'?", Defense News [21 September 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/warfare/2015/09/21/syrian-train-equip-program-mission-impossible-start/72376560/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/warfare/2015/09/21/syrian-train-equip-program-mission-impossible-start/72376560/</a> [accessed 22 September 2015].
  - Grady, John, "Senators Quiz Military Leaders on U.S. Forces in Syria after ISIS," *United States Navy Institute* [13 March 2018]. <a href="https://news.usni.org/2018/03/13/senators-quiz-military-leaders-u-s-forces-syria-isis">https://news.usni.org/2018/03/13/senators-quiz-military-leaders-u-s-forces-syria-isis</a> [accessed 14 March 2018].
  - The Guardian Editorial Board, "The Guardian view on the fall of Raqqa: the deadliest phase," *The Guardian* [20 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-fall-of-raqqa-the-deadliest-phase">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-fall-of-raqqa-the-deadliest-phase</a> [accessed 21 June 2017].
  - Gutman, Roy, "Syrian Arab militias dispute they received U.S. airdrop of ammunition," *McClatchy DC* [20 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/middle-east/article40532349.html">http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/middle-east/article40532349.html</a> [accessed 21 October 2015].
  - Gutman, Roy, "When Civilians Are Slaughtered in the War on ISIS, the Pentagon's Mum, the Press Silenced," *The Daily Beast* [29 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/when-civilians-are-slaughtered-in-the-war-on-isis-the-pentagons-mum-the-press-silenced">http://www.thedailybeast.com/when-civilians-are-slaughtered-in-the-war-on-isis-the-pentagons-mum-the-press-silenced</a> [accessed 3 July 2017].
  - Gutman, Roy and Zakaria Zakaria, "U.S. coalition investigating reports its airstrikes killed at least 36 Syrian civilians", *Miami Herald* [7 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/article48525960.html">http://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/article48525960.html</a> [accessed 9 December 2015].
    - Contains statistics on casualties from the coalition and the regime.
  - Gutowski, Alexandra, "Analysis: The Syrian regime's offensive towards Deir Ezzor," *The Long War Journal* [18 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/08/analysis-the-syrian-regimes-offensive-towards-deir-ezzor.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/08/analysis-the-syrian-regimes-offensive-towards-deir-ezzor.php</a> [accessed 21 August 2017].
- ★ Heller, Sam, "Ahrar al-Sham's Revisionist Jihadism", War on the Rocks [30 September 2015]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/09/ahrar-al-shams-revisionist-jihadism/">http://warontherocks.com/2015/09/ahrar-al-shams-revisionist-jihadism/</a> [accessed 6 October 2015].
- ★ Heller, Sam, "How Ahrar Al-Sham Has Come To Define The Kaleidoscope Of The Syrian Civil War," War on the Rocks [6 June 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/how-ahrar-al-sham-has-come-to-define-the-kaleidoscope-of-the-syrian-civil-war/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/how-ahrar-al-sham-has-come-to-define-the-kaleidoscope-of-the-syrian-civil-war/</a> [accessed 7 June 2016].
  - Heller, Sam, "Redefining Victory in America's War against the Islamic State in Syria," *War on the Rocks* [5 January 2021]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2021/01/redefining-victory-in-americas-war-against-the-islamic-state-in-syria/">https://warontherocks.com/2021/01/redefining-victory-in-americas-war-against-the-islamic-state-in-syria/</a> [accessed 31 January 2021].
  - Hennessy-Fiske, Molly, "They went to Syria to fight Islamic State. Now two Americans find themselves in limbo," *Los Angeles Times* [21 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-us-volunteers-syria-20171021-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-us-volunteers-syria-20171021-story.html</a> [accessed 23 October 2017].
  - Hersh, Seymour M., "Military to Military: Seymour M. Hersh on US intelligence sharing in the Syrian war", London Review of Books [38, no.1][7 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.lrb.co.uk/v38/n01/seymour-m-hersh/military-to-military">http://www.lrb.co.uk/v38/n01/seymour-m-hersh/military-to-military</a> [accessed 22 December 2015].
    - Allegations of collusion between Pentagon officials and leaders of foreign governments regarding the suppression of Syrian rebels.
- ★ Hisham, Marwan, "Living Under the Sword of ISIS in Syria", New York Times [14 January 2016].

- http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/opinion/living-under-the-sword-of-isis-in-syria.html?\_r=0 [accessed 15 January 2016].
- Op-ed supposedly written by a resident of Raqqa. The piece provides insight into motivations to fight and the challenges of life under ISIS rule. We are just fighting for ISIS because we are poor is a paraphrase of the gist of the article. Poor patriots are being dragged into the service of the caliphate.
- Hisham, Marwan, "The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Islamic State," Foreign Policy [20 April 2016].

  <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/20/the-hitchhikers-guide-to-the-islamic-state/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/20/the-hitchhikers-guide-to-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 21 April 2016].
  - Hof, Frederic C. "Commentary: ISIL: The Common Enemy Fiction", *defense News* [15 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/commentary/2016/02/15/commentary-isil-common-enemy-fiction/80191562/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/commentary/2016/02/15/commentary-isil-common-enemy-fiction/80191562/</a> [accessed 16 February 2016].
- ★ Hubbard, Ben, "In Syria, Potential Ally's Islamist Ties Challenge U.S.", The New York Times [25 August 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/26/world/middleeast/ahrar-al-sham-rebel-force-in-syrias-gray-zone-poses-challenge-to-us.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/26/world/middleeast/ahrar-al-sham-rebel-force-in-syrias-gray-zone-poses-challenge-to-us.html</a> [accessed 26 August 2015].
  - Hubbard, Ben, "New U.S.-Backed Alliance to Counter ISIS in Syria Falters," *The New York Times* [2 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/03/world/middleeast/new-us-backed-alliance-in-syria-exists-in-name-only.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/03/world/middleeast/new-us-backed-alliance-in-syria-exists-in-name-only.html</a> [accessed 3 November 2015].
  - Hussein, Rikar, "US-backed Forces in Syria Hunt for Top IS Leaders Trapped in Last Enclaves," *Voice of America News* [8 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/us-backed-forces-in-syria-hunt-for-top-is-leaders-trapped-in-last-enclaves/4385255.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/us-backed-forces-in-syria-hunt-for-top-is-leaders-trapped-in-last-enclaves/4385255.html</a> [accessed 10 May 2018].
  - Hussein, Rikar and Nisan Ahmado, "US-backed Syrian Rebels Seek to Reposition for Deir ez-Zor Battle," Voice of America News [12 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/united-states-backed-syrian-rebels-seek-reposition-for-deir-ez-zor-battle/3983239.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/united-states-backed-syrian-rebels-seek-reposition-for-deir-ez-zor-battle/3983239.html</a> [accessed 14 August 2017].
  - Hussein, Rikar and Nisan Ahmado, "US-backed Forces Deny They Allowed IS Fighters to Evacuate Raqqa," *Voice of America News* [18 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/us-forces-deny-allowing-is-to-evacuate-raqqa/4125102.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/us-forces-deny-allowing-is-to-evacuate-raqqa/4125102.html</a> [accessed 20 November 2017].
  - Ignatius, David, "As the Islamic State falls in Syria, one city offers a preview of the country's future," *The Washington Post* [1 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/as-the-islamic-state-ees-syria-one-city-offers-a-preview-of-the-countrys-future/2017/06/30/da4c7b4e-5dc3-11e7-9fc6-c7ef4bc58d13">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/as-the-islamic-state-ees-syria-one-city-offers-a-preview-of-the-countrys-future/2017/06/30/da4c7b4e-5dc3-11e7-9fc6-c7ef4bc58d13">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/as-the-islamic-state-ees-syria-one-city-offers-a-preview-of-the-countrys-future/2017/06/30/da4c7b4e-5dc3-11e7-9fc6-c7ef4bc58d13">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/as-the-islamic-state-ees-syria-one-city-offers-a-preview-of-the-countrys-future/2017/06/30/da4c7b4e-5dc3-11e7-9fc6-c7ef4bc58d13">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/as-the-islamic-state-ees-syria-one-city-offers-a-preview-of-the-countrys-future/2017/06/30/da4c7b4e-5dc3-11e7-9fc6-c7ef4bc58d13">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/as-the-islamic-state-ees-syria-one-city-offers-a-preview-of-the-countrys-future/2017/06/30/da4c7b4e-5dc3-11e7-9fc6-c7ef4bc58d13">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-
- ★ International Crisis Group, "Fighting ISIS: The Road to and beyond Raqqa," International Crisis Group Middle East Briefing, Number 53, 28 April 2017. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b053-fighting-isis-the-road-to-and-beyond-raqqa.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b053-fighting-isis-the-road-to-and-beyond-raqqa.pdf</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
  - ICG is hitting it out of the park with their background material on issues in the Middle East. This is rather specific to the issue in the title, but still worth reading the background material in the first half. The policy recommendations are okay, but not as valuable as the background.
  - Isachenkov, Vladimir, "Reports: Russian contractors killed by US strike in Syria," *Military Times* [14 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/13/reports-russian-contractors-killed-by-us-strike-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/13/reports-russian-contractors-killed-by-us-strike-in-syria/</a> [accessed 14 February 2018].
  - Isenberg, David and Andrew Salmon, "Western mercenaries ready for Syria, Russians already there," Asia Times [15 January 2019]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/western-mercenaries-locked-loaded-and-ready-to-go/">http://www.atimes.com/article/western-mercenaries-locked-loaded-and-ready-to-go/</a> [accessed 18 January 2019].
  - Issa, Philip, "A look at Syria's conflict, as mutual enemies close in on ISIS," *Military Times* [20 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/a-look-at-syrias-conflict-as-mutual-enemies-close-in-on-isis">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/a-look-at-syrias-conflict-as-mutual-enemies-close-in-on-isis</a> [accessed 21 June 2017].
    - This is a brief summary of the positions of the major combatants in the Syrian fighting.

- Issa, Philip, "Syria: ISIS militants defeated in final stronghold," *Stars and Stripes* [19 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/syria-isis-militants-defeated-in-final-stronghold-1.498571">https://www.stripes.com/syria-isis-militants-defeated-in-final-stronghold-1.498571</a> [accessed 20 November 2017].
- Issa, Philip, "US-backed group in last push to defeat ISIS in northeast Syria," *Military Times* [12 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/12/us-backed-group-in-last-push-to-defeat-isis-in-northeast-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/12/us-backed-group-in-last-push-to-defeat-isis-in-northeast-syria/</a> [accessed 12 September 2018].
- Issa, Philip, "US-backed forces seize ISIS camp in Syria, while assault on last village held by militants continues," *Military Times* [19 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/19/us-backed-forces-seize-isis-camp-in-syria-while-assault-on-last-village-held-by-militants-continues/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/19/us-backed-forces-seize-isis-camp-in-syria-while-assault-on-last-village-held-by-militants-continues/</a> [accessed 20 March 2019].
- Issa, Philip, "US-backed Syrian fighters search tunnels in last ISIS pocket," *Military Times* [20 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/20/us-backed-syrian-fighters-search-tunnels-in-last-isis-pocket/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/20/us-backed-syrian-fighters-search-tunnels-in-last-isis-pocket/</a> [accessed 21 March 2019].
- Issa, Philip and Andrea Rosa, "US-backed forces admit to 'difficulties' defeating ISIS in Syria," *Military Times* [17 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/17/us-backed-forces-admit-to-difficulties-defeating-isis-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/17/us-backed-forces-admit-to-difficulties-defeating-isis-in-syria/</a> [accessed 18 March 2019].
- Issa, Philip, Andrea Rosa, and Maya Alleruzzo, "US-allied Syrian force declares victory over Islamic State," *Military Times* [23 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/23/us-allied-syrian-force-declares-victory-over-islamic-state/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/23/us-allied-syrian-force-declares-victory-over-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 25 March 2019].
- ★ Jenkins, Simon, "Bombing is immoral, stupid and never wins wars. Syria is the latest victim", The Guardian [18 September 2015].
  http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/18/bombing-immoral-stupid-syria-victim-deaths-drones [accessed 19 September 2015].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Assad regime, allies break Islamic State's siege of air base in Aleppo", *The Long War Journal* [11 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/11/assad-regime-allies-break-islamic-states-siege-of-air-base-in-aleppo.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/11/assad-regime-allies-break-islamic-states-siege-of-air-base-in-aleppo.php</a> [accessed 13 November 2015].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Al Nusrah Front leader refuses to break with al Qaeda", *The Long War Journal* [14 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/12/al-nusrah-front-leader-refuses-to-break-with-al-qaeda.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/12/al-nusrah-front-leader-refuses-to-break-with-al-qaeda.php</a> [accessed 15 December 2015].
    - Article written from a news conference given by Abu Muhammad al Julani, the leader of the Al Nusrah Front. In this article al-Julani gives information on the loyalty and connectivity between al-Qaeda and Jabhat al-Nusra.
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Al Nusrah Front, allies launch offensive south of Aleppo," *The Long War Journal* [3 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/04/al-nusrah-front-allies-launch-offensive-south-of-aleppo.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/04/al-nusrah-front-allies-launch-offensive-south-of-aleppo.php</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State attacks rival jihadists in Hama province," *The Long War Journal* [9 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/10/islamic-state-attacks-rival-jihadists-in-hama-province.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/10/islamic-state-attacks-rival-jihadists-in-hama-province.php</a> [accessed 11 October 2017].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "US-backed forces launch counterattack against Islamic State in eastern Syria," *The Long War Journal* [25 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/us-backed-forces-launch-counterattack-against-islamic-state-in-eastern-syria.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/us-backed-forces-launch-counterattack-against-islamic-state-in-eastern-syria.php</a> [accessed 26 November 2018].
  - Karam, Zeina, "US-Allied Syria Force Says it Foiled Major ISIS Comeback Plot," *Military.com* [31 January 2022]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/2022/01/31/us-allied-syria-force-says-it-foiled-major-isis-comeback-plot.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/2022/01/31/us-allied-syria-force-says-it-foiled-major-isis-comeback-plot.html</a> [accessed 2 February 2022].

- Karam, Zeina and Sinan Salaheddin, "Lebanon's negotiated ISIS evacuation angers many," Military Times [30 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/29/lebanons-negotiated-isis-evacuation-angers-many/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/29/lebanons-negotiated-isis-evacuation-angers-many/</a> [accessed 30 August 2017].
- Katkov, Mark, "Pentagon Says It's Staying In Syria, Even Though ISIS Appears Defeated," *National Public Radio* [17 November 2017].
  - https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/11/17/564620907/pentagon-says-its-staying-in-syria-even-though-isis-appears-defeated [accessed 20 November 2017].
- Kavanaugh, Shane Dixon, "Allies Are Abandoning The U.S.-Led Air War Against ISIS In Syria," *Vocativ* [21 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/news/241279/allies-are-abandoning-the-u-s-led-air-war-against-isis-in-syria/">http://www.vocativ.com/news/241279/allies-are-abandoning-the-u-s-led-air-war-against-isis-in-syria/</a> [accessed 22 October 2015].
- Keller, Greg and Philippe Sotto, "France bombs Islamic State HQ, hunts attacker who got away," *Military Times* [15 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/11/15/france-bombs-islamic-state-hq-hunts-attacker-who-got-away/75835732/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/11/15/france-bombs-islamic-state-hq-hunts-attacker-who-got-away/75835732/</a> [accessed 16 November 2015].
- Kheel, Rebecca, "US-led coalition acknowledges more civilian deaths in war against ISIS," *The Hill* [31 May2018]. <a href="http://thehill.com/policy/defense/390061-us-led-anti-isis-coalition-ups-acknowledged-civilian-deaths-to-892">http://thehill.com/policy/defense/390061-us-led-anti-isis-coalition-ups-acknowledged-civilian-deaths-to-892</a> [accessed 2 June 2018].
- Korte, Gregory, "16 times Obama said there would be no boots on the ground in Syria," *USA Today* [31 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2015/10/30/16-times-obama-said-there-would-no-boots-ground-syria/74869884/">http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2015/10/30/16-times-obama-said-there-would-no-boots-ground-syria/74869884/</a> [accessed 3 November 2015].
- Kube, Courtney, "Inside the remote U.S. base in Syria central to combating ISIS and countering Iran," *NBC News* [22 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/military/inside-remote-u-s-base-syria-central-combating-isis-countering-n922991">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/military/inside-remote-u-s-base-syria-central-combating-isis-countering-n922991</a> [accessed 25 October 2018].
- Lamothe, Dan, "Levi Shirley wanted to be a Marine. Instead, he died an American vigilante fighting ISIS in Syria." Washington Post [21 July 2016].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/07/21/levi-shirley-wanted-to-be-amarine-instead-he-died-as-an-american-vigilante-fighting-isis-in-
  - <u>syria/?utm\_campaign=DFN%20EBB%207.22.16&utm\_medium=email&utm\_source=Sailthru</u> [accessed 22 July 2016].
- Lederman, Josh, "Trump scales back US goals in Syria, leaves future to others," *Military Times* [4 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/04/white-house-says-syria-mission-coming-to-a-rapid-end/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/04/white-house-says-syria-mission-coming-to-a-rapid-end/</a> [accessed 5 April 2018].
- ★ Lemmon, Gayle Tzemach, "'I Want to Finish This': US Special Ops Leaders Urge Washington to Stick by the Syrian Kurds," *Defense One* [13 September 2017]. http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/09/special-report-elite-us-forces-say-dont-abandon-
  - <u>syrian-kurd-fighters/140984/</u> [accessed 14 September 2017].

    Are the operators interviewed simply naïve tactical-level thinkers as some accuse or are they the ones seeing
  - what really needs to happen? Some of the quotes from both those US service members on the ground in Syria and a distinguished diplomat provide excellent food for thought.
- ★ Lemmon, Gayle Tzemach and Kevin Baron, "Four New Questions For Trump on Syria," *Defense One* [1 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/11/four-new-questions-trump-syria/142229/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/11/four-new-questions-trump-syria/142229/</a> [accessed 2 November 2017].
  - Good food for thought. These are not really new questions, but continuations of the discussion on what are the U.S. interests in Syria. The questions are: 1) How long will Washington back Syrian rebel fighters? 2) What's Trump's plan if Russia/Assad advances? 3) What is the roadmap to peace and who is in charge of it? 4) Where are the Saudis and Gulf states?
  - Lister, Charles, "Profiling Jabhat al-Nusra," The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World Ana lysis Paper, No. 24, July 2016.
    - http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/papers/2016/07/27-nusra-front-profile-

- lister/brookings-analysis-paper charles-lister web v2.pdf [accessed 28 July 2016].
- Losey, Stephen, "SOCOM boss: Adversaries are disabling Air Force gunships in Syria," *Air Force Times* [27 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/27/socom-boss-adversaries-are-disabling-air-force-gunships-in-syria/">https://www.airforcetimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/27/socom-boss-adversaries-are-disabling-air-force-gunships-in-syria/</a> [accessed 30 April 2018].
- Loveluck, Louisa, "Down but not defeated, thousands of Islamic State insurgents wage Syrian fight anew," *The Washington Post* [14 September 2021].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/09/14/islamic-state-isis-syria-sdf/ [accessed 16 September 2021].
  - A sad statement of events as they are occurring in Syria. ISIS has reverted to smaller stages and scope of a robber culture.
- Loveluck, Louisa, "Islamic State militants still holed up in Syrian prison, Kurdish-led forces admit," *The Washington Post* [27 January 2022]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/01/27/syria-prison-islamic-state-holed-up/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/01/27/syria-prison-islamic-state-holed-up/</a> [accessed 2 February 2022].
- Malik, Shiv, Alice Ross, Mona Mahmood and Ewen MacAskill, "Isis 'ran sophisticated immigration operation' on Turkey-Syria border", *The Guardian* [10 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/10/isis-immigration-operation-turkey-syria-border-passenger-manifests-tel-abyad-islamic-state">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/10/isis-immigration-operation-turkey-syria-border-passenger-manifests-tel-abyad-islamic-state</a> [accessed 211 January 2016].
  - The article includes manifest data and examples detailing at least some of the sophistication of the Islamic State in conducting international exchange of primarily people across the Turkish border.
- Malsin, Jared, "How a Mistaken U.S.-Led Air Attack Could End the Syria Cease-Fire," *Time* [18 September 2016]. <a href="http://time.com/4498493/how-a-mistaken-u-s-led-air-attack-could-end-the-syria-cease-fire/">http://time.com/4498493/how-a-mistaken-u-s-led-air-attack-could-end-the-syria-cease-fire/</a> [accessed 19 September 2016].
- Marcus, Jonathan, "Syria conflict: Unravelling the puzzle," BBC [16 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39284722">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39284722</a> [accessed 16 March 2017]. Simple explanation of the competing geopolitical pressures present in Syria. This is linked to the time of writing, but it captures a snapshot of the complexity.
  - Martin, Patrick, "Iraq after Russian Intervention in Syria," *Institute for the Study of War* [7 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/iraq-after-russian-intervention-syria">http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/iraq-after-russian-intervention-syria</a> [accessed 24 July 2020].
  - McDowall, Angus, "Syrian war monitor says 465,000 killed in six years of fighting," *Reuters* [13 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-casualties-idUSKBN16K1Q1">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-casualties-idUSKBN16K1Q1</a> [accessed 16 March 2017].
  - McDowall, Angus, "U.S.-backed Syrian groups take Raqqa district from Islamic State," *Reuters* [25 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-raqqa-idUSKBN19G0WU">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-raqqa-idUSKBN19G0WU</a> [accessed 26 June 2017].
  - McKernan, Bethan, "Isis prepares for 'apocalyptic' battle to defend the village at the heart of its propaganda operation," *Independent* [3 October 2016].
    - http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-syria-dabiq-army-forces-propaganda-centre-a7343211.html [accessed 4 October 2016].
    - Dabig is about to fall to elements of rebel forces.
  - McLeary, Paul, "U.S. Says Airstrike In Syria Did Not Hit Mosque," *Foreign Policy* [28 March 2017]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/17/u-s-says-airstrike-in-syria-did-not-hit-mosque/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/17/u-s-says-airstrike-in-syria-did-not-hit-mosque/</a> [accessed 28 March 2017].
    - Controversy about US airstrike on a mosque or not.
  - Meyer, Henry and Selcan Hacaoglu, "U.S. Puts Troops on the Ground in Syria to Blunt Turkish Campaign," *Bloomberg News* [7 March 2017]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2017-2017">https://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2017-2017</a>.

- <u>03-08/u-s-russia-counter-erdogan-in-syria-as-fight-scrambles-allies</u> [accessed 12 March 2017]. What is the US and Russia doing working together against the Turks? Is Raqqa really worth serious friction between NATO allies? This article provides some interesting insight.
- Mehta, Aaron, "Hagel: US 'Paralyzed' in Syria by Assad Focus", *Defense News* [13 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/war-in-syria/2016/01/13/hagel-us-paralyzed-syria-assad-focus/78769202/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/war-in-syria/2016/01/13/hagel-us-paralyzed-syria-assad-focus/78769202/</a> [accessed 14 January 2016].
- Military Times, "US says deal reached to evacuate Syria's Raqqa," *Military Times* [14 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/14/us-says-deal-reached-to-evacuate-syrias-raqqa/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/14/us-says-deal-reached-to-evacuate-syrias-raqqa/</a> [accessed 16 October 2017].
- Military Times, "Timeline of events in Syrian city of Raqqa, once ISIS capital," *Military Times* [17 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/17/timeline-of-events-in-syrian-city-of-raqqa-once-isis-capital/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/17/timeline-of-events-in-syrian-city-of-raqqa-once-isis-capital/</a> [accessed 18 October 2017].
- Miller, Greg, "U.S. launches secret drone campaign to hunt Islamic State leaders in Syria", *The Washington Post* [1 September 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-launches-secret-drone-campaign-to-hunt-islamic-state-leaders-in-syria/2015/09/01/723b3e04-5033-11e5-933e-7d06c647a395\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-launches-secret-drone-campaign-to-hunt-islamic-state-leaders-in-syria/2015/09/01/723b3e04-5033-11e5-933e-7d06c647a395\_story.html</a> [accessed 2 September 2015].
  - Moore, Jack, "ISIS General Omar 'The Chechen' Al-Shishani Still Alive After Airstrike: Syrian Observatory," *Newsweek* [10 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.newsweek.com/isis-ginger-general-omar-chechen-still-alive-after-air-strike-435385?piano">http://www.newsweek.com/isis-ginger-general-omar-chechen-still-alive-after-air-strike-435385?piano</a> t=1 [accessed 11 March 2016].
  - Morell, Michael and Mike Vickers, "If we ease pressure on the Islamic State, we could be attacked again," *The Washington Post* [30 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/if-we-ease-pressure-on-the-islamic-state-we-could-be-attacked-again/2018/12/30/c20b8c48-0aef-11e9-85b6-41c0fe0c5b8f">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/if-we-ease-pressure-on-the-islamic-state-we-could-be-attacked-again/2018/12/30/c20b8c48-0aef-11e9-85b6-41c0fe0c5b8f</a> story.html [accessed 31 December 2018].
  - Morello, Carol, "U.S. and allies won't rebuild Syria without political process," *The Washington Post* [18 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-and-allies-wont-rebuild-syria-without-political-process/2017/09/18/8f54a471-17bd-4235-88bb-c211762af1cf">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-and-allies-wont-rebuild-syria-without-political-process/2017/09/18/8f54a471-17bd-4235-88bb-c211762af1cf</a> story.html [accessed 20 September 2017].
  - Mroue, Bassem, "Syrian Army Regains Areas Lost To IS After US-Led Airstrike," Associated Press in *Military.com* [18 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/09/18/syrian-army-regains-areas-lost-is-us-led-airstrike.html">http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/09/18/syrian-army-regains-areas-lost-is-us-led-airstrike.html</a> [accessed 19 September 2016].
    - This is a simple and yet powerful supporting piece to the argument that people in the Middle East believe that the US supports ISIS. The strike in question happened 17 September 2016.
  - Mroue, Bassem, "U.S.-backed fighters approach ISIS-held dam in Syria," Associated Press in *Military Times* [27 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-fighters-approach-isis-held-dam-in-syria">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-fighters-approach-isis-held-dam-in-syria</a> [accessed 28 December 2016].
    - Fighting around a major dam on the Euphrates River between US-backed groups and ISIS.
  - Mroue, Bassem, "US-backed fighters retake more areas from ISIS in Syrian town," Associated Press in *Military Times* [1 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-fighters-retake-more-areas-from-isis-in-syrian-town">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-backed-fighters-retake-more-areas-from-isis-in-syrian-town</a> [accessed 3 May 2017].
  - Mroue, Bassem, "Syrian officer: Anti-ISIS fight near Lebanon border soon over," *Military Times* [24 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/24/syrian-officer-anti-isis-fight-near-lebanon-border-soon-over/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/24/syrian-officer-anti-isis-fight-near-lebanon-border-soon-over/</a> [accessed 25 August 2017].
  - Mroue, Bassem, "ISIS stages surprise attack on Syrian government-held village," *Military Times* [28 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/28/isis-stages-surprise-attack-on-syrian-government-held-villa/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/28/isis-stages-surprise-attack-on-syrian-government-held-villa/</a> [accessed 29 September 2017].

- Mroue, Bassem, "US-allied forces begin final assault on ISIS in Syria's Raqqa," *Military Times* [15 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/15/us-allied-forces-begin-final-assault-on-isis-in-syrias-raqqa/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/15/us-allied-forces-begin-final-assault-on-isis-in-syrias-raqqa/</a> [accessed 16 October 2017].
- Mroue, Bassem, "US-backed fighters launch final push to defeat ISIS in Syria," *Military Times* [10 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/02/10/us-backed-fighters-launch-final-push-to-defeat-isis-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/02/10/us-backed-fighters-launch-final-push-to-defeat-isis-in-syria/</a> [accessed 12 February 2019].
- Mroue, Bassem, "US strikes ISIS-held mosque as Syria battle intensifies," *Military Times* [12 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/02/12/us-strikes-isis-held-mosque-as-syria-battle-intensifies/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/02/12/us-strikes-isis-held-mosque-as-syria-battle-intensifies/</a> [accessed 13 February 2019].
- Mroue, Bassem, "Groups say airstrikes by US-led coalition killed 1,600 civilians in Raqqa," *Military Times* [26 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/04/26/groups-say-airstrikes-by-us-led-coalition-killed-1600-civilians-in-raqqa/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/04/26/groups-say-airstrikes-by-us-led-coalition-killed-1600-civilians-in-raqqa/</a> [accessed 26 April 2019].
- Mroue, Bassem and Maanmoun Youssef, "ISIS gunmen kill 40 US-backed fighters in eastern Syria," *Military Times* [28 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/10/28/isis-gunmen-kill-40-us-backed-fighters-in-eastern-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/10/28/isis-gunmen-kill-40-us-backed-fighters-in-eastern-syria/</a> [accessed 29 October 2018].
- Murray, Shona, "Reporters Covering Truth of ISIS Rule Pursued by Executioners and Bombers", *Time* [13 January 2016]. <a href="http://time.com/4176990/isis-raqqa-slaughtered-silently/">http://time.com/4176990/isis-raqqa-slaughtered-silently/</a> [accessed 14 January 2016].
  - Anecdotal evidence of the brutality of ISIS rule and the challenges faced by those who report about it from within.
- Mylroie, Laurie, "US troops to stay in Syria safe zone, support 'partners' after drawdown," *Kurdistan 24* [27 March 2019]. <a href="http://www.kurdistan24.net/en/news/d47030a4-122b-49ac-b9ad-2ba8510da2f1">http://www.kurdistan24.net/en/news/d47030a4-122b-49ac-b9ad-2ba8510da2f1</a> [accessed 28 March 2019].
- ★ Natali, Denise, "Can Syria's Kurds Leverage War Gains Into Political Autonomy?" World Politics Review [17 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/18791/can-syria-s-kurds-leverage-war-gains-into-political-autonomy">http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/18791/can-syria-s-kurds-leverage-war-gains-into-political-autonomy</a> [accessed 7 June 206].
  - Dr. Natali delivers another excellent summary of Kurdish politics. This time the focus is on the Kurdish situation in Syria.
  - Naylor, Hugh, "Islamic State strikes back in Syria after losing ground", *The Washington Post* [24 January 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/islamic-state-strikes-back-in-syria-after-losing-ground/2016/01/24/a83d7e68-41b5-44b5-811a-43812145aad5\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/islamic-state-strikes-back-in-syria-after-losing-ground/2016/01/24/a83d7e68-41b5-44b5-811a-43812145aad5\_story.html</a> [25 January 2016].
    - The battle ongoing around Deir al-Zur.
- ★ Nerguizian, Aram. The Military Balance in a Shattered Levant: Conventional Forces, Assymetric Warfare & the Struggle for Syria. Center for Strategic & International Studies: Washington, D.C., 2015.
  - Nesira, Hani, "From Agassi to Al Nusra..Assad experience in jihadi investment!" al-Arabiya [6 July 2013]. <a href="https://web.archive.org/web/20141016223117/http://estudies.alarabiya.net/content/agassi-alnusraassad-experience-jihadi-investment">https://web.archive.org/web/20141016223117/http://estudies.alarabiya.net/content/agassi-alnusraassad-experience-jihadi-investment</a> [accessed 2 July 2020].
    - This is one of the earliest accounts of Abu Bakr Naji's actual name as Mohammed el Hakayma.
  - Nesira, Hani, "The management of savagery. And safe havens for terrorism from the Assad regime to the emirate of ISIS!" *al-Arabiya* [26 May 2014].
    - https://web.archive.org/web/20181229151947/http://studies.alarabiya.net/hotissues/%D8%A5%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A9-
    - %D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%AD%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B0%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A2%D9%85%D9%86%D8%A9-

%D9%84%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B1%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%86%D8%B8%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B3%D8%AF-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A5%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%B4 [accessed 2 July 2020].

.محمد خليل الحكايمة Another source of Abu Bakr Naji's actual name as Mohammed el Hakayma or

- Nordland, Rod, "ISIS Convoy Reportedly Crosses Syria, at Russia's Request," *The New York Times* [13 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/13/world/middleeast/syria-islamic-state-isis-convoy.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/13/world/middleeast/syria-islamic-state-isis-convoy.html</a> [accessed 14 September 2017].
- ★ Oakford, Samuel, "Raqqa: a city destroyed then forgotten," Airwars for the Daily Beast [12 March 2018]. <a href="https://airwars.org/news-and-investigations/raqqa-a-city-destroyed-then-forgotten/">https://airwars.org/news-and-investigations/raqqa-a-city-destroyed-then-forgotten/</a> [accessed 2 April 2019].

The single best discussion of the consequences of the fighting in Raqqa.

Patrikarakos, David, "In Syria, The Rebels Turn On Each Other," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* [7 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/a/syria-rebels-turn-against-each-other-islamic-state/28294933.html">http://www.rferl.org/a/syria-rebels-turn-against-each-other-islamic-state/28294933.html</a> [accessed 8 February 2017].

This is a good article explaining dynamics on the braided stream of conflicting interests among rebel groups in Svria.

- Perring, Rebecca, "ISIS Returns: Sick terrorists take 700 hostage Putin issues warning," *Express* [19 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1033295/isis-news-putin-news-russia-war-Syria">https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1033295/isis-news-putin-news-russia-war-Syria</a> [accessed 18 October 2018].
- ★ Philipps, Dave, Eric Schmitt, and Mark Mazzetti, "Civilian Deaths Mounted as Secret Unit Pounded ISIS," The New York Times [12 December 2021]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/12/us/civilian-deaths-war-isis.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/12/us/civilian-deaths-war-isis.html</a> [accessed 13 December 2021].

I am torn by this article. I hate it and I think that it has tremendous value. Let me explain why. First, I hate it for three reasons:

- The article is late to the discussion. Some of us have been arguing that killing human beings with drones
  during the global war on terror was wrong for more than 10 years. It would have been nice if *The New*York Times had used its significant media clout to wage this fight during the Obama administration when
  it would have mattered. This article is like criticizing referees by using a recorded game.
- 2. The article gives the impression that special operators are heartless or without compassion, which is, at best, a caricature of the complexity of the environment in which the fighting happened.
- 3. In connection with number 2, the article demonstrates little effort to name those senior leaders who had responsibility for this fight people wearing stars.

Second, I feel the article has value for three reasons (yes, I am going for symmetry here).

- 1. War is complex. The fighting in Syria made most previous wars look very simple by comparison. The examples used in the article are often caricatures of how specific people responded to the complexity (see #2 above). How should a person respond to that complexity in terms of fighting ISIS in a complex networked environment with limited on the ground intelligence, but lots of contact and friendly casualties? Additionally, both in Syria and Iraq it was difficult to get partner forces to move forward without displays of American firepower. The actions identified in the article seem callused, but they may have been necessary. War is hell. That must never be forgotten, lest we enter it too easily.
- 2. We need to train U.S. military personnel much better on the local culture and environment so that they can read the signs provided by the technical marvels of the modern world. This article demonstrates the risks and costs when we fail to provide that training, even to the very best special operators.
- 3. Drone warfare was wrong and should have been stopped. Articles like this are essential to making this point public. I hope a lot of people read it for that reason.

Pickrell, Ryan, "The Russian military has backed down after the US Marine Corps called their bluff in Syria," *Business Insider* [18 September 2018]. https://www.businessinsider.com/russia-backs-off-

- threats-after-us-marine-corps-show-of-force-in-syria-2018-9 [accessed 19 September 2018].
- Pincus, Walter, "Obama has strategy for Syria, but it faces major obstacles," *The Washington Post* [2 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/obama-has-strategy-for-syria-but-it-faces-major-obstacles/2015/11/02/7c500e44-7fe3-11e5-b575-d8dcfedb4ea1\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/obama-has-strategy-for-syria-but-it-faces-major-obstacles/2015/11/02/7c500e44-7fe3-11e5-b575-d8dcfedb4ea1\_story.html</a> [accessed 3 November 2015].
- Pleitgen, Frederik, "Deir Ezzor: Relief in parts of Syrian city after 3-year ISIS siege is broken," CNN [16 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2017/09/16/middleeast/syria-deir-ezzor-siege-isis/index.html">http://www.cnn.com/2017/09/16/middleeast/syria-deir-ezzor-siege-isis/index.html</a> [accessed 18 September 2017].
- Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, "Rebels In Syria Said To Have Captured IS Stronghold Of Dabiq," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* [16 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/a/dabiq-islamic-state-capture-turkey-syria/28056870.html">http://www.rferl.org/a/dabiq-islamic-state-capture-turkey-syria/28056870.html</a> [accessed 17 October 2016].
  - Dabiq falls after being in control of ISIS from August 2014 until 16 October 2016.
- \* Raghavan, Sudarsan, "One in five Syrians say Islamic State is a good thing, poll says", The Washington Post [15 September 2015].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/15/one-in-five-syrians-say-islamic-state-is-a-good-thing-poll-says/ [accessed 16 September 2015].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "US airstrikes decimate nearly 150 ISIS militants," *Military Times* [23 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/01/23/us-airstrikes-decimate-nearly-150-isis-militants/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/01/23/us-airstrikes-decimate-nearly-150-isis-militants/</a> [accessed 24 January 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "US forces in Syria destroy pro-Assad tank after second attack in a week," *Military Times* [13 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/13/us-forces-in-syria-destroy-pro-assad-tank-after-second-attack-in-a-week/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/13/us-forces-in-syria-destroy-pro-assad-tank-after-second-attack-in-a-week/</a> [accessed 14 February 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "Trump wants troops out of Syria, but his generals may resist," *Military Times* [4 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/04/04/trump-wants-troops-out-of-syria-but-his-generals-may-resist/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/04/04/trump-wants-troops-out-of-syria-but-his-generals-may-resist/</a> [accessed 5 April 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "Check out the high-tech mortar system US forces set up in Manbij," *Military Times* [9 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/09/check-out-the-high-tech-mortar-system-us-forces-set-up-in-manbij">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/09/check-out-the-high-tech-mortar-system-us-forces-set-up-in-manbij</a> [accessed 10 April 2017].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "Pentagon reports number of contractors employed in Syria for first time," *Military Times* [17 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/04/17/pentagon-reports-number-of-contractors-employed-in-syria-for-first-time/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/04/17/pentagon-reports-number-of-contractors-employed-in-syria-for-first-time/</a> [accessed 18 April 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "US-led coalition: ISIS may be resurgent on Russia's turf, but not ours," *Military Times* [24 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/24/us-led-coalition-isis-may-be-resurgent-on-russias-turf-but-not-ours/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/24/us-led-coalition-isis-may-be-resurgent-on-russias-turf-but-not-ours/</a> [accessed 26 April 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "US, French troops seen conducting joint patrol in Manbij, Syria," *Military Times* [3 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/03/us-french-troops-seen-conducting-joint-patrol-in-manbij-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/03/us-french-troops-seen-conducting-joint-patrol-in-manbij-syria/</a> [accessed 4 May 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "A-10 pilots receive medals for danger close strikes, gun runs amid anti-aircraft artillery," *Air Force Times* [30 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/05/30/a-10-pilots-receive-medals-for-danger-close-strikes-gun-runs-amid-anti-aircraft-artillery/">https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/05/30/a-10-pilots-receive-medals-for-danger-close-strikes-gun-runs-amid-anti-aircraft-artillery/</a> [accessed 31 May 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "Not one of the 104 civilian casualty reports in Syria investigated in September was credible, coalition says," *Air Force Times* [26 October 2018].

    <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/10/26/defeat-isis-coalition-finds-no-civilian-casualty-reports-credible-in-september/">https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/10/26/defeat-isis-coalition-finds-no-civilian-casualty-reports-credible-in-september/</a> [accessed 29 October 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "US-backed fighters resume final offensive against ISIS after pause to deal with Turkish tensions," *Military Times* [14 November 2018].

- https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/11/14/after-17-years-many-afghans-blame-us-for-unending-war/ [accessed 14 November 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "Troops to immediately withdraw from Syria as Trump declares victory over ISIS," *Military Times* [19 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/12/19/troops-may-immediately-withdrawal-from-syria-as-trump-declares-victory-over-isis/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/12/19/troops-may-immediately-withdrawal-from-syria-as-trump-declares-victory-over-isis/</a> [accessed 20 December 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "Are we leaving Syria or not?" *Military Times* [8 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-air-force/2019/01/08/are-we-leaving-syria-or-not/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-air-force/2019/01/08/are-we-leaving-syria-or-not/</a> [accessed 13 January 2019].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "US in 'early stages' of withdrawal, as ISIS squeezed into a few square miles," *Military Times* [29 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/01/29/us-in-early-stages-of-withdrawal-as-isis-squeezed-into-a-few-square-miles/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/01/29/us-in-early-stages-of-withdrawal-as-isis-squeezed-into-a-few-square-miles/</a> [accessed 2 February 2019].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "Final assault against ISIS camp launched Friday night and is still ongoing," *Military Times* [4 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2019/03/04/final-assault-against-isis-camp-launched-friday-night-and-is-still-ongoing/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2019/03/04/final-assault-against-isis-camp-launched-friday-night-and-is-still-ongoing/</a> [accessed 6 March 2019].
- ★ Reuter, Christoph, "American Fury: The Truth About the Russian Deaths in Syria," *Der Spiegel* [2 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/american-fury-the-truth-about-the-russian-deaths-in-syria-a-1196074.html">http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/american-fury-the-truth-about-the-russian-deaths-in-syria-a-1196074.html</a> [accessed 29 November 2018].
  - A member of TF 160 SOAR informed me on 29 November 2018 that US reports indicated that 1100 Russians were killed in this strike. The convoy included tanks, BMPs, and ADA.
  - Reuters, "Syrian army says U.S.-led coalition jets bombed it in support of Islamic State," *Yahoo.com* [17 September 2016]. <a href="https://www.yahoo.com/news/syrian-army-says-u-led-coalition-jets-bombed-173922114.html">https://www.yahoo.com/news/syrian-army-says-u-led-coalition-jets-bombed-173922114.html</a> [accessed 17 September 2016].
    - This is a simple and yet powerful supporting piece to the argument that people in the Middle East believe that the US supports ISIS.
  - Reuters, "Hezbollah: Syrian Army Controls Entire Damascus-Deir el-Zour Highway," *Voice of America News* [10 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/hezbollah-syrian-army-controls-damascus-deir-al-zor-highway/4022556.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/hezbollah-syrian-army-controls-damascus-deir-al-zor-highway/4022556.html</a> [accessed 11 September 2017].
  - Reuters, "Islamic State kills 215 in southwest Syria attacks: local official," *Reuters* [24 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-attack/islamic-state-kills-215-in-southwest-syria-attacks-local-official-idUSKBN1KFODG">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-attack/islamic-state-kills-215-in-southwest-syria-attacks-local-official-idUSKBN1KFODG</a> [accessed 26 July 2018].
  - Reuters, "Iraq bombs Islamic State 'operations room' in Syria," *Reuters* [16 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-syria/iraq-bombs-islamic-state-operations-room-in-syria-idUSKBN1L122Y">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-syria/iraq-bombs-islamic-state-operations-room-in-syria-idUSKBN1L122Y</a> [accessed 17 August 2018].
  - Reuters, "Top French officer raps West's tactics against ISIS in Syria, faces punishment," *The National* [17 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/top-french-officer-raps-west-s-tactics-against-isis-in-syria-faces-punishment-1.826579">https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/top-french-officer-raps-west-s-tactics-against-isis-in-syria-faces-punishment-1.826579</a> [accessed 22 February 2019].
  - Riechmann, Deb and Lolita Baldor, "US military moves 2 British Islamic State members known as 'Beatles' from Syria," *Military Times* [10 October 2019].

    <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/10/10/us-military-moves-2-british-islamic-state-members-known-as-beatles-from-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/10/10/us-military-moves-2-british-islamic-state-members-known-as-beatles-from-syria/</a> [accessed 11 October 2019].
  - Riechmann, Deb and Susannah George, "Fate of detained ISIS fighters uncertain as US exits Syria," *Military Times* [8 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/01/08/fate-of-detained-isis-fighters-uncertain-as-us-exits-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/01/08/fate-of-detained-isis-fighters-uncertain-as-us-exits-syria/</a> [accessed 12 January 2019].
  - Rogin, Josh, "Obama administration debates the wisdom of rushing to retake Raqqa," *The Washington Post* [16 October 2016]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/anti-islamic-

- state-forces-are-rushing-to-retake-raqqa-that-could-be-a-mistake/2016/10/16/b7158068-922f-11e6-a6a3-d50061aa9fae story.html [accessed 17 October 2016].
- This is an opinion piece, but the author provides quality insight into the discussion and difficulties associated with retaking Raqaa. The biggest being that there is no force capable to stabilize the city once taken.
- Rosa, Andrea, "Heads bowed to the ground, suspected IS members surrender," *AP News* [7 March 2019]. https://apnews.com/5ea82551520e413eac5bd391b4a41892 [accessed 7 March 2019].
- Rosenberg, Matthew, "It's Not Like Hollywood: Why U.S. Airstrikes Go Awry," *The New York Times* [20 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/world/middleeast/collateral-damage-why-us-airstrikes-go-awry.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/world/middleeast/collateral-damage-why-us-airstrikes-go-awry.html</a> [accessed 21 September 2016].
  - This article has a title that says it should never have needed to be written except for the fact that the US military has misrepresented our accuracy and competence over the last 25 years to such a degree that most people believe the Hollywood depiction of precision. The information in the article is mostly about Afghanistan strikes that have gone awry, but it is in this section because it gives details on the 17 September 2016 airstrike by US aircraft on a Syrian military base.
- ★ Roston, Aram, "Meet the Obscure Company Behind America's Syria Fiasco", Buzz Feed News [17 September 2015]. <a href="http://www.buzzfeed.com/aramroston/the-secret-arms-deal-behind-americas-syria-fiasco#.lcAR5DaDdp">http://www.buzzfeed.com/aramroston/the-secret-arms-deal-behind-americas-syria-fiasco#.lcAR5DaDdp</a> [accessed 19 September 2015].
  - Roth, Andrew, "The Russian village that sent 20 men to wage jihad in Syria," *The Washington Post* [27 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/the-russian-village-that-sent-20-men-to-wage-war-in-syria/2015/10/27/7cfd158a-7444-11e5-ba14-318f8e87a2fc\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/the-russian-village-that-sent-20-men-to-wage-war-in-syria/2015/10/27/7cfd158a-7444-11e5-ba14-318f8e87a2fc\_story.html</a> [accessed 28 October 2015].
  - Roth, Andrew, "After four months, Russia's campaign in Syria is proving successful for Moscow," *The Washington Post* [3 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/after-four-months-russias-campaign-in-syria-is-proving-successful-for-moscow/2016/02/02/7a65d676-9dd0-11e5-9ad2-568d814bbf3b\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/after-four-months-russias-campaign-in-syria-is-proving-successful-for-moscow/2016/02/02/7a65d676-9dd0-11e5-9ad2-568d814bbf3b\_story.html</a> [accessed 4 February 2016].
  - Rudaw, "Iraq sends troop reinforcements to Syria border to block ISIS retreat," *Rudaw* [20 February 2019]. http://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/iraq/200220191 [accessed 21 February 2019].
  - Ryan, Missy, "Suspected militants detained in Syria attack that killed four Americans," *The Washington Post* [19 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/suspected-militants-detained-in-syria-attack-that-killed-four-americans/2019/03/19/ab6a0bea-4a7d-11e9-b79a-961983b7e0cd\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/suspected-militants-detained-in-syria-attack-that-killed-four-americans/2019/03/19/ab6a0bea-4a7d-11e9-b79a-961983b7e0cd\_story.html</a> [accessed 20 March 2019].
  - Ryan, Missy and Karen DeYoung, "'We're not in perfect control': U.S. plans operation against Islamic State in Syria despite obstacles," *The Washington Post* [31 October 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/were-not-in-perfect-control-us-plans-operation-against-islamic-state-in-syria-despite-obstacles/2016/10/31/b649605e-9d1b-11e6-9980-50913d68eacb\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/were-not-in-perfect-control-us-plans-operation-against-islamic-state-in-syria-despite-obstacles/2016/10/31/b649605e-9d1b-11e6-9980-50913d68eacb\_story.html</a> [accessed 2 November 2016].
    - The US is driving to attack Raqqa without adequate preparation in Syria or so the argument goes.
  - Said, Rodi, "Islamic State turned on dissenters as Raqqa assault neared," *Reuters* [28 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-raqqa-purge-idUSKBN19J1TR">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-raqqa-purge-idUSKBN19J1TR</a> [accessed 29 June 2017].
    - The articles provides perspectives from wives of ISIS fighters who felt their husbands were unfairly scrutinized and targeted by ISIS leadership for criticisms made.
  - Said, Rodi, "Exclusive: U.S.-backed Raqqa battle should end in two months, says senior SDF commander," *Reuters* [28 August 2017]. <a href="https://ca.reuters.com/article/topNews/idCAKCN1B81SN-OCATP">https://ca.reuters.com/article/topNews/idCAKCN1B81SN-OCATP</a> [accessed 29 August 2017].
  - Said, Rodi and Suleiman Al-Khalidi, "Syrians Risk All in Flight From Raqqa," US News [4 April 2017].

- https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-04-04/syrians-risk-all-in-flight-from-raqqa [accessed 5 April 2017].
- Said, Rodi and Tom Perry, "U.S.-backed force launches assault on Islamic State's 'capital' in Syria," Reuters [6 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-raqqa-idUSKBN18W29P">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-raqqa-idUSKBN18W29P</a> [accessed 6 June 2017].
- ★ Samaan, Maher and Anne Barnard, "For Those Who Remain in Syria, Daily Life Is a Nightmare", The New York Times [15 September 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/16/world/middleeast/for-those-who-remain-in-syria-daily-life-is-a-nightmare.html?ref=middleeast">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/16/world/middleeast/for-those-who-remain-in-syria-daily-life-is-a-nightmare.html?ref=middleeast</a> [accessed 15 September 2015].
  - Sand, Phil and Suha Maayeh, "Far from Raqqa and Fallujah, Syria rebels open new front against ISIL in the south," *The National*, UAE [8 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/far-from-raqqa-and-fallujah-syria-rebels-open-new-front-against-isil-in-the-south#full">http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/far-from-raqqa-and-fallujah-syria-rebels-open-new-front-against-isil-in-the-south#full</a> [accessed 13 June 2016].
  - Schmitt, Eric, "Thousands of ISIS Fighters Flee in Syria, Many to Fight Another Day," *The New York Times* [4 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/04/world/middleeast/isis-syria-al-qaeda.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/04/world/middleeast/isis-syria-al-qaeda.html</a> [accessed 8 February 2018].
  - Schmitt, Eric, "Fight Against Last Vestige of ISIS in Syria Stalls, to Dismay of U.S.," *The New York Times* [6 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/06/world/middleeast/isis-syria.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/06/world/middleeast/isis-syria.html</a> [accessed 7 November 2018].
  - Schmitt, Eric and Michael R. Gordon, "U.S. Aims to Put More Pressure on ISIS in Syria," *The New York Times* [4 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/05/world/middleeast/us-aims-to-put-more-pressure-on-isis-in-syria.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/05/world/middleeast/us-aims-to-put-more-pressure-on-isis-in-syria.html</a> [accessed 5 October 2015].
  - Schmitt, Eric and Michael S. Schmidt, "Omar the Chechen, a Senior Leader in ISIS, Dies After U.S. Airstrike," *The New York Times* [15 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/15/world/middleeast/omar-chechen-isis-killed-us-airstrike-syria.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/15/world/middleeast/omar-chechen-isis-killed-us-airstrike-syria.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&r=0 [accessed 16 March 2016].</a>
    - Is he finally dead? This report says yes. See earlier reports on being dead and not being dead.
  - Schogol, Jeff, "Marines deploy to Syria with artillery," *Military Times* [8 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/official-couple-hundred-us-marines-go-into-syria">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/official-couple-hundred-us-marines-go-into-syria</a> [accessed 9 March 2017].
    - Marines in Syria providing fire support for forces attacking Raqqa. Is this a good idea? What are the objectives other than enemy destruction?
  - Schogol, Jeff, "The Pentagon Says Everyone Who Watches Or Just Mentions A Disturbing Video Is Helping ISIS," *Task and Purpose* [5 March 2018]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/the-pentagon-says-everyone-who-watches-or-just-mentions-a-disturbing-video-is-helping-isis/">https://taskandpurpose.com/the-pentagon-says-everyone-who-watches-or-just-mentions-a-disturbing-video-is-helping-isis/</a> [accessed 6 March 2018].
  - Schogol, Jeff, "US Troops Will Remain In Syria Until Peace Is At Hand," Task & Purpose [29 August 2018]. https://taskandpurpose.com/us-troops-remain-in-syria/ [accessed 30 August 2018].
  - Seligman, Lara, "Britain, France Agree to Send Additional Troops to Syria," *Foreign Policy* [9 July 2019]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/09/britain-france-agree-to-send-additional-troops-increase-syria-us-withdrawal-uk/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/09/britain-france-agree-to-send-additional-troops-increase-syria-us-withdrawal-uk/</a> [accessed 10 July 2019].
  - Seligman, Lara, "In Overflowing Syrian Refugee Camps, Extremism Takes Root," *Foreign Policy* [29 July 2019]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/29/in-overflowing-syrian-refugee-camps-extremism-takes-root-syria-bashar-assad-islamic-state-isis/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/29/in-overflowing-syrian-refugee-camps-extremism-takes-root-syria-bashar-assad-islamic-state-isis/</a> [accessed 30 July 2019].
  - Shaheen, Kareem, "Isis fighters abduct up to 400 civilians in major attack on Deir ez-Zor", The Guardian

- [17 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/17/isis-fighters-abduct-400-civilians-major-attack-deir-ez-zor">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/17/isis-fighters-abduct-400-civilians-major-attack-deir-ez-zor</a> [accessed 19 January 2016].
- Major fighting in Deir al-Zur between ISIS and regime forces results in a significant death toll for regime, civilians, and ISIS. The article does not clearly understand the purpose for the abductions mentioned in the title.
- Shaheen, Kareem, "US-backed forces fighting Islamic State enter Syria stronghold of Raqqa", *The Guardian* [8 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/08/us-backed-forces-fighting-islamic-state-enter-syria-stronghold-of-raqqa">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/08/us-backed-forces-fighting-islamic-state-enter-syria-stronghold-of-raqqa</a> [accessed 9 June 2017].
- Shane, Leo, III, "Trump predicts ISIS will lose last of its land as early as next week," *Military Times* [6 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/02/06/trump-predicts-isis-will-lose-last-of-its-land-as-early-as-next-week/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/02/06/trump-predicts-isis-will-lose-last-of-its-land-as-early-as-next-week/</a> [accessed 8 February 2019].
- Shinkman, Paul D. "The Drone Age," *U.S. News & World Report* [16 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2016-11-16/us-drones-are-here-to-stay">http://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2016-11-16/us-drones-are-here-to-stay</a> {accessed 17 November 2016].
  - Good discussion on the role of drones and how they are influencing the battles in the Middle East.
- Sly, Liz, "Did U.S. weapons supplied to Syrian rebels draw Russia into the conflict?" *The Washington Post* [11 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/did-us-weapons-supplied-to-syrian-rebels-draw-russia-into-the-conflict/2015/10/11/268ce566-6dfc-11e5-91eb-27ad15c2b723\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/did-us-weapons-supplied-to-syrian-rebels-draw-russia-into-the-conflict/2015/10/11/268ce566-6dfc-11e5-91eb-27ad15c2b723\_story.html</a> [accessed 13 October 2015].
- Sly, Liz, "They freed a Syrian town from ISIS. Now they have to govern it." *The Washington Post* [30 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the-challenges-of-governing-after-the-islamic-state/2015/10/30/8985938c-7673-11e5-a5e2-40d6b2ad18dd story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the-challenges-of-governing-after-the-islamic-state/2015/10/30/8985938c-7673-11e5-a5e2-40d6b2ad18dd story.html</a> [accessed 2 November 2015].
- Sly, Liz and Karen DeYoung, "Ignoring Turkey, U.S. backs Kurds in drive against ISIS in Syria," *The Washington Post* [1 June 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/us-backs-kurds-in-drive-against-isis-in-syria-despite-turkish-objections/2016/06/01/7bacf6fa-2808-11e6-8329-6104954928d2\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/us-backs-kurds-in-drive-against-isis-in-syria-despite-turkish-objections/2016/06/01/7bacf6fa-2808-11e6-8329-6104954928d2\_story.html</a> [accessed 2 June 2016].
- Sly, Liz and Missy Ryan, "U.S. troops carry out ground raid against ISIS in Syria," *The Washington Post* [9 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/us-led-coalition-carries-out-ground-raid-in-syria/2017/01/09/b452e1df-f035-493c-bb2e-3932d788be01\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/us-led-coalition-carries-out-ground-raid-in-syria/2017/01/09/b452e1df-f035-493c-bb2e-3932d788be01\_story.html</a> [accessed 10 January 2017]. Not many details. This does provide a general overview of US raids into Syria.
- ★ Smyth, Phillip, "Iran's Losing Major Operatives in Syria", *The Daily Beast* [14 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/14/iran-s-losing-major-operatives-in-syria.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/14/iran-s-losing-major-operatives-in-syria.html</a> [accessed 14 October 2015.
  - Snow, Shawn, "US weapons will soon flow to Kurds as they isolate ISIS fighters in Raqqa," *Military Times* [10 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/ypg-us-arms">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/ypg-us-arms</a> [accessed 11 May 2017].
  - Snow, Shawn, "Boots on the ground: Elite U.S. troops are in Raqqa near the Islamic State's front line," *Military Times* [9 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/navy-seals-special-forces-syria-raqqa-islamic-state">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/navy-seals-special-forces-syria-raqqa-islamic-state</a> [accessed 12 June 2017].
  - Snow, Shawn, "Syria's Euphrates valley is becoming a minefield where the risks of a wider war grow daily," *Military Times* [19 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/russia-deconfliction-airdefense-isis-euphrates-syria">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/russia-deconfliction-airdefense-isis-euphrates-syria</a> [accessed 20 June 2017].
    - Includes references to a US shootdown of a Syrian aircraft on 17 June.
  - Snow, Shawn, "ISIS fighters employ new tactic in Raqqa," *Military Times* [30 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/isis-ypg-raqqa-new-tactic-turkey-afrin">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/isis-ypg-raqqa-new-tactic-turkey-afrin</a> [accessed 3 July 2017].

- ISIS is wearing SDF uniforms to facilitate operations around Raqqa.
- Snow, Shawn, "US Stryker vehicles lead Kurdish reinforcements into Raqqa," *Military Times* [7 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/stryker-raqqa-ypg-troops-isis">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/stryker-raqqa-ypg-troops-isis</a> [accessed 10 July 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "Syrian fighters in Raqqa uncover ISIS drone factory," *Military Times* [27 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/07/26/syrian-fighters-in-raqqa-uncover-isis-drone-factory/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/07/26/syrian-fighters-in-raqqa-uncover-isis-drone-factory/</a> [accessed 27 July 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "US parts ways with Syrian partner force involved in ISIS fight," *Military Times* [27 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/07/27/us-parts-ways-with-syrian-partner-force-involved-in-isis-fight/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/07/27/us-parts-ways-with-syrian-partner-force-involved-in-isis-fight/</a> [accessed 28 July 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "Pentagon distances itself from allies of the U.S. partner force battling ISIS," *Military Times* [18 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/18/pentagon-distances-itself-from-allies-of-the-us-partner-force-battling-isis/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/18/pentagon-distances-itself-from-allies-of-the-us-partner-force-battling-isis/</a> [accessed 21 August 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "US airstrike blocks ISIS fighters evacuated in deal with Lebanon," *Military Times* [30 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/30/us-airstrike-blocks-isis-fighters-evacuated-in-deal-with-lebanon/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/30/us-airstrike-blocks-isis-fighters-evacuated-in-deal-with-lebanon/</a> [accessed 31 August 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "Bus convoy carrying ISIS fighters to eastern Syria halted after coalition strike," *Military Times* [31 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/31/bus-convoy-carrying-isis-fighters-hurries-back-into-syria-after-coalition-strike/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/31/bus-convoy-carrying-isis-fighters-hurries-back-into-syria-after-coalition-strike/</a> [accessed 1 September 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "Russia threatens US forces, calls America an obstacle to defeating ISIS in Syria," *Military Times* [4 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/04/russia-threatens-us-forces-calls-america-an-obstacle-to-defeating-isis-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/04/russia-threatens-us-forces-calls-america-an-obstacle-to-defeating-isis-in-syria/</a> [accessed 5 October 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "US-backed Syrian forces liberate Raqqa," *Military Times* [17 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/17/us-backed-syrian-forces-liberate-raqqa/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/17/us-backed-syrian-forces-liberate-raqqa/</a> [accessed 18 October 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "4,000 US troops in Syria?" *Military Times* [31 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/31/4000-us-troops-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/31/4000-us-troops-in-syria/</a> [accessed 1 November 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "DIA says ISIS took advantage of Turkish invasion of northern Syria, Baghdadi death did not degrade jihadi group," *Military Times* [4 February 2020].

  <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/02/04/dia-says-isis-took-advantage-of-turkish-invasion-of-northern-syria-baghdadi-death-did-not-degrade-jihadi-group/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/02/04/dia-says-isis-took-advantage-of-turkish-invasion-of-northern-syria-baghdadi-death-did-not-degrade-jihadi-group/</a> [accessed 5 February 2020].
- Snow, Shawn, "US military did not properly store or account for nearly \$715 million in weapons for Syrian partners fighting ISIS," *Military Times* [18 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/02/18/us-military-did-not-properly-store-or-account-for-nearly-715-million-in-weapons-for-syrian-partners-fighting-isis/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/02/18/us-military-did-not-properly-store-or-account-for-nearly-715-million-in-weapons-for-syrian-partners-fighting-isis/</a> [accessed 20 February 2020].
- Snow, Shawn and Mackenzie Wolf, "A showdown is looming between the US, Syria and Iran at Tanf," *Military Times* [30 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/a-showdown-is-looming-between-the-us-syria-and-iran-at-tanf">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/a-showdown-is-looming-between-the-us-syria-and-iran-at-tanf</a> [accessed 31 May 2017].
- Sommerville, Quentin and Riam Dalati, "Raqqa's dirty secret," *BBC News* [13 November 2017]. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/raqqas\_dirty\_secret\_[accessed 15 November 2017].
- Souleiman, Delil, "US-Backed Fighters Savor Victory Over ISIS In Manbij," *Agence France Presse* [8 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/08/08/us-backed-fighters-savor-victory-isis-manbij.html">http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/08/08/us-backed-fighters-savor-victory-isis-manbij.html</a> [accessed 9 August 2016].

- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "After a New Massacre, Charges That ISIS Is Operating With Assad and the Russians," *The Daily Beast* [9 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-assad-isis-and-the-russians-cooperated-to-carry-out-a-massacre?ref=wrap">https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-assad-isis-and-the-russians-cooperated-to-carry-out-a-massacre?ref=wrap</a> [accessed 11 August 2018].
  - Excellent details on an event that has been underreported. The connection between the Assad regime and ISIS is often rumored, but this seems to be significantly stronger than rumor alone. Thank you, Anne.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Perspective: Selling Out Our Allies in Syria," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [20 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-selling-out-our-allies-in-syria/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-selling-out-our-allies-in-syria/</a> [accessed 24 December 2018].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "Observing the Defeat of ISIS in Syria: Gone in 30 Days or Likely to Return?" Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [February 5, 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/observing-the-defeat-of-isis-in-syria-gone-in-30-days-or-likely-to-return/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/observing-the-defeat-of-isis-in-syria-gone-in-30-days-or-likely-to-return/</a> [accessed 5 February 2019].
  - Fascinating prediction. Will ISIS be destroyed in 30 days? The article has great information and some good questions.
  - Starr, Barbara, "Top US general says defeat in Syria wouldn't 'mean the end' for ISIS," CNN [11 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.cnn.com/2019/02/11/politics/votel-isis-syria/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2019/02/11/politics/votel-isis-syria/index.html</a> [accessed 12 February 2019].
  - Szoldra, Paul, "Exclusive: The Insider Attack In Syria That The Pentagon Denies Ever Happened," *Task & Purpose* [8 August 2018]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/syria-insider-attack/">https://taskandpurpose.com/syria-insider-attack/</a> [accessed 9 August 2018].
  - Tharoor, Ishaan, "The current chaos in Syria may help the Islamic State", *The Washington Post* [16 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/02/16/the-current-chaos-in-syria-may-help-the-islamic-state/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/02/16/the-current-chaos-in-syria-may-help-the-islamic-state/</a> [17 February 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "Troubled train-and-equip U.S. strategy sparks questions," *Military Times* [25 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/10/25/troubled-train-and-equip-strategy-sparks-questions-about-failure/74408096/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/10/25/troubled-train-and-equip-strategy-sparks-questions-about-failure/74408096/</a> [accessed 26 October 2015].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "With U.S. advisers and firepower, Syrian rebels take key city from ISIS," *Military Times* [27 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/02/27/syrian-rebels-take-shaddadi-from-islamic-state/80994894/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/02/27/syrian-rebels-take-shaddadi-from-islamic-state/80994894/</a> [accessed 29 February 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "In a first, U.S. forces in Jordan have attacked ISIS in Syria," Military Times [11 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/11/us-artillery-jordan-launches-first-strike-isis/81646504/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/11/us-artillery-jordan-launches-first-strike-isis/81646504/</a> [accessed 14 March 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "U.S. military commanders are 'pissed off' about the mission creep in Syria," *Military Times* [18 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-military-commanders-are-pissed-off-about-the-mission-creep-in-syria">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-military-commanders-are-pissed-off-about-the-mission-creep-in-syria</a> [accessed 19 September 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "The U.S. military expansion in Syria: What it is and isn't," *Military Times* [25 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/veterans/2016/04/25/additional-250-troops-syria-funnel-aid-rebels/32592119/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/veterans/2016/04/25/additional-250-troops-syria-funnel-aid-rebels/32592119/</a> [accessed 26 April 2016].
    - Adding missions in Syria to include Jabhat al-Nusra and coordination with Russian airpower.
  - Toumaj, Amir and Caleb Weiss, "IRGC-controlled militia accuses US of strike to hide Islamic State raid near Syrian border," *Long War Journal* [8 August 2017]. http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/08/irgc-controlled-iraqi-militia-accuses-us-of-

- <u>striking-its-positions-to-cover-up-islamic-state-raid-near-iraqi-syrian-border.php</u> [accessed 14 August 2017].
- This is another article providing ammunition for the argument that the US is operationally supporting ISIS.
- US Department of Defense, "Pressure Mounting on ISIS as Operation Roundup Continues," Combined Joint Task Force Operation Inherent Resolve News Release [20 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/1579933/pressure-mounting-on-isis-as-operation-roundup-continues/">https://www.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/1579933/pressure-mounting-on-isis-as-operation-roundup-continues/</a> [accessed 24 July 2018].
- van Wilgenburg, Wladimir, "No Guns, No Money, Ready to Hit ISIS HQ," *The Daily Beast* [20 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/20/no-guns-no-money-ready-to-hit-isis-hq.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/20/no-guns-no-money-ready-to-hit-isis-hq.html</a> [accessed 21 October 2015].
- Voice of America, "Syrian Forces Close to Seizing Oil-Rich Deir el-Zour from Islamic State," *Voice of America* [4 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/syrian-troops-close-to-breaking-is-siege-in-eastern-city/4014345.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/syrian-troops-close-to-breaking-is-siege-in-eastern-city/4014345.html</a> [accessed 5 September 2017].
- Waters, Gregory, "ISIS in Syria: 2020 in Review," Terrain Analysis from Newlines Institute [10 February 2021]. <a href="https://newlinesinstitute.org/isis/isis-in-syria-2020-in-review/">https://newlinesinstitute.org/isis/isis-in-syria-2020-in-review/</a> [accessed 12 February 2021].
- Wedeman, Ben, "A close call makes clear that ISIS won't give up its last stronghold easily," CNN [12 February 2019]. https://www.cnn.com/2019/02/11/middleeast/syria-sdf-isis-final-battle-intl/index.html [accessed 12 February 2019].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Al Nusrah Front shows captured Humvees in Aleppo", *Long War Journal* [16 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/11/al-nusrah-front-shows-captured-humvees-in-aleppo.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/11/al-nusrah-front-shows-captured-humvees-in-aleppo.php</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Hezbollah and allies parade in Deir Ezzor, Syria," *Long War Journal* [7 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/hezbollah-and-allies-parade-in-deir-ezzor-syria.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/hezbollah-and-allies-parade-in-deir-ezzor-syria.php</a> [accessed 8 September 2017].
- Weiss, Michael, "Russia's Giving ISIS An Air Force," *The Daily Beast* [8 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/08/russia-s-giving-isis-an-air-force.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/08/russia-s-giving-isis-an-air-force.html</a> [accessed 8 October 2015].
  - "It's clear that Russia's strategy in Syria is to make the conflict binary by giving Syrians only two choices: Assad or ISIS."
- ★ Wilgenburg, Wladimir van, "No Guns, No Money, Ready to Hit ISIS HQ", *The Daily Beast* [20 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/20/no-guns-no-money-ready-to-hit-isis-hq.html?via=mobile&source=twitter">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/20/no-guns-no-money-ready-to-hit-isis-hq.html?via=mobile&source=twitter</a> [accessed 21 October 2015].
  - Wilgenburg, Wladimir van, "The War Within the War for Raqqa," *Foreign Policy* [6 June 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/06/the-war-within-the-war-for-raqqa/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/06/the-war-within-the-war-for-raqqa/</a> [accessed 7 June 2016].
  - Wilgenburg, Wladimir van, "ISIS Leaves Behind Booby-Trapped Hospitals in Liberated Town," *The Daily Beast* [16 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/16/isis-leaves-behind-booby-trapped-hospitals-in-liberated-town.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/16/isis-leaves-behind-booby-trapped-hospitals-in-liberated-town.html</a> [accessed 16 August 2016].
  - Wong, Kristina, "Coalition: Next phase in Syrian campaign against ISIS to start soon," *The Hill* [21 October 2015]. <a href="http://thehill.com/policy/defense/257639-coalition-new-phase-in-military-campaign-against-isis-in-syria-to-start-soon">http://thehill.com/policy/defense/257639-coalition-new-phase-in-military-campaign-against-isis-in-syria-to-start-soon</a> [accessed 22 October 2015]
  - Wong, Kristina, "US official wasn't there to answer Russian call on Syria strike," *The Hill* [20 September 2016]. <a href="http://thehill.com/policy/defense/296830-us-official-not-there-to-take-russian-call-on-syria-strike">http://thehill.com/policy/defense/296830-us-official-not-there-to-take-russian-call-on-syria-strike</a> [accessed 21 September 2016].
    - More details on the 17 Sep US airstrike against a Syrian military base.

- Youssef, Nancy A. "U.S. May Have Killed Prisoners, Not Troops, in Syria Strike," *The Daily Beast* [19 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/09/19/u-s-may-have-killed-prisoners-not-troops-in-syria-strike.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/09/19/u-s-may-have-killed-prisoners-not-troops-in-syria-strike.html</a> [accessed 20 September 2016]
  - This is a follow up piece to numerous other regarding a US strike on Syrian military forces around Deir al-Zour on 17 September 2016. This is supporting evidence to the notion that the US supports ISIS in the fight.
- Youssef, Nancy A. and Kimberly Dozier, "Pentagon Walks Back Promise to Attack ISIS Capital ASAP," *The Daily Beast* [3 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/11/03/pentagon-walks-back-promise-to-attack-isis-capital-asap.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/11/03/pentagon-walks-back-promise-to-attack-isis-capital-asap.html</a> [accessed 4 November 2016].
  - Attacking Raqqa sooner or later? Apparently later.
- Youssef, Nancy A. and Shane Harris, "Russian Airstrikes Are Helping U.S. Allies", *The Daily Beast* [12 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/12/russian-airstrikes-are-helping-u-s-allies.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/12/russian-airstrikes-are-helping-u-s-allies.html</a> [accessed 12 January 2016].
  - Will the Kurds combine with Russia? Will others who currently receive aid from the US?
- ★ Zaman, Amberin, "US puts off announcing decision on Raqqa until after Turkey referendum," al-Monitor [12 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/03/turkey-syria-usa-military-wants-work-with-local-forces-raqqa.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/03/turkey-syria-usa-military-wants-work-with-local-forces-raqqa.html</a> [accessed 16 March 2017].
  - Good assessment on the difficulties associated with decisions about the liberation of Raqqa from ISIS control. Thins in Syria are much more complicated than the complexities of Iraq.
  - Zavis, Alexandra, "One family's tale of life under Islamic State: 'We were living in a big prison'," Los Angeles Times [30 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-islamic-state-raqqah-2017-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-islamic-state-raqqah-2017-story.html</a> [accessed 1 November 2017].
  - Zoroya, Gregg, "Syrian blasts kill more than 100, as Kerry says progress toward cease-fire," *USA Today* [21 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/02/21/kerry-provisional-agreement-reached-syria-ceasefire/80697880/">http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/02/21/kerry-provisional-agreement-reached-syria-ceasefire/80697880/</a> [accessed 22 February 2016].

## **How to fight ISIS**

- Jones, Seth G., James Dobbins, Daniel Byman, Christopher S. Chivvis, Ben Connable, Jeffrey Martini, Eric Robinson, and Nathan Chandler. *Rolling Back the Islamic State*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017.
- Adams, Joseph and R.P. Eddy, "ISIS Is Near Collapse... So What and Who Comes Next?" *Real Clear Life* [23 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.realclearlife.com/news/isis-near-collapse-comes-next/">http://www.realclearlife.com/news/isis-near-collapse-comes-next/</a> [accessed 24 May 2017].
- Afzal, Madiha, "How we all reinforce a narrative of Islam versus the West," *Brookings* [4 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/08/04/how-we-all-reinforce-a-narrative-of-islam-versus-the-west/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/08/04/how-we-all-reinforce-a-narrative-of-islam-versus-the-west/</a> [accessed 23 July 2018].
- Amnesty International, ""War of Annihilation" Devastating Toll on Civilians, Raqqa Syria," Amnesty International [5 June 2018].
  <a href="https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/MDE2483672018ENGLISH.PDF">https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/MDE2483672018ENGLISH.PDF</a> [accessed 6 June 2018].
  - Though one might be inclined to disagree with the blame assigned in this report. Despite the disagreements, the report presents an excellent opportunity for a discussion on the efficacy of firepower theory as demonstrated in the fight against ISIS. If this approach to conflict is unacceptable, then we need to find another way. My recommendation is greater emphasis on narrative-based strategies or maneuver in the narrative space.
- ★ Beinart, Peter, "Don't Be Led Astray by the Legend of the Surge", Defense One [10 August 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/08/gop-candidates-led-astray-legend-surge/119011/?oref=d-river">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/08/gop-candidates-led-astray-legend-surge/119011/?oref=d-river</a> [accessed 11 August 2015].
  - Bender, Bryan, "Israeli Officers: You're Doing ISIS Wrong," *Politico Magazine* [22 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/05/22/israeli-officers-to-trump-youre-doing-isis-wrong-215172">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/05/22/israeli-officers-to-trump-youre-doing-isis-wrong-215172</a> [accessed 23 May 2017].
    - This article includes some useful quotes on Israeli officer assessments of the fight inside Syria, particularly with respect to the number of groups functioning in Syria.
  - Bolton, John R., "John Bolton: To Defeat ISIS, Create a Sunni State", New York Times [24 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/25/opinion/john-bolton-to-defeat-isis-create-a-sunni-state.html?">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/25/opinion/john-bolton-to-defeat-isis-create-a-sunni-state.html?</a> r=1&utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Shavit [accessed 29 November 2015].
    - Advocating for redrawing borders and redefining the power relationships in the region. Some of this is relatively standard in that the solution is to have someone else pay for everything which is typically problematic.
  - Brown, Gordon, "A powerful antidote to the Islamic State", *Washington Post* [29 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/antidote-to-isis-school-for-syrian-refugee-children/2015/11/29/4750d708-9232-11e5-8aa0-5d0946560a97">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/antidote-to-isis-school-for-syrian-refugee-children/2015/11/29/4750d708-9232-11e5-8aa0-5d0946560a97</a> story.html [accessed 30 November 2015].
    - This is an opinion piece by the current UN special envoy for global education discussing the initiative in Lebanon to educate Syrian refugee children in addition to Lebanese school children on a curriculum that emphasizes the dignity of all people.
  - Butler, Glen, "Mesopotamia Lost? Reengaging in the Long War Against ISIS and Other Islamists" [March 2015].
  - Canna, Sarah, "Personal Notes from a Recent Workshop," Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Workshop with no

- attribution [June 2016].
- Cafarella, Jennifer, Harleen Gambhir, and Katherine Zimmerman, "U.S. Grand Strategy: Destroying ISIS and Al Qaeda, Report Three: Jabhat al Nusra and ISIS: Sources of Strength," *Institute for the Study of War* [February 2016].
- Celso, Anthony N. "How to Defeat the Islamic State: Crafting a Rational War Strategy," Department of Security Studies, Angelo State University [unknown, probably in early 2016]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/16273693/Defeaing">https://www.academia.edu/16273693/Defeaing ISIS Crafting a Rational War Strategy</a> [accessed 1 October 2019].
- Cohen, Eyal Tsir, "Pushing the Jihadist Genie Back into the Bottle: How to Counter the Ongoing Terrorist Threat," *Brookings Policy Brief* [2 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/research/pushing-the-jihadist-genie-back-into-the-bottle-how-to-counter-the-ongoing-terrorist-threat/">https://www.brookings.edu/research/pushing-the-jihadist-genie-back-into-the-bottle-how-to-counter-the-ongoing-terrorist-threat/</a> [accessed 27 August 2019].
- Connable, Ben, Natasha Lander, and Kimberly Jackson. "Beating the Islamic State: Selecting a New Strategy for Iraq and Syria," Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017. <a href="https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1500/RR1562/RAND\_RR1562">https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1500/RR1562/RAND\_RR1562.pdf</a> [accessed 20 January 2019].
  - This paper has great clarity of assessing the situation and reasonable recommendation. Use for what it contains in its concise assessment of how we got to where we are.
- Cordesman, Anthony H. "The Real Lessons of Mosul (and Sixteen Years of War in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria)," Center for Strategic & International Studies [19 July 2017]. <a href="https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/170719">https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/170719</a> Real Lessons Mosul.pdf [accessed 20 July 2017].
  - Tony Cordesman has been providing useful analysis of conflict for decades. This is about seven pages long and it captures the most significant failures of the last sixteen years. Those failures can be captured in a single word: strategy. In this case, a lack thereof. This is a must read before one begins the process of writing lessons learned.
  - Davis, Daniel L., "Confronting America's Misguided Drone Program," *National Interest* [1 May 2017]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/confronting-americas-misguided-drone-program-20428">http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/confronting-americas-misguided-drone-program-20428</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
    - Another great criticism of Drone tactics. This one references a PBS film titled National Bird.
  - Dempsey, Michael P. "10 Takeaways from the Fight Against the Islamic State," *War on the Rocks* [12 March 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/10-takeaways-from-the-fight-against-the-islamic-state/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/10-takeaways-from-the-fight-against-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 13 March 2018].
- ★ Eisenstadt, Michael, "The War Against ISIL: In Search of a Viable Strategy", War on the Rocks [15 June 2015]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/06/the-war-against-isil-in-search-of-a-viable-strategy/?singlepage=1">http://warontherocks.com/2015/06/the-war-against-isil-in-search-of-a-viable-strategy/?singlepage=1</a> [accessed 22 June 2015].
  - Garellek, Alana, "Combatting the Al Shabaab Threat", *The Cipher Brief* [4 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/news/279369/under-mounting-pressure-isis-resorts-to-suicide-attacks/">http://www.vocativ.com/news/279369/under-mounting-pressure-isis-resorts-to-suicide-attacks/</a> [accessed 5 February 2016].
    - Statement by a former CIA station chief about the "quickest way to slow the growth of these al Qaeda affiliates is to "restore law and order to Somalia and to other failed states via good government coupled with law enforcement capabilities, an intelligence apparatus, and a working military that could challenge the terrorists."
  - Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed and Nathaniel Barr, "The Winner's Messaging Strategy of the Islamic State: Technically Excellent, Vulnerable to Disruption," A Wikistrat Commissioned Report [June 2015]. <a href="http://wikistrat.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/The-">http://wikistrat.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/The-</a>

- <u>Winner%E2%80%99s-Messaging-Strategy-of-the-Islamic-State-Wikistrat-report.pdf</u> [accessed 25 February 2016].
- Gault, Matthew, "This Is How America's Special Forces Could Destroy ISIS", *National Interest* [4 December 2015]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/how-americas-special-forces-could-destroy-isis-14517">http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/how-americas-special-forces-could-destroy-isis-14517</a> [accessed 7 December 2015].
  - The author references the ideas of Malcolm Nance who suggests a swarming approach to fighting ISIS.
- ★ Ghattas, Kim, "Departing Washington, Next Stop: Reality." Foreign Policy [2 July 2015].

  http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/07/02/departing-washington-next-stop-reality-beirutsyria/?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_term=%2AEditors%20Picks&
  utm\_campaign=2015\_EditorsPicks\_Promo\_Russia\_Direct\_Jun29%20through%207%2F3%2072SO&w
  p\_login\_redirect=0 [accessed 4 July 2015].
  - Giorgis, Craig A. "On War's Trinity and the War against the Islamic State", Marine Corps Gazette (Vol. 99, No 12), December 2015, pages 8-10.
    - The author uses the paradoxical trinity from Clausewitz' On War to address the fight between the U.S. and ISIS.
- ★ Goldenberg, Ilan, Nicholas A. Heras, and Paul Scharre, "Defeating the islamic State: A Bottom-Up Approach," a report of the Center for a New American Security ISIS Study Group [June 2016]. <a href="http://www.cnas.org/defeating-the-Islamic-State">http://www.cnas.org/defeating-the-Islamic-State</a> [accessed 27 June 2016].
  - The primary reason for recommending this report is that the sponsoring organization, CNAS, is headed by one of the most likely occupants of the secretary of defense position in a Clinton administration Michèle Flournoy. Thus, this report might serve as a vision of where a Clinton administration might go with respect to fighting ISIS. The recommendations tend to fit within the schema of *maneuver in the narrative space* and is of interest for this bibliography. The primary recommendations are to be more forceful, fight Assad in Syria more directly, and build partners that can successfully hold ground against future extremist ideology once regained from ISIS. The "strategy" presented does not actually address an end-state other than to suggest status quo ante bellum.
  - Gorka, Sebastian, editor. *The Islamic State and Information Warfare: Defeating ISIS and the Broader Global Jihadist Movement*. Fort Bragg, North Carolina: Threat Knowledge Group, January 2015. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/11749076/Designing">https://www.academia.edu/11749076/Designing</a> an Information Warfare Campaign Against the Global Jihadi Movement 2014 ?email work card=abstract-read-more [accessed 6 November 2021].
    - This is a discussion of key elements that need to be conducted to achieve victory against the Islamic State. The participating authors include: Sebastian Gorka, Robert R. Reilly, Anthony H. Cordesman, J. Michael Waller, and Stephen Ulph.
  - Greene, Kevin, "What the Algerian Civil War Can Teach Us About Combating ISIS", *Political Violence @ a Glance* [14 January 2016]. <a href="http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2016/01/14/what-the-algerian-civil-war-can-teach-us-about-combating-war-can-teach-us-about-combating-war-can-teach-us-about-combating-war-can-teach-us-about-combating-war-can-teach-us-about-combating-war-can-teach-us-about-can-teach-u
    - <u>isis/?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=New%20Campaign&utm\_term=%2AMideast%20Brief</u> [accessed 19 January 2016].
    - The author suggests that the Algerian civil war has useful parallels for understanding ISIS and how to fight them
  - Hellyer, Hisham A., "Why ISIS Cannot Be Negotiated With", *Defense One* [11 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/01/why-isis-cannot-be-negotiated/125020/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/01/why-isis-cannot-be-negotiated/125020/</a> [accessed 12 January 2016].
    - This is rebuttal to the Jonathan Powell article on "Negotiate with ISIS." Dr. Hellyer is a Muslim who clearly has strong feelings that accepting the legitimacy of ISIS as a negotiating partner means to accept ISIS as legitimate which is unacceptable to his view of Islam. He does not say this, but this seems to be an underlying current of

his thoughts.

- ★ Ingram, Haroro J. and Craig Whiteside, "Don't Kill the Caliph! The Islamic State and the Pitfalls of Leadership Decapitation," War on the Rocks [2 June 2016].
  <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/dont-kill-the-caliph-the-islamic-state-and-the-pitfalls-of-leadership-decapitation/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/dont-kill-the-caliph-the-islamic-state-and-the-pitfalls-of-leadership-decapitation/</a> [accessed 2 June 2016].
  - This is the best discussion on the succession of leaders following the death of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Important to read to understand the progression of leadership as ISIS moved from charismatic to bureaucratic leaders.
  - Issa, Philip, "Group says assault by US-led coalition disregarded civilian lives to capture ISIS capital in Syria," *Military Times* [5 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/05/group-says-assault-by-us-led-coalition-disregarded-civilian-lives-to-capture-syrian-city-under-isis-control/saccessed 6 June 2018].
  - Jalal, Malik, "I am on the Kill List. This is what it feels like to be hunted by drones," *Independent* [12 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/i-am-on-the-us-kill-list-this-is-what-it-feels-like-to-be-hunted-by-drones-a6980141.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/i-am-on-the-us-kill-list-this-is-what-it-feels-like-to-be-hunted-by-drones-a6980141.html</a> [accessed 13 April 2016].
- ★ Jordan, Jenna, "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes," International Security, Vol 38, No. 4 (Spring 2014), pages 7-38.
  <a href="http://belfercenter.hks.harvard.edu/files/IS3804">http://belfercenter.hks.harvard.edu/files/IS3804</a> pp007-038 rev.pdf [accessed 2 June 2016].
  An important discussion with empirical and quantitative data on the weakness of decapitation for al-Qaeda and, I would suggest, ISIS as a strategy for group destruction.
  - Judson, Jen, "USSOCOM: 'Transregional' Approach Needed To Combat ISIS," *Defense News* [9 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense-news/2016/05/09/us-special-operations-commander-transregional-approach-needed-combat-islamic-state/84141232/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense-news/2016/05/09/us-special-operations-commander-transregional-approach-needed-combat-islamic-state/84141232/</a> [accessed 10 May 2016].
  - Kagan, Frederick W., Kimberly Kagan, Jennifer Cafarella, Harleen Gambhir, and Katherine Zimmerman, "U.S. Grand Strategy: Destroying ISIS and Al Qaeda, Report One: Al-Qaeda and ISIS: Existential Threats to the U.S. and Europe," *Institute for the Study of War* [January 2016]. <a href="http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/PLANEX%20Report%201%20--%20FINALFINAL.pdf">http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/PLANEX%20Report%201%20--%20FINALFINAL.pdf</a> [accessed 28 June 2016]

Excerpts from the Executive Summary

The key findings of this first report are:

- Salafi-jihadi military organizations, particularly ISIS and al Qaeda, are the greatest threat to the security and values of American and European citizens.
- Syrian al Qaeda affiliate Jabhat al Nusra poses one of the most significant long-term threats of any Salafijihadi group.
- ISIS and al Qaeda are more than terrorist groups; they are insurgencies. They use terrorism as a tactic, but these organizations are insurgencies that aim first to overthrow all existing governments in the Muslim world and replace them with their own, and later, to attack the West from a position of power to spread their ideology to all of humanity.
- Current counter-ISIS and –al Qaeda policies do not ensure the safety of the American people or the homeland.
- American and Western security requires the elimination of ISIS and al Qaeda regional bases and safe havens. Salafi-jihadi groups independent of al Qaeda and ISIS form a base of support from which the enemy draws strength and resilience.
- Kagan, Frederick W., Kimberly Kagan, Jennifer Cafarella, Harleen Gambhir, Christopher Kozak, Hugo Spaulding, and Katherine Zimmerman, "U.S. Grand Strategy: Destroying ISIS and Al Qaeda, Report Two: Competing Visions for Syria and Iraq: The Myth of an Anti-ISIS Grand Coalition", *Institute for*

the Study of War [January 2016].

http://post.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/PLANEX%20Report%202%20FINALFINAL.pdf [accessed 7 February 2016]

**Excerpts from the Executive Summary** 

Based off "an intensive multi-week planning exercise to frame, design, and evaluate potential courses of action that the United States could pursue to defeat the threat from the Islamic State in Iraq and al Sham (ISIS) and al Qaeda in Iraq and Syria.... This second report will define American strategic objectives in Iraq and Syria, identify the minimum necessary conditions for ending the conflicts there, and compare U.S. objectives with those of Iran, Russia, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia in order to understand actual convergences and divergences. The differences mean that the U.S. cannot rely heavily on international partners to achieve its objectives."

The key findings of this second report are:

- The U.S. must accomplish four strategic objectives in Iraq and Syria to achieve vital national interests and secure its people: 1) destroy enemy groups; 2) end the communal, sectarian civil wars; 3) set conditions to prevent the reconstitution of enemy groups; and 4) extricate Iraq and Syria from regional and global conflicts.
- Any American strategy must take urgent measures to strengthen Iraqi Prime Minister Abadi and prepare contingency efforts for his fall. The collapse of the Abadi government and return of his predecessor Nuri al Maliki would be disastrous for the fight against ISIS.
- Ongoing international negotiations within the Vienna Framework are bypassing essential requirements for long-term success in Syria. Re-establishing a stable, unitary Syrian state that secures American interests requires the U.S. and its partners to 1) destroy ISIS, Jabhat al Nusra, and foreign Salafi-jihadi groups in Syria; 2) identify and strengthen interlocutors representing the Syrian opposition; 3) facilitate a negotiated settlement between the Syrian regime and opposition; 4) obtain regional acceptance of that settlement; 5) establish peace-enforcement mechanisms; and 6) reconstruct state institutions.
- The Salafi-jihadi militant base in Syria poses a threat to the U.S., but the U.S. must not simply attack it because that would put the U.S. at war with many Sunnis who must be incorporated into a future, post-Assad inclusive government. The U.S. must separate reconcilable from irreconcilable elements. These other Salafi-jihadi groups must meet the following conditions essential for core U.S. security objectives in order to participate: 1) break with Jabhat al Nusra and ISIS; 2) accept the principle of a future pluralistic and unitary Syrian state; 3) reject violent jihad; 4) commit to disarming to a policing and defensive level; 5) and commit to the elimination of the current shari'a court system and the establishment of political institution-based governance.
- The superficial convergence of Iranian, Russian, Turkish, and Saudi strategic objectives with those of the U.S. on ISIS as a threat masks significant divergences that will undermine U.S. security requirements. Iran and Russia both seek to reduce and eliminate U.S. influence in the Middle East and are not pursuing strategies that will ultimately defeat al Qaeda and ISIS in Syria or Iraq. Turkey's support for the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups, some linked to al Qaeda, stem from the ruling party's intent to reestablish itself as an independent, Muslim, regional power. Finally, Saudi Arabia's objectives remain shaped by perceived existential threats from Iran and a growing succession crisis, causing key divergences, especially over support to Salafi-jihadi groups. The U.S. must lead efforts to resolve the crisis in Syria and cannot outsource them to partners.

Kohn, Sally, "Drone Strikes Are Creating Hatred Toward America That Will Last for Generations", *Defense One* [9 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/12/drone-strikes-are-creating-hatred-towards-america-will-last-generations/124327/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/12/drone-strikes-are-creating-hatred-towards-america-will-last-generations/124327/</a> [accessed 10 December].

This is a high quality summary of the problems with drones.

Koven, Barnett S. "Keeping up with the Joneses: Development Assistance and the Diffusion of Insurgent Violence in Iraq," Unpublished manuscript under review in 2016 at *The American Political Science Review* [received 11 March 2016].

★ Luttwak, Edward, "Let War Work," The Cipher Brief [13 October 2016].
<a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/let-war-work-1091">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/let-war-work-1091</a> [accessed 17 October

2016].

The tone of this discussion can appear callused, but the author makes a compelling point that it would serve us all to remember. War serves the purpose of providing, not just peace as the author states, but a better peace than pre-existed the war. If it does not serve that end than one should question not just the reason for the war, but the ethical and moral foundations for the decisions to go to war.

★ Mardini, Ramzy, "Don't Defeat ISIS, Yet," The new York Times [27 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/28/opinion/dont-defeat-isis-yet.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/28/opinion/dont-defeat-isis-yet.html</a> [accessed 28 September 2016].

Powerful and short. This article explains some of the problems with the current state of affairs in Iraq with respect to ISIS. The single most important point is that this war has further fragmented the country, the state, and the society.

- ★ Matisek, Jahara, "Let's Make ISIS a State", Cicero Magazine [30 September 2015]. <a href="http://ciceromagazine.com/opinion/lets-make-isis-a-state/">http://ciceromagazine.com/opinion/lets-make-isis-a-state/</a> [accessed 30 September 2015].
- ★ Natali, Denise, "Defeating Daesh and the Day After," Event Report for Institute for National Strategic Studies [27 July 2016].

This report came from a conference of more than a hundred experts on ISIS and the Middle East. This is one of the best assessments and set of recommendations that has been published so far. The assessment is sober and reasoned based off observed realities rather than political motivations. The report paints a stark picture of possibilities though it addresses the topic as if ISIS will be defeated.

Olidort, Jacob, "The Game Theory of Terrorism: How ISIS Radicalizes Others," *Foreign Affairs* [10 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2015-12-10/game-theory-terrorism">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2015-12-10/game-theory-terrorism</a> [accessed 30 June 2016].

Where this article stands out is in the reference to focal points as defined by Thomas Schelling. The author further elaborates on Schelling's concept of frames and using frames to help define the grid on which people think or focus. This has value in conceptualizing how people perceive narrative.

Olson, Eric, "America's Not Ready for Today's Gray Wars", *Defense One* [10 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/12/americas-not-ready-todays-gray-wars/124381/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/12/americas-not-ready-todays-gray-wars/124381/</a> [accessed 1 January 2016].

Former SOCOM commander advocating for SOCM-like thinking and capabilities across the force. The use of the term Gray Wars is a critical part in the shifting of terminology that occurred in 2015 from Hybrid to Gray. What will it become next?

- Phillips, James and Luke Coffey, "Next Steps for U.S. Policy in Syria and Iraq," *The Heritage Foundation* [26 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.heritage.org/middle-east/report/next-steps-us-policy-syria-and-iraq">https://www.heritage.org/middle-east/report/next-steps-us-policy-syria-and-iraq</a> [accessed 30 April 2018].
- ★ Pietrucha, Mike, "Treating the Islamic State as a State," War on the Rocks [3 March 2016]. http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/treating-the-islamic-state-as-a-state/ [accessed 3 March 2016]. The author is both right and wrong. ISIS is a state and the response needs to be like dealing with a state. He is wrong about the all kinetic approach though.

Posen, Barry R. "Contain ISIS," *The Atlantic* [20 November 2015]. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/11/isis-syria-iraq-containment/416799/ [accessed 16 March 2017].

Written following the attack on Paris in the fall of 2015 and the author makes the recommendation that the right strategy is one of containment. This is a plan in opposition to the simple solutions being espoused during the then contested presidential primary campaign.

Powell, Jonathan, "Negotiate With ISIS", *The Atlantic* [7 December 2015]. http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/12/negotiate-with-isis/419157/ [accessed 12 January 2016].

The author draws numerous parallels with other terrorist organization and says that we can negotiate with ISIS because we negotiated with them.

Robinson, Linda, "Assessment of the Politico-Military Campaign to Counter ISIL and Options for Adaptation," Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 22 April 2016.

http://www.rand.org/pubs/research reports/RR1290.html [accessed 7 September 2016].

Quoted from the web site: Research Questions

- 1. What are the results of the U.S. strategy against ISIL in its first 18 months of implementation?
- 2. How capable are the military forces countering ISIL?
- 3. What are the principal gaps in capability that the United States or other partners would need to fill in order to achieve a successful counteroffensive?
- 4. What are the political intentions and conflicting interests that impede a successful counteroffensive?
- 5. What shortcomings exist in the overall conception or implementation of the current strategy?
- 6. Are other approaches more likely to succeed at lower cost and/or lower risk?
- 7. What measures might produce greater results in the near term?

This report assesses the campaign against the Islamic State (ISIL), focusing on the military and political lines of effort. The capabilities and motivations of the various counter-ISIL forces on the battlefield are assessed.... While the campaign has degraded ISIL by targeting leadership and retaking a portion of territory, achieving lasting defeat of ISIL will be elusive without local forces capable of holding territory. Successful conclusion of the campaign will require significantly increased effort on two fronts. First, more-comprehensive training, advising, and assisting will be required to create more-capable, coordinated indigenous forces of appropriate composition and enable them to regain and hold territory. Second, political agreements must be forged to resolve key drivers of conflict among Iraqis and Syrians. Without these elements, resurgent extremist violence is likely.

- Russell, Brian, "Information War with the Islamic States in Iraq and the Levant: An Indirect Approach," *Small Wars Journal* [30 October 2015].
- Shafqat, Shazar, "Is the U.S. Prepared for Islamic State's Latest Terror Tactic?" *Real Clear Defense* [20 September 2017].
  - https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2017/09/20/is the us prepared for islamic states lat est terror tactic 112339.html [accessed 21 September 2017].
- Siniver, Asaf and Scott Lucas, "The Islamic State lexical battleground: US foreign policy and the abstraction of threat," *International Affairs*, 92: 1, 63–79 [2016].
  - https://www.academia.edu/20257036/The Islamic State Lexical Battleground US Foreign Policy and the Abstraction of Threat [accessed 28 October 2020].
- South, Todd, "Civilian death cases in coalition strikes against ISIS reopened after 'War of Annihilation' report," *Military Times* [28 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/06/28/civilian-death-cases-in-coalition-strikes-against-isis-reopened-after-war-of-annihilation-report/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/06/28/civilian-death-cases-in-coalition-strikes-against-isis-reopened-after-war-of-annihilation-report/</a> [accessed 29 June 2018].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ahmet S. Yayla, "How ISIS Defectors Can Help Us Beat Terror," *Time* [1 August 2016]. <a href="http://time.com/4401066/isis-defectors-terror/">http://time.com/4401066/isis-defectors-terror/</a> [accessed 2 August 2016].
- ★ Spinney, Laura, "Is evil a disease? ISIS and the neuroscience of brutality," New Scientist [11 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg22830471-000-syndrome-e-can-neuroscience-explain-the-executioners-of-isis/">https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg22830471-000-syndrome-e-can-neuroscience-explain-the-executioners-of-isis/</a> [accessed 18 January 2018].
  - This is an old article that I missed when it was first published. I found the summary of neuroscience with respect to extreme behavior to be important to informing the discussion now as well as when it was written.
  - Stavridis, James, "Syrian Ghosts", Foreign Policy [6 November 2015]. http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/11/06/lessons-from-the-balkans-for-syria/ [accessed 9 November

2015].

- ★ Steed, Brian L., "Changing the Conversation: Conceptualizing the Fight against Non-State and Post-State Actors", April 2015
  - Steger, David, "Subject: Idea for creative critical thinking exercise involving ISIS", email [6 December 2015].
    - The author provides a metaphor for fighting ISIS that likens the conflict with the Herculean task of fighting the hydra and how Hercules had to heal the wounds of the hydra as quickly as he defeated heads.
  - Tierney, Dominic, "Make No Mistake: A Syrian Safe Zone is a Major Intervention", *The Atlantic* [10 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/11/make-no-mistake-syrian-safe-zone-major-intervention/123561/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/11/make-no-mistake-syrian-safe-zone-major-intervention/123561/</a> [accessed 11 November 2015].
  - Votel, Joseph L., Charles T. Cleveland, Charles T. Connett, and William Irwin, "Unconventional Warfare in the Gray Zone," *Joint Forces Quarterly* [1<sup>st</sup> Quarter 2016].

    <a href="http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Media/News/NewsArticleView/tabid/7849/Article/643108/unconventional-warfare-in-the-gray-zone.aspx">http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Media/News/NewsArticleView/tabid/7849/Article/643108/unconventional-warfare-in-the-gray-zone.aspx</a> [accessed 18 March 2016].
- ★ Wass de Czege, Huba, "Defeating the Abu Bakr al Baghdadi Gang: A Realistic Strategy," Small Wars Journal [22 December 2015]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/defeating-the-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-gang-a-realistic-strategy">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/defeating-the-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-gang-a-realistic-strategy</a> [accessed 11 August 2017].
  - This is one of the best, early, discussions on the recommended approach to ISIS. The author does not place enough emphasis on understanding the environment as he places them cleanly in a box of criminal gangs.
  - Waters, Nick, "Reach for the Sky: Drone Use by Sub-State Actors in Conflict," Wavell Room:

    Contemporary British Military Thought [26 October 2017].

    <a href="https://wavellroom.com/2017/10/26/reach-for-the-sky-drone-use-by-sub-state-actors-in-conflict/">https://wavellroom.com/2017/10/26/reach-for-the-sky-drone-use-by-sub-state-actors-in-conflict/</a>
    [accessed 9 July 2018].
- ★ Zimmerman, Katherine, "America Won't Win the War on Terror Until It Understands the Enemy,"

  National Review [12 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.nationalreview.com/article/452560/war-terror-america-misunderstands-enemy-needs-new-strategy">http://www.nationalreview.com/article/452560/war-terror-america-misunderstands-enemy-needs-new-strategy</a> [accessed 13 October 2017].
  - Absolutely agree. The key is not simply understanding this as a movement, but also understanding the narrative space on which this movement actually operates.

- Abu Abd al-Rahman al-Mardawi and Khabab al-Jizrawi. 2019. Withdraw Your Hands from Bay'a to al-Baghdadi or كفو الأيادي عن بيعة البغدادي. <a href="http://www.jihadica.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/kuffu-al-ayadi.pdf">http://www.jihadica.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/kuffu-al-ayadi.pdf</a> [accessed 23 November 2019].
  - A call from former ISIS supporters to withdraw support from the Islamic State.
- Al Jazeera, "UK schoolgirl who ran away to join ISIL wants to 'come home'," *Al Jazeera News* [14 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/02/uk-schoolgirl-ran-join-isil-home-190214075858697.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/02/uk-schoolgirl-ran-join-isil-home-190214075858697.html</a> [accessed 15 February 2019].
- Conflict Armament Research, "Tracing the Supply of Components Used in Islamic State IEDs: Evidence from a 20-month investigation in Iraq and Syria," London: Conflict Armament Research Ltd., February 2016. <a href="http://www.conflictarm.com/download-file/">http://www.conflictarm.com/download-file/</a> [accessed 20 December 2016]. This 107 page document contains high-quality data on the transference of dual-use material for IED manufacture used by ISIS.
- Conflict Armament Research. Weapons of the Islamic State: A three-year investigation in Iraq and Syria. London: Conflict Armament Research Ltd., December 2017. <a href="www.conflictarm.com/download-file/">www.conflictarm.com/download-file/</a> [accessed 19 June 2018].
  - This 202 page document contains high-quality data on the manufacture and source of weapons used by ISIS.
- Hafez, Mohammed M. 2007. Suicide Bombers in Iraq: The Strategy and Ideology of Martyrdom. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/14096208/ISIS">https://www.academia.edu/14096208/ISIS</a> The Origins of the Islamic State [accessed 1 September 2020].
- ★ Johnston, Patrick B., Jacob N. Shapiro, Howard J. Shatz, Benjamin Bahney, Danielle F. Jung, Patrick K. Ryan, and Jonathan Wallace. Foundations of the Islamic State: Management, Money, and Terror in Iraq, 2005–2010. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2016.
  <a href="http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1100/RR1192/RAND\_RR1192.p">http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1100/RR1192/RAND\_RR1192.p</a>
  df [accessed 15 June 2016].
  - Includes critical information on the earlier incarnation of ISIS. One of the most well documented source books for understanding the roots of ISIS. Necessary for context, but not great for present narrative.
  - Krause, Peter, "A State, an Insurgency, and a Revolution: Understanding and Defeating the Three Faces of ISIS," in The Future of *ISIS: Regional and International Implications*, Sumit Ganguly and Feisal A.R. al-Istrabadi (eds.), Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2018.

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/36917006/">https://www.academia.edu/36917006/</a> A State an Insurgency and a Revolution Understanding and Defeating the Three Faces of ISIS in The Future of ISIS Regional and International Implications Sumit Ganguly and Feisal A R al Istrabadi eds Washington D C Brookings Institution Press 2018 [accessed 22 November 2020].
  - Levitt, Matthew, editor. *Neither Remaining nor Expanding: The Decline of the Islamic State:*Counterterrorism Lectures 2016–17. Washington DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy,
    July 2018. <a href="https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus155-CT8-6.pdf">https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus155-CT8-6.pdf</a> [accessed 1 August 2018].
- ★ Levy, Ido. Soldiers of End-Times: Assessing the Military Effectiveness of the Islamic State. Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy [21 December 2021].
  <a href="https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/soldiers-end-times-assessing-military-effectiveness-islamic-state">https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/soldiers-end-times-assessing-military-effectiveness-islamic-state</a> [accessed 8 January 2022].
  - This book will be mandatory for my students during the upcoming electives.
  - It has some excellent insights and wonderful data on the post-US commitment to Operation Inherent Resolve

- and how ISIS performed once it was on the defensive. There are a couple of discussions of ISIS conduct on the offensive in Kobane and Ramadi, as well.
- Micuda, Kelley Marie. "Combat Branding and the Islamic State: A Missing Link to Generating a Terrorist Recruit Profile." Dissertation, Fielding Graduate University, 2017.
- Robinson, Eric, Daniel Egel, Patrick B. Johnston, Sean Mann, Alexander D. Rothenberg, and David Stebbins. 2017. When the Islamic State Comes to Town: The Economic Impact of Islamic State Governance in Iraq and Syria. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

  https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1900/RR1970/RAND\_RR1970.
  - pdf [accessed 11 June 2020].

    "This report leverages publicly available remote sensing data and low-cost commercial satellite imagery to
  - develop a unique, data-driven assessment of the impact that ISIL control and governance have on local economies within ISIL's territory. It paints a bleak picture of economic life under the Islamic State, replete with shortages of electricity, massive refugee flows, reductions in agricultural output, and upticks in violence all associated with ISIL control." (Preface, iii)
- Schweitzer, Yoram and Omer Einav, editors. *The Islamic State: How Viable Is It?* Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies, January 2016.

  <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/IslamicStateENG5.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/IslamicStateENG5.pdf</a> [accessed 19 January 2016].

  This book length series of papers on issues related to ISIS provides a good discussion on what ISIS is and what it isn't. The book has a decidedly Israeli spin as should be expected and therefore must be taken with a grain</a>
- Warrick, Joby. 2015. *Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS*. New York: Random House. <a href="https://ia800902.us.archive.org/35/items/BlackFlagsTheRiseOfISIS/Black%20Flags%20The%20Rise%20of%20ISIS%20.pdf">https://ia800902.us.archive.org/35/items/BlackFlagsTheRiseOfISIS/Black%20Flags%20The%20Rise%20of%20ISIS%20.pdf</a> [accessed 13 January 2020].
- Weiss, Michael and Hassan Hassan. ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror. New York: Regan Arts, 2015.

of salt in the consumption.

- Whiteside, Craig A. 2014. The Smiling, Scented Men: The Political Worldview of the Islamic State of Iraq, 2003-2013. An Unpublished Dissertation for Washington State University, Department of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs [December 2014].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, Bassem Mroue, and Samya Kullab, "ISIS extremists step up attacks as Iraq, Syria grapple with virus," *Military Times* [3 May 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/05/03/isis-extremists-step-up-as-iraq-syria-grapple-with-virus/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/05/03/isis-extremists-step-up-as-iraq-syria-grapple-with-virus/</a> [accessed 6 May 2020].
- Abi Hamam Bakr bin Abd al-Aziz al-Athari, "Mudd al-Ayadi LiBayah al-Baghdadi," منبر التوحيد والجهاد [2013]. <a href="http://www.jihadica.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/mudd-al-ayadi.pdf">http://www.jihadica.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/mudd-al-ayadi.pdf</a> [accessed 23 November 2019].
  - This is a call for Muslims to extend their support and allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.
- Aboulenein, Ahmed, "Islamic State makes comeback in Iraq with switch to guerrilla tactics," *Yahoo News* [24 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.yahoo.com/news/islamic-state-makes-comeback-iraq-switch-guerrilla-tactics-063647299.html">https://www.yahoo.com/news/islamic-state-makes-comeback-iraq-switch-guerrilla-tactics-063647299.html</a> [accessed 24 July 2018].
- ★ Al-Abd Al-Faqir Media, "Pro-ISIS Media Group Releases Animated Biography of Abu Muhammad Al-Adnani," Al-Abd Al-Faqir Media translated by the Middle East Media Research Institute [8 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.memri.org/reports/pro-isis-media-group-releases-animated-biography-abu-muhammad-al-adnani">https://www.memri.org/reports/pro-isis-media-group-releases-animated-biography-abu-muhammad-al-adnani</a> [accessed 13 October 2018].
  - This is an animated video describing al-Adnani's life in heroic fashion.
  - Albæk, Mette Mayli, Puk Damsgård, Troels Kingo, Mahmoud Shiekh Ibrahim, and Jens Vithner, "The

- Controller: How Basil Hassan Launched Islamic State Terror into the Skies," Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, CTC Sentinel, May 2020, volume 13, Issue 5, 1-11. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/CTC-SENTINEL-052020.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/CTC-SENTINEL-052020.pdf</a> [accessed 5 June 2020].
- al-Janabi, Abu Bakr, "Biography of Sheikh Abu Muhammed al-Adnani al-Shami: Ballista of the Islamic State," *Medium* [1 November 2014]. <a href="https://medium.com/@muftimilk/biography-of-sheikh-abu-muhammed-al-adnani-al-shami-4bdb6ac35653">https://medium.com/@muftimilk/biography-of-sheikh-abu-muhammed-al-adnani-al-shami-4bdb6ac35653</a> [accessed 13 October 2018].

  Important article on the background of al-Adnani.
- Al Jazeera, "NYT plans to return thousands of ISIL files to Iraq," *Al Jazeera* [31 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/nyt-plans-return-thousands-isil-files-iraq-180531195533156.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/nyt-plans-return-thousands-isil-files-iraq-180531195533156.html</a> [accessed 2 June 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Profile: Who was Abu Ibrahim al-Qurayshi?" *Al Jazeera* [4 February 2022]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/4/abu-ibrahim-al-qurayshi-who-was-isil-killed-in-us-raid">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/4/abu-ibrahim-al-qurayshi-who-was-isil-killed-in-us-raid</a> [accessed 5 March 2022].
- "al-Majmū' li-qādat Dawlat al-'Irāq al-Islāmiyya, Nukhbat al-I'lām al-Jihādī," or "Transcriptions of Speeches from Leaders of the Islamic States of Iraq," May 2010, transcribed from audio recordings into Arabic text. <a href="https://archive.org/download/Dwla\_Nokhba/mjdawl.doc">https://archive.org/download/Dwla\_Nokhba/mjdawl.doc</a>. [accessed 29 April 2016].
- ★ Al-Masri, Abu Abdullah, "The Isis papers: a masterplan for consolidating power," *The Guardian* [7 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/07/islamic-state-document-masterplan-for-power">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/07/islamic-state-document-masterplan-for-power</a> [accessed 3 March 2016].
  - Almohammad, Asaad and Anne Speckhard, "Abu Luqman Father of the ISIS Emni: Its Organizational Structure, Current Leadership and Clues to its Inner Workings in Syria & Iraq," ICSVE Research Reports [2017].
    - https://www.academia.edu/32400311/Abu Luqman Father of the ISIS Emni Its Organizational Structure Current Leadership and Clues to its Inner Workings in Syria and Iraq [accessed 21 October 2020].
  - Almohammad, Asaad, Anne Speckhard, and Ahmet S. Yayla, "The ISIS Prison System: Its Structure, Departmental Affiliations, Processes, Conditions, and Practices of Psychological and Physical Torture," ICSVE Research Reports [10 August 2017].
    - https://www.academia.edu/34194445/The ISIS Prison System Its Structure Departmental Affilia tions Processes Conditions and Practices of Psychological and Physical Torture [accessed 12 August 2017].
    - The only reason why this report does not have a star or a highlight is because of the specific nature of it. Despite that, it contains excellent information, some of the best, on the nature of ISIS detention, incarceration, and prisoner treatment yet available.
  - alMomani, Hasan Mohammad and Wisam Hazimeh, "The Uniqueness of ISIS: Achievements and Inevitable Setbacks 2014-2018," *Dirasat*, Human and Social Sciences, Volume 46, No. 4, 2019 [28 April 2019].
    - https://www.academia.edu/41455441/The Uniqueness of ISIS Achievements and Inevitable Set backs 2014 2018 [accessed 1 January 2021].
    - This is a report on ISIS from the University of Jordan. It is interesting because of the source moreso than the information in it. The presentation of the information is a little different even if most of the source material are secondary sources.
    - Abstract: This paper aims to understand the driving beliefs of those who join ISIS and unpick its unique nature, answering what makes ISIS exceptional. The paper assess how ISIS survives in the face of territorial setbacks and investigates ISIS from outer and inner perspectives, employing case study approach through primary and secondary literature to provide insight into the main differences between al-Qaeda and ISIS. Further, the

paper traces the history of other terrorist movements in relation to changing geopolitics, and explores ISIS's profound relationship with millennials who in it find agency and instant gratification. Due to its ideological nature, its radical belief and its virtual relationship with world-wide followers, ISIS maintains the possibility of surviving and reproducing itself in another form despite its setback and lacking territory.

al-Muhajir, Abul-Hasan, "He Was True to Allah and Allah Was True to Him," English Translation of the Audio Statement by the Official Spokesman of the Islamic State through the Long War Journal [18 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/19-03-18-He-Was-True-to-Allah-Shaykh-Abul-Hasan-Muhajir-EN.pdf">https://www.longwarjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/19-03-18-He-Was-True-to-Allah-Shaykh-Abul-Hasan-Muhajir-EN.pdf</a> [accessed 22 March 2019].

This includes a great expression of the criticality of patience.

- Alsayed, Ghaith, Lolita C. Baldor, Bassem Mroue, and Zeke Miller, "IS leader blows up self, family as US attacks Syria hideout," *AP* [3 February 2022]. <a href="https://apnews.com/article/biden-says-us-raid-syria-killed-islamic-state-group-leader-ca598136de014e008f746a35f6f721b0">https://apnews.com/article/biden-says-us-raid-syria-killed-islamic-state-group-leader-ca598136de014e008f746a35f6f721b0</a> [accessed 5 March 2022].
- Al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad, translator, "Islamic State Training Camp Textbook: "Course in Monotheism"-Complete Text, Translation and Analysis," aymennjawad.org [26 July 2015].
  <a href="http://www.aymennjawad.org/17633/islamic-state-training-camp-textbook-course-in">http://www.aymennjawad.org/17633/islamic-state-training-camp-textbook-course-in</a> [accessed 13 April 2016].
- ★ Al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad, translator, "Islamic State Training Camp Textbook: Course in Fiqh [Islamic Jurisprudence]," aymennjawad.org [6 July 2015]. <a href="http://www.aymennjawad.org/2015/07/islamic-state-training-camp-textbook-course-in">http://www.aymennjawad.org/2015/07/islamic-state-training-camp-textbook-course-in</a> [accessed 13 April 2016].
- ★ Al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad, translator, "Islamic State Insurgent Tactics: Translation and Analysis," aymennjawad.org [4 parts: 26 April 2019, 17 May 2019, 19 May 2019, 19 May 2019]. http://www.aymennjawad.org/2019/04/islamic-state-insurgent-tactics-translation, http://www.aymennjawad.org/2018/12/islamic-state-insurgent-tactics-translation-1, http://www.aymennjawad.org/2019/05/islamic-state-insurgent-tactics-translation-2, http://www.aymennjawad.org/2019/05/islamic-state-insurgent-tactics-translation-3 [all accessed 27 May 2019].

This is a four-part series based off ISIS publications in their online newspaper al-Naba. This is advertised as the new guerilla warfare manual for ISIS. This is the best presentation of how ISIS is adjusting the teachings from the *Management of Savagery*.

Al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad, translator, "Islamic State's Appointment of New Leader: Translation and Notes," aymennjawad.org [31 October 2019]. <a href="http://www.aymennjawad.org/2019/10/islamic-state-appointment-of-new-leader">http://www.aymennjawad.org/2019/10/islamic-state-appointment-of-new-leader</a> [accessed 23 November 2019].

The ISIS statement of selection of a new caliph.

Al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad, translator, "Islamic State Advice on Coronavirus Pandemic," aymennjawad.org [12 March 2020]. <a href="http://www.aymennjawad.org/2020/03/islamic-state-advice-on-coronavirus-pandemic">http://www.aymennjawad.org/2020/03/islamic-state-advice-on-coronavirus-pandemic</a> [accessed 23 March 2020].

Guidance about the coronavirus.

★ Al-Tamimi, Uthman Bin Abd al-Rahman, "Informing the People About the Birth of the Islamic State of Iraq," al-Furqan Media Islamic State of Iraq (Arabic text) [7 January 2007]. <a href="https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2015/09/shaykh-uthmc481n-bin-abd-al-rae1b8a5man-al-tamc4abmc4ab-22informing-the-people-about-the-birth-of-the-islamic-state22.pdf">https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2015/09/shaykh-uthmc481n-bin-abd-al-rae1b8a5man-al-tamc4abmc4ab-22informing-the-people-about-the-birth-of-the-islamic-state22.pdf</a> [5 December 2016].

This is the Arabic text of the official explanation and justification of the Islamic State. In this discussion the author explains that the notion of the Islamic state is not based on Western notions of how a state is defined, but rather on "... pseudo-feudal allegiances from subject to Emir, shared ideological goals, and the execution of judicial proceedings."

- ★ Amarasingam, Amarnath, "GUEST POST: An Interview with Rachid Kassim, Jihadist Orchestrating Attacks in France," Jihadology Guest Post [18 November 2016]. <a href="http://jihadology.net/2016/11/18/guest-post-an-interview-with-rachid-kassim-jihadist-orchestrating-attacks-in-france/">http://jihadology.net/2016/11/18/guest-post-an-interview-with-rachid-kassim-jihadist-orchestrating-attacks-in-france/</a> [accessed 27 November 2016].
  - Reported interviewer with an active online French ISIS member who is encouraging and instructing people in Europe and the West how to conduct attacks in the name of ISIS. The recounting of the "miracles" associated with his family's *hijrah* is powerful in the communication of spiritual guidance and purpose. He also makes comments about what will happen if ISIS loses Mosul and Raqaa.
  - Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, "Twenty-fifth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2368 (2017) concerning ISIL (Da'esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities," United Nations Security Council [20 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view">https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view</a> doc.asp?symbol=S/2020/53 [accessed 31 January 2020].
- ★ Arango, Tim, "ISIS Transforming Into Functioning State That Uses Terror as Tool", *The New York Times* [21 July 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/22/world/middleeast/isis-transforming-into-functioning-state-that-uses-terror-as-tool.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/22/world/middleeast/isis-transforming-into-functioning-state-that-uses-terror-as-tool.html</a> [accessed 6 November 2015].
  - Aras, Bülent, "Not RIP: How ISIS Is Going Virtual," *The National Interest* [28 May 2019]. <a href="https://nationalinterest.org/feature/not-rip-how-isis-going-virtual-59917">https://nationalinterest.org/feature/not-rip-how-isis-going-virtual-59917</a> [accessed 29 May 2019].
  - Arslan, Faruk, "The Young Muslim Members of ISIS: Origins and Motives," Pending for publication for the peer reviewed journal, Digest of Middle East Studies. The Unfinished Project of the Arab Spring: Why "Middle East Exceptionalism" is Still Wrong, on September 25-27, 2015 at University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, Lister Centre.
    - https://www.academia.edu/30725147/The Young Muslim Members of ISIS Origins and Motive s [accessed 23 October 2019].
  - Associated Press, "ISIL leader says 'caliphate' well, mocks Saudi-led alliance", *USA Today* [26 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/12/26/isis-isil-leader-says-caliphate-well-mocks-saudi-led-alliance/77921688/">http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/12/26/isis-isil-leader-says-caliphate-well-mocks-saudi-led-alliance/77921688/</a> [accessed 28 December 2015].
    - The statement from al-Baghdadi is a rare public comment by the ISIS leader. In this case he is arguing against the recent setbacks on the battlefield.
  - Associated Press, "Islamic State vows to attack Israel and blasts US Mideast plan," *Military Times* [27 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/01/27/islamic-state-vows-to-attack-israel-and-blasts-us-mideast-plan/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/01/27/islamic-state-vows-to-attack-israel-and-blasts-us-mideast-plan/</a> [accessed 28 January 2020].
  - Associated Press, "Norway's top military official in Iraq says virus helps ISIS," *Military Times* [13 May 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/05/13/norways-top-military-official-in-iraq-says-virus-helps-isis/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/05/13/norways-top-military-official-in-iraq-says-virus-helps-isis/</a> [accessed 15 May 2020].
  - Atherton, Kelsey, "Is ISIS buying valuable military equipment in Western Europe?" *C4ISRNet* [28 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/09/28/arrests-in-denmark-suggest-isis-still-has-drone-buyers-in-europe/0">https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/09/28/arrests-in-denmark-suggest-isis-still-has-drone-buyers-in-europe/0</a> [accessed 1 October 2018].
- ★ Atran, Scott, "The Real Power of ISIS", The Daily Beast [25 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/25/the-real-power-of-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/25/the-real-power-of-isis.html</a> [accessed 26 October 2015].
- ★ Atran, Scott, "Mindless terrorists? The truth about Isis is much worse," *The Guardian* [15 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/15/terrorists-isis#">http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/15/terrorists-isis#</a> = [accessed 16 November 2015].
  - Azani, Eitan, Jonathan Fighel, and Lorena Atiyas Lvovsky, "The Islamic State's Threat to Israel: Challenges and Coping Mechanisms: An assessment of the situation as of January 2016," *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism* [17 February 2016]. https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1612/The-Islamic-States-

- <u>Threat-to-Israel?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=ISIS-Israel</u> [accessed 21 February 2016].
- ★ Barfi, Barak, "The Military Doctrine of the Islamic State and the Limits of Ba'athist Influence," CTC Sentinel, Volume 8, Issue 1, 19 February 2016. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/CTC-SENTINEL-Vol9Iss211.pdf">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/CTC-SENTINEL-Vol9Iss211.pdf</a> [accessed 30 June 2016]. Simple and short tactical assessment of ISIS' battlefield adaptations and differences from Ba'athist military practices. In the examples provided the author argues against the assertion that ISIS is a product of Ba'athist thought and organization.
- ★ Barnard, Ann and Tim Arango, "Using Violence and Persuasion, ISIS Makes Political Gains", The New York Times [3 June 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/04/world/isis-making-political-gains.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=first-column-region&region=top-news&WT.nav=top-news& r=3 [accessed 4 June 2015].</a>
  - Barrington, Lisa and Ellen Francis, "Syrian Observatory says it has 'confirmed information' that Islamic State chief is dead," *Reuters* [11 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-baghdadi-idUSKBN19W1AW">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-baghdadi-idUSKBN19W1AW</a> [accessed 12 July 2017].
- ★ Bartlett, Tom, "The Road to ISIS: An unorthodox anthropologist goes face to face with ISIS. Is the payoff worth the peril?" The Chronicle of Higher Education [20 May 2016].
  <a href="http://chronicle.com/article/The-Scientist-Who-Talks-to/236521">http://chronicle.com/article/The-Scientist-Who-Talks-to/236521</a> [accessed 15 June 2016].
  - Scott Atran does some of the most significant research on extremist actors. Unlike most academics he interviews the actors face-to-face. In such meetings he gains an understanding that few have. The question of worth is whether or not his research and data can be turned into a useful theory.
  - Bazcko, Adam, Gilles Dorronsoro, Arthur Quesnay, and Maaï Youssef, "The Rationality of an Eschatological Movement: The Islamist State in Iraq and Syria," The Program on Governance and Local Development, Yale University Working Paper No. 7, 2016.

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/29417364/The Rationality of an Eschatological Movement The Islamist State in Iraq and Syria">https://www.academia.edu/29417364/The Rationality of an Eschatological Movement The Islamist State in Iraq and Syria</a> [accessed 2 January 2020].
  - Beauchamp, Zack, ""Water is available two hours a day only": what an ISIS-run city looks like," *Vox News* [21 October 2014]. <a href="https://www.vox.com/2014/10/21/7027487/mosul-isis-irag">https://www.vox.com/2014/10/21/7027487/mosul-isis-irag</a> [accessed 18 April 2018].
  - Beauchamp, Zack, "The battle for Mosul, explained," *Vox News* [18 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-baghdadi-idUSKBN19W1AW">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-baghdadi-idUSKBN19W1AW</a> [accessed 12 July 2017].
- Berger, J.M., and Jonathon Morgan, "The ISIS Twitter Census: Defining and describing the population of ISIS supporters on Twitter," *The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World*, no. 20 [March 2015]. <a href="http://brookings.edu/research/papers/2015/03/isis-twitter-census-berger-morgan?utm">http://brookings.edu/research/papers/2015/03/isis-twitter-census-berger-morgan?utm</a> source=Sailthru&utm</a> medium=email&utm</a> term=%2AMideast%20Brief&utm</a> campa ign=New%20Campaign [accessed 2 June 2015].
  - Blanchard, Christopher M. and Carla E. Humud, "The Islamic State and U.S. Policy," Congressional Research Service [9 February 2016].
    - A good background document. The piece has some glaring misinterpretations, but it also contains some really good quotes and references.
  - Blannin, Patrick, "Islamic State's Financing: Sources, Methods and Utilisation," S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses, volume 9, issue 5 [May 2017]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/33064125/Islamic State">https://www.academia.edu/33064125/Islamic State</a> s Financing Sources Methods and Utilisation. Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses Vol. 9 Iss. 5 pp. 13-22 [accessed 3 September 2019]. Blazakis, Jason M. "Is the threat from ISIS really more significant because of COVID-19?" The Hill [13 May]

2020]. <a href="https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/497261-is-the-threat-from-isis-really-more-significant-because-of-covid-19">https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/497261-is-the-threat-from-isis-really-more-significant-because-of-covid-19</a> [accessed 15 May 2020].

Bodine-Baron, Elizabeth, Todd C. Helmus, Madeline Magnuson, and Zev Winkelman, "Examining ISIS Support and Opposition Networks on Twitter," Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2016. <a href="http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1300/RR1328/RAND\_RR1328.p">http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1300/RR1328/RAND\_RR1328.p</a> df [accessed 19 September 2016].

Quoted from report summary: The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), like no other terrorist organization before, has used Twitter and other social media channels to broadcast its message, inspire followers, and recruit new fighters. Though much less heralded, ISIS opponents have also taken to Twitter to castigate the ISIS message. This report draws on publicly available Twitter data to examine this ongoing debate about ISIS on Arabic Twitter and to better understand the networks of ISIS supporters and opponents on Twitter.

To support the countermessaging effort and to more deeply understand ISIS supporters and opponents, this study uses a mixed-methods analytic approach to identify and characterize in detail both ISIS support and opposition networks on Twitter. This analytic approach draws on community detection algorithms that help detect interactive communities of Twitter users, lexical analysis that can identify key themes and content for large data sets, and social network analysis. This research set out to answer three key questions:

- How can we differentiate ISIS supporters and opponents on Twitter?
- Who are they, and what are they saying?
- How are they connected, and who is important?
- Bourekba, Moussa, "What is so attractive about the 'Islamic State'," Notes Internacionals CIDOB [March 2015].

http://www.cidob.org/en/content/download/59690/1870605/version/9/file/NOTES%20112 BOURE KBA ANG.pdf [accessed 14 March 2016].

Braniff, William and Ryan Pereira, "A Tale of Two Caliphates", START Consortium, University of Maryland [21 November 2015].

This provides a useful comparison of al-Qaeda and ISIS and explains the differences in terms of objectives and motivating factors between the two groups.

Brannen, Kate, "Russians Are Joining ISIS in Droves", *The Daily Beast* [7 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/07/russians-are-joining-isis-in-droves.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/07/russians-are-joining-isis-in-droves.html</a> [accessed 8 December 2015].

Information on Russian recruits and participations in ISIS.

Brisard, Jean-Charles and Damien Martinez, "Islamic State: The Economy-Based Terrorist Funding", Thomson Reuters [October 2014].

https://risk.thomsonreuters.com/sites/default/files/GRC01815.pdf?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_med\_ium=email&utm\_campaign=New%20Campaign&utm\_term=%2ASituation%20Report [accessed 22 November 2015].

Brynen, Rex, "ISIS Crisis at MIGS," *Paxsims* [27 October 2015]. https://paxsims.wordpress.com/2015/10/27/isis-crisis-at-migs/ [accessed 28 October 2015].

"ISIS Crisis," no publisher. Board game material [27 October 2015].

Bunzel, Cole, "From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State," The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Analysis Paper No. 19, March 2015.
<a href="http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/papers/2015/03/ideology-of-islamic-state-bunzel/the-ideology-of-the-islamic-state.pdf">http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/papers/2015/03/ideology-of-islamic-state-bunzel/the-ideology-of-the-islamic-state.pdf</a> [accessed 29 April 2016].

Bunzel, Cole, "Caliph Incognito: The Ridicule of Abu Ibrahim al-Hashimi," *Jihadica* [14 November 2019]. <a href="http://www.jihadica.com/caliph-incognito/">http://www.jihadica.com/caliph-incognito/</a> [accessed 23 November 2019].

Criticisms from former ISIS supporters of the selection of the new caliph. This article presents readers with an

interesting experience. Often, Americans perceive enemies of our enemy as in possible agreement with us. This is a linear approach in the sense that there is a line that separates good guys from bad guys. If someone is in opposition to a bad guy, they are, by definition, on the good guy side of the line. This conception may be inaccurate, but the belief is simply untrue. Even if there is a good guy-bad guy line, there can be infighting that exists on either side of that line. Many opponents of ISIS hate US policy as much as ISIS does.

- Burke, Jason, "Isis starting to reassert itself in Middle East heartlands, UN warns," *The Guardian* [30 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/30/isis-islamic-state-starting-reassert-itself-middle-east-heartlands-un-warns">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/30/isis-islamic-state-starting-reassert-itself-middle-east-heartlands-un-warns</a> [accessed 31 January 2020]
- Byman, Daniel, "The Islamic State Archipelago," *Lawfare* [21 February 2016]. https://www.lawfareblog.com/islamic-state-archipelago [accessed 22 February 2016].
- ★ Byrne, Peter, "Anatomy of terror: What makes normal people become extremists?" New Scientist [16 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg23531390-700-anatomy-of-terror-what-makes-normal-people-become-extremists/">https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg23531390-700-anatomy-of-terror-what-makes-normal-people-become-extremists/</a> [accessed 18 January 2018].

This article is really great! I do not know how I did not read it when it was first published, but this needs to be read. It is about 5,000 words and intellectually more challenging than most products, but the author does a great job of making his material accessible and he connects the academic with the practical.

- ★ Calamuri, Krishnadev, "ISIS Never Went Away in Iraq," *The Atlantic* [31 August 2018]. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/08/iraq-isis/569047/ [accessed 3 September 2018].
  - Do we really understand the nature of our opponents? This article, and others, suggest that ISIS and other similar groups confuse the governments fighting them. Their size, their method, and their location. Hopefully, this article will generate questions that can lead to a proper understanding.
- ★ Callimachi, Rukmini, "A News Agency With Scoops Directly From ISIS, and a Veneer of Objectivity", New York Times [14 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-and-a-veneer-of-objectivity.html?ref=world&r=2">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/world/middleeast/a-news-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-aden-agency-with-scoops-directly-from-isis-aden-agency-with-scoops-directly-fr

Information on what might be referred to as the ISIS wire service – Amaq.

Callimachi, Rukmini, "With Mosul Under Siege, ISIS Leader Breaks Silence to Issue a Rallying Cry," *New York Times* [2 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/03/world/middleeast/islamic-state-leader-baghdadi-new-recording-mosul.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/03/world/middleeast/islamic-state-leader-baghdadi-new-recording-mosul.html</a> [accessed 3 November 2016].

The Caliph urges his followers to fight hard.

★ Callimachi, Rukmini, "Not 'Lone Wolves' After All: How ISIS Guides World's Terror Plots From Afar," *The New York Times* [4 February 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/04/world/asia/isis-messaging-app-terror-plot.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/04/world/asia/isis-messaging-app-terror-plot.html</a> [accessed 7 February 2017].

This is a great discussion on how individuals are recruited and directed by ISIS.

- ★ Callimachi, Rukmini, "The ISIS Files," The New York Times [4 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/04/04/world/middleeast/isis-documents-mosul-irag.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/04/04/world/middleeast/isis-documents-mosul-irag.html</a> [accessed 6 April 2018].
  - Rukmini Callimachi is one of the best reporters in the main stream media on ISIS. This article is another example of her great reporting. The details in both documentation and interviews provides great insight into how ISIS governed and how they controlled the population. This is the most insightful ISIS article I have read since Graeme Wood's March 2015 article, "What ISIS Really Wants."
- ★ Callimachi, Rukmini, "The Case of the Purloined Poultry: How ISIS Prosecuted Petty Crime," *The New York Times* [1 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/01/world/middleeast/islamic-state-iraq.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/01/world/middleeast/islamic-state-iraq.html</a> [accessed 4 July 2018].

Rukmini Callimachi has provided some of the best reporting on ISIS over the last year. This article is another

excellent example of her work. She has shown the complexity of life in the ISIS caliphate. The people living under ISIS governance were not making a choice between a Western Utopia and Mad Max Fury Road. In many ways ISIS provided greater stability and predictability for residents than did the state leadership it replaced. This is important in expressing some of what needs to be done for opponents of ISIS to provide a better alternative. It isn't enough to kill ISIS and drive them out. The new governance needs to be at least as honest and just as was the caliphate. That may sound like a low bar, but unfortunately it has proven to be harder to clear than many think. Rukmini Callimachi's reporting is critical to gaining an understanding of life in the caliphate so that current state leaders know the actual height of the bar that they have to clear.

★ Callimachi, Rukmini, "Caliphate," The New York Times [20 September 2018].

Prologue: The Mission

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-prologue-the-mission.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 1: The Reporter

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-one-the-reporter.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 2: Recruitment

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-two-recruitment.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 3: The Arrival

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-three-the-arrival.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 4: Us vs. Them

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-four-us-versus-them.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 5: The Heart

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-five-the-heart.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 6: Paper Trail

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-six-paper-trail.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 7: Mosul

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-seven-mosul.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 8: The Briefcase

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-eight-the-briefcase.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 9: Prisoners: Part 1

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-nine-prisoners-part-one.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 9: Prisoners: Part 2

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-nine-prisoners-part-two.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

Chapter 10: One Year Later

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/20/podcasts/caliphate-transcript-chapter-ten-one-year-later.html [accessed 7 December 2018].

I am a huge fan of Rukmini Callimachi. She does a fantastic job of communicating the ISIS perspective. This series explains her journey to understand ISIS and the journey of ISIS simultaneously. She explains ISIS through the figures of several people with whom she personally interacts.

This is absolutely worth listening to more so than reading, however, the collection of material is essential to consume.

There are twelve parts including the prologue and a two-part chapter nine.

- ★ Castner, Brian, "Exclusive: Tracing ISIS' Weapons Supply Chain—Back to the US," Wired [12 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.wired.com/story/terror-industrial-complex-isis-munitions-supply-chain/">https://www.wired.com/story/terror-industrial-complex-isis-munitions-supply-chain/</a> [accessed 13 December 2017].
  - I read two articles on the same topic today the Islamic State weapons manufacturing system. Both articles, this one and the one from *The New York Times* deserve serious consideration. These articles explain yet another way in which ISIS was and is different from other terrorist or extremist groups.
  - Callimachi, Rukmini, "Fight to Retake Last ISIS Territory Begins," *The New York Times* [11 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/11/world/middleeast/isis-syria.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/11/world/middleeast/isis-syria.html</a> [accessed 13 September 2018].
    - Another excellent article by Rukmini Callimachi. The final assault on ISIS-held territory needs watching. It is unclear how the defeat of ISIS in this location will effect the organization.
  - Callimachi, Rukmini, "ISIS Spokesman Ends Silence by Calling for Retaliation Over New Zealand Massacres," *The New York Times* [18 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/18/world/middleeast/isis-spokesman-speech.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/18/world/middleeast/isis-spokesman-speech.html</a> [accessed 19 March 2019].
- ★ Cathcart, Will, Vazha Tavberidze, and Nino Burchuladze, "ISIS's New Chechen Warlord," *The Daily Beast* [4 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/04/isis-s-new-chechen-warlord.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/04/isis-s-new-chechen-warlord.html</a> [accessed 4 August 2016].
  - Information about Chechen, or rather Georgian, leadership within ISIS. This article argues that Tamaz Batirashvili is the real thinker behind ISIS tactical success rather than his younger brother, Tarkhan Batirashvili a.k.a. Omar al-Shishani (Omar the Chechen). Tamaz has kept himself hidden from public sight and out of the media and thus this is one of the few pieces written about him.
  - Celso, Anthony N. "The "Caliphate" in the Digital Age: the Islamic State's Challenge to the Global Liberal Order," Department of Security Studies, Angelo State University [unknown].

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/11083829/The\_Caliphate\_in\_the\_Digital\_Age">https://www.academia.edu/11083829/The\_Caliphate\_in\_the\_Digital\_Age</a> [accessed 30 September 2019].
  - Celso, Anthony N. "IS and the Sudanese Mahdiyyah: a Comparative Analysis of Two Apocalyptic Jihadist States," Department of Security Studies, Angelo State University [unknown].

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/14098519/IS">https://www.academia.edu/14098519/IS</a> and the Sudanese Mahdiyyah a Comparative Analysis

    of Two Apocalyptic Jihadist States [accessed 14 October 2019].
  - Chalfant, Morgan, "Biden says ISIS leader killed in US raid in Syria," *The Hill* [3 February 2022]. <a href="https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/592619-biden-says-isis-leader-killed-in-us-raid-in-syria">https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/592619-biden-says-isis-leader-killed-in-us-raid-in-syria</a> [accessed 5 March 2022].
  - Chivers, C.J., "Behind the Black Flag: The Recruitment of an ISIS Killer", *New York Times* [20 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/21/world/middleeast/isis-recruitment-killer-hassan-aboud.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/21/world/middleeast/isis-recruitment-killer-hassan-aboud.html</a>? r=1 [accessed 21 December 2015].
    - A brief biography of a Syrian leader within ISIS.
- ★ Chulov, Martin, "Isis: the inside story," The Guardian [11 December 2014]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/11/-sp-isis-the-inside-story">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/11/-sp-isis-the-inside-story</a> [accessed 13 September 2018].

An excellent article on the origins of ISIS.

Chulov, Martin, "Isis signals business as usual, with menacing new 'frontman'", *The Guardian* [3 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/03/with-a-new-menacing-frontman-isis-signals-business-as-usual">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/03/with-a-new-menacing-frontman-isis-signals-business-as-usual</a> [accessed 4 January 2016].

Is there a new "Jihadi John."

- ★ Chulov, Martin, "'We will get him': the long hunt for Isis leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi," The Guardian [15 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/15/long-hunt-for-isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/15/long-hunt-for-isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi</a> [accessed 16 January 2018].
  - Is al-Baghdadi important or not? This is one of the better recent articles that calls into question the value and the effort expended to get him. It causes me to reflect on the debates about killing or not killing Osama bin Laden throughout the Bush administration.
- ★ Chulov, Martin, "Isis leader believed to have fled coup attempt by his own fighters," *The Guardian* [7 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/07/isis-leader-believed-to-have-fled-coup-attempt-by-his-own-fighters">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/07/isis-leader-believed-to-have-fled-coup-attempt-by-his-own-fighters</a> [accessed 8 February 2019].
  - Fascinating insight into ISIS. Not sure how much of this is accurate, but it is useful to understand the internal fractures that have always been present in ISIS, but under this significant stress are becoming more and more critical.
- ★ Chulov, Martin, Jamie Grierson, and Jon Swaine, "Isis faces exodus of foreign fighters as its 'caliphate' crumbles," *The Guardian* [26 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/26/isis-exodus-foreign-fighters-caliphate-crumbles">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/26/isis-exodus-foreign-fighters-caliphate-crumbles</a> [accessed 27 April 2017].
  - This is at least the third time I have read an article that promises the near demise of ISIS. They tend to come out every year. It is unclear if this prediction is more accurate than those that preceded it.
- ★ Chulov, Martin and Mohammed Rasool, "Isis founding member confirmed by spies as group's new leader," *The Guardian* [20 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/20/isis-leader-confirmed-amir-mohammed-abdul-rahman-al-mawli-al-salbi">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/20/isis-leader-confirmed-amir-mohammed-abdul-rahman-al-mawli-al-salbi</a> [accessed 31 January 2020].
  - The best description and background on the new leader of ISIS. Strongly recommend reading.
  - The Cipher Brief, "Threat Report 2018: ISIS In the Spotlight," *The Cipher Brief* [14 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/international/threat-report-2018-isis-spotlight">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/international/threat-report-2018-isis-spotlight</a> [accessed 14 May 2018].
  - The Cipher Brief, "The Newsletter: IS' Strategy in Iraq and Syria," *The Cipher Brief* [4 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/soufan-center/is-strategy-in-iraq-and-syria">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/soufan-center/is-strategy-in-iraq-and-syria</a> [accessed 6 September 2018].
  - Clarke, Colin P. "ISIS From the Ground to Cyber Space," *The Cipher Brief* [18 May 2017]. https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/isis-ground-cyber-space-1089 [accessed 18 May 2017].
    - Not a lot of new assessment, but the author does provide insight into deeper involvement in cyberspace.
  - Clarke, Colin P. "Expanding the ISIS Brand," *The National Interest* [17 February 2018]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/expanding-the-isis-brand-24550">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/expanding-the-isis-brand-24550</a> [accessed 20 February 2018].
  - Clarke, Colin P. "Predicting the Next ISIS: How and where another terrorist group could rise to fill the void left by the Islamic State." *The National Interest* [8 October 2018]. <a href="https://nationalinterest.org/feature/predicting-next-isis-32822">https://nationalinterest.org/feature/predicting-next-isis-32822</a> [accessed 9 October 2018].
  - Clarke, Colin P. "ISIS's New Plans to Get Rich and Wreak Havoc," *Foreign Policy* [10 October 2018]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/10/10/isiss-new-plans-to-get-rich-and-wreak-havoc/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/10/10/isiss-new-plans-to-get-rich-and-wreak-havoc/</a> [accessed 11 October 2018]
  - Clarke, Colin P. and Amarnath Amarasingam, "What ISIS Will Do After Mosul Falls," *Defense One* [6 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/03/what-isis-will-do-after-mosul/135930/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/03/what-isis-will-do-after-mosul/135930/</a> [accessed 8 March 2017].
    - What will happen "when" ISIS collapses. I am yet to be convinced that it will ultimately collapse. Despite my opinion, the authors here suggest several possible scenarios in terms of the organization and the fighters currently participating. These are somewhat standard in that the predictions are that they will either go to

- ground, give up the jihad, or return home and continue.
- ★ Clarke, Colin P. and Charlie Winter, "The Islamic State May Be Failing, but Its Strategic Communications Legacy Is Here to Stay," War on the Rocks [17 August 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/the-islamic-state-may-be-failing-but-its-strategic-communications-legacy-is-here-to-stay/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/the-islamic-state-may-be-failing-but-its-strategic-communications-legacy-is-here-to-stay/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - Great details, fantastic quotes, and links on the importance of narrative to ISIS.
- ★ Clarke, Colin P. and Haroro J. Ingram, "Defeating the ISIS Nostalgia Narrative," Foreign Policy Research Institute [18 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/04/defeating-the-isis-nostalgia-narrative/">https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/04/defeating-the-isis-nostalgia-narrative/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - The authors express the danger of almost defeating ISIS. They warn that this group is not defeated and that their ideology and narrative are still resonant in the region. This is one of the best articles to refute the notion that fighting ISIS or any similar group is about killing bad guys and targeting leaders.
  - Conflict Armament Research. "Dispatches from the Field: Islamic State Weapons in Kobane: Analysis of weapons and ammunition captured from Islamic State forces in Kobane," London: Conflict Armament Research Ltd., April 2015. <a href="http://www.conflictarm.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Islamic\_State\_Weapons\_in\_Kobane.pdf">http://www.conflictarm.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Islamic\_State\_Weapons\_in\_Kobane.pdf</a> [accessed 19 June 2018]. This 34 page document contains data on the manufacture and source of weapons used by ISIS.
  - The Conversation, "We're just beginning to grasp the toll of ISIS' looting in Syria," *Public Radio International on MSN.com* [19 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/were-just-beginning-to-grasp-the-toll-of-isis-looting-in-syria/ar-AABpfZR?ocid=spartanntp#page=2">https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/were-just-beginning-to-grasp-the-toll-of-isis-looting-in-syria/ar-AABpfZR?ocid=spartanntp#page=2</a> [accessed 20 May 2019].
  - Cottee, Simon, "How ISIS Appeals to Converts and Ex-Criminals", *Defense One* [25 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/01/how-isis-appeals-converts-and-ex-criminals/125384/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/01/how-isis-appeals-converts-and-ex-criminals/125384/</a> [accessed 26 January 2016].
- ★ Cottee, Simon, "ISIS Will Fail, but What About the Idea of ISIS?" *The Atlantic* [23 March 2017]. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/03/idea-of-isis-will-outlive-caliphate/520224/ [accessed24 March 2017].
  - Though I believe my blog post on the website does a better job of summarizing the post-ISIS options for ISIS members, this article is still a good discussion of what happens when an ideology struggles and fails in application.
  - Coyne, Claire with Harleen Gambhir, "ISIS's Regional Campaign: February 2016," *Institute for the Study of War Blog* [29 February 2016]. <a href="http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2016/02/isiss-regional-campaign-february-2016.html">http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2016/02/isiss-regional-campaign-february-2016.html</a> [accessed 1 March 2016].
- ★ Creswell, Robyn and Bernard Haykel, "Battle Lines: Want to understand the jihadis? Read their poetry."

  The New Yorker [8 and 15 June 2015]. <a href="https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/06/08/battle-lines-jihad-creswell-and-haykel">https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/06/08/battle-lines-jihad-creswell-and-haykel</a> [accessed 5 July 2018].
  - This article is an excellent expression of the importance of culturally linked media for developing and furthering narrative meaning.
  - Czapnik, Slawomir, "Circumstances of the rise of the so-called Islamic State according to Patrick Cockburn's perspective," Scientific Journal of the Military University of Land Forces, Volume 50, Number 2(188), Pages 5-18 [2018]. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0012.2483">http://dx.doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0012.2483</a> [accessed 25 January 2020].
- ★ Dauber, Cori E., "ISIS and the Family Man", Small Wars Journal [1 July 2015]. http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/isis-and-the-family-man [accessed 6 November 2015].
- ★ Day, Joel, "ISIS Allies: A News Global Threat," Paper for the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies [2]

June 2016].

Probably the best discussion to this date on the nature and importance of ISIS allies and how they change the large dynamic of the fighting against similar thinking groups.

The appendix provides the best list of ISIS declared allies.

- DePetris, Daniel, "No, ISIS Isn't Resurging Amid the Coronavirus Pandemic," *Defense One* [15 May 2020]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2020/05/no-isis-isnt-resurging-amid-coronavirus-pandemic/165401/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2020/05/no-isis-isnt-resurging-amid-coronavirus-pandemic/165401/</a> [accessed 20 May 2020].
- De Visser, Nadette, "ISIS Eats Its Own, Torturing and Executing Dutch Jihadists. Or Did It?" *The Daily Beast* [1 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/01/isis-eats-its-own-torturing-and-executing-dutch-jihadists-or-did-it.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/01/isis-eats-its-own-torturing-and-executing-dutch-jihadists-or-did-it.html</a> [accessed 2 March 2016].
- Detsch, Jack, "Islamic State adds smartphone app to its communications arsenal", *Christian Science Monitor* [3 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Passcode/2015/1203/Islamic-State-adds-smartphone-app-to-its-communications-arsenal">http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Passcode/2015/1203/Islamic-State-adds-smartphone-app-to-its-communications-arsenal</a> [accessed 10 December 201].
  - Discussion on technological innovation with respect to cellphone and app adaptation.
- ★ Dettmer, Jamie, "Dissent in IS Ranks; Al-Baghdadi Still in Charge?" Voice of America [9 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/dissent-in-is-ranks-some-wonder-whether-al-baghdadi-in-charge/4520618.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/dissent-in-is-ranks-some-wonder-whether-al-baghdadi-in-charge/4520618.html</a> [accessed 11 August 2018].
  - These reports are fascinating. I am curious how much of this is real internal division and how much of this might be trolling. Either way this article is worth reading.
  - Dodwell, Brian, Daniel Milton, and Don Rassler, "The Caliphate's Global Workforce: An Inside Look at the Islamic State's Foreign Fighter Paper Trail," Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, 18 April 2016. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Caliphates-Global-Workforce1.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Caliphates-Global-Workforce1.pdf</a> [accessed 2 October 2017].
- ★ Dodwell, Brian, Daniel Milton, and Don Rassler, "Then and Now: Comparing the Flow of Foreign Fighters to AQI and the Islamic State," Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, December 2016. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Then-and-Now.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Then-and-Now.pdf</a> [accessed 27 July 2017]. This is an excellent report in total. The data is from captured ISIS human resources documents. The best value is in the comparisons in foreign fighters from the two periods.
  - Duncan, Ian, "The Islamic State and its allies have killed 33,000 people, University of Maryland study finds," *The Baltimore Sun* [9 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/bs-md-isis-death-toll-study-20160808-story.html">http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/bs-md-isis-death-toll-study-20160808-story.html</a> [accessed 10 August 2016].
- ★ The Economist, "The terrorists' vicious message is surprisingly hard to rebut", The Economist [15 August 2015]. <a href="http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21660989-terrorists-vicious-message-surprisingly-hard-rebut-propaganda-war?fsrc=scn%2Ftw%2Fte%2Fpe%2Fed%2FThePropagandaWar [accessed 16 August 2015].</a>
  - The Economist, "Islamic stateless?" The Economist [9 July 2016].
    - http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21701721-jihadists-are-losing-their-caliphate-they-remain-deadl-islamic-stateless [accessed 9 July 2016].
    - This article has it wrong, I think. They represent the contemporary trend of terrorist violence as a last gasp to become like other terrorist groups when it is who they are as they seek to remind everyone that they are still remaining and expanding.
  - The Economist, "Apocalypse Postponed: Islamic State's Loss of Dabiq," *The Economist*, 29 October 2016,
    - A brief discussion on the importance or lack thereof of Dabiq. This also gives a brief explanation of eschatology within Islam and particularly its rise in Sunni Islam.

- ★ El Deeb, Sarah, "In last days, al-Baghdadi sought safety in shrinking domain," *Military Times* [5 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/11/05/in-last-days-al-baghdadi-sought-safety-in-shrinking-domain/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/11/05/in-last-days-al-baghdadi-sought-safety-in-shrinking-domain/</a> [accessed 6 November 2019].
  - One of the best short articles describing the personal behavior of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. This is unverified and probably can never be verified. If true, this paints and interesting picture of the troubles within ISIS and the mental state of the group's leader.
- ★ Engel, Richard, Ben Plesser and Tracy Connor, "American ISIS Defector: 'I've Let My Nation Down'," *NBC News* [23 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-uncovered/american-isis-defector-i-ve-let-my-nation-down-n578216">http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-uncovered/american-isis-defector-i-ve-let-my-nation-down-n578216</a> [accessed 23 May 2016].
  - Enikolopov, Ruben, Vera Mironova, and Mohammed Hussein, "What ISIS Can Teach Policymakers," Belfer Center, Harvard Kennedy School [before 4 November 2016].
    - https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/what-isis-can-teach-policymakers.pdf [accessed 13 May 2020].
    - The paper includes some interesting polling data on Iraqi perspectives on ISIS governance from Diyala province taken after ISIS was driven from the area by Kurdish forces.
  - Errico, Francesco Bergoglio, "The Road to Daesh The History of the Takfir and its Interpretations," European Eye on Radicalization [6 September 2018]. <a href="https://eeradicalization.com/the-road-to-daesh-the-history-of-the-takfir-and-its-interpretations/">https://eeradicalization.com/the-road-to-daesh-the-history-of-the-takfir-and-its-interpretations/</a> [accessed 12 September 2018].
  - Europol, "Changes in modus operandi of Islamic State terrorist attacks," Europol Public Information, The Hague, Review held by experts from Member States and Europol on 29 November and 1 December 2015 [18 January 2016].
    - https://www.europol.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/changes in modus operandi of is in terrorist attacks.pdf [accessed 30 June 2016].
    - This report includes useful data on the group and trends analysis.
  - Everest65, "The Desert Insurgency: Arms of ISIS in Anbar, Iraq," *Calibre Obscura*\_ [24 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.calibreobscura.com/the-desert-insurgency-arms-of-isis-in-anbar-iraq/">https://www.calibreobscura.com/the-desert-insurgency-arms-of-isis-in-anbar-iraq/</a> [accessed 25 December 2018].
  - Faiola, Anthony and Souad Mekhennet, "The Islamic State creates a new type of jihadist: Part terrorist, part gangster", Washington Post [20 December 2015].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/the-islamic-state-creates-a-new-type-of-jihadist-part-terrorist-part-gangster/2015/12/20/1a3d65da-9bae-11e5-aca6-1ae3be6f06d2\_story.html [accessed 21 December 2015].
    - The transforming nature of jihadists in that they are combining their previous careers as criminals with their new religiously motivated terrorist efforts.
  - Fainberg, Alisa, "Here We Come: The Evolution of Foreign Fighters' Flow to Syria and Iraq in 2013-2016," International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [Winter 2017].
    - https://www.academia.edu/31659916/The Evolution of Foreign Fighters [accessed 9 September 2019].
    - Good information on foreign fighter flow into ISIS.
- ★ Fishman, Brian, "Fourth Generation Governance: Sheikh Tamimi defends the Islamic State of Iraq," Combating Terrorism Center, 23 March 2007. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/ISI-Fourth">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/ISI-Fourth</a> Gen4.pdf [accessed 6 December 2016].
  - This article explains the al-Tamimi paper/book "Informing the People About the Birth of the Islamic State of Iraq." This is great interpretation and explanation. In this, the author provides some discussion on how ISI is redefining the nature of governance in a modern era. Critical to a discussion on modern political science.

- Fishman, Brian, "Dysfunction and Decline: Lessons Learned From Inside Al-Qa`ida in Iraq," *Harmony Project: Combating Terrorism Center at West Point* [16 March 2009]. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2010/06/Dysfunction-and-Decline.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2010/06/Dysfunction-and-Decline.pdf</a> [accessed 25 October 2018].
- ★ Fishman, Brian, "Redefining the Islamic State: The Fall and Rise of Al-Qaeda in Iraq," New America Foundation's National Security Studies Program Policy Paper, August 2011.
  <a href="https://static.newamerica.org/attachments/4343-redefining-the-islamic-state/Fishman Al Qaeda In Iraq.023ac20877a64488b2b791cd7e313955.pdf">https://static.newamerica.org/attachments/4343-redefining-the-islamic-state/Fishman Al Qaeda In Iraq.023ac20877a64488b2b791cd7e313955.pdf</a> [accessed 2 December 2016].

This is important in explaining the changing nature of ISI over time. The author was wrong about several assessments and predictions as has been demonstrated over the five years since publication. Still, this deserves credit for the prescience of the time. This includes several great ISI quotes and endnotes regarding ISI statements.

- Frantzman, Seth J. "Mosul: The Origins and Future of Competing Agendas Over Retaking the City from ISIS," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Summer 2016), 10-19. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/28299404/Mosul">https://www.academia.edu/28299404/Mosul</a> The origins and future of competing agenda over retaking the city from ISIS [accessed 6 December 2019].
- ★ Friedman, Uri, "What Is the Islamic State Without a State?" *The Atlantic* [20 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/10/islamic-state-mosul-territory/504665/">http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/10/islamic-state-mosul-territory/504665/</a> [accessed 21 October 2016].
  - This is mostly an interview between the author and William McCants, one of the best informed commentators on ISIS. In this interview McCants provides the best explanation of the importance or not of terrain for ISIS.
- ★ Gambhir, Harleen. The Virtual Caliphate: ISIS's Information Warfare. Washington DC: The Institute for the Study of War, December 2016.

http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISW%20The%20Virtual%20Caliphate%20Gambhir%202016.pdf [accessed 20 December 2016].

A comprehensive discussion of the development of information operations within ISIS's overall concept of operations.

- Gambrell, Jon and Zeina Karam, "Baghdadi outlines path forward for Islamic State post-caliphate," *Military Times* [1 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/05/01/baghdadioutlines-path-forward-for-islamic-state-post-caliphate/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/05/01/baghdadioutlines-path-forward-for-islamic-state-post-caliphate/</a> [accessed 2 May 2019].
- ★ Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed and Nathaniel Barr, "Neither Remaining Nor Expanding: The Islamic State's Global Expansion Struggles," War on the Rocks [23 February 2016].

  <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/02/neither-remaining-nor-expanding-the-islamic-states-global-expansion-struggles/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/02/neither-remaining-nor-expanding-the-islamic-states-global-expansion-struggles/</a> [accessed25 February 2016].
- ★ Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed and Nathaniel Barr, "Bloody Ramadan: How The Islamic State Coordinated A Global Terrorist Campaign," War on the Rocks [20 July 2016].

  http://warontherocks.com/2016/07/bloody-ramadan-how-the-islamic-state-coordinated-a-global-terrorist-campaign/ [accessed 20 July 2016].
  - The authors provide a useful discussion on the role of ISIS leadership during the recent Ramadan violence.
- ★ Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed, Nathaniel Barr, and Bridget Moreng, "How the Islamic State's Propaganda Feeds into its Global Expansion Efforts," War on the Rocks [28 April 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/04/how-islamic-states-propaganda-feeds-into-its-global-expansion-efforts/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/04/how-islamic-states-propaganda-feeds-into-its-global-expansion-efforts/</a> [accessed 28 April 2016].
- ★ Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed and Madeleine Blackman, "ISIL's Virtual Planners: A Critical Terrorist Innovation," War on the Rocks [4 January 2017]. https://warontherocks.com/2017/01/isils-virtual-

- planners-a-critical-terrorist-innovation/ [accessed 22 February 2017].
- An explanation of the lone wolf phenomenon and how ISIS uses it in a directed and controlled and yet still organic manner. The best explanation of the role of technology and planning for operations.
- ★ Gebauer, Matthias and Holger Stark, "Ex-US Intelligence Chief on Islamic State's Rise: 'We Were Too Dumb'", Spiegel Online International [29 November 2015].

  <a href="http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/former-us-intelligence-chief-discusses-development-of-is-a-1065131.html">http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/former-us-intelligence-chief-discusses-development-of-is-a-1065131.html</a> [accessed 1 January 2016]
  - This is a direct and critical interview of LTG (retired) Flynn, former head of DIA, where he gives a powerful assessment of the progression of the fight against ISIS and mistakes made. The title is provocative, but so is the interview.
  - Geltzer, Joshua A. "Why Baghdadi Risked a Video Appearance," *The Atlantic* [1 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/05/baghdadi-video-announces-rebirth-isis/588421/">https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/05/baghdadi-video-announces-rebirth-isis/588421/</a> [accessed 2 May 2019].
  - Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "ISIS is rewriting textbooks to push its violent ideology. The U.S. once did something similar in Afghanistan." *The Washington Post* [27 July 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/07/27/isis-is-rewriting-textbooks-to-push-its-violent-ideology-the-u-s-once-did-something-similar-in-afghanistan/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/07/27/isis-is-rewriting-textbooks-to-push-its-violent-ideology-the-u-s-once-did-something-similar-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 28 July 2016].
  - Giglio, Mike and Kathy Gilsinan, "The Inconvenient Truth About ISIS," *Defense One* [16 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2020/02/inconvenient-truth-about-isis/163141/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2020/02/inconvenient-truth-about-isis/163141/</a> [accessed 18 February 2020].
  - Gilsinan, Kathy, "The 'Caliphate' Is Gone. Where's the 'Caliph'?" *The Atlantic* [29 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/03/where-isis-leader-baghdadi/586156/">https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/03/where-isis-leader-baghdadi/586156/</a> [accessed 13 August 2019].
- ★ Glenn, Cameron, "Al Qaeda v ISIS: Ideology & Strategy," The Wilson Center [28 September 2015]. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/al-qaeda-v-isis-ideology-strategy [accessed 29 April 2016].
  - Hall, Richard and Gemma Fox, "Isis leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi seen in new video for first time in five years," *Independent* [29 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-video-al-furqan-latest-a8891716.html">https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-video-al-furqan-latest-a8891716.html</a> [accessed 30 April 2019].
  - Hassan, "Isis has reached new depths of depravity. But there is a brutal logic behind it," *The Guardian* [7 February 2021]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/08/isis-islamic-state-ideology-sharia-syria-iraq-jordan-pilot">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/08/isis-islamic-state-ideology-sharia-syria-iraq-jordan-pilot</a> [accessed 22 January 2021].
  - Hassan, "The Sectarianism of the Islamic State: Ideological Roots and Political Context," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace [June 2016].
    - https://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP\_253\_Hassan\_Islamic\_State.pdf [accessed 2 July 2020].
    - "Naji—whose real name is Mohammad Hasan Khalil al-Hakim—a former member of the Egyptian jihadist Islamic Group, wrote The Management of Savagery, ..."
- ★ Hassan, "ISIS Is Ready for a Resurgence," The Atlantic [26 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/08/baghdadi-recording-iraq-syria-terrorism/568471/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/08/baghdadi-recording-iraq-syria-terrorism/568471/</a> [accessed 30 August 2018].
  - Probably the best analysis of al-Baghdadi's August 2018 recorded speech. Worth reading to get a creditable version of how ISIS may be seeing the transition currently occurring in the Middle East.
- ★ Hassan, "Out of the Desert: ISIS's Strategy for a Long War," *Middle East Institute*, Policy Paper 2018-8 [August 2018].
  - https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/Hassan\_PP\_final2\_0.pdf [accessed 12 September 2018].

Great assessment of ISIS history with predictions of ISIS lessons learned and expectations of future actions.

★ Heißner, Stefan, Peter R. Neumann, John Holland-McCowan, and Rajan Basra, "Caliphate in Decline: An Estimate of Islamic State's Financial Fortunes," The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), London: Department of War Studies, King's College London, February 2017. <a href="http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/ICSR-Report-Caliphate-in-Decline-An-Estimate-of-Islamic-States-Financial-Fortunes.pdf">http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/ICSR-Report-Caliphate-in-Decline-An-Estimate-of-Islamic-States-Financial-Fortunes.pdf</a> [accessed 1 March 2017].

A relatively short and concise report on the economic performance and prospects of the Islamic State. Simply put, they believe the business model of ISIS is failing. What isn't clear is how ISIS will adapt to the radical reductions in revenue. The challenge that this report acknowledges is that any report on internal workings of ISIS is severely hampered by accurate or lack of accurate information.

★ Hegghammer, Thomas, "The Soft Power of Militant Jihad", New York Times [18 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/20/opinion/sunday/militant-jihads-softer-side.html?r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/20/opinion/sunday/militant-jihads-softer-side.html?r=0</a> [accessed 21 December 2015].

This is a good article about daily life in ISIS.

Heinstein, Ari, "ISIS's Fight with Al Qaeda is Making Both Stronger", *The National Interest* [7 January 2016]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/isiss-fight-al-qaeda-making-both-stronger-14827?page=2">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/isiss-fight-al-qaeda-making-both-stronger-14827?page=2</a> [accessed 7 January 2016].

Al-Qaeda is growing as well and needs to be maintained in the public consciousness.

Hendawi, Hamza, "Islamic State's Double Standards Sow Growing Disillusion", *Associated Press – Military.com* [18 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/01/18/islamic-state-double-standards-sow-growing-disillusion.html">http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/01/18/islamic-state-double-standards-sow-growing-disillusion.html</a> [accessed 19 January 2016].

The domestic frustration with ISIS behavior very much like that of the Syrian regimes against which they said they were opposed.

Horgan, John, Mia Bloom, Chelsea Daymon, Wojciech Kaczkowski, and Hicham Tiflati, "A New Age of Terror? Older Fighters in the Caliphate," Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, CTC Sentinel, May 2017, volume 10, Issue 5, pages 13-19. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel\_Vol10lss514.pdf">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel\_Vol10lss514.pdf</a> [accessed 18 May 2017].

Good statistical data on the increase of older (60+ year old) fighters and suicide bombers in ISIS.

★ Hubbard, Ben and Eric Schmitt, "ISIS, Despite Heavy Losses, Still Inspires Global Attacks," *The New York Times* [8 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/08/world/middleeast/isis-syria-iraq.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/08/world/middleeast/isis-syria-iraq.html</a> [accessed 10 July 2017].

This is a summary of why the Islamic State's losses may not spell the doom of the ideology or the fight.

★ Hughes, Seamus, Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, and Bennett Clifford, "A New American Leader Rises in ISIS," *The Atlantic* [13 January 2018].

https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/01/isis-america-hoxha/550508/ [accessed 14 January 2018].

Good recommendation. This gives insight into ISIS selection and promotion. It also helps viewers recognize the reasoning some have for joining. I watched the video referenced here. It is available through jihadology at http://jihadology.net/2017/05/17/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-we-will-surely-guide-them-to-our-ways-wilayat-ninawa/. The comments of the American referenced in this article begin at 9:00 into the nearly 45 minute piece. His comments are in American English.

Idahosa, Stephen Osaherumwen and Adebayo Kafilat Mutunrayo, "International Terrorism in the Middle East: ISIS as a Case Study," Student of International Relations: Global Security and Development Cooperation at the Department of Theory and History of International Relations, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (Moscow), Russia, Miklukho-Maklaya str., 10A, Moscow, Russia, 117198 [2016]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/27458713/INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST ISIS A">https://www.academia.edu/27458713/INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST ISIS A</a>

S A CASE STUDY [accessed 21 October 2019].

CALIPHATE-2014.pdf [accessed 18 May 2016].

- ★ Ignatius, David, "How ISIS Spread in the Middle East", The Atlantic [1 November 2015].
  http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/11/how-isis-spread-middle-east/123312/ [accessed 2 November 2015].
  - Immenkamp, Beatrix, "ISIL/Da'esh and 'non-conventional' weapons of terror", European Parliamentary Research Service [December 2015].
- Ingram, Hararo J. and Craig A. Whiteside, "The Caliph's Role in the (un)Surprising Resilience of the Islamic State," Foreign Policy Research Institute [25 October 2018].
  <a href="https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/10/the-caliphs-role-in-the-unsurprising-resilience-of-the-islamic-state/">https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/10/the-caliphs-role-in-the-unsurprising-resilience-of-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 25 October 2018].

Excellent analysis.

Leaders regularly say that we cannot kill and capture our way out of this problem (violent extremism, in general and ISIS, in specific). I agree. We should not be surprised when the problem does not go away just because we have become more effective at killing and capturing.

- ★ Islamic State. The Revived Caliphate 1435 Hijri / 2014 CE: The Islamic State (2003-2014+). Islamic State, Summarized English Translation, 2014. https://ia601400.us.archive.org/21/items/EbookTheRevivedCaliphate2014/Ebook-The-REVIVED-
- ★ Islamic State, "Safety and Security Guidelines for Lone Wolf Mujahideen and Small Cells", Islamic State, Summarized English Translation, December 2015.
  <a href="https://ansarukhilafah.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/safety-and-security-final.pdf">https://ansarukhilafah.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/safety-and-security-final.pdf</a> [accessed 21 January 2016].
- ★ Islamic State. The Islamic State (2015). Islamic State, Summarized English Translation, 2015. <a href="https://ia902704.us.archive.org/17/items/TheIslamicState2015-">https://ia902704.us.archive.org/17/items/TheIslamicState2015-</a>
  <a href="https://ia902704.us.archive.org/17/items/TheIslamicState2015-">FullEbook/TheIslamicState2015FullEbook.pdf</a> [accessed 18 May 2016].
  - Islamic State, Editorial on-New Zealand Terrorist Attack "And why should ye not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who are ill-treated?" *Long War Journal* [11 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/19-03-23-An-Naba-174-editorial-on-New-Zealand-terrorist-attack.jpg">https://www.longwarjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/19-03-23-An-Naba-174-editorial-on-New-Zealand-terrorist-attack.jpg</a> [accessed 1 May 2019].
- ★ Ismay, John, Thomas Gibbons-Neff, and C.J. Chivers, "How ISIS Produced Its Cruel Arsenal on an Industrial Scale," *The New York Times* [10 December 2017].
  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/10/world/middleeast/isis-bombs.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/10/world/middleeast/isis-bombs.html</a> [accessed 13 December 2017].
  - I read two articles on the same topic today the Islamic State weapons manufacturing system. Both articles, this one and the one from *Wired* deserve serious consideration. These articles explain yet another way in which ISIS was and is different from other terrorist or extremist groups.
  - Jalabi, Raya, "Isis video threatening UK claims to show Paris attackers in Syria and Iraq", *The Guardian* [25 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/24/isis-video-paris-attackers-iraq-syria-david-cameron">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/24/isis-video-paris-attackers-iraq-syria-david-cameron</a> [accessed 25 January 2016].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "US terror designations expose 3 international facilitators for Islamic State," *Long War Journal* [10 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/us-terror-designations-expose-3-international-facilitators-for-islamic-state.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/us-terror-designations-expose-3-international-facilitators-for-islamic-state.php</a> [accessed 12 February 2018].
- ★ Joscelyn, Thomas, "Analysis: ISIS hasn't been defeated," *Long War Journal* [22 February 2018].

  <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/analysis-isis-hasnt-been-defeated.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/analysis-isis-hasnt-been-defeated.php</a> [accessed 23 February 2018].

Great article. This is the best summary of the current state of ISIS. Thomas Joscelyn is one of a handful of real

- scholars and experts on ISIS and his material is worth reading thoughtfully.
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State propagandists seek to undermine rival jihadists in Syria," *Long War Journal* [17 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/04/islamic-state-propagandists-seek-to-undermine-rival-jihadists-in-syria.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/04/islamic-state-propagandists-seek-to-undermine-rival-jihadists-in-syria.php</a> [accessed 18 April 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Analysis: Islamic State spokesman says 'new phase' of jihad has begun," *Long War Journal* [24 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/04/analysis-islamic-state-spokesman-says-new-phase-of-jihad-has-begun.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/04/analysis-islamic-state-spokesman-says-new-phase-of-jihad-has-begun.php</a> [accessed 23 August 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State leader downplays territorial losses in new audio message," *Long War Journal* [22 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/islamic-state-leader-downplays-territorial-losses-in-new-audio-message.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/islamic-state-leader-downplays-territorial-losses-in-new-audio-message.php</a> [accessed 23 August 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Analysis: Islamic State spokesman claims group remains a 'reality' despite losses," Long War Journal [21 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/03/analysis-islamic-state-spokesman-claims-group-remains-a-reality-despite-losses.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/03/analysis-islamic-state-spokesman-claims-group-remains-a-reality-despite-losses.php</a> [accessed 22 March 2019].
- "Kalimāt mudī'a, Shabakat al-Burāq al-Islāmiyya" or "Transcriptions of Words and Speeches of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi," June 2006, transcribed from audio recordings into Arabic text. <a href="https://archive.org/download/fgfrt/1a.pdf">https://archive.org/download/fgfrt/1a.pdf</a> [accessed 29 April 2016].
- Kan, Paul, "This is your Jihad on Drugs," War on the Rocks [7 March 2016].
  <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/this-is-your-jihad-on-drugs/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/this-is-your-jihad-on-drugs/</a> [accessed 7 March 2016].
  - Karam, Zeina, "ISIS loses all territory, but its shadowy leader still at large," *Military Times* [23 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/23/isis-loses-all-territory-but-its-shadowy-leader-still-at-large/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/23/isis-loses-all-territory-but-its-shadowy-leader-still-at-large/</a> [accessed 25 March 2019].
- ★ Karmon, Ely, "The Demise of the Caliphate: Quo Vadis ISIS?" International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [19 December 2016]. <a href="https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1878/the-demise-of-the-caliphate-quo-vadis-isis?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Karmon">https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1878/the-demise-of-the-caliphate-quo-vadis-isis?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Karmon</a> [accessed 24 December 2016].
  - I disagree with the author in the assertion that many ISIS fighters will go to Jabhat Fatah al-Sham. I believe some will, but most of the core will remain with ISIS in hiding. Regardless of the disagreement, this article does provide a good summary of how the post-Mosul/Raqaa ISIS may evolve.
  - Katz, Rita, "When ISIS Hackers Call You Out By Name," *Motherboard Vice* [14 June 2016]. <a href="http://motherboard.vice.com/read/when-isis-calls-you-out-by-name">http://motherboard.vice.com/read/when-isis-calls-you-out-by-name</a> [accessed 15 June 2016].
  - Kaválek, Tomáš, "From al-Qaeda in Iraq to Islamic State: The Story of Insurgency in Iraq and Syria in 2003-2015," *Alternatives*. Turkish Journal of International Relations, Vol. 14, No. 1, Spring 2015. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/34380011/From al-Qaeda in Iraq to Islamic State The Story of Insurgency in Iraq and Syria in 2003-2015">https://www.academia.edu/34380011/From al-Qaeda in Iraq to Islamic State The Story of Insurgency in Iraq and Syria in 2003-2015 [accessed 30 September 2019].</a>
  - Kavanaugh, Shane Dixon, "ISIS Deserters Bemoan Excessive Brutality, Lack Of Creature Comforts," *Vocativ* [21 September 2015]. <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/news/233246/isis-deserters-bemoan-excessive-brutality-lack-of-creature-comforts/">http://www.vocativ.com/news/233246/isis-deserters-bemoan-excessive-brutality-lack-of-creature-comforts/</a> [accessed 27 June 2016].
  - Kavanaugh, Shane Dixon, "ISIS' Bulging Cash Cow: Shakedowns, Not Oil And Artifacts," *Vocativ* [7 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/news/237919/isis-bulging-cash-cow-shakedowns-not-oil-and-artifacts">http://www.vocativ.com/news/237919/isis-bulging-cash-cow-shakedowns-not-oil-and-artifacts</a> [accessed 8 October 2015].
    - Good facts and graphics on ISIS economy.
  - Kavanaugh, Shane Dixon, "ISIS Cuts Fighters' Salaries In Half As Group Suffers Crippling Blows", *Vocativ* [18 January 2016]. Document translation available at

http://www.aymennjawad.org/2016/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents-1 [accessed 19 January 2016]. http://www.vocativ.com/news/272430/isis-cuts-fighters-salaries-in-half-as-group-suffers-crippling-blows/ [accessed 19 January 2016].

The reduction in pay is a critical sign of the impact of the recent targeting on the cash reserves of the organization. How much this affects ISIS is determined by how much truth there is in the assertions that those fighting for the group are only fighting for the money.

- Kavanaugh, Shane Dixon and Gilad Shiloach, "Under Mounting Pressure, ISIS Resorts To Suicide Attacks", *Vocativ* [4 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/news/279369/under-mounting-pressure-isis-resorts-to-suicide-attacks">http://www.vocativ.com/news/279369/under-mounting-pressure-isis-resorts-to-suicide-attacks</a> [accessed 5 February 2016].
- Kavanaugh, Shane Dixon, "ISIS Might Not Be So Broke After All," *Vocativ* [9 June 2016]. http://www.vocativ.com/327185/isis-might-not-be-so-broke-after-all/ [accessed 10 June 2016].
- Keating, Joshua, "ISIS's End-of-the-World Problem," Slate.com [13 September 2017].
  <a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/future\_tense/2017/09/isis\_s\_apocalyptic\_prophecies\_ar\_en\_t\_coming\_true.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/future\_tense/2017/09/isis\_s\_apocalyptic\_prophecies\_ar\_en\_t\_coming\_true.html</a> [accessed 14 September 2017].

The author provides an excellent summary of issues associated with failed apocalyptic prophecies of ISIS. The one point not fully raised in the article is that to a true believer these prophecies have not failed – they just have not yet been realized. There is a profound difference. Unlike most of the groups that are used as examples in the article, ISIS did not give a date for events to happen nor did ISIS name a specific person to a specific date- or event-connected title or position. ISIS references to Dabiq and the battle to happen there were not essential to the group's narrative. For that true believer, the battle will still happen. The prophecies still support the fact that the Roman-Crusaders will arrive and occupy Dabiq first and then the army of the righteous will arrive to fight them. It could still happen this way. These points are important for readers to understand when appreciating the resonance and attachment of the ISIS narrative for true believers.

- Kilcullen, David, "The deadly efficiency of Isis and how it grew on the global stage," *The Guardian* [11 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/12/the-deadly-efficiency-of-isis-and-how-it-grew-on-the-global-stage">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/12/the-deadly-efficiency-of-isis-and-how-it-grew-on-the-global-stage</a> [accessed 27 July 2017].
- King, Laura, Nabih Bulos and W.J. Hennigan, "Why Islamic State's Abu Muhammad Adnani was much more than a spokesman," *The Los Angeles Times* [1 September 2016].

  <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-islamic-state-spokesman-killed-20160830-snap-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-islamic-state-spokesman-killed-20160830-snap-story.html</a> [accessed 1 September 2016].

This article provides some background information on al-Adnani.

- Kirdar, M. J. "Al-Qaeda in Iraq," Center for Strategic & International Studies: al-Qaeda and Affiliated Movements Project Case Study Series, Case Study Number 1, June 2011.
  <a href="http://csis.org/files/publication/110614">http://csis.org/files/publication/110614</a> Kirdar AlQaedalrag Web.pdf [accessed 29 April 2016].
  - Knights, Michael and Alexander Mello, "The Cult of the Offensive: The Islamic State on Defense," CTC Sentinel, April 2015, Volume 8, Issue 4, pages 1-7. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/CTCSentinel-Vol8Issue43.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/CTCSentinel-Vol8Issue43.pdf</a> [accessed 11 June 2020].
  - Knights, Michael and Alexander Mello, "Losing Mosul, Regenerating in Diyala: How the Islamic State Could Exploit Iraq's Sectarian Tinderbox," CTC Sentinel, October 2016, Volume 9, Issue 10, pages 1-7. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/CTC-SENTINEL Vol9Iss109.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/CTC-SENTINEL Vol9Iss109.pdf</a> [accessed 11 June 2020].
  - Knights, Michael and Alexander Mello, "Defeat by Annihilation: Mobility and Attrition in the Islamic State's Defense of Mosul," CTC Sentinel, April 2017, Volume 10, Issue 4, pages 1-7. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel\_Vol10Iss43.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel\_Vol10Iss43.pdf</a> [accessed 11 June 2020].
  - Landay, Jonathan, "Exclusive: Seized documents reveal Islamic State's Department of "War Spoils"",

- *Reuters* [28 December 2015]. http://www.reuters.com/article/usa-islamic-state-documents-group-idUSKBN0UB0BI20151228 [accessed 28 December 2015].
- Information on the bureaucratic nature of the Islamic State. In this article a reader can get the sense of how out of touch the US administration is as they seemed surprised that ISIS is seeking to actually create a state system. The best element of the article is that as early as October 2014 they had legal support for the enslavement of captured prisoners.
- Landay, Jonathan, "New U.S. intelligence report says Islamic State weaker", *Reuters* [4 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-fighters-idUSKCN0VD2ZO">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-fighters-idUSKCN0VD2ZO</a> [accessed 5 February 2016].
- Laub, Zachary and Jonathan Masters, "The Islamic State," Council of Foreign Relations [updated 22 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.cfr.org/iraq/islamic-state/p14811?cid=nlc-dailybrief-daily\_news\_brief-link23-20160428&sp\_mid=51256213&sp\_rid=amNhcnlAa2MucnluY29tS0">http://www.cfr.org/iraq/islamic-state/p14811?cid=nlc-dailybrief-daily\_news\_brief-link23-20160428&sp\_mid=51256213&sp\_rid=amNhcnlAa2MucnluY29tS0</a> [accessed 29 April 2016].
- Ligon, Gina S., Michael Logan, Margeret Hall, Douglas C. Derrick, Julia Fuller, and Sam Church, "The Jihadi Industry: Assessing the Organizational, Leadership, and Cyber Profiles," Final report prepared for the Department of Homeland Science and Technology Directorate's Office of University Programs. College Park, MD: START, July 2017.
- ★ Lister, Charles, "Profiling the Islamic State," Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper, Number 13, November 2014.
  - https://www.academia.edu/16262691/Charles Lister BB DDDD CCCCCC AAAA P Proling the Isl amic State?pls=RWLS7NgoYX [accessed 6 November 2021].
  - This paper provides some interesting insight in the first few months following the taking of Mosul and the declaration of the Cliphate.
- ★ Lister, Charles, "Jihadi Rivalry: The Islamic State Challenges al-Qaida," Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper, Number 16, January 2016. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/en-jihadi-rivalry-2.pdf">https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/en-jihadi-rivalry-2.pdf</a> [accessed 6 December 2016].
  - This is a useful product for the dissertation as a summary of the changes in al-Qaeda and ISIS over times in terms of relationships and foci.
  - Lockett, Jon, "Global Jihad: What remains of ISIS's global terror network? Map reveals fanatics still have strongholds in 'safe havens' all over the planet," *The Sun* [13 March 2018]. https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/5396345/what-remains-of-isiss-global-terror-network-map
    - reveals-fanatics-still-have-strongholds-all-over-the-planet-despite-being-crushed-in-syria-and-iraq/ [accessed 14 March 2018].
  - Lund, Aron, "How Did the Islamic State Pick Its New Leader?" *Jihadica* [1 November 2019]. http://www.jihadica.com/how-did-the-islamic-state-pick/ [accessed 23 November 2019].
    - This is a useful explanation of the method used to select the new caliph.
  - Lynch, Thomas F. III, "The Islamic State as Icarus: A Critical Assessment of an Untenable Threat", Wilson Center Asia Program [October 2015].
    - www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/theislamicstateasicarus.pdf [accessed 31 December 2015].
    - The Greek mythological metaphor is useful in seeing ISIS as an organization and movement pursuing something beyond the realm pf possibility. This paper focuses primarily on the impact of this pursuit of an agenda in South Asia rather than in the traditionally described Middle East and the core of the current geographic limits of the Caliphate.
    - Great list of groups having declared allegiance or support to ISIS in Appendix A.
- ★ Maan, Ajit, "ISIS is Not a Terrorist Organization", Small Wars Journal [29 December 2015]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/isis-is-not-a-terrorist-organization">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/isis-is-not-a-terrorist-organization</a> [accessed 30 December 2015].

- The author points out that ISIS does not behave like a terrorist organization. In this she is correct. She does miss the boat in that she is labeling it as something equally fixed rather than a changing phenomenon.
- Mabon, Simon. "Nationalist Jahiliyyah and the Flag of the Two Crusaders, or: ISIS, Sovereignty and the 'Owl of Minerva'." Academia.edu [Unknown].
  - https://www.academia.edu/29775240/Nationalist Jhiliyyah and the Flag of the Two Crusaders [accessed 21 June 2021].
  - Some good quotes and references on Sykes-Picot and other *Dabiq* related material.
- Malik, Shiv, "The Isis papers: leaked documents show how Isis is building its state," *The Guardian* [7 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/07/leaked-isis-document-reveals-plan-building-state-syria">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/07/leaked-isis-document-reveals-plan-building-state-syria</a> [accessed 3 March 2016].
- Malm, Sara, "How ISIS virus has spread around the globe even as its heartland caliphate collapses: Map reveals where cells have sprung up in the past MONTH as the group is obliterated in Iraq and Syria," *Daily Mail* [19 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4991782/How-ISIS-spread-world-caliphate-collapses.html">http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4991782/How-ISIS-spread-world-caliphate-collapses.html</a> [accessed 20 October 2017].
- Masri, Lena and Ali Abdelaty, "Instructions from headquarters: Islamic State's new guerrilla manual," Reuters [24 May 2019]. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-security-islamic-state-idUSKCN1SU19J [accessed 27 May 2019].
- Mastracci, Davide and Justin Ling, "The Islamic State's new propaganda film is like an HR meeting, but with beheadings," *Vice News* [7 July 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/the-islamic-states-new-propaganda-film-is-like-an-hr-meeting-but-with-beheadings">https://news.vice.com/article/the-islamic-states-new-propaganda-film-is-like-an-hr-meeting-but-with-beheadings</a> [accessed 9 July 2016].
- May, Clifford D. "The 'Long War' is not getting shorter," *Foundation for Defense of Democracies* [4 September 2018]. <a href="http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/may-clifford-d-the-long-war-is-not-getting-shorter/">http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/may-clifford-d-the-long-war-is-not-getting-shorter/</a> [accessed 6 September 2018].
- Maza, Cristina, "Is ISIS Still Around? Islamic State Leader Is Alive and Plotting a Comeback, Reports Claim," *Newsweek* [21 May 2018]. <a href="http://www.newsweek.com/isis-still-around-islamic-state-leader-alive-and-secretly-plotting-comeback-937600">http://www.newsweek.com/isis-still-around-islamic-state-leader-alive-and-secretly-plotting-comeback-937600</a> [accessed 5 June 2018].
- Mazzetti, Mark and Eric Schmitt, "In the Age of ISIS, Who's a Terrorist, and Who's Simply Deranged?" *The New York Times* [17 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/18/world/europe/in-the-age-of-isis-whos-a-terrorist-and-whos-simply-deranged.html?r=1&utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Defense%20EBB%2007-18-16&utm\_term=Editorial%20-%20Early%20Bird%20Brief [accessed 19 July 2016].
- McKay, Hollie, "ISIS relying on child soldiers, drugged fighters as grip on Mosul slips", *Fox News* [11 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/02/11/isis-relying-on-child-soldiers-drugged-fighters-as-grip-on-mosul-slips.html">http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/02/11/isis-relying-on-child-soldiers-drugged-fighters-as-grip-on-mosul-slips.html</a> [accessed 12 February 2016].
- McCants, William, "The Believer: How an Introvert with a Passion for Religion and Soccer Became Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi Leader of the Islamic State", Brookings [1 September 2015].
  <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/research/essays/2015/thebeliever?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=New%20Campaign&utm\_term=%2AMideast%20Brief">http://www.brookings.edu/research/essays/2015/thebeliever?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=New%20Campaign&utm\_term=%2AMideast%20Brief</a> [accessed 4 September 2015].
  - McCants, William, "The Difference Between ISIS and ISIS-ish," *Time* [16 July 2016]. http://time.com/4408926/the-difference-between-isis-and-isis-ish/ [accessed 19 July 2016].
  - Mekhennet, Souad and Greg Miller, "This ISIS defector said he was an innocent bystander. A new video questions his story." *The Washington Post* [4 October 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-a-former-isis-recruit-and-media-">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-a-former-isis-recruit-and-media-</a>
    - darling-edited-his-own-story/2016/10/04/5740ff50-8582-11e6-a3ef-f35afb41797f\_story.html [accessed 5 October 2016].
    - Harry Sarfo is a German former ISIS participant and now currently incarcerated. New information has surfaced

- that says he was a significant participant in ISIS activities rather than simply an unwitting participant. This information was provided by ISIS because they want to discredit him for the bad things he has said about the organization.
- MEMRI, "In First Appearance Since Declaration Of Caliphate, ISIS Leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi Calls For Attacks Against France, Its Allies, And Saudi Arabia, Urges Algerians, Sudanese To Wage Jihad Against Their Regimes," *The Middle East Media Research Institute* [29 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.memri.org/jttm/first-appearance-declaration-caliphate-isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-calls-attacks-against">https://www.memri.org/jttm/first-appearance-declaration-caliphate-isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-calls-attacks-against</a> [accessed 9 May 2019].
- Miller, Greg and Souad Mekhennet, "Inside the surreal world of the Islamic State's propaganda machine", Washington Post [20 November 2015].
  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/inside-the-islamic-states-propaganda-machine/2015/11/20/051e997a-8ce6-11e5-acff-673ae92ddd2b\_story.html?hpid=hp\_hp-top-table-high\_isisprop-115pm%3Ahomepage%2Fstory</a> [accessed 23 November 2015].
- Milton, Daniel, "Communication Breakdown: Unraveling the Islamic State's Media Efforts," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, United States Military Academy, October 2016.
  <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/ISMedia\_Online.pdf">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/ISMedia\_Online.pdf</a> [accessed 14 October 2016].

Analysis of ISIS media through declassified documents.

- Mironova, Vera, "Is the Future of ISIS Female?" *The New York Times* [20 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/20/opinion/islamic-state-female-fighters.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/20/opinion/islamic-state-female-fighters.html</a> [accessed 26 February 2019].
- ★ Mironova, Vera and Mohammed Hussein, "The New ISIS Insurgency: What Jihadists Do After Losing Territory," Foreign Affairs [9 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2017-01-09/new-isis-insurgency">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2017-01-09/new-isis-insurgency</a> [accessed 22 February 2017].
  - What will ISIS become in Iraq once the land is re-occupied by government forces? This article addresses that question by explaining the nature of the growing splintered insurgency in places previously regained by the government. This is short and well worth the read.
- Mooney, Michael J. "A Military Assessment of the Islamic State's Evolving Theory of Victory," War on the Rocks [26 June 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/06/a-military-assessment-of-the-islamic-states-evolving-theory-of-victory/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/06/a-military-assessment-of-the-islamic-states-evolving-theory-of-victory/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - This is a great discussion on the definition of victory.
  - Myers, Meghann, "Report: ISIS has been rebuilding as US troops withdraw from Syria," *Military Times* [6 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/08/06/report-isis-has-been-rebuilding-as-us-troops-withdraw-from-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/08/06/report-isis-has-been-rebuilding-as-us-troops-withdraw-from-syria/</a> [accessed 7 August 2019].
- ★ Natali, Denise, "Countering ISIS: One Year Later", Event Report for Institute for National Strategic Studies [10 February 2016]. <a href="https://toinformistoinfluence.files.wordpress.com/2016/02/final-1-isis-one-year-later-report.pdf">https://toinformistoinfluence.files.wordpress.com/2016/02/final-1-isis-one-year-later-report.pdf</a> [accessed 10 February 2016].
  - Naylor, Hugh, "Islamic State's moneymaking streams take a hit as it loses territory", Washington Post [4 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/islamic-states-money-makers-take-a-hit-as-it-loses-territory/2015/12/03/b08910aa-91f6-11e5-befa-99ceebcbb272">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/islamic-states-money-makers-take-a-hit-as-it-loses-territory/2015/12/03/b08910aa-91f6-11e5-befa-99ceebcbb272</a> story.html [accessed 7 December 2015].
  - Neumann, Peter R. "Victims, Perpetrators, Assets: The Narratives of Islamic State Defectors," The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, King's College London, 2015.
    - Data from 58 defectors from the Islamic State who tell of their disillusionment with ISIS and the jihad they were waging. These are from 2014 and 2015 and are therefore a bit dated. The estimates were that about

- 20,000 foreign fighters joined ISIS and therefore this number represents about 0.29% of those who reportedly joined the group.
- ★ Orton, Kyle, "How Syria's Assad gave rise to one of the most senior IS leaders," *Middle East Eye* [10 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/how-syrias-assad-gave-rise-one-most-senior-leaders-412885798">http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/how-syrias-assad-gave-rise-one-most-senior-leaders-412885798</a> [accessed 20 March 2016].
  - Palumbo, Paolo, "Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant," Assignment for E-learning "Terrorism Studies" Course St. Andrews University [sometime after March 2016]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/24584825/Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant">https://www.academia.edu/24584825/Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant</a> [accessed 30 September 2019].
  - Pool, Jeffrey, "Zarqawi's Pledge of Allegiance to al-Qaeda: from Mu'asker Al-Battar, Issue 21," Terrorism Monitor Volume: 2 Issue: 24, 16 December 2004. <a href="https://jamestown.org/program/zarqawis-pledge-of-allegiance-to-al-qaeda-from-muasker-al-battar-issue-21-2/">https://jamestown.org/program/zarqawis-pledge-of-allegiance-to-al-qaeda-from-muasker-al-battar-issue-21-2/</a> [accessed 2 December 2016].

    This includes both al-Zarqawi's pledge and Zawahiri's comments on it. Note the references to US response from spokespeople and commentators.
- ★ Postings, Robert, "A Guide to the Islamic State's Way of Urban Warfare," Modern War Institute [9 July 2018]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/guide-islamic-states-way-urban-warfare/">https://mwi.usma.edu/guide-islamic-states-way-urban-warfare/</a> [accessed 12 July 2018]. A short discussion on specific tactics used by ISIS in defending and attacking in urban areas.
- ★ Postings, Robert, "An Analysis of the Islamic State's SVBIED Use in Raqqa," International Review, Conflict, West & Central Asia [11 May 2018]. <a href="https://international-review.org/an-analysis-of-islamic-states-sybied-use-in-raqqa/">https://international-review.org/an-analysis-of-islamic-states-sybied-use-in-raqqa/</a> [accessed 12 July 2018].
  - This is excellent analysis of the SVBIED use by ISIS primarily in Raqqa.
  - Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, "Islamic State Leader Urges More Attacks In First Purported Audio In Year," *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty* [23 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/islamic-state-leader-baghdadi-urges-more-attacks-around-world-first-purported-audio-in-year/29448552.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/islamic-state-leader-baghdadi-urges-more-attacks-around-world-first-purported-audio-in-year/29448552.html</a> [accessed 23 August 2018].
  - Ranautta-Sambhi, Kierat, "An Assessment of Daesh's Strategic Communication Efforts to Recruit in Syria," *Real Clear Defense* [4 March 2019].

    <a href="https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2019/03/04/an assessment of daeshs strategic communication">https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2019/03/04/an assessment of daeshs strategic communication efforts to recruit in syria 114230.html [accessed 11 March 2019].</a>
  - Rassler, Don, Muhammad al-`Ubaydi, Vera Mironova, "CTC Perspectives The Islamic State's Drone Documents: Management, Acquisitions, and DIY Tradecraft," Counter Terrorism Center, United States Military Academy [31 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/ctc-perspectives-the-islamic-states-drone-documents-management-acquisitions-and-diy-tradecraft">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/ctc-perspectives-the-islamic-states-drone-documents-management-acquisitions-and-diy-tradecraft</a> [accessed 17 February 2017].
    - This is an interesting discussion on a high-tech capability being developed by ISIS.
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "US-led coalition destroys Islamic State narcotics cache including 300,000 so-called 'Jihadi pills'," *Military Times* [18 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/06/18/us-led-coalition-destroys-islamic-state-narcotics-cache-including-300000-so-called-jihadi-pills/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/06/18/us-led-coalition-destroys-islamic-state-narcotics-cache-including-300000-so-called-jihadi-pills/</a> [accessed 19 June 2018].
- ★ Reuter, Christoph, "The Terror Strategist: Secret Files Reveal the Structure of Islamic State", Spiegel Online International [18 April 2015].
  https://www.dropbox.com/home/Dad's%20ISIS%20Book?preview=150418+DS++The+Terror+Strategist-Secret+Files+Reveal+the+Structure+of+Islamic+State+(great+article).docx
  [accessed 19 April 2015].
  - Reuters, "Islamic State chief, in rare speech, urges followers to fight on," MSN [23 August 2018]. https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/islamic-state-chief-in-rare-speech-urges-followers-to-

- fight-on/ar-BBMil4B?ocid=spartanntp [accessed 23 August 2018].
- Revkin, Mara and Jacob Olidort, "Does ISIS Need Territory to Survive?" *The New York Times* [21 October 2016]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2016/10/21/does-isis-need-territory-to-survive">https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2016/10/21/does-isis-need-territory-to-survive</a> [accessed 14 April 2017].
  - Here there is fantastic debate between two well-qualified scholars on questions that have plagued a great many lesser informed individuals on ISIS and the importance of territory versus ideology. This is a critical discussion.
  - Robertson, Ian, "The science behind Isil's savagery," *The Telegraph* [17 November 2014]. <a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/11041338/The-science-behind-Isils-savagery.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/11041338/The-science-behind-Isils-savagery.html</a> [accessed 30 July 2020].
    - Oxytocin has a neurochemical effect on bond and combined with other basic psychology we are able to understand the group identity and actions of ISIS.
  - Rosenberg, Matthew, Nicholas Kulish and Steven Lee Myers, "Predatory Islamic State Wrings Money From Those It Rules," *The New York Times* [29 November 2014]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/30/world/middleeast/predatory-islamic-state-wrings-money-from-those-it-rules.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/30/world/middleeast/predatory-islamic-state-wrings-money-from-those-it-rules.html</a> [accessed 30 November 2015].
    - This article includes some updates on Islamic State taxations and internal funding. It is clear the bias inherent in this reporting as all states tax goods and services at some level. Why is it surprising that the Islamic State does the same?
  - Rosenblatt, Nate, "Inside the ISIS Enlistment Files: All Jihad is Local," *Defense One* [20 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/07/all-jihad-local/130046/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/07/all-jihad-local/130046/</a> [accessed 22 July 2016]. Short and direct article explaining that most participants in ISIS are from regions where pre-exists problems between local Muslims and the larger government.
- ★ Rosenblatt, Nate and David Kilcullen, "How Raqqa Became the Capital of ISIS: A Proxy Warfare Case Study," New America Arizona State University [26 July 2019].
  https://dly8sb8igg2f8e.cloudfront.net/documents/How\_Raqqa\_Became\_the\_Capital\_of\_ISIS\_2019-07-26\_134456.pdf [accessed 5 August 2019].
  - The best article on ISIS actions since Christophe Reuters article in 2015. The first several sections are a must read for understanding the processes by which ISIS gained control of a large city with only limited means. This is a primer on what weak actors will try to do with respect to developing violence potential.
- Ryan, Michael. ISIS: The Terrorist Group That Would Be a State. Case study. Newport, RI: US Naval War College, Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups, 2015.
  <a href="https://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/Departments---Colleges/Center-on-Irregular-Warfare---Armed-Groups/Publications/ISIS -Michael-W--S--Ryan-Final.pdf.aspx">-Michael-W--S--Ryan-Final.pdf.aspx</a> [accessed 26 March 2017].
  - This is an excellent source document for understanding ISIS and where it fits within the intellectual history of the Middle East and Islamist thought.
  - Salama, Vivian, "Study: Islamic State attacks spiked in third quarter," *Business Insider* [22 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.businessinsider.com/ap-study-islamic-state-attacks-spiked-in-third-quarter-2015-10">http://www.businessinsider.com/ap-study-islamic-state-attacks-spiked-in-third-quarter-2015-10</a> [accessed 23 October 2015].
  - Schake, Kori, "@ISIS Is #Winning," Foreign Policy 9 July 2014]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/09/isis-is-winning/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/09/isis-is-winning/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - Schmitt, Eric, "Papers Offer a Peek at ISIS' Drones, Lethal and Largely Off-the-Shelf," *The New York Times* [31 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/31/world/middleeast/isis-drone-documents.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/31/world/middleeast/isis-drone-documents.html</a> [accessed 13 September 2018].
  - Schneider, Nathan K. "ISIS and Social Media: The Combatant Commander's Guide to Countering ISIS's Social Media Campaign," Center for Counterterrorism Studies at Joint Special Operations Command

- 2015 LTG Samuel V. Wilson Writing Award Recipient.
- https://jsou.socom.mil/JSOU%20Publications/ISIS%20and%20Social%20Media%20%202015%20LTG%20Wilson%20Writing%20Award.pdf [accessed 25 August 2016].
- The author provides useful US doctrinal answers to issues related to social media campaigns and countercampaigns. It includes good quotes regarding the importance of social media to the current fight.
- Schweitzer, Yoram, "The Rise and Fall of the Islamic State: A Fifth-Year Assessment," Institute for National Security Studies, *INSS Insight* No. 1196 [18 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/No.-1196.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/No.-1196.pdf</a> [accessed 21 July 2019]
- Shamieh, Luna and Szenes Zoltan, "The Rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)," AARMS Vol. 14, No. 4 (2015) 363-378 [13 November 2015].
  - https://www.academia.edu/30157736/The Rise of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria ISIS Islam a nd Politics [accessed 6 November 2019].
- Shane, Scott, "ISIS Media Output Drops as Military Pressure Rises, Report Says," *The New York Times* 10 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/11/world/middleeast/islamic-state-media-propaganda-isis.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/11/world/middleeast/islamic-state-media-propaganda-isis.html</a> [accessed 11 October 2016].
  - Good article and graphic with useful information on the production of media over times for ISIS
- Shatz, Howard and Erin-Elizabeth Johnson. The Islamic State We Knew: Insights Before the Resurgence and Their Implications. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2015. <a href="http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1200/RR1267/RAND\_RR1267.p">http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1200/RR1267/RAND\_RR1267.p</a> df [accessed 24 July 2017].
- Shiloach, Gilad, "ISIS Hackers Issue Marching Orders To Loyalists", *Vocativ* [8 December 2015]. http://www.vocativ.com/news/259050/isis-hackers-issue-marching-orders-to-loyalists/ [accessed 9 December 2015].
  - Guidance from ISIS to followers on cyber related issues.
- Singh, Surender, "ISIS International Suicide Terrorism: Understanding the Growing Threat to Global Security," Academia.edu [Unknown. After March 2017].

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/33223156/ISIS\_International\_Suicide\_Terrorism\_Understanding\_the\_Growing\_Threat\_to\_Global\_Security\_by\_SURENDER\_SINGH?email\_work\_card=title\_[accessed 27 August 2019].">https://www.academia.edu/33223156/ISIS\_International\_Suicide\_Terrorism\_Understanding\_the\_Growing\_Threat\_to\_Global\_Security\_by\_SURENDER\_SINGH?email\_work\_card=title\_[accessed 27 August 2019].</a>
- Snow, Shawn, "Boy who claims his father was an American soldier warns Trump in disturbing ISIS video," *Military Times* [24 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/24/boy-who-claims-his-father-was-an-american-soldier-warns-trump-in-disturbing-isis-video/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/24/boy-who-claims-his-father-was-an-american-soldier-warns-trump-in-disturbing-isis-video/</a> [accessed 25 August 2017].
  - Guidance from ISIS to followers on cyber related issues.
- Snow, Shawn, "ISIS releases Baghdadi audio as the group crumbles in Iraq and Syria," *Military Times* [28 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/28/isis-releases-baghdadi-audio-as-the-group-crumbles-in-iraq-and-syria/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/28/isis-releases-baghdadi-audio-as-the-group-crumbles-in-iraq-and-syria/</a> [accessed 29 September 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "ISIS propaganda showcases US weapons, including an AT-4 rocket," *Military Times* [29 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/29/isis-propaganda-showcases-us-weapons-including-an-at-4-rocket/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/29/isis-propaganda-showcases-us-weapons-including-an-at-4-rocket/</a> [accessed 2 October 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "ISIS snipers using US thermal devices," *Military Times* [15 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/14/isis-snipers-using-us-thermal-devices/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/14/isis-snipers-using-us-thermal-devices/</a> [accessed 15 November 2017].
- The Soufan Center, "TSC IntelBrief: The Islamic State's Long Goodbye," *The Soufan Center* [7 February 2018]. <a href="http://thesoufancenter.org/tsc-intelbrief-islamic-states-long-goodbye/">http://thesoufancenter.org/tsc-intelbrief-islamic-states-long-goodbye/</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].

- The Soufan Center, "TSC IntelBrief: Despite Major Economic Losses, Islamic State Still a Threat," *The Soufan Center* [13 February 2018]. <a href="http://thesoufancenter.org/tsc-intelbrief-despite-major-economic-losses-islamic-state-still-threat/">http://thesoufancenter.org/tsc-intelbrief-despite-major-economic-losses-islamic-state-still-threat/</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].
- The Soufan Center, "IntelBrief: The Islamic State Tries to Return to 2013," *The Soufan Center* [6 July 2018]. <a href="http://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-the-islamic-state-tries-to-return-to-2013/">http://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-the-islamic-state-tries-to-return-to-2013/</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].
- The Soufan Center, "Intelbrief: The Challenging Math of Islamic State Fighters," *The Soufan Center* [16 August 2018]. <a href="http://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-the-challenging-math-of-islamic-state-fighters/">http://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-the-challenging-math-of-islamic-state-fighters/</a> [accessed 20 August 2018].
- The Soufan Center, "Intelbrief: The Islamic State's Enduring Narrative," *The Soufan Center* [11 September 2018]. <a href="http://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-the-islamic-states-enduring-narrative/">http://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-the-islamic-states-enduring-narrative/</a> [accessed 12 September 2018].
- The Soufan Center, "Intelbrief: The Islamic State Will Live on Through Its Affiliates," *The Soufan Center* [19 February 2019]. <a href="https://mailchi.mp/thesoufancenter/the-islamic-state-will-live-on-through-its-affiliates?e=78b7a4ca58">https://mailchi.mp/thesoufancenter/the-islamic-state-will-live-on-through-its-affiliates?e=78b7a4ca58</a> [accessed 22 February 2019].
- The Soufan Center, "Intelbrief: Don't Call It A Comeback: The Staying Power of the Islamic State," *The Soufan Center* [12 August 2019]. <a href="https://mailchi.mp/thesoufancenter/dont-call-it-a-comeback-the-staying-power-of-the-islamic-state?e=78b7a4ca58">https://mailchi.mp/thesoufancenter/dont-call-it-a-comeback-the-staying-power-of-the-islamic-state?e=78b7a4ca58</a> [accessed 13 August 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne, "Recruiting from Beyond the Grave: A European Follows Anwar al-Awlaki Into ISIS," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [28 April 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/recruiting-from-beyond-the-grave-a-european-follows-anwar-al-awlaki-into-isis/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/recruiting-from-beyond-the-grave-a-european-follows-anwar-al-awlaki-into-isis/</a> [accessed 6 May 2020].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne, "Inside The ISIS Machine Turning Children to 'Monsters'," *The Daily Beast* [25 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/inside-the-isis-machine-turning-children-to-monsters">http://www.thedailybeast.com/inside-the-isis-machine-turning-children-to-monsters</a> [accessed 27 August 2017].
  - The best article explaining the use of children to perpetuate the ideology.
  - Speckhard, Anne, "PERSPECTIVE: An ISIS Bride on the Run," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [22 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-an-isis-bride-on-the-run/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-an-isis-bride-on-the-run/</a> [accessed 23 October 2019].
  - Speckhard, Anne, "British-Born Jack Letts Discusses Mental Illness and His Path to ISIS," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [25 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/british-born-jack-letts-discusses-mental-illness-and-his-path-to-isis/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/british-born-jack-letts-discusses-mental-illness-and-his-path-to-isis/</a> [accessed 5 December 2019].
  - Speckhard, Anne, "PERSPECTIVE: Ireland's Lisa Smith Is a Test Run on Repatriation of ISIS Women,"

    Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today. US [14 January 2020].

    <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-irelands-lisa-smith-is-a-test-run-on-repatriation-of-isis-women/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-irelands-lisa-smith-is-a-test-run-on-repatriation-of-isis-women/</a> [accessed 17 January 2020].

    Best Paragraph.
    - Yet women who traveled to and joined ISIS were not for the most part simply victims of the men they traveled with, much as some security services like to "zombify" women by removing any sense of personal agency to their actions when it concerns ISIS. Most women were involved in their partner's decision to travel, endorsed it and willingly went to join the group. In ICSVE's 220 in-depth interviews of ISIS returnees, defectors and prisoners, collected as part of the ICSVE's Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter Narrative Project, only three foreign fighter women were coerced, tricked or unaware of where they were traveling. Of course, many did not understand that ISIS was not going to deliver the utopian Islamic living they were promised and as ISIS tried to portray in their recruitment propaganda.
  - Speckhard, Anne, "Kimberly Pullman: A Canadian Woman Lured Over the Internet to the ISIS Caliphate,"

- Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [31 March 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/kimberly-pullman-a-canadian-woman-lured-over-the-internet-to-the-isis-caliphate/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/kimberly-pullman-a-canadian-woman-lured-over-the-internet-to-the-isis-caliphate/</a> [accessed 6 May 2020].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ahmet Yayla, "Making a Monster: How I Became an ISIS Bride," *The Daily Beast* [31 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/bride-of-isis-the-making-of-a-monsterpart-i">http://www.thedailybeast.com/bride-of-isis-the-making-of-a-monsterpart-i</a> [accessed 1 September 2017].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ahmet Yayla, "She Doesn't Regret Torturing Women for ISIS," The Daily Beast [1 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/she-doesnt-regret-torturing-women-for-isis">http://www.thedailybeast.com/she-doesnt-regret-torturing-women-for-isis</a> [accessed 1 September 2017].
  - This is a two part set of articles based on an interview with an ISIS female member. This is yet another good discussion of the transformative effect of association with ISIS on a young woman from the people at the International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism (ICSVE). In this set of articles one can get a sense of the commitment that is rarely expressed from those who have left the ISIS territory.
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Beware the Women of ISIS: There Are Many, and They May Be More Dangerous Than the Men" The Daily Beast [21 August 2017].
  <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/beware-the-women-of-isis-there-are-many-and-they-may-be-more-dangerous-than-the-men">http://www.thedailybeast.com/beware-the-women-of-isis-there-are-many-and-they-may-be-more-dangerous-than-the-men</a> [accessed 22 August 2017].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Wanted Dead or Alive: The Frustrating, Failing Hunt for ISIS Leader Baghdadi," The Daily Beast [6 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-frustrating-hunt-for-mr-isis-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-the-caliph-must-be-captured-or-die">https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-frustrating-hunt-for-mr-isis-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-the-caliph-must-be-captured-or-die</a> [accessed 9 January 2018].

The best article explaining the various roles of women in the caliphate.

- This is a fabulous article providing a good summary of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's life and significance to ISIS. The article raises several key issues including the importance of the caliph, the strength of the ideological utopian vision, the resiliency of ISIS, and the problem with coalition mathematics. With regard to the last point, the standard number for ISIS fighters seems to have been 30,000. That number has been pretty consistent throughout the fighting regardless of reported inflicted casualties. In this article, the authors say that 6,000-20,000 ISIS fighters having melted into the Iraqi and Syrian populations. The spread and the shear size of the numbers communicate the ignorance that we still have with respect to this fight.
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "Is ISIS Still Alive and Well on the Internet?" *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [January 14, 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/is-isis-still-alive-and-well-on-the-internet/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/is-isis-still-alive-and-well-on-the-internet/</a> [accessed 20 January 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "ISIS Smuggler: Sleeper Cells and 'Undead' Suicide Bombers Have Infiltrated Europe." *The Daily Beast* [February 5, 2019]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/isis-smuggler-sleeper-cells-and-undead-suicide-bombers-have-infiltrated-europe">https://www.thedailybeast.com/isis-smuggler-sleeper-cells-and-undead-suicide-bombers-have-infiltrated-europe</a> [accessed 5 February 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "Terrorists' Use of Drones Promises to Extend Beyond Caliphate Battles," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [5 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/terrorists-use-of-drones-promises-to-extend-beyond-caliphate-battles/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/terrorists-use-of-drones-promises-to-extend-beyond-caliphate-battles/</a> [accessed 6 March 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "ISIS Chemical-Weapons Expert Speaks," *The Daily Beast* [11 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/isis-chemical-weapons-expert-speaks-in-exclusive-interview">https://www.thedailybeast.com/isis-chemical-weapons-expert-speaks-in-exclusive-interview</a> [accessed 12 March 2019].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "The ISIS Ambassador to Turkey," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [18 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/the-isis-ambassador-to-turkey/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/the-isis-ambassador-to-turkey/</a> [accessed 18 March 2019].

- Very interesting. The discussion provided by Abu Mansour is circuitous, but fascinating as he reveals the complexities in the relationship between ISIS and Turkey. Note other articles on the neo-Ottoman nature of the Erdogan government.
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "OPINION: What More Than 150 Members Of ISIS Taught Us About Water Security," *The Daily Caller* [17 April 2019]. https://dailycaller.com/2019/04/17/speckhard-shajkovci-isis-water/ [accessed 22 April 2019].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "American-Born Hoda Muthana Tells All About Joining ISIS and Escaping the Caliphate," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [23 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/american-born-hoda-muthana-tells-all-about-joining-isis-and-escaping-the-caliphate/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/american-born-hoda-muthana-tells-all-about-joining-isis-and-escaping-the-caliphate/</a> [accessed 7 May 2019].
  This is another great and long interview. Here we read about the recruitment and life of a woman who travels from the US to Syria to be in the Caliphate. The story needs to be taken with a grain of salt as she almost certainly is avoiding giving all of the details, however, this is one of the most detailed descriptions of life in ISIS territory.
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "A Caliphate Resident or Monster Made in Syria? Accused 'Beatle' Alexanda Kotey Speaks," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [29 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/a-beatle-wayward-isis-fan-or-a-monster-made-in-syria-alexanda-kotey-speaks/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/a-beatle-wayward-isis-fan-or-a-monster-made-in-syria-alexanda-kotey-speaks/</a> [accessed 1 May 2019]. Fascinating interview. This provides excellent insight into the thinking, recruiting, and reasoning of an alleged ISIS member. This is long, but I believe well worth the reading.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci. "Real Voices from the Caliphate Talk Back to Abu Bakr al Baghdadi," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [7 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/real-voices-from-the-caliphate-talk-back-to-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/real-voices-from-the-caliphate-talk-back-to-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi/</a> [accessed 9 May 2019].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg. "Is Internet Recruitment Enough to Seduce a Vulnerable Individual into Terrorism?" Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [15 April 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/is-internet-recruitment-enough-to-seduce-a-vulnerable-individual-into-terrorism/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/is-internet-recruitment-enough-to-seduce-a-vulnerable-individual-into-terrorism/</a> [accessed 6 May 2020].
  - This is a summary of a larger study published by these two authors. The best data on ISIS member reasons for involvement.
  - I previously posted the full report by Anne Speckhard, Ph.D. and Molly Ellenberg; however, this abbreviated version is also excellent and the two serve as the best expressions of why people joined ISIS.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg. "How Assad's Atrocities Became a Powerful Motivator for Terrorist Recruitment," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [12 May 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/how-assads-atrocities-became-a-powerful-motivator-for-terrorist-recruitment/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/how-assads-atrocities-became-a-powerful-motivator-for-terrorist-recruitment/</a> [accessed 15 May 2020].
    - A continuation of the previous material and study by these authors with specific focus on the role of Syria.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg. "The Effects of Assad's Atrocities and the Call to Foreign Fighters to Come to Syria on the Rise and Fall of the ISIS Caliphate," *Taylor & Francis in Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* [To be published here] [18 October 2020]. Currently at <a href="https://www.icsve.org/the-effects-of-assads-atrocities-and-the-call-to-foreign-fighters-to-come-to-syria-on-the-rise-and-fall-of-the-isis-caliphate/">https://www.icsve.org/the-effects-of-assads-atrocities-and-the-call-to-foreign-fighters-to-come-to-syria-on-the-rise-and-fall-of-the-isis-caliphate/</a> [accessed 21 October 2020].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg. "PERSPECTIVE: Who Is Accused ISIS Propagandist Mohammed Khalifa?" *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [11 October 2021]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-who-is-accused-">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-who-is-accused-</a>

- isis-propagandist-mohammed-khalifa/ [accessed 7 November 2021].
- This is the story about the arrest and trial of a Canadian ISIS member who served as one of the key voices in ISIS video productions.
- Sperry, Paul, "Meet the American women who are flocking to join ISIS," *The New York Post* [13 May 2017]. <a href="http://nypost.com/2017/05/13/meet-the-western-women-who-are-flocking-to-join-isis/">http://nypost.com/2017/05/13/meet-the-western-women-who-are-flocking-to-join-isis/</a> [accessed 14 May 2017].
  - Useful understanding of women leaving to go join ISIS. Most of the information is rather old. Not sure if the data reflects a new trend or not.
- Sullivan, Kevin, "Life in the 'Islamic State': Women: 'Till martyrdom do us part'," *The Washington Post* [1 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/life-in-the-islamic-state/2015/10/01/women/">http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/life-in-the-islamic-state/2015/10/01/women/</a> [accessed 6 October 2015].
- Swanson, Ana, "12 ways ISIS gets funding", World Economic Forum [23 November 2015]. http://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/11/12-ways-isis-gets-funding/ [accessed 3 February 2016].
- Syria Justice and Accountability Center, "Judge, Jury and Executioner: The ISIS Bureau of Justice and Grievances," Syria Justice and Accountability Center [14 January 2020].

  <a href="https://syriaaccountability.org/wp-content/uploads/2020.01.14">https://syriaaccountability.org/wp-content/uploads/2020.01.14</a> ISIS EN PDF.pdf [accessed 22 January 2020].
- Taneja, Kabir, "Understanding ISIS: From Conception to Operations," *Observer Research Foundation Occasional Paper 121* [August 2017].
  - https://www.academia.edu/35090816/Understanding ISIS From Conception to Operations [accessed 18 September 2019].
  - The paper looks like it can provide a great summary of ISIS leadership and operations.
- Tara, John, "Everything We Know About ISIS Spy Chief Abu Mohammad al-Adnani," *Time* [4 August 2016]. <a href="http://time.com/4438388/abu-mohammad-al-adnani-isis-emni-profile/">http://time.com/4438388/abu-mohammad-al-adnani-isis-emni-profile/</a> [accessed 5 August 2016].
- Tahir, Tariq, "New ISIS leader named as ex-Saddam henchman 'The Professor' Abdullah Qardash after Baghdadi killed in US raid," *The Sun* [27 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10224942/new-isis-leader-abdullah-qardash-baghdadi/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10224942/new-isis-leader-abdullah-qardash-baghdadi/</a> [accessed 6 November 2019].
- ★ Tarabay, Jamie, "To It's Citizens, ISIS Shows A Softer Side: A Vocative analysis of the group's propaganda finds it wants to be loved as well as feared in its own territory," Vocative [March 20, 2015].
  <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/world/isis-2/to-its-citizens-isis-also-shows-a-softer-side/">http://www.vocativ.com/world/isis-2/to-its-citizens-isis-also-shows-a-softer-side/</a> [accessed 14 September 2015].
  - Tomiuc, Eugen, "Q&A: Islamic State Has 'Metastasized,' Says Pulitzer Prize-Winner Joby Warrick," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* [10 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/content/qa-islamic-state-metastisized-pulitzer-winner-warrick/27850260.html">http://www.rferl.org/content/qa-islamic-state-metastisized-pulitzer-winner-warrick/27850260.html</a> [accessed 11 July 2016].
  - Tønnessen, Truls Hallberg, "Heirs of Zarqawi or Saddam? The relationship between al-Qaida in Iraq and the Islamic State," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Volume 9, Issue 4, August 2015, 48-60. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/27774119/Heirs of Zarqawi or Saddam The relationship between a l-Qaida in Iraq and the Islamic State?email work card=title">https://www.academia.edu/27774119/Heirs of Zarqawi or Saddam The relationship between a l-Qaida in Iraq and the Islamic State?email work card=title</a> [accessed 15 October 2019].

    Great information on leadership and relationships of key ISIS members.
- ★ Tucker, Patrick, "Why Do People Join ISIS? Here's What They Say When You Ask Them", Defense One [8 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2015/12/why-do-people-join-isis-heres-what-they-say-when-you-ask-them/124295/?oref=d-mostread">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2015/12/why-do-people-join-isis-heres-what-they-say-when-you-ask-them/124295/?oref=d-mostread</a> [accessed 10 December 2015]. This gives reference to a report, referenced elsewhere in this bibliography, that includes interviews from 49 former members of ISIS and evaluates why they joined.

- Ullah, Areeb, "Who is he? Experts question the identity of new Islamic State leader," *Middle East Eye* [2 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/who-he-experts-question-identity-new-leader">https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/who-he-experts-question-identity-new-leader</a> [accessed 23 November 2019].
- United States Department of Treasury, "Treasury Designates Key Nodes of ISIS's Financial Network Stretching Across the Middle East, Europe, and East Africa," *Small Wars Journal* [15 April 2019]. <a href="https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/treasury-designates-key-nodes-isiss-financial-network-stretching-across-middle-east-europe">https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/treasury-designates-key-nodes-isiss-financial-network-stretching-across-middle-east-europe</a> [accessed 19 April 2019].
- Valensi, Carmit, "The Weakening of the Islamic State: Have the Mighty Fallen?" *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 905, 14 March 2017.
  - http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20905%20-%20Valensi%20on%20Islamic%20State website.pdf [accessed 16 March 2017].
  - Simple assessment that advises not to overestimate the strength of ISIS nor to overestimate its decline. Essentially, ISIS was never as strong, as successful, or as rich as stated. It also isn't as weak and vulnerable as presently characterized. Good advice throughout the short piece.
- Vessels, Robert, "Between the Wolf and the Crocodile: The Pragmatic Currents of the Islamic State," Middle Eastern Studies Thesis, Faculty Advisor: Dr. Peter Bartu, University of California, Berkeley [Spring 2015].
  - https://www.academia.edu/13006459/Between the Wolf and the Crocodile The Pragmatic Currents of the Islamic State [accessed 13 February 2021].
- Von Hein, Matthias, "'Islamic State' using water as a weapon," *Deutsche Welle* [3 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-using-water-as-a-weapon/a-19093081">http://www.dw.com/en/islamic-state-using-water-as-a-weapon/a-19093081</a> [accessed 6 March 2016].
- Wallace, Brandon and Jennifer Cafarella, "ISIS's Second Resurgence," *Institute for the Study of War* [2 October 2018]. <a href="http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2018/10/isiss-second-resurgence.html">http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2018/10/isiss-second-resurgence.html</a> [accessed 7 November 2018].
- ★ Warrick, Joby, "Exclusive: Iraqi scientist says he helped ISIS make chemical weapons," The Washington Post [21 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/exclusive-iraqi-scientist-says-he-helped-isis-make-chemical-weapons/2019/01/21/617cb8f0-0d35-11e9-831f-3aa2c2be4cbd\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/exclusive-iraqi-scientist-says-he-helped-isis-make-chemical-weapons/2019/01/21/617cb8f0-0d35-11e9-831f-3aa2c2be4cbd\_story.html</a> [accessed 22 January 2019].
  - An excellent discussion on the development of chemical weapons within ISIS controlled Mosul.
  - Warrick, Joby, "Before becoming a terrorist leader, ISIS chief was a prison informer in Iraq for U.S., records show," *The Washington Post* [7 April 2021]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/isis-leader-us-informant/2021/04/07/354133d4-97d4-11eb-962b-78c1d8228819">https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/isis-leader-us-informant/2021/04/07/354133d4-97d4-11eb-962b-78c1d8228819</a> story.html [accessed 31 May 2021].
- ★ Warrick, Joby and Souad Mekhennet, "Inside ISIS: Quietly preparing for the loss of the 'caliphate'," The Washington Post [12 July 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/inside-isis-quietly-preparing-for-the-loss-of-the-caliphate/2016/07/12/9a1a8a02-454b-11e6-8856-f26de2537a9d\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/inside-isis-quietly-preparing-for-the-loss-of-the-caliphate/2016/07/12/9a1a8a02-454b-11e6-8856-f26de2537a9d\_story.html</a> [accessed 13 July 2016].
  - Useful support to the assertion that ISIS is not all about terrain or a linear set of possibilities. They are everywhere and therefore they can lose somewhere.
- ★ Watts, Clint, "What Paris Taught Us About the Islamic State", War on the Rocks [16 November 2015]. http://warontherocks.com/2015/11/what-paris-taught-us-about-the-islamic-state/ [accessed 16 November 2015].
- ★ Watts, Clint, "When The Caliphate Crumbles: The Future of the Islamic State's Affiliates," War on the Rocks [13 June 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/when-the-caliphate-crumbles-the-future-of-the-islamic-states-affiliates/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/when-the-caliphate-crumbles-the-future-of-the-islamic-states-affiliates/</a> [accessed 14 June 2016].

- A quality, detailed discussion on the status and likelihood of survival of the various ISIS affiliates if/when the Caliphate crumbles.
- ★ Weaver, Mary Anne, "The Short, Violent Life of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi: How a video-store clerk and small-time crook reinvented himself as America's nemesis in Iraq," *The Atlantic*, July/August 2006 Issue [8 June 2006]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2006/07/the-short-violent-life-of-abu-musab-al-zarqawi/304983/">https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2006/07/the-short-violent-life-of-abu-musab-al-zarqawi/304983/</a> [accessed 9 March 2020].
  - This is one of the earliest detailed discussions of the background for Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.
- ★ Weiss, Michael, "Confessions of an ISIS Spy: Part One: An Appointment in Istanbul", *The Daily Beast* [15 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/15/confessions-of-an-isis-spy.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/15/confessions-of-an-isis-spy.html</a> [accessed 16 November 2015].
- ★ Weiss, Michael, "Confessions of an ISIS Spy: Part Two: How ISIS Picks Its Suicide Bombers", *The Daily Beast* [16 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/16/how-isis-picks-its-suicide-bombers.html?via=twitter\_page">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/16/how-isis-picks-its-suicide-bombers.html?via=twitter\_page</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
- ★ Weiss, Michael, "Confessions of an ISIS Spy: Part Three: Ministries of Fear", The Daily Beast [17 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/17/inside-isis-torture-brigades.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/17/inside-isis-torture-brigades.html</a> [accessed 22 November 2015].
- ★ Weiss, Michael, "Confessions of an ISIS Spy: Part Four: Escaping the Islamic State", *The Daily Beast* [18 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/18/how-i-escaped-from-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/18/how-i-escaped-from-isis.html</a> [accessed 22 November 2015].
  - Weiss, Michael, "Inside the Head of an ISIS True Believer," *The Daily Beast* [29 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/29/inside-the-head-of-an-isis-true-believer.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/29/inside-the-head-of-an-isis-true-believer.html</a> [accessed 29 August 2016].
  - Weiss, Michael, "Leaked ISIS Documents Show Internal Chaos," *The Daily Beast* [30 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/30/leaked-isis-documents-show-internal-chaos.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/30/leaked-isis-documents-show-internal-chaos.html</a> [accessed 30 August 2016].
- ★ Whiteside, Craig, "The Islamic State and the Return of Revolutionary Warfare," Small Wars & Insurgencies, 27:5, 743-776 [5 August 2016]. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2016.1208287">http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2016.1208287</a> [accessed 14 October 2016].
  - The author explains the progression of ISIS through the lens of revolutionary warfare. This provides excellent resources for explaining maneuver in the narrative space and especially the means of engagement used to turn tribes toward ISIS.
- Whiteside, Craig, "New Masters of Revolutionary Warfare: The Islamic State Movement (2002-2016)," Perspectives on Terrorism, Volume 10, Issue 4, August 2016. <a href="http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/523/html">http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/523/html</a> [accessed 14 October 2016].
  - The author explains the progression of ISIS through the lens of revolutionary warfare. This is a shorter version with similar ideas as the above example.
- ★ Whiteside, Craig, "A Pedigree of Terror: The Myth of the Ba'athist Influence in the Islamic State Movement," Perspectives on Terrorism, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2017.
  <a href="http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/605/html">http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/605/html</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - This is a critical article for understanding the role of Saddam loyalists in influencing, or not, ISIS.
- Winter, Charlie, "The Virtual 'Caliphate': Understanding Islamic State's Propaganda Strategy," Quilliam Foundation [July 2015]. <a href="https://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/publications/free/the-virtual-caliphate-understanding-islamic-states-propaganda-strategy.pdf">https://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/publications/free/the-virtual-caliphate-understanding-islamic-states-propaganda-strategy.pdf</a> [accessed 27 September 2016].

- This is the article with respect to the concept of a virtual caliphate. This includes concepts included in the ISIS narrative.
- Winter, Charlie, "How the Islamic State Is Spinning the Mosul Battle," *The Atlantic* [20 October 2016]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/10/isis-mosul-propaganda-iraq-kurds-peshmerga/504854/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/10/isis-mosul-propaganda-iraq-kurds-peshmerga/504854/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
- ★ Winter, Charlie, "Inside the collapse of Islamic State's propaganda machine," Wired [20 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.wired.co.uk/article/isis-islamic-state-propaganda-content-strategy">https://www.wired.co.uk/article/isis-islamic-state-propaganda-content-strategy</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - The article includes excellent supporting statistics and analysis of the decline in concepts included in the ISIS narrative.
- ★ Winter, Charlie, "How ISIS Survives the Fall of Mosul," *The Atlantic* [3 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/07/mosul-isis-propaganda/532533/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/07/mosul-isis-propaganda/532533/</a>
  [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - The author asserts that the loss of Mosul was part of the ISIS plan all along to antagonize the world such that it could dominate the jihadist narrative.
- ★ Winter, Charlie and Haroro J. Ingram, "Terror, Online and Off: Recent Trends in Islamic State Propaganda Operations," War on the Rocks [2 March 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/terror-online-and-off-recent-trends-in-islamic-state-propaganda-operations/y">https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/terror-online-and-off-recent-trends-in-islamic-state-propaganda-operations/y</a> [accessed 19 April 2018]. Great hard data and quality analysis on the decline of ISIS online material.
- ★ Winter, Charlie and Jade Parker, "Virtual Caliphate Rebooted: The Islamic State's Evolving Online Strategy," *Lawfare* [7 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/virtual-caliphate-rebooted-islamic-states-evolving-online-strategy">https://www.lawfareblog.com/virtual-caliphate-rebooted-islamic-states-evolving-online-strategy</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - The article explains how the online presence of the Islamic State has changed and is changing to accommodate an adjusted emphasis on attacks abroad.
  - Wood, Graeme, "ISIL: Who's Calling the Shots?" *Politico* [14 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/11/isil-whos-calling-the-shots-213360">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/11/isil-whos-calling-the-shots-213360</a> [accessed 16 November 2015].
- ★ Wood, Graeme, "What ISIS Really Wants," AP/The Atlantic [March 2015]. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-really-wants/384980/">http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-really-wants/384980/</a> [accessed 18 February 2015].
- ★ Wood, Graeme, "The American Climbing the Ranks of ISIS," *The Atlantic* [March 2017]. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/03/the-american-leader-in-the-islamic-state/510872/ [accessed 14 January 2017].
  - Woods, Andrew Keane, "ISIS Was Born In An American Detention Facility (And It Wasn't Gitmo)", Lawfare [3 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/isis-was-born-american-detention-facility-and-it-wasnt-gitmo">https://www.lawfareblog.com/isis-was-born-american-detention-facility-and-it-wasnt-gitmo</a> [accessed 4 February 2016].
    - The development of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in Camp Bucca. Great comment about Odierno's focus on securing the streets by locking up bad guys.
  - Yayla, Ahmet S. "Turkish ISIS and AQ Foreign Fighters: Reconciling the Numbers and Perception of the Terrorism Threat," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* [5 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1057610X.2019.1628613?scroll=top&needAccess=true">https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1057610X.2019.1628613?scroll=top&needAccess=true</a> [accessed 20 November 2020].
  - Youssef, Nancy, "ISIS Is Losing Its Capital," *The Daily Beast* [24 February 2016]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/25/isis-is-losing-its-capital.html [accessed 25 February 2016].

- ★ Zelin, Aaron Y., "Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: Islamic State's Driving Force," The Washington Institute for Near East Policy [30 July 2014]. <a href="http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-islamic-states-driving-force">http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-islamic-states-driving-force</a> [accessed 29 April 2016].
- Zelin, Aaron Y., "The Islamic State's Territorial Methodology", Research Notes, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, No. 29, January 2016.
  <a href="http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/ResearchNote29-Zelin.pdf">http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/ResearchNote29-Zelin.pdf</a>
  [accessed 21 January 2016].
  - Probably the best source at describing a methodology for the conduct of ISIS operations.
- ★ Zelin, Aaron Y., "The Archivist: Unseen Islamic State Military Commanders Manual: Qualities and Manners of the Mujahid Commander," Jihadology [11 April 2016].
  <a href="http://jihadology.net/2016/04/11/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-military-commanders-manual-qualities-and-manners-of-the-mujahid-commander/">http://jihadology.net/2016/04/11/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-military-commanders-manual-qualities-and-manners-of-the-mujahid-commander/</a> [accessed 13 April 2016].
  - Zoltán, Prantner, "The Military Potential of ISIS," *Defense Review* [2015]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/16987368/The\_Military Potential of ISIS">https://www.academia.edu/16987368/The\_Military Potential of ISIS</a> [accessed 11 December 2019].
  - Zorzut, Adrian, "ISIS leader blows up himself and his entire family while using kids as human shields in bloody US special forces raid," *The Sun* [3 February 2022]. <a href="https://www.the-sun.com/news/4603497/isis-leader-the-professor-killed-by-us-special-ops/">https://www.the-sun.com/news/4603497/isis-leader-the-professor-killed-by-us-special-ops/</a> [accessed 5 March 2022].

### **ISIS Aftermath**

- Knights, Michael, Hamdi Malik, and Aymenn Jawad al-Tamimi. 2020. *Honored, Not Contained: The Future of Iraq's Popular Mobilization Forces*. Washington DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus 163, March 2020.
  - https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus163-KnightsMalikTamimi-v3.pdf [accessed 5 June 2020].
- Plebani, Andrea, editor. 2017. *After Mosul. Re-Inventing Iraq.* Milan, Italy: ISPI. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/34492249/The Liberation of Mosul in the Middle Eastern Balance of Power [accessed 27 December 2019].">https://www.academia.edu/34492249/The Liberation of Mosul in the Middle Eastern Balance of Power [accessed 27 December 2019].</a>
- "ISIS 2020: A Series of Briefings from the Nonstate Actors and Geopolitics Program." *Center for Global Policy*. This is a weekly series of reports.
  - al-Ghadhawi, Abdullah, "ISIS in Syria: A Deadly New Focus," Center for Global Policy [28 April 2020]. <a href="https://cgpolicy.org/articles/isis-in-syria-a-deadly-new-focus/">https://cgpolicy.org/articles/isis-in-syria-a-deadly-new-focus/</a> [accessed 28 October 2020].
  - 19. Waters, Gregory, "Strengthening and Expanding: ISIS' Central Syria Campaign," *Center for Global Policy* [19 August 2020]. <a href="https://cgpolicy.org/articles/strengthening-and-expanding-isis-central-syria-campaign/">https://cgpolicy.org/articles/strengthening-and-expanding-isis-central-syria-campaign/</a> [accessed 28 October 2020].
  - 21. Sturdee, Nick and Mairbek Vatchagaev, "ISIS in the North Caucasus," *Center for Global Policy* [26 October 2020]. <a href="https://cgpolicy.org/articles/isis-in-the-north-caucasus/">https://cgpolicy.org/articles/isis-in-the-north-caucasus/</a> [accessed 28 October 2020].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "Iraq moves to limit influence of Iran-backed militias," *Military Times* [2 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/07/02/iraq-moves-to-limit-influence-of-iran-backed-militias/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/07/02/iraq-moves-to-limit-influence-of-iran-backed-militias/</a> [accessed 2 July 2019].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "Iraq takes security measures following mysterious blasts," *Military Times* [15 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/08/15/iraq-takes-security-measures-following-mysterious-blasts/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/08/15/iraq-takes-security-measures-following-mysterious-blasts/</a> [accessed 16 August 2019].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "Iraqi protesters defy curfew as violence leaves 33 dead," *Associated Press* [3 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.apnews.com/cff518843b1b4a5c886bc431cc2fcdcb">https://www.apnews.com/cff518843b1b4a5c886bc431cc2fcdcb</a> [accessed 3 October 2019].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "Prime minister vows ISIS will never again overrun Iraqi territory," *Military Times* [10 June 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/06/10/prime-minister-vows-isis-will-never-again-overrun-iraqi-territory/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/06/10/prime-minister-vows-isis-will-never-again-overrun-iraqi-territory/</a> [accessed 11 June 2020].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim, "Iraqi leader says country still needs US help to counter ISIS threat," *Military Times* [17 August 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/08/17/iraqi-leader-says-country-still-needs-us-help-to-counter-isis-threat">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/08/17/iraqi-leader-says-country-still-needs-us-help-to-counter-isis-threat</a> [accessed 20 August 2020].
- ★ Abdul-Zahra, Qassim and Bassem Mroue, "Iraqi militant killed by US worked with Iran for decades,"

  \*\*Military Times\* [3 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/01/03/iraqi-militant-killed-by-us-worked-with-iran-for-decades/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/01/03/iraqi-militant-killed-by-us-worked-with-iran-for-decades/</a> [accessed 6 January 2020].
  - Based on conversations with students I think this article is really important. This is the best article so far explaining who the Iraqi militia leader was who was killed along with Qasem Soleimani.
  - Abdul-Zahra, Qassim and Samya Kullab, "As US forces in Iraq and Syria face increasing attacks, fissures

- form between Iran and militias it backs," *Military Times* [9 July 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2021/07/09/as-us-forces-in-iraq-and-syria-face-increasing-attacks-fissures-form-between-iran-and-militias-it-backs/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2021/07/09/as-us-forces-in-iraq-and-syria-face-increasing-attacks-fissures-form-between-iran-and-militias-it-backs/</a> [accessed 19 July 2021].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim and Zeina Karam, "Iraqi militia leader wants US troops to leave," *Military Times* [29 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/01/29/iraqi-militia-leader-wants-us-troops-to-leave/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/01/29/iraqi-militia-leader-wants-us-troops-to-leave/</a> [accessed 2 February 2019].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim and Zeina Karam, "Why Iraq's president says there's no serious opposition to US troops in his country," *Military Times* [31 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/31/why-iraqs-president-says-theres-no-serious-opposition-to-us-troops-in-his-country/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/31/why-iraqs-president-says-theres-no-serious-opposition-to-us-troops-in-his-country/</a> [accessed 1 April 2019].
- Abdul-Zahra, Qassim and Zeina Karam, "Militias a growing challenge for Iraq ahead of talks with US," *Military Times* [31 March 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2021/03/31/militias-a-growing-challenge-for-iraq-ahead-of-talks-with-us/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2021/03/31/militias-a-growing-challenge-for-iraq-ahead-of-talks-with-us/</a> [accessed 31 May 2021].
- Aboulenein, Ahmed, "Iraq protesters march toward Baghdad's Green Zone, one killed," *Reuters* [24 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-protests/protesters-march-towards-baghdads-fortified-green-zone-as-anti-government-protests-resume-idUSKBN1X32SV">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-protests/protesters-march-towards-baghdads-fortified-green-zone-as-anti-government-protests-resume-idUSKBN1X32SV</a> [accessed 25 October 2019].
- Aboulenein, Ahmed, "Iraqi prime minister's fate in limbo as protests swell, two killed," *Reuters* [30 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-protests/iraqi-prime-ministers-main-backers-agree-to-oust-him-idUSKBN1X90HX">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-protests/iraqi-prime-ministers-main-backers-agree-to-oust-him-idUSKBN1X90HX</a> [accessed 5 November 2019].
- Aboulenein, Ahmed and Maher Chmaytelli, "Cleric Sadr, in surprise comeback, seems set to win Iraq election," *Reuters* [13 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-election/cleric-sadr-in-surprise-comeback-seems-set-to-win-iraq-election-idUSKCN1IE091">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-election/cleric-sadr-in-surprise-comeback-seems-set-to-win-iraq-election-idUSKCN1IE091</a> [accessed 14 May 2018].
- Abu Zeed, Adnan, "Iraq outlines plans to rebuild country, inspire tolerance", *Al Monitor* [26 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/06/mosul-iraq-reconstruction-national-reconciliation.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/06/mosul-iraq-reconstruction-national-reconciliation.html</a> [accessed 27 June 2017].
  - The proposed plan does not begin until 2018. That seems too late. A lot of people and extreme beliefs will develop in the time between success and reconstruction. Of course, that assumes that this will occur as stated. Highly debatable.
- Agence France-Presse, "First civilians return to Raqa after mines cleared: US-backed force," *al-Monitor* [6 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/11/syria-conflict-raqa-mines.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/11/syria-conflict-raqa-mines.html</a> [accessed 7 November 2017].
- al-Abadi, Haider, "Iraq Will Remain United," *The New York Times* [18 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/18/opinion/iraq-will-remain-united.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/18/opinion/iraq-will-remain-united.html</a> [accessed 20 October 2017].
- al-Ali, Zaid, "Can Anyone Stop Iran From Taking Over Iraq?" *The New York Times* [15 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/opinion/iran-iraq-politics.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/opinion/iran-iraq-politics.html</a> [accessed 16 August 2017].
- Alexander, Caroline and Glen Carey, "Islamic State's revival is back in play," *Stars & Stripes* [11 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/islamic-state-s-revival-is-back-in-play-1.614387">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/islamic-state-s-revival-is-back-in-play-1.614387</a> [accessed 22 January 2020].
- Al Jazeera, "Gunmen lay siege to Kirkuk voting stations, block count," *Al Jazeera* [16 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/gunmen-lay-siege-kirkuk-voting-stations-block-count-180516144737909.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/gunmen-lay-siege-kirkuk-voting-stations-block-count-180516144737909.html</a> [accessed 17 May 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Iraq's Sadr announces political alliance with pro-Iranian bloc," *Al Jazeera* [13 June 2018]. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/iraq-sadr-announces-political-alliance-pro-iranian-bloc-

- 180613045304818.html [accessed 14 June 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Iraq builds fence along Syria border to block ISIL fighters," *Al Jazeera* [1 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/07/iraq-builds-fence-syria-border-block-isil-fighters-180701194456186.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/07/iraq-builds-fence-syria-border-block-isil-fighters-180701194456186.html</a> [accessed 2 July 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "ISIL committed war crimes at Mosul prison, UN investigation finds," *Al Jazeera* [4 December 2021]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/3/isil-committed-war-crimes-at-mosul-prison-un-investigation-finds">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/3/isil-committed-war-crimes-at-mosul-prison-un-investigation-finds</a> [accessed 4 December 2021].
- Alkadiri, Raad and Christine M. Van Der Toorn, "Aiming Big by Thinking Small: A New U.S. Policy for Iraq," *War on the Rocks* [3 February 2021]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2021/02/aiming-big-by-thinking-small-a-new-u-s-policy-for-iraq/">https://warontherocks.com/2021/02/aiming-big-by-thinking-small-a-new-u-s-policy-for-iraq/</a> [accessed 21 February 2021].
- alMomani, Hasan Mohammad and WizamHazimah, "The Uniqueness of ISIS: Achievements and Inevitable Setbacks 2014-2018," Dirasat, Human and Social Sciences, Volume 46, No. 4, 2019, 537-550 [28 April 2019].
  - https://www.academia.edu/41455441/The Uniqueness of ISIS Achievements and Inevitable Set backs 2014 2018 [accessed 22 November 2020].
- Al-Monitor Staff, "Islamic State exploits economic downturn in Iraq, Syria, US envoy says," al-Monitor [1 July 2021]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/07/islamic-state-exploits-economic-downturn-iraq-syria-us-envoy-says">https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/07/islamic-state-exploits-economic-downturn-iraq-syria-us-envoy-says</a> [accessed 19 July 2021].
- ★ al-Tamim, Aymenn, "The Myth of ISIS's Strategic Brilliance," *Defense One* [21 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/07/myth-isis-strategic-brilliance/139623/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/07/myth-isis-strategic-brilliance/139623/</a> [accessed 24 July 2017].
  - A short, but well-argued explanation of ISIS decline as part of ISIS defeats rather than part of a sinister master plan.
- Ali, Wajahat, "A Muslim Among Israeli Settlers," The Atlantic [June 2018 print issue]. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/06/a-muslim-among-the-settlers/559145/ [accessed 14 May 2018].
  - This is absolutely fantastic in tone and insight. Please read it with an open mind.
  - Having lived in both Jordan and Israel, I was amazed as I spoke with people to understand the complexity of the debate. Americans often look for a good guy or a bad guy. Who is right or who is wrong. But, in this case both sides are right. Or, both sides are wrong. It all depends on the perspective.
- ★ Arango, Tim, "Iran Dominates in Iraq After U.S. 'Handed the Country Over'," *The New York Times* [15 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/15/world/middleeast/iran-iraq-iranian-power.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/15/world/middleeast/iran-iraq-iranian-power.html</a> [accessed 17 July 2017].
  - An excellent discussion on the role and influence of Iran in Iraq. Probably the best article on this important topic so far.
  - Arraf, Jane, "As East Mosul Comes Back To Life, West Mosul Remains In Ruins," NPR Morning Edition [18 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/09/18/551482635/as-east-mosul-comes-back-to-life-west-mosul-remains-in-ruins">http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/09/18/551482635/as-east-mosul-comes-back-to-life-west-mosul-remains-in-ruins</a> [accessed 19 September 2017].
  - The Associated Press, "ISIS leader calls on fighters to free detained comrades," *Military Times* [16 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/09/16/isis-leader-calls-on-fighters-to-free-detained-comrades/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/09/16/isis-leader-calls-on-fighters-to-free-detained-comrades/</a> [accessed 18 September 2019].
  - Barrett, Richard, "Beyond the Caliphate: Foreign Fighters and the Threat of Returnees," *The Soufan Center* [October 2017]. <a href="https://thesoufancenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Beyond-the-Caliphate-Foreign-Fighters-and-the-Threat-of-Returnees-TSC-Report-October-2017-v3.pdf">https://thesoufancenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Beyond-the-Caliphate-Foreign-Fighters-and-the-Threat-of-Returnees-TSC-Report-October-2017-v3.pdf</a> [accessed 14 March 2020].
  - Billingsley, Dodge, "Understanding Iran's missile strikes on U.S. bases in Iraq," Deseret News [8 January

- 2020]. <a href="https://www.deseret.com/indepth/2020/1/8/21056864/iran-missile-strike-al-asad-iraq-irbil-suleimani-syria">https://www.deseret.com/indepth/2020/1/8/21056864/iran-missile-strike-al-asad-iraq-irbil-suleimani-syria</a> [accessed 10 January 2020].
- Bowden, John, "Ohio man charged with attempting to join ISIS," *The Hill* [25 October 2018]. <a href="https://thehill.com/policy/defense/413172-ohio-man-charged-with-attempting-to-join-isis">https://thehill.com/policy/defense/413172-ohio-man-charged-with-attempting-to-join-isis</a> [accessed 26 October 2018].
- Cafarella, Jennifer, Kimberly Kagan, Aaron Hesse, Samantha Leathley, and Jason Zhou, "Intra Shi'a Civil War Begins in Iraq," *Institute for the Study of War* [6 September 2018]. <a href="http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2018/09/intra-shia-civil-war-begins-in-iraq.html">http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2018/09/intra-shia-civil-war-begins-in-iraq.html</a> [accessed 12 September 2018].
- Cambanis, Thanassis, "The War on ISIS Held the Middle East Together," *Defense One* [17 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/10/war-isis-held-middle-east-together/141839/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/10/war-isis-held-middle-east-together/141839/</a> [accessed 18 October 2017].
- Cammack, Perry and Daniel Benaim, "Playing the Long Game in Iraq," War on the Rocks [18 May 2018]. https://warontherocks.com/2018/05/playing-the-long-game-in-iraq/ [accessed 18 May 2018].
- Carey, Glen, "Islamic State, Al-Qaeda Hunker Down to Rebuild in Weaker Nations," *Bloomberg* [20 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/amp/news/articles/2019-08-20/islamic-state-al-qaeda-hunker-down-to-rebuild-in-weaker-nations">https://www.bloomberg.com/amp/news/articles/2019-08-20/islamic-state-al-qaeda-hunker-down-to-rebuild-in-weaker-nations</a> [accessed 21 August 2019].
- Carter, Ash, "How to make the Islamic State's defeat last," *The Washington Post* [12 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-finally-defeat-the-islamic-state--and-make-it-last/2017/07/12/4d72ecc8-6717-11e7-a1d7-9a32c91c6f40">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-finally-defeat-the-islamic-state--and-make-it-last/2017/07/12/4d72ecc8-6717-11e7-a1d7-9a32c91c6f40">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-finally-defeat-the-islamic-state--and-make-it-last/2017/07/12/4d72ecc8-6717-11e7-a1d7-9a32c91c6f40">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-finally-defeat-the-islamic-state--and-make-it-last/2017/07/12/4d72ecc8-6717-11e7-a1d7-9a32c91c6f40">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-finally-defeat-the-islamic-state--and-make-it-last/2017/07/12/4d72ecc8-6717-11e7-a1d7-9a32c91c6f40</a> story.html [accessed 14 July 2017].
- ★ Chmaytelli, Maher, "Iraq's Maliki poses as Shi'ite champion in race for top job," *Reuters* [2 May 2018]. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-election-maliki-newsmaker/iraqs-maliki-poses-as-shiite-champion-in-race-for-top-job-idUSKBN1I31M1 [accessed 4 May 2018].
  - Nuri al-Maliki never really left a position of significant influence in the Iraqi political landscape. This article explains his efforts to regain his formal position of leadership.
  - Chulov, Martin, "Iraq's oldest Christian town celebrates Easter without Isis," *The Guardian* [21 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/21/iraqs-oldest-christian-town-celebrates-easter-without-isis">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/21/iraqs-oldest-christian-town-celebrates-easter-without-isis</a> [accessed 1 May 2019].
  - Chulov, Martin and Nadia al-Faour, "'They deserve no mercy': Iraq deals briskly with accused 'women of Isis'," *The Guardian* [22 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/22/they-deserve-no-mercy-iraq-deals-briskly-with-accused-women-of-isis">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/22/they-deserve-no-mercy-iraq-deals-briskly-with-accused-women-of-isis</a> [accessed 23 May 2018].
  - The Cipher Brief, "The Importance of the Basra Protests," *The Cipher Brief* Intel Brief [12 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/soufan-center/the-importance-of-the-basra-protests">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/soufan-center/the-importance-of-the-basra-protests</a> [accessed 13 September 2018].
- ★ Clarke, Colin P. "How ISIS Is Transforming: Why Predictions of Its Demise Are Premature," Foreign Affairs [25 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2017-09-25/how-isis-transforming">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2017-09-25/how-isis-transforming</a> [accessed 13 October 2017].
  - This is a great discussion on where ISIS is going and how the organization seems to turning into something different. Al-Qaeda and ISIS changed tactics in 2004-2006 from large-scale 9/11-like attacks to small attacks on numerous targets. We still talk about preventing another 9/11 more than a decade later. Are these groups changing again and are we missing it once more?
- ★ Coker, Margaret, "After Fall of ISIS, Iraq's Second-Largest City Picks Up the Pieces," *The New York Times* [10 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/10/world/middleeast/iraq-isis-mosul.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/10/world/middleeast/iraq-isis-mosul.html</a> [accessed 11 December 2017].
  - This is a feel-good story about the willingness of the residents to solve their own problems and get about a better life. One can only hope that this will continue to be the predominant spirit in the city.

- Cook, Joana and Gina Vale, "From Daesh to 'Diaspora': Tracing the Women and Minors of Islamic State," The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence [17 July 2018]. <a href="https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Women-in-ISIS-report\_20180719\_web.pdf">https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Women-in-ISIS-report\_20180719\_web.pdf</a> [accessed 26 July 2018].
  - An excellent resource for the number of people who traveled to ISIS territory and the magnitude of the problems of those who have and are returning to their nation of origin.
  - Cottee, Simon and Mia Bloom, "The Sinister ISIS Plan for Women and Children," *The Daily Beast* [28 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-sinister-isis-plan-for-women-and-children?ref=scroll">https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-sinister-isis-plan-for-women-and-children?ref=scroll</a> [accessed 30 March 2019].
  - Culbertson, Shelly and Linda Robinson, "Making Victory Count After Defeating ISIS: Stabilization Challenges in Mosul and Beyond," Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2017.

    <a href="https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR2000/RR2076/RAND\_RR2076">https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR2000/RR2076/RAND\_RR2076</a>.

    <a href="pdf">pdf</a> [accessed 17 September 2017].
  - Cummings-Bruce, Nick, "Horrid Conditions in Syria Camp Where ISIS Families Fled Risk Fostering Extremism," *The New York Times* [11 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/11/world/middleeast/syria-camp-isis-families-islamic-state-extremism.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/11/world/middleeast/syria-camp-isis-families-islamic-state-extremism.html</a> [accessed 15 September 2019].
  - Davison, John, "Islamic State hits back, aided by power vacuum in Iraq and Syria," *Reuters* [2 February 2022]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/islamic-state-hits-back-aided-by-power-vacuum-iraq-syria-2022-02-02/">https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/islamic-state-hits-back-aided-by-power-vacuum-iraq-syria-2022-02-02/</a> [accessed 2 February 2022].
  - Davison, John and Ahmed Rasheed, "In Saddam strongholds that fought America, Iraqis fear a U.S. departure," *Reuters* [5 February 2021]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN2A51BL">https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN2A51BL</a> [accessed 12 February 2021].
  - DePetris, Daniel R. "Washington's Worst Kept Secret: The Islamic State Isn't Defeated," *The National Interest* [26 March 2019]. <a href="https://nationalinterest.org/blog/skeptics/washingtons-worst-kept-secret-islamic-state-isnt-defeated-49192">https://nationalinterest.org/blog/skeptics/washingtons-worst-kept-secret-islamic-state-isnt-defeated-49192</a> [accessed 27 March 2019].
  - Detsch, Jack, "US faces WWII-scale explosives cleanup in Iraq after Islamic State fight," *al-Monitor* [19 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/wwii-scale-explosives-cleanup-islamic-state-iraq-mosul.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/wwii-scale-explosives-cleanup-islamic-state-iraq-mosul.html</a> [accessed 20 September 2017].
  - Detsch, Jack, "Raqqa win pulls US deeper into Syria conflict," *al-Monitor* [17 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/raqqa-win-syria-us-deeper-into-conflict-ypg.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/raqqa-win-syria-us-deeper-into-conflict-ypg.html</a> [accessed 18 October 2017].
  - Deutsche Welle, "German authorities probe identities of women found in Mosul tunnel," *Deutsche Welle* [17 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/german-authorities-probe-identities-of-women-found-in-mosul-tunnel/a-39729581">http://www.dw.com/en/german-authorities-probe-identities-of-women-found-in-mosul-tunnel/a-39729581</a> [accessed 19 July 2017].
  - Deutsche Welle, "Iraqi Kurdistan President Masoud Barzani to step down," *Deutsche Welle* [29 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/iraqi-kurdistan-president-masoud-barzani-to-step-down/a-41160836">http://www.dw.com/en/iraqi-kurdistan-president-masoud-barzani-to-step-down/a-41160836</a> [accessed 30 October 2017].
  - Deutsche Welle, "Kurdish independence referendum: Iraq court rejects result," *Deutsche Welle* [6 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/kurdish-independence-referendum-iraq-court-rejects-result/a-41256723">http://www.dw.com/en/kurdish-independence-referendum-iraq-court-rejects-result/a-41256723</a> [accessed 7 November 2017].
  - Deutsche Welle, "Iraq ballot warehouse up in flames before election recount," *Deutsche Welle* [10 June 2018]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/iraq-ballot-warehouse-up-in-flames-before-election-recount/a-44149699">http://www.dw.com/en/iraq-ballot-warehouse-up-in-flames-before-election-recount/a-44149699</a> [accessed 11 June 2018].
  - Deutsche Welle, "Iraq braces for more unrest as Basra protests gather pace," Deutsche Welle [16 July

- 2018]. https://www.dw.com/en/iraq-braces-for-more-unrest-as-basra-protests-gather-pace/a-44694011 [accessed 17 July 2018].
- Deutsche Welle, "German IS member on trial for war crimes in Munich," *Deutsche Welle* [9 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/german-is-member-on-trial-for-war-crimes-in-munich/a-48259664">https://www.dw.com/en/german-is-member-on-trial-for-war-crimes-in-munich/a-48259664</a> [accessed 9 April 2019].
- De Visser, Nadette, "From ISIS-Lands to the Netherlands: Jihadists Try to Get the Press to Help Them Come Home," *The Daily Beast* [24 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/from-isis-lands-to-the-netherlands-jihadists-try-to-get-the-press-to-help-them-come-home">http://www.thedailybeast.com/from-isis-lands-to-the-netherlands-jihadists-try-to-get-the-press-to-help-them-come-home</a> [accessed 25 July 2017].
- Dilanian, Ken, Anna Schecter, and Richard Engel, "ISIS terrorists known as 'The Beatles' admit involvement in captivity of slain Americans," *NBC News* [23 July 2020]. <a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/two-isis-terrorists-dubbed-beatles-admit-involvement-captivity-kayla-mueller-n1234584">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/two-isis-terrorists-dubbed-beatles-admit-involvement-captivity-kayla-mueller-n1234584</a> [accessed 24 July 2020].
- Eckel, Mike, "Interview: Its 'Aura' Dented By Lost Foothold, Islamic State Still Poses Threat," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* [10 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/interview-aura-dented-by-lost-foothold-islamic-state-still-threat/28606344.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/interview-aura-dented-by-lost-foothold-islamic-state-still-threat/28606344.html</a> [accessed 11 July 2017].
- Editorial Board, "Editorial: In Iraq, the danger of a dormant Islamic State," *Chicago Tribune* [21 December 2017]. <a href="www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/editorials/ct-edit-islamic-state-iraq-20171220-story.html">www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/editorials/ct-edit-islamic-state-iraq-20171220-story.html</a> [accessed 22 December 2017].
- El-Ghobashy, Tamer, Mustafa Salim, and Louisa Loveluck, "Islamic State's 'caliphate' has been toppled in Iraq and Syria. Why isn't anyone celebrating?" *The Washington Post* [5 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/islamic-statescaliphate-has-been-toppled-in-iraq-and-syria-why-isnt-anyone-celebrating/2017/12/04/67737794-c97a-11e7-b506-8a10ed11ecf5\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/islamic-statescaliphate-has-been-toppled-in-iraq-and-syria-why-isnt-anyone-celebrating/2017/12/04/67737794-c97a-11e7-b506-8a10ed11ecf5\_story.html</a> [accessed 6 December 2017].
- Everstine, Brian W. "Airstrikes Continue Against ISIS in Iraq and Syria," *Air Force Magazine* [6 January 2021]. <a href="https://www.airforcemag.com/airstrikes-continue-against-isis-in-iraq-and-syria/">https://www.airforcemag.com/airstrikes-continue-against-isis-in-iraq-and-syria/</a> [accessed 22 January 2021].
  - This is really short, but the data is excellent.
- ★ Fantappie, Maria, "Widespread Protests Point to Iraq's Cycle of Social Crisis," International Crisis Group [10 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/widespread-protests-point-iraqs-cycle-social-crisis">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/widespread-protests-point-iraqs-cycle-social-crisis</a> [accessed 11 October 2019]. This is an excellent primer on the current Iraqi political violence and tenuous political climate in Iraq. It is four pages as a .pdf, but useful and important to read.
  - France 24, "Syria Kurds say deal made for 31,000 displaced Iraqis to go home," *France 24* [11 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.france24.com/en/20190411-syria-kurds-say-deal-made-31000-displaced-iraqis-go-home">https://www.france24.com/en/20190411-syria-kurds-say-deal-made-31000-displaced-iraqis-go-home</a> [accessed 14 April 2019].
  - Garland, Chad, "Islamic State's 'very own Jabba the Hutt' captured in Mosul," *Stars & Stripes* [17 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/islamic-state-s-very-own-jabba-the-hutt-captured-in-mosul-1.615184">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/islamic-state-s-very-own-jabba-the-hutt-captured-in-mosul-1.615184</a> [accessed 22 January 2020].
  - Garland, Chad, "ISIS remains a persistent 'low-level' threat in Iraq and Syria, US report says," *Stars & Stripes* [4 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/theaters/middle-east/2021-08-04/ISIS-persistent-threat-iraq-syria-ig-report-2443267.html">https://www.stripes.com/theaters/middle-east/2021-08-04/ISIS-persistent-threat-iraq-syria-ig-report-2443267.html</a> [accessed 23 August 2021].
  - George, Susannah, "After Mosul victory, Iraq mulls future of Shiite militias," *Military Times* [24 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/2017/07/24/after-mosul-victory-iraq-mulls-future-of-shiite-militias/">http://www.militarytimes.com/2017/07/24/after-mosul-victory-iraq-mulls-future-of-shiite-militias/</a> [accessed 25 July 2017].
  - George, Susannah, "Iraqi victories remain fragile as US reduces troops," Military Times [18 February

- 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/18/iraqi-victories-remain-fragile-as-us-reduces-troops/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/18/iraqi-victories-remain-fragile-as-us-reduces-troops/</a> [accessed 20 February 2018].
- George, Susannah and Lori Hinnant, "Few ready to pay to rebuild Iraq after Islamic State group defeat," Military Times [28 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/28/few-ready-to-pay-to-rebuild-iraq-after-islamic-state-group-defeat/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/28/few-ready-to-pay-to-rebuild-iraq-after-islamic-state-group-defeat/</a> [accessed 2 January 2018].
  One cannot defeat a hydra without healing the wounds caused. This is demonstrated both through mythology and Captain America movies. This article expresses the challenges associated with healing the wounds in Iraq. Many of the problems are related to the Government of Iraq, but some are also related to the international community and how it views contemporary conflict. War is more about influence then violence. Hopefully we will understand this or else the wreckage of Iraq will be the incubator for the next global enemy.
- Gharizi, Osama and Haidar al-Ibrahim, "Baghdad Must Seize the Chance to Work with Iraq's Tribes," War on the Rocks [17 January 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/01/baghdad-must-seize-chance-work-iraqs-tribes/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/01/baghdad-must-seize-chance-work-iraqs-tribes/</a> [accessed 18 January 2018].
  - The article includes important information on Iraqi tribes in both construct, role, and history.
  - Gilsinan, Kathy and Mike Giglio, "What ISIS Will Become," *The Atlantic* [22 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/11/evolution-of-isis/602293/">https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/11/evolution-of-isis/602293/</a> [accessed 23 March 2020].
  - Gordon, Michael R. "In a Desperate Syrian City, a Test of Trump's Policies," *The New York Times* [1 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/01/world/middleeast/syria-raqqa-tabqa.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/01/world/middleeast/syria-raqqa-tabqa.html</a> [accessed 3 July 2017].
    - Details on Tabqa about two months after the fighting ended. This provides interesting information on the rebuilding or "healing" effort and how much the US is providing and what it is currently saying that it won't provide.
  - Gould, Joe, "Trump demands Europe take ISIS prisoners, America's latest ask in Syria," *Defense News* [17 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/congress/2019/02/17/trump-demands-europe-take-isis-prisoners-americas-latest-ask-in-syria/">https://www.defensenews.com/congress/2019/02/17/trump-demands-europe-take-isis-prisoners-americas-latest-ask-in-syria/</a> [accessed 19 February 2019].
  - Hardan, Mohammed, "Islamic State revives religious police in northeast Syria," *al-Monitor* [21 June 2021]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/06/islamic-state-revives-religious-police-northeast-syria">https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/06/islamic-state-revives-religious-police-northeast-syria</a> [accessed 22 June 2021].
- ★ Hassan, Hassan, "What ISIS Did to My Village," The Atlantic [27 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/04/isis-i-study-today-not-isis-my-past/588088/">https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/04/isis-i-study-today-not-isis-my-past/588088/</a>
  [accessed 13 May 2019].
  - Well written article by a true ISIS expert. This is depressing, but illuminating as a reader can understand the present impacts of ISIS and the Syrian civil war.
- Hawramy, Fazel, "How Iran helped Baghdad seize back Kirkuk," al-Monitor [17 October 2017]. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/iran-kirkuk-recapture-soleimani-quds-force-eqbalpour.html [accessed 18 October 2017].
  - Really informative. The future for Kurdistan and the Iraqi Kurdish Regional Government may be in jeopardy as a result of recent events. The loss of Kirkuk in, what is essentially, a single-day battle is explained in some detail in this article. The Shia in Southern Iraq never really forgave the U.S. for not supporting them when they rose up against Saddam Hussein in 1991. It is uncertain what the long-term effects of this will be for the Kurds vis-à-vis the U.S. government.
  - Heller, Sam, "When Measuring ISIS's "Resurgence", Use the Right Standard," *International Crisis Group* [13 May 2020]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/when-measuring-isiss-resurgence-use-right-standard">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/when-measuring-isiss-resurgence-use-right-standard</a> [accessed 15 May 2020].

- Hof, Frederic C. "ISIS, Syria, and Iraq: A Year-End Appraisal," *Atlantic Council* [19 December 2017]. <a href="http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/isis-syria-and-iraq-a-year-end-appraisal">http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/isis-syria-and-iraq-a-year-end-appraisal</a> [accessed 19 December 2017].
- Holmes, Amy Austin, Diween Hawezy, and Brett Cohen, "Five Years of Airstrikes: Turkish Aggression and International Silence in Sinjar, 2017-2021," ICSVE Research Reports [2 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.icsve.org/five-years-of-airstrikes-turkish-aggression-and-international-silence-in-sinjar-2017-2021/">https://www.icsve.org/five-years-of-airstrikes-turkish-aggression-and-international-silence-in-sinjar-2017-2021/</a> [accessed 23 August 2021].
- Hubbard, Ben, "'What Is Going to Happen to Us?' Inside ISIS Prison, Children Ask Their Fate," *The New York Times* [23 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/23/world/middleeast/what-is-going-to-happen-to-us-inside-isis-prison-children-ask-their-fate.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/23/world/middleeast/what-is-going-to-happen-to-us-inside-isis-prison-children-ask-their-fate.html</a> [accessed 31 October 2019].
- Ibrahim, Arwa, "Muqtada al-Sadr: Iraq's militia leader turned champion of poor," *Al Jazeera* [17 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/muqtada-al-sadr-iraq-militia-leader-turned-champion-poor-180517053738881.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/muqtada-al-sadr-iraq-militia-leader-turned-champion-poor-180517053738881.html</a> [accessed 18 May 2018].
- International Crisis Group, "Iraq's Paramilitary Groups: The Challenge of Rebuilding a Functioning State," International Crisis Group Middle East Report, Number 188, 30 July 2018. https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/188-iraqs-paramilitary-groups.pdf [accessed 30 July 2018].
- International Crisis Group, "How to Cope with Iraq's Summer Brushfire," *International Crisis Group Middle East & North Africa*, Number 61, 31 July 2018. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b061-how-to-cope-with-iraqs-summer-brushfire.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b061-how-to-cope-with-iraqs-summer-brushfire.pdf</a> [accessed 31 July 2018].
- Issa, Philip, "Iraqi court issues arrest warrant for Kurdish vice president," *Military Times* [19 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/19/iraqi-court-issues-arrest-warrant-for-kurdish-vice-president/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/19/iraqi-court-issues-arrest-warrant-for-kurdish-vice-president/</a> [accessed 20 October 2017].
- Issa, Philip, "Iraqi lawmakers demand US withdraw its troops after Trump's surprise visit," *Military Times* [27 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/12/27/iraqi-lawmakers-demand-us-withdraw-its-troops-after-trumps-surprise-visit-2/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/12/27/iraqi-lawmakers-demand-us-withdraw-its-troops-after-trumps-surprise-visit-2/</a> [accessed 29 December 2018].
- Issa, Philip and Qassim Abdul-Zahra, "Record low turnout in first Iraq elections since IS defeat," *The Washington Post* [12 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraqi-polls-open-in-first-elections-since-victory-over-is/2018/05/12/3f078118-559a-11e8-a6d4-ca1d035642ce\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\_term=.b214c3d5417b">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/iraqi-polls-open-in-first-elections-since-victory-over-is/2018/05/12/3f078118-559a-11e8-a6d4-ca1d035642ce\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\_term=.b214c3d5417b</a> [accessed 13 May 2018].
- Jalabi, Raya, "Residents are returning to Mosul but ISIS is still a threat," *Business Insider* [9 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.businessinsider.com/r-islamic-state-still-a-threat-as-mosul-residents-return-to-city-in-ruins-2017-8">http://www.businessinsider.com/r-islamic-state-still-a-threat-as-mosul-residents-return-to-city-in-ruins-2017-8</a> [accessed 10 August 2017].
- Jalabi, Raya and Alissa de Carbonnel, "Exclusive: Islamic State suspects sent by U.S. from Syria to Iraq," Reuters [29 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-islamicstate-transfers/exclusive-islamic-state-suspects-sent-by-u-s-from-syria-to-iraq-idUSKCN1SZOR1">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-islamicstate-transfers/exclusive-islamic-state-suspects-sent-by-u-s-from-syria-to-iraq-idUSKCN1SZOR1</a> [accessed 30 May 2019].
- Johnson, Bridget, "ISIS: Hurricanes Show U.S. Must be Overrun with 'Disasters and Illness'," *PJ Media* [25 September 2017]. <a href="https://pjmedia.com/homeland-security/2017/09/25/isis-hurricanes-show-u-s-must-overrun-disasters-illness/">https://pjmedia.com/homeland-security/2017/09/25/isis-hurricanes-show-u-s-must-overrun-disasters-illness/</a> [accessed 5 October 2017].
- Kadercan, Burak, "Defeat as Victory? How the Islamic State Will Rely on Hijrah to Claim a Win," War on the Rocks [13 October 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/10/defeat-as-victory-how-the-islamic-state-will-rely-on-hijrah-to-claim-a-win/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/10/defeat-as-victory-how-the-islamic-state-will-rely-on-hijrah-to-claim-a-win/</a> [accessed 13 October 2017].
  This is a great warning for what needs to be considered. The most important element is on understanding the

ISIS perspective on territoriality.

- Kenner, David, "All ISIS Has Left Is Money. Lots of It." *The Atlantic* [24 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/03/isis-caliphate-money-territory/584911/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/03/isis-caliphate-money-territory/584911/</a> [accessed 25 March 2019].
- Khalid, Tuqa, "U.S. forces to stay in Iraq as long as needed: spokesman," *Reuters* [19 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-usa/u-s-forces-to-stay-in-iraq-as-long-as-needed-spokesman-idUSKBN1L408A">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-usa/u-s-forces-to-stay-in-iraq-as-long-as-needed-spokesman-idUSKBN1L408A</a> [accessed 20 August 2018].
- Kittleson, Shelly, "Anbar governor thanks PMUs, tells them to get out," *al-Monitor* [18 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/01/anbar-sunni-pmu-iraq.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/01/anbar-sunni-pmu-iraq.html</a> [accessed 22 January 2018].
- Kittleson, Shelly, "Iraq's New Prime Minister Wants to Control the Iran-Backed Militias. It Won't Be Easy." Foreign Policy [7 August 2020]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/07/iraqs-needs-control-iran-backed-militias/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/07/iraqs-needs-control-iran-backed-militias/</a> [accessed 14 August 2020].
- Klimas, Jacqueline and Wesley Morgan, "Raqqa's liberation will change, not end, fight against ISIS," *Politico* [17 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/story/2017/10/17/isis-islamic-state-war-iraq-syria-243886">http://www.politico.com/story/2017/10/17/isis-islamic-state-war-iraq-syria-243886</a> [accessed 18 October 2017].
- Knights, Michael and Alex Almeida, "Remaining and Expanding: The Recovery of Islamic State Operations in Iraq in 2019-2020," Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, CTC Sentinel, May 2020, volume 13, Issue 5, 12-27. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/CTC-SENTINEL-052020.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/CTC-SENTINEL-052020.pdf</a> [accessed 5 June 2020].
  - The best data-based expression of ISIS behavior in its cycle 8 or cycle 9 behavior.
  - Kristian, Bonnie, "ISIS Might Come Back. That's Just One More Reason to Get Out of Syria," *Defense One* [20 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/02/isis-might-come-back-s-just-one-more-reason-get-out-syria/154973/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/02/isis-might-come-back-s-just-one-more-reason-get-out-syria/154973/</a> [accessed 21 February 2019].
  - Lawlor, Katherine and Brandon Wallace, "Warning Intelligence Update: Iran Increases Pressure on U.S. Forces in Iraq," *Institute for the Study of War* [23 January 2020]. <a href="http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/warning-intelligence-update-iran-increases-pressure-us-forces-irag">http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/warning-intelligence-update-iran-increases-pressure-us-forces-irag</a> [accessed 27 January 2020].
  - Lemmon, Gayle Tzemach, "The Next Battle: State Department, US Military Divided Over Kurdish Fighters In Syria (And Russia)," *Defense One* [11 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/07/next-battle-state-department-us-military-divides-over-kurdish-fighters-syria-and-russia/139358/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/07/next-battle-state-department-us-military-divides-over-kurdish-fighters-syria-and-russia/139358/</a> [accessed 12 July 2017].
  - Lerette, Morgan, "'How would we know when it was over?' Perspective is power in forever wars," *Military Times* [28 October 2021].
    - https://www.militarytimes.com/opinion/commentary/2021/10/28/how-would-we-know-when-it-was-over-perspective-is-power-in-forever-wars/ [accessed 31 October 2021].
    - One of my favorite bosses regularly uttered my most hated phrase from my 26 years of uniformed service "widen your aperture." I most often heard that phrase after I criticized something the U.S. military or government was doing in Iraq. At the time, we both worked in Baghdad for a three-star general. I had served in the Middle East, at that point, for more than six years. I though my aperture was wide wider than most U.S. officers and, I thought (and I still think) wider than that of my boss. My complaints were almost always about the short-sighted or culturally foolish decisions or actions of the U.S. government as it sought to implement some policy or in the process of departing Iraq as the conversations happened at the end of 2010 and into the first half of 2011.
    - The attached article offers a perspective of a former junior officer and his frustrations. Some might challenge that perspective for not having a wide enough aperture. I think that such an approach is wrong. If our policies do not make sense to those who actually have to implement them then the problem is the policy and not the

perspective. Widening or narrowing the aperture shouldn't alter the efficacy of an objective. It is possible, in war, that a junior leader is told to attack a place with limited chance of success in order to facilitate success elsewhere along the line, but that should be built in to the orders issued. Soldiers, unlike fighters and warriors, are expected to follow orders out of disciplined obedience that may result in their death in pursuit of the higher unit's mission or objective.

So much of my GWOT frustration has been that the senior leaders haven't know what they were doing any more than those who questioned them. Rather than have the hard conversations that might promote collective widening of perspective apertures, such efforts were closed down as the junior leader was told his or her perspective was inaccurate and if he or she had the proper perspective all things would become clear and comprehensible. That was not true ten years ago and it isn't true today.

- ★ Longman, James, "Caliphate wives share their stories year after ISIS defeat: Reporter's Notebook," *ABC News* [19 February 2020]. <a href="https://abcnews.go.com/International/caliphate-wives-share-stories-year-isis-defeat-reporters/story?id=69055474">https://abcnews.go.com/International/caliphate-wives-share-stories-year-isis-defeat-reporters/story?id=69055474</a> [accessed 20 February 2020].
  - This is another fascinating piece on the ISIS women still languishing in camps that Syrian Kurds are forced to manage. As I have said before, this is crucial to get right. The children in these camps are being indoctrinated with a story-narrative connection that is poisonous and maybe long-term dangerous and deadly. I appreciate another report that adds to earlier great work on this same topic.
  - Mamouri, Ali, "Iraq's Islamists dump religion for upcoming elections," *al-Monitor* [21 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/01/iraq-political-islam-secular-civil-movement.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/01/iraq-political-islam-secular-civil-movement.html</a> [accessed 22 January 2018].
  - Mamouri, Ali, "Can Iraq's Sadr swing nonsectarian government?" *al-Monitor* [22 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/05/iraq-election-abadi-muqtada-sadr-iran.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/05/iraq-election-abadi-muqtada-sadr-iran.html</a> [accessed 24 May 2018].
- ★ Mansour, Renad, "More Than Militias: Iraq's Popular Mobilization Forces Are Here To Stay," War on the Rocks [3 April 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/04/more-than-militias-iraqs-popular-mobilization-forces-are-here-to-stay/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/04/more-than-militias-iraqs-popular-mobilization-forces-are-here-to-stay/</a> [accessed 6 April 2018].
  - The Popular Mobilization Forces represent a serious challenge to the monopoly of violence by the Iraqi state. There are many who will also say that such groups represent an attempt by Iran to create an Iraqi version of Hezbollah. This article provides both the background and the current situation sufficient to help a reader understand what has and is happening regarding what we typically call Shia militias.
  - Mansour, Renad, "Reining in Iraq's Paramilitaries Will Just Make Them Stronger," *Foreign Policy* [9 July 2019]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/09/shiite-militias-are-taking-over-the-iraqi-state-from-the-inside/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/09/shiite-militias-are-taking-over-the-iraqi-state-from-the-inside/</a> [accessed 10 July 2019].
  - Mansour, Renad and Hisham al-Hashimi, "ISIS Inc." Foreign Policy [16 January 2018]. http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/01/16/isis-inc-islamic-state-iraq-syria/ [accessed 18 January 2018].
- McCain, John, "Statement by SASC Chairman John McCain on the Retaking of Raqqa," McCain.Senate.gov [17 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.mccain.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2017/10/statement-by-sasc-chairman-john-mccain-on-the-retaking-of-raqqa">https://www.mccain.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2017/10/statement-by-sasc-chairman-john-mccain-on-the-retaking-of-raqqa</a> [accessed 18 October 2017].
  - Regardless of political affiliation, this statement reflects a sad truth that needs to be rectified quickly.
  - McIntyre, Jamie, "ISIS hasn't yet morphed into an insurgency in Iraq, US commander says," *Washington Examiner* [16 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/isis-hasnt-yet-morphed-into-an-insurgency-in-iraq-us-commander-says/article/2646077">www.washingtonexaminer.com/isis-hasnt-yet-morphed-into-an-insurgency-in-iraq-us-commander-says/article/2646077</a> [accessed 17 January 2018].
  - McKay, Hollie, "After ISIS campaign, Iran-backed fighters in Iraq vow to drive out US troops," *Fox News* [21 December 2017]. <a href="www.foxnews.com/world/2017/12/21/after-isis-defeat-iran-backed-fighters-in-iraq-vow-to-drive-out-us-troops.html">www.foxnews.com/world/2017/12/21/after-isis-defeat-iran-backed-fighters-in-iraq-vow-to-drive-out-us-troops.html</a> [accessed 22 December 2017].

- McKernan, Bethan, "Former IS fighters say they paid way out of Kurdish jail in 'reconciliation' scheme," *The Guardian* [22 November 2021]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/nov/22/former-is-fighters-say-they-paid-way-out-of-kurdish-jail-in-reconciliation-scheme">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/nov/22/former-is-fighters-say-they-paid-way-out-of-kurdish-jail-in-reconciliation-scheme</a> [accessed 3 December 2021].
- ★ Mekhennet, Souad and Joby Warrick, "The jihadist plan to use women to launch the next incarnation of ISIS," The Washington Post [26 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-jihadist-plan-to-use-women-to-launch-the-next-incarnation-of-isis/2017/11/26/e81435b4-ca29-11e7-8321-481fd63f174d\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-jihadist-plan-to-use-women-to-launch-the-next-incarnation-of-isis/2017/11/26/e81435b4-ca29-11e7-8321-481fd63f174d\_story.html</a> [accessed 28 November 2017].
  - This article provides excellent context for a deeper and more contextually appropriate conversation about ISIS and their ilk. In discussions of the future of ISIS, the comments can sometimes vary from the extremes of the group being destroyed to ISIS being populated by dedicated masterminds who are only feigning defeat to come back again once the resolve of its opponents has weakened. Obviously, both extreme positions are wrong. It is important to appreciate that there is a generational component to this conflict. The key to the next generation is the mothers. Understanding and shaping the narrative space is essential to working with the mothers to teach their children in such a way that we can all live on the same planet in peace.
  - Meko, Tim, "Now that the Islamic State has fallen in Iraq and Syria, where are all its fighters going?" *The Washington Post* [22 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/world/isis-returning-fighters/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/world/isis-returning-fighters/</a> [accessed 27 February 2018].
- Micallef, Joseph V. "A Year After al-Baghdadi's Death, ISIS Is Alive -- and Growing," *Military.com* [6 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/opinions/2020/11/06/year-after-al-baghdadis-death-isis-alive-and-growing.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/opinions/2020/11/06/year-after-al-baghdadis-death-isis-alive-and-growing.html</a> [accessed 12 November 2020].
  - A really good summary of the state of ISIS a year after al-Baghdadi's death. This is worth your time if ISIS has dropped off your 2020 radar because of all of the other events happening this year. I think the author places a lot more emphasis on the criminal aspect of the group than on the aspirational ideology. However; I believe that is because the criminal activities affect people globally rather than primarily within a specific region.
  - Military Times, "After ISIS collapse in Raqqa, US faces other extremism threats," *Military Times* [17 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2017/10/17/after-is-collapse-in-raqqa-us-faces-other-extremism-threats/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2017/10/17/after-is-collapse-in-raqqa-us-faces-other-extremism-threats/</a> [accessed 18 October 2017].
  - Milton, Daniel and Muhammad al-`Ubaydi, "The Fight Goes On: The Islamic State's Continuing Military Efforts in Liberated Cities," Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point [29 June 2017]. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-fight-goes-on-the-islamic-states-continuing-military-efforts-in-liberated-cities">https://ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-fight-goes-on-the-islamic-states-continuing-military-efforts-in-liberated-cities</a> [accessed 14 July 2017].
- ★ Mironova, Vera, "The next Islamic State would be deadlier," The Washington Post [4 October 2017]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-next-islamic-state-would-be-deadlier/2017/10/04/2ed036bc-a85e-11e7-92d1-58c702d2d975 story.html?tid=ss tw&utm term=.ec095f1e9e67 [accessed 7 October 2017]. Great article. The real danger with ISIS is not what they are doing now, but how we are fighting them. A
  - military member once described fighting ISIS as fighting the mythological hydra. He suggested that Hercules needed to heal the wounds of the hydra before new heads could grow back. The question is are we healing the wounds or are we simply cutting off heads and allowing more to grow back in their place?
  - Moshashai, Daniel, "Iraq after ISIS," Paper for the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna [13 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/36806334/Iraq">https://www.academia.edu/36806334/Iraq</a> after ISIS [accessed 30 November 2019].
  - Mroue, Bassem, "Their caliphate in ruins, ISIS militants melt into the desert," *Military Times* [29 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/29/their-caliphate-in-ruins-isis-militants-melt-into-the-desert/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/29/their-caliphate-in-ruins-isis-militants-melt-into-the-desert/</a> [accessed 30 October 2017].

- Mühlberger, Wolfgang and Olli Ruohomäki, "Middle Eastern Terror in Flux: Mosul after DAESH, DAESH after Raqqa," The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, FIIA Briefing Paper 212 [January 2017]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/32941954/MIDDLE\_EASTERN\_TERROR\_IN\_FLUX">https://www.academia.edu/32941954/MIDDLE\_EASTERN\_TERROR\_IN\_FLUX</a> [accessed 30 November 2019].
  - Data on the offensives and sieges for the fight for and against ISIS.
- Muñoz, Carlo, "Iraq's Sadr militia agrees to disband, surrender weapons to Baghdad," *The Washington Times* [11 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/dec/11/iraqs-sadr-militia-agrees-disband-surrender-weapon/">https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/dec/11/iraqs-sadr-militia-agrees-disband-surrender-weapon/</a> [accessed 12 December 2017].
- Muralidharan, Rathna K. "The Battle For Iraq Doesn't End With Mosul—Or ISIS," *The National Interest* [12 July 2017]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/the-battle-iraq-doesnt-end-mosul%E2%80%94or-isis-21521">http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/the-battle-iraq-doesnt-end-mosul%E2%80%94or-isis-21521</a> [accessed 14 July 2017].
- Murdock, Heather, "After Mosul: The IS Family Dilemma," *Voice of America* [16 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/after-mosul-the-is-family-dilemma/3946483.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/after-mosul-the-is-family-dilemma/3946483.html</a> [accessed 16 July 2017].
  - Useful anecdotal information on the treatment of ISIS families post liberation.
- Murdock, Heather, "Rebuilding 'Hell Square' in Syria's Raqqa," Voice of America [6 November 2017]. https://www.voanews.com/a/syria-raqqa-hell-square/4102735.html [accessed 7 November 2017]. This article explains through a few anecdotes the problems with killing a hydra. How does one heal the wounds? The wounds present in Raqqa are enormous and will take years to heal. The patient assistance and re-education needed is daunting. It is also necessary. If there is no healing, then as with the mythical hydra, two more heads will grow back to take the place of the ISIS head so recently removed from these various villages, towns, and cities.
- ★ Murdock, Heather, "Iraq: A Year after Victory, Stability Still a Dream," Voice of America [25 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/iraq-a-year-after-victory-stability-still-a-dream/4715827.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/iraq-a-year-after-victory-stability-still-a-dream/4715827.html</a> [accessed 26 December 2018].
  - Who should rebuild after ISIS? Is the decision to delay or deny funding a purposeful effort to punish those who lived under ISIS control? The hopeful answer is no. I remember those who said that Nuri al-Maliki was not intentionally driving the Sunni toward extremism in 2011 and 2012. Spending billions in reconstruction now may save hundreds of billions in ammunition expended a few years down the road.
  - Myers, Meghann and Shawn Snow, "US strikes Iran-backed militia strongholds in Iraq and Syria," *Military Times* [29 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/12/29/us-strikes-iran-backed-militia-strongholds-in-iraq-and-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/12/29/us-strikes-iran-backed-militia-strongholds-in-iraq-and-syria/</a> [accessed 30 December 2019].
  - Neurink, Judith, "Fallujah still bears scars of 'Islamic State' occupation," *Deutsche Welle* [26 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/fallujah-still-bears-scars-of-islamic-state-occupation/a-39410839">http://www.dw.com/en/fallujah-still-bears-scars-of-islamic-state-occupation/a-39410839</a> [accessed 27 June 2017].
    - Information on the condition of Fallujah about a year after it being "cleared" of ISIS. Not a happy story, so far.
  - O'Connor, Tom, "Iran and Iraq Military Unite Against 'Terrorism,' Creating Potential Problems for U.S." Newsweek [24 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.newsweek.com/iran-iraq-military-unite-terrorism-potential-problems-us-641118">http://www.newsweek.com/iran-iraq-military-unite-terrorism-potential-problems-us-641118</a> [accessed 25 July 2017].
  - O'Sullivan, Meghan L. "Iraq's Two New Leaders Offer a Glimmer of Hope," *Bloomberg Opinion* [3 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-10-03/salih-and-abdul-mahdi-as-iraq-s-new-leaders-offer-glimmer-of-hope">https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-10-03/salih-and-abdul-mahdi-as-iraq-s-new-leaders-offer-glimmer-of-hope</a> [accessed 4 October 2018].
  - Paiva, Felipe, "Mosul post-ISIL: A city struggling to rebuild," *Al Jazeera* [29 April 2018]. https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/mosul-post-isil-city-struggling-rebuild-

- 180426185106964.html [accessed 30 April 2018].
- Rasheed, Ahmed, "Top Iraq militia chief warns of tough response to U.S. air strikes," *Reuters* [30 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/top-iraq-militia-chief-warns-of-tough-response-to-us-air-strikes/ar-BBYsnXi?ocid=spartanntp">https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/top-iraq-militia-chief-warns-of-tough-response-to-us-air-strikes/ar-BBYsnXi?ocid=spartanntp</a> [accessed 30 December 2019].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "Nine Abrams tanks fell into the hands of Iranian-backed militias during anti-ISIS fight," *Military Times* [8 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/02/08/nine-abrams-tanks-fell-into-the-hands-of-iranian-backed-militias-during-anti-isis-fight/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2018/02/08/nine-abrams-tanks-fell-into-the-hands-of-iranian-backed-militias-during-anti-isis-fight/</a> [accessed 10 February 2018].
- Reuters, "Iraq steps up retaliation against Kurdish independence vote with dollar ban," CNBC [3 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.cnbc.com/2017/10/03/iraq-steps-up-retaliation-against-kurdish-independence-vote-with-dollar-ban.html">https://www.cnbc.com/2017/10/03/iraq-steps-up-retaliation-against-kurdish-independence-vote-with-dollar-ban.html</a> [accessed 4 October 2017].
- ★ Rogin, Josh, "ISIL is building a new caliphate from inside a Syrian refugee camp, and the West has no plan to combat it," National Post [16 August 2019]. <a href="https://nationalpost.com/news/world/isil-is-building-a-new-caliphate-from-inside-a-syrian-refugee-camp-and-the-west-has-no-plan-to-combat-it">https://nationalpost.com/news/world/isil-is-building-a-new-caliphate-from-inside-a-syrian-refugee-camp-and-the-west-has-no-plan-to-combat-it</a> [accessed 17 August 2019].
  - Please read this. What a sad commentary on our failure to learn from our own mistakes. Some have scoffingly said that ISIS was created in Camp Bucca during the US occupation of Iraq. It was there that we allowed Abu Bakr al Baghdadi access and respect in the facility which allowed him to build his network of contacts. These contacts were among those who built and led ISIS upon al-Baghdadi's release. This article explains that we are doing something very similar in Syria. It is not enough to beat an enemy on the battlefield anymore. We must help to build the desired new world. This isn't new, but we seem to not want to learn it.
  - Great authors and researchers like Rukmini Callimachi and Anne Speckhard among others have been warning about this for years. We need to take action.
- ★ Rubin, Alissa J. "On the Road to Sinjar, Armed Men With Shifting Allegiances Decide Who Can Pass," *The New York Times Magazine* [2 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/02/magazine/iraq-sinjar-checkpoints-militias.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/02/magazine/iraq-sinjar-checkpoints-militias.html</a> [accessed 3 April 2018].
  - This article is a simple road-trip story. That is not what makes it worth reading. The value in the story comes from the implications of the patchwork of groups and lack of consistent control across a relatively small portion of a much larger country. How does a central government regain control of these disparate groups that it needed to remove ISIS?
  - Saadoun, Mustafa, "Iraqi authorities clamp down on sectarian hate speech," *Al-Monitor* [19 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/shiite-arbaeen-pilgrimage-sunnifigures.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/shiite-arbaeen-pilgrimage-sunnifigures.html</a> [accessed 20 November 2017].
  - Salaheddin, Sinan, "Iraq's Kurds offer to freeze results of independence vote," *Military Times* [25 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/25/iraqs-kurds-offer-to-freeze-results-of-independence-vote/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/25/iraqs-kurds-offer-to-freeze-results-of-independence-vote/</a> [accessed 26 October 2017].
  - Sayah, Reza, "This Iran-backed militia helped save Iraq from ISIS. Now Washington wants them to disband," *PBS News Hour Transcript* [7 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/this-iran-backed-militia-helped-save-iraq-from-isis-now-washington-wants-them-to-disband">https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/this-iran-backed-militia-helped-save-iraq-from-isis-now-washington-wants-them-to-disband</a> [accessed 11 December 2017].
  - Schmitt, Eric, Alissa J. Rubin, and Thomas Gibbons Neff, "ISIS Is Regaining Strength in Iraq and Syria," *The New York Times* [19 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/19/us/politics/isis-iraq-syria.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/19/us/politics/isis-iraq-syria.html</a> [accessed 20 August 2019].
  - Schmitt, Eric, "ISIS Prisoners Threaten U.S. Mission in Northeastern Syria," *The New York Times* [25 May 2020]. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/world/middleeast/isis-prisoners-syria.html [accessed

- 26 May 2020].
- Schogol, Jeff, "A 'Post-ISIS Insurgency' Is Gaining Steam In Northern Iraq, Analysts Say," *Task and Purpose* [24 April 2018]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/post-isis-insurgency-is-gaining-steam-in-iraq/">https://taskandpurpose.com/post-isis-insurgency-is-gaining-steam-in-iraq/</a> [accessed 26 April 2018].
- Schumacher, Elizabeth, "Iraq sentences 27 to death over Camp Speicher massacre," *Deutsche Welle* [8 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/iraq-sentences-27-to-death-over-camp-speicher-massacre/a-40013656">http://www.dw.com/en/iraq-sentences-27-to-death-over-camp-speicher-massacre/a-40013656</a> [accessed 9 August 2017].
- Seligman, Lara, "Fears Rise of an ISIS Comeback: The U.S. drawdown could provide a dangerous opening for the Islamic State to resurge." *Foreign Policy* [2 July 2019]. https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/02/fears-rise-of-an-isis-comeback/ [accessed 3 July 2019].
- Shane, Leo III, "As ISIS threat fades, fight over who gets credit rises," *Military Times* [17 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2018/01/17/as-isis-threat-fades-fight-over-who-gets-credit-rises/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2018/01/17/as-isis-threat-fades-fight-over-who-gets-credit-rises/</a> [accessed 18 January 2018].
- Shinkman, Paul D., "Is Baghdadi Dead? For ISIS, it May Not Matter," *US News* [11 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-07-11/us-cant-confirm-reports-russia-killed-isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi">https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-07-11/us-cant-confirm-reports-russia-killed-isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi</a> [accessed 12 July 2017].
- Shinkman, Paul D., "After ISIS' Defeat: Where is Baghdadi?," *US News* [25 March 2019]. https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2019-03-25/after-isis-defeat-where-is-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi [accessed 27 March 2019].
  - Not a statement of US strategy; this article still gives insight into that strategy. It is one of attrition. The most fascinating quote comes from a USMC colonel who says, "If al-Baghdadi is the king of his so-called caliphate, then we don't need to go directly after him," Folsom said, comparing the war to a game of chess. "All we need to do is systematically pick off his knights, his rooks and bishops, his mid-level and senior commanders, until none of them are left to protect him. And then eventually we'll bring him to justice."
- Sky, Emma, "America Has Become Dispensable in Iraq," *The Atlantic* [18 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/kirkuk-kurdistan-iran-usa-mediator/543237/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/kirkuk-kurdistan-iran-usa-mediator/543237/</a> [accessed 20 October 2017].
- Sly, Liz, "Captured ISIS fighters get short sentences and art therapy in Syria," *Washington Post* [14 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/08/14/captured-isis-fighters-get-short-sentences-art-therapy-syria/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/08/14/captured-isis-fighters-get-short-sentences-art-therapy-syria/</a> [accessed 15 August 2019].
- ★ Sly, Liz and Aaso Ameen Schwan, "ISIS is near defeat in Iraq. Now comes the hard part." The Washington Post [13 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/isis-is-near-defeat-in-iraq-now-comes-the-hard-part/2017/09/13/68b1f742-8d9e-11e7-9c53-6a169beb0953\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/isis-is-near-defeat-in-iraq-now-comes-the-hard-part/2017/09/13/68b1f742-8d9e-11e7-9c53-6a169beb0953\_story.html</a> [accessed 15 September 2017].
  - Reconciliation and rebuilding will determine what becomes of Iraq. In this article one sees that neither process is moving forward at a pace that will prevent future internal strife. The article includes an excellent quote from a former Iraqi Foreign Minister who states, "All the writing is on the wall that there will be another ISIS," he said, using an acronym for the Islamic State. "The scale of frustration. The lack of hope. The lack of government stepping in. What can you expect?"
  - Sly, Liz and Louisa Loveluck, "Islamic State detainees mutiny at prison in Syria," *The Washington Post* [30 March 2020]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/islamic-state-detainees-mutiny-at-prison-in-syria/2020/03/30/8fc4a0dc-7252-11ea-ad9b-254ec99993bc\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/islamic-state-detainees-mutiny-at-prison-in-syria/2020/03/30/8fc4a0dc-7252-11ea-ad9b-254ec99993bc\_story.html</a> [accessed 30 March 2020].
  - Snow, Shawn, "US Abrams tanks sway the battle in Kirkuk," *Military Times* [20 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/19/us-abrams-tanks-sway-the-battle-in-kirkuk/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/19/us-abrams-tanks-sway-the-battle-in-kirkuk/</a> [accessed 20 October 2017].
  - Snow, Shawn, "Russia wants to join the ISIS battle in Iraq," Military Times [6 December 2017].

- https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/06/russia-wants-to-join-the-isis-in-iraq/ [accessed 7 December 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "US troops to remain in Iraq and Syria for the foreseeable future," *Military Times* [20 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/20/us-troops-to-remain-in-iraq-and-syria-for-the-foreseeable-future/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/20/us-troops-to-remain-in-iraq-and-syria-for-the-foreseeable-future/</a> [accessed 21 December 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "New in 2018: The fight against ISIS evolves," *Military Times* [31 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/31/new-in-2018-the-fight-against-isis-evolves/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/31/new-in-2018-the-fight-against-isis-evolves/</a> [accessed 2 January 2018].
- Snow, Shawn, "What it's like to survive a deadly rocket attack and the Iranian missile barrage in Iraq," *Military Times* [9 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/01/09/this-is-what-its-like-to-survive-a-deadly-rocket-attack-in-irag/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/01/09/this-is-what-its-like-to-survive-a-deadly-rocket-attack-in-irag/</a> [accessed 10 January 2020].
- The Soufan Center, "Intelbrief: Reluctant Justice for Returning Foreign Fighters and Families," *The Soufan Center* [25 February 2019]. <a href="https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-reluctant-justice-for-returning-foreign-fighters-and-families/">https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-reluctant-justice-for-returning-foreign-fighters-and-families/</a> [accessed 26 February 2019].
- The Soufan Center, "TSC IntelBrief: The Long Shadow of the Caliphate," *The Soufan Center* [12 April 2019]. <a href="https://mailchi.mp/thesoufancenter/the-long-shadow-of-the-caliphate">https://mailchi.mp/thesoufancenter/the-long-shadow-of-the-caliphate</a> [accessed 14 April 2019].
- The Soufan Center, "IntelBrief: One Year after Killing of Baghdadi, What is the State of the Islamic State?" *The Soufan Center* [26 October 2020]. <a href="https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-one-year-after-killing-of-baghdadi-what-is-the-state-of-the-islamic-state/">https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-one-year-after-killing-of-baghdadi-what-is-the-state-of-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 28 October 2020].
  - For those not already receiving material from Ajit Maan, Ph.D. this is an excellent summary of the current status of ISIS. Simply stated, it is not destroyed. The division of state narratives is probably ISIS' most successful endeavor. It claimed a goal early on to rid the Muslim community and the world of the gray zone. One interpretation of the gray zone is the area where a person can be hyphenated i.e. a Muslim-American or a French-Muslim. ISIS and their ilk want to force people into the extremes and by so doing increase their ability to lead one of the extremes.
- South, Todd, "Iraq declared victory over ISIS. But the fight isn't over." *Military Times* [20 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/20/iraq-declared-victory-over-isis-but-the-fight-isnt-over/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/20/iraq-declared-victory-over-isis-but-the-fight-isnt-over/</a> [accessed 21 December 2017].
- South, Todd, "Inspector general to look at whether US support helps Iraqi special ops forces defeat insurgents," *Military Times* [16 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/01/16/inspector-general-to-look-at-whether-us-support-helps-iraqi-special-operations-forces-defeat-insurgents/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/01/16/inspector-general-to-look-at-whether-us-support-helps-iraqi-special-operations-forces-defeat-insurgents/</a> [accessed 27 March 2019].
- Specia, Megan, "This Is What Victory Over ISIS Looks Like," *The New York Times* [19 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/19/world/middleeast/islamic-state-reconstruction.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/19/world/middleeast/islamic-state-reconstruction.html</a> [accessed 20 October 2017].
- Speckhard, Anne, "Imprisoned ISIS Wives and Children Have Nowhere to Run To, Nowhere to Hide," *The Daily Beast* [17 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/imprisoned-isis-wives-and-children-caught-between-bashar-assad-turkish-onslaught-as-kurdish-guards-pull-out-1">https://www.thedailybeast.com/imprisoned-isis-wives-and-children-caught-between-bashar-assad-turkish-onslaught-as-kurdish-guards-pull-out-1</a> [accessed 23 October 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne, "Stopping the Next London Bridge Attack: How to Reduce Risks Posed by Terror Parolees," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [3 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/stopping-the-next-london-bridge-attack-how-to-reduce-risks-posed-by-terror-parolees/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/stopping-the-next-london-bridge-attack-how-to-reduce-risks-posed-by-terror-parolees/</a> [accessed 5 December 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne, "Leaked Document Reveals EU in Talks with Syrian Democratic Forces About the Fate of EU ISIS Detainees," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [2 March 2020]. https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/leaked-document-

- <u>reveals-eu-in-talks-with-syrian-democratic-forces-about-the-fate-of-eu-isis-detainees/</u> [accessed 23 March 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne, "PERSPECTIVE: ISIS Death in SDF Prison Raises Questions About Repatriation Before They Face Death," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [8 September 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-isis-death-in-sdf-prison-raises-questions-about-repatriation-before-they-face-death/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-isis-death-in-sdf-prison-raises-questions-about-repatriation-before-they-face-death/</a> (accessed 15 September 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne, "How the FBI Nabbed a German ISIS Woman Over 5-Year-Old Girl's Vile Murder," *The Daily Beast* [25 October 2021]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/inside-the-fbi-plot-to-nab-jennifer-wenisch-a-german-isis-woman-over-5-year-old-girls-murder">https://www.thedailybeast.com/inside-the-fbi-plot-to-nab-jennifer-wenisch-a-german-isis-woman-over-5-year-old-girls-murder</a> [accessed 2 November 2021].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "How Do You Deprogram a Country After ISIS Is Defeated?" *The Daily Beast* [19 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-do-you-deprogram-a-country-after-isis-is-defeated">https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-do-you-deprogram-a-country-after-isis-is-defeated</a> [accessed 19 December 2017].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Will ISIS live on in Iraq?" *The Hill* [11 March 2018]. <a href="http://thehill.com/opinion/international/377621-will-isis-live-on-in-iraq">http://thehill.com/opinion/international/377621-will-isis-live-on-in-iraq</a> [accessed 12 March 2018].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "ISIS When Serving Terrorism is an "All in the Family" Affair
  How to Recover the Lost Children and Spouses of ISIS," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [7 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/36567723/ISIS">https://www.academia.edu/36567723/ISIS</a> <a href="https://www.academia.edu/36567723/ISIS">When Serving Terrorism is an All in the Family Affair How to Recover the Lost Children a nd Spouses of ISIS 1?auto=download [accessed 8 May 2018].</a>
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "PERSPECTIVE: In Legal Wrangling Over ISIS Families, Should Anyone Be Allowed Home?" Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [31 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-in-legal-wrangling-over-isis-babies-parents-should-anyone-be-allowed-to-return-home/">home/</a> [accessed 1 November 2018].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Returning ISIS Foreign Fighters: Radicalization Challenges for the Justice System," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [4 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/returning-isis-foreign-fighters-radicalization-challenges-for-the-justice-system/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/returning-isis-foreign-fighters-radicalization-challenges-for-the-justice-system/</a> [accessed 5 November 2018].
  This is an excellent description of the problems with how the West sees the Islamic State and those who fight there. Dr. Speckhard's work is essential for expressing a more complete understanding of the challenges associated with returning Islamic State fighters whether they be defectors or prisoners.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "ISIS women: Victims, criminals, or both?" Washington Examiner [2 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/op-eds/isis-women-victims-criminals-or-both">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/op-eds/isis-women-victims-criminals-or-both</a> [accessed 6 November 2018].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Yazidi Survivors of ISIS' Cruelty Face Hurdles in Finding Justice," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [18 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/yazidi-survivors-of-isis-cruelty-face-hurdles-finding-justice/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/yazidi-survivors-of-isis-cruelty-face-hurdles-finding-justice/</a> [accessed 19 December 2018].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "PERSPECTIVE: Children of ISIS Mothers Are Dying in Front of their Eyes in Detention Camps," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [18 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-children-of-isis-mothers-are-dying-in-front-of-their-eyes-in-detention-camps/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-children-of-isis-mothers-are-dying-in-front-of-their-eyes-in-detention-camps/[accessed 20 March 2019].</a>
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "PERSPECTIVE: Enacting Western Justice in Regard to ISIS Foreign Fighters and Their Families," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security

- Today.US [1 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-enacting-western-justice-in-regard-to-isis-foreign-fighters-and-their-families/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-enacting-western-justice-in-regard-to-isis-foreign-fighters-and-their-families/</a> [accessed 4 July 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "PERSPECTIVE: Trump's Warning to Europe Accentuates Need for Countries to Repatriate ISIS Detainees," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [13 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-trumps-warning-to-europe-accentuates-need-for-countries-to-repatriate-isis-detainees/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-trumps-warning-to-europe-accentuates-need-for-countries-to-repatriate-isis-detainees/</a> [accessed 18 August 2019].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Waiting for Return of the Caliphate Among ISIS Enforcers in Syria's al Hol, Ain Issa and Roj Camps," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [3 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/waiting-for-the-return-of-the-caliphate-among-isis-enforcers-in-syrias-al-hol-ain-issa-and-roj-camps/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/waiting-for-the-return-of-the-caliphate-among-isis-enforcers-in-syrias-al-hol-ain-issa-and-roj-camps/</a> [accessed 3 September 2019].
  - Great article. This is wonderful support to earlier posted articles on the problems in the detention camps in Syria. Here are details of the actions of pro-ISIS women in the camps. These camps are seemingly breeding grounds for a next generation of extremism.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "PERSPECTIVE: SDF Needs Our Help Now as Another Woman in Camp Hol Killed by ISIS Enforcers," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [1 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/pespective-sdf-needs-our-help-now-as-another-woman-in-camp-hol-killed-by-isis-enforcers/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/pespective-sdf-needs-our-help-now-as-another-woman-in-camp-hol-killed-by-isis-enforcers/</a> [accessed 23 October 2019].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "Inside the Sisterhood Springing Jihadis From Jail," *The Daily Beast* [24 May 2020]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/inside-the-sisterhood-springing-jihadis-from-jail">https://www.thedailybeast.com/inside-the-sisterhood-springing-jihadis-from-jail</a> [accessed 30 May 2020].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "The Curious Case of ISIS's Recent Audio Diatribe About Qatar," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [2 June 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/the-curious-case-of-isiss-recent-audio-diatribe-about-qatar/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/the-curious-case-of-isiss-recent-audio-diatribe-about-qatar/</a> [accessed 5 June 2020].
- ★ Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "The Security Risk Posed by ISIS Women Smuggling Their Way Out of Camp Hol," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [22 June 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/the-security-risk-posed-by-isis-women-smuggling-their-way-out-of-camp-hol/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/the-security-risk-posed-by-isis-women-smuggling-their-way-out-of-camp-hol/</a> [accessed 24 June 2020].
  - Please read and carefully consider.
  - I do not want to sound like a broken record, but there must be concern about the camps and prisons where members of and those associated with ISIS are being held. America and much of the world is concerned with a virus and various domestic problems facing their populations now. It is understandable why there wouldn't be interest in a problem that may not manifest itself violently for months, years, or decades to come. I am pretty confident that these camps and prisons will be directly linked to leaders of the next wave of extremism in the Middle East and beyond.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "Can an ISIS Terrorist be Rehabilitated and Reintegrated into Society?" *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [23 June 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/can-an-isis-terrorist-be-rehabilitated-and-reintegrated-into-society/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/can-an-isis-terrorist-be-rehabilitated-and-reintegrated-into-society/</a> [accessed 30 June 2020].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "Perspective: Can We Repatriate the ISIS Children?" *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [7 July 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-can-we-repatriate-the-isis-children/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-can-we-repatriate-the-isis-children/</a> [accessed 9 July 2020].

- This article includes excellent details on the main refugee camps in Syria.
- Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "Is Turkey a Bad Actor in Regard to ISIS Prisoners Being Held in SDF Territory?" *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [20 July 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/is-turkey-a-bad-actor-in-regard-to-isis-prisoners-being-held-in-sdf-territory/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/is-turkey-a-bad-actor-in-regard-to-isis-prisoners-being-held-in-sdf-territory/</a> [accessed 23 July 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "PERSPECTIVE: How Men and Women Were Drawn to the Hyper-Gendered ISIS Caliphate," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [31 August 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-how-men-and-women-were-drawn-to-the-hyper-gendered-isis-caliphate/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-how-men-and-women-were-drawn-to-the-hyper-gendered-isis-caliphate/</a> [accessed 2 September 2020].
  - I consistently find these reports interesting and informative. Anne and Molly raise numerous points that are worth pondering. Recent events should give reason to understand why people radicalize. Read this.
- Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "Will Upcoming Trials of ISIS Women in Syria Speed Up Repatriations of Some?" *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [26 October 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/will-upcoming-trials-of-isis-women-in-northeast-syria-speed-up-repatriations-of-some/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/will-upcoming-trials-of-isis-women-in-northeast-syria-speed-up-repatriations-of-some/</a> [accessed 26 November 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne and Molly Ellenberg, "Can Case of Samantha Elhassani Be a Positive Example for Repatriation of Other ISIS Wives?" *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [16 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/can-case-of-samantha-elhassani-be-a-positive-example-for-repatriation-of-other-isis-wives/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/can-case-of-samantha-elhassani-be-a-positive-example-for-repatriation-of-other-isis-wives/</a> [accessed 24 November 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne and Mona Thakkar, "ISIS-Linked Digital Activism and Sympathy-Raising on Behalf of ISIS Women Held in SDF Camps," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [22 September 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/isis-linked-digital-activism-and-sympathy-raising-on-behalf-of-isis-women-held-in-sdf-camps/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/isis-linked-digital-activism-and-sympathy-raising-on-behalf-of-isis-women-held-in-sdf-camps/</a> [accessed 21 October 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne, Mona Thakkar, and Molly Ellenberg, "Social Media Tracking of ISIS Women and Real-Life Actions of ISIS Men on Their Behalf," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland* Security Today.US [7 September 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/social-media-tracking-of-isis-women-and-real-life-actions-of-isis-men-on-their-behalf/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/social-media-tracking-of-isis-women-and-real-life-actions-of-isis-men-on-their-behalf/</a> [accessed 15 September 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne and Gabriel Sjöblom-Fodor, "Finland's Challenges Facing Potential Repatriation of ISIS Detainees," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [25 May 2020]. https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/finlands-challenges-facing-potential-repatriation-of-isis-detainees/ [accessed 30 May 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne, Ardian Shajkovci, and Ahmet S. Yayla, "Defected from ISIS or Simply Returned, and for How Long?— Challenges for the West in Dealing with Returning Foreign Fighters." *Homeland Security Affairs* 14, Article 1 (January 2018). <a href="https://www.hsaj.org/articles/14263">https://www.hsaj.org/articles/14263</a> [accessed 15 February 2018].
- Speckhard, Anne, Ardian Shajkovci, and Hamid Sebaly, "Born in Belgium, raised in ISIS: 'I want to come home'." Washington Examiner (16 December 2018).

  <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/op-eds/born-in-belgium-raised-in-isis-i-want-to-come-home">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/op-eds/born-in-belgium-raised-in-isis-i-want-to-come-home</a> [accessed 18 December 2018].
- Speckhard, Anne, Grace Wakim, and Ardian Shajkovci, "Ensuring a Long-term Win Against ISIS In Mosul: The Need for Rehabilitation, Reintegration & Restoring Security and Justice," ICSVE Research

- Reports [27 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/ensuring-a-long-term-win-against-isis-in-mosul-the-need-for-rehabilitation-reintegration-programs-restoring-security-and-justice/">http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/ensuring-a-long-term-win-against-isis-in-mosul-the-need-for-rehabilitation-reintegration-programs-restoring-security-and-justice/</a> [accessed 27 July 2017].
- Spencer, John and Margarita Konaev, "Sticker Shock: The World Just Got the Bill for Rebuilding War-Ravaged Cities in Iraq," *Modern War Institute* [21 February 2018]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/sticker-shock-world-just-got-bill-rebuilding-war-ravaged-cities-iraq/">https://mwi.usma.edu/sticker-shock-world-just-got-bill-rebuilding-war-ravaged-cities-iraq/</a> [accessed 22 February 2018].
- ★ Taub, Ben, "Iraq's Post-ISIS Campaign of Revenge," *The New Yorker* [24 and 31 December 2018 Issue]. <a href="https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/12/24/iraqs-post-isis-campaign-of-revenge">https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/12/24/iraqs-post-isis-campaign-of-revenge</a> [accessed 19 December 2018].
  - This is long, but very important to read. This a fantastically depressing article. As I have participated in and observed the fighting against ISIS, there was always a deep fear that the antidote for ISIS would spawn the next round of violent extremism in Mesopotamia. This article gives support to that fear.
  - The way a force wins a war can determine how soon and how violent will be the next war. It seems like some are seeking to destroy ISIS through the worst methods possible. This will only work if they kill enough such that no similar group will ever return. Based on this article, that does not seem to be the case. Instead, more are being humiliated than are being killed. Such actions may haunt Iraq for decades to come.
  - Tomasevic, Goran and Issam Abdallah, "Widowed, imprisoned, detained: remnants of Islamic State in limbo in Syria," *Reuters* [12 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-prisoners-wideri/widowed-imprisoned-detained-remnants-of-islamic-state-in-limbo-in-syria-idUSKBN20617N">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-prisoners-wideri/widowed-imprisoned-detained-remnants-of-islamic-state-in-limbo-in-syria-idUSKBN20617N</a> [accessed 12 February 2020].
- ★ Toumaj, Amir, "Iran's Qods Force chief calls Iraqi militia commander a 'living martyr'," Long War Journal [13 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/irans-qods-force-chief-calls-iraqi-militia-commander-living-martyr.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/irans-qods-force-chief-calls-iraqi-militia-commander-living-martyr.php</a> [accessed 16 July 2017].
  - Qassem Soleimani provides some excellent quotes that clearly demonstrate Iran's vision of making Iraq like another Lebanon with a powerful and politically influential military-political power structure.
- ★ Toumaj, Amir, "IRGC tries to appropriate Mosul victory," *Long War Journal* [22 July 2017]. http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/irgc-tries-to-appropriate-mosul-victory.php [accessed 24 July 2017].
  - Simple discussion on how the transient or active narrative is being used to shape and conform to the liminal or existing narrative space terrain. Iran is both creating and using narrative as it can to develop a post-conflict environment that suits its interests in Iraq.
  - Toumaj, Amir and Romany Shaker, "The Islamic State is Far From Finished in Iraq," *Foundation for Defense of Democracies* [8 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/amir-toumaj-the-islamic-state-is-far-from-finished-in-iraq/">http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/amir-toumaj-the-islamic-state-is-far-from-finished-in-iraq/</a> [accessed 12 March 2018].
  - Tucker, Eric, "Inside the case against ISIS militants suspected in the deaths of Western hostages," Military Times [30 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/11/30/inside-the-case-against-isis-militants-suspected-in-the-deaths-of-western-hostages/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/11/30/inside-the-case-against-isis-militants-suspected-in-the-deaths-of-western-hostages/</a> [accessed 1 January 2021].
  - Venhuizen, Harm, "Anti-ISIS coalition saying Iraqi security forces now effective reducing personnel, shifting mission focus," *Military Times* [6 July 2020].

    <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/2020/07/06/anti-isis-coalition-saying-iraqi-security-forces-now-effective-reducing-personnel-shifting-mission-focus/">https://www.militarytimes.com/2020/07/06/anti-isis-coalition-saying-iraqi-security-forces-now-effective-reducing-personnel-shifting-mission-focus/</a> [accessed 7 July 2020].
  - Voice of America, "UN Envoy for Iraq Warns Against 'Collective Punishment' for IS Families," *Voice of America* [17 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/un-envoy-for-iraq-warns-against-collective-punishment-for-is-families/3947689.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/un-envoy-for-iraq-warns-against-collective-punishment-for-is-families/3947689.html</a> [accessed 18 July 2017].
  - Warrick, Joby, "'We are in your home': After losses, ISIS steps up campaign to inspire attacks," The

- Washington Post 22 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/we-are-in-your-home-after-losses-isis-steps-up-campaign-to-inspire-attacks/2018/01/22/421678a4-f7d6-11e7-a9e3-ab18ce41436a\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/we-are-in-your-home-after-losses-isis-steps-up-campaign-to-inspire-attacks/2018/01/22/421678a4-f7d6-11e7-a9e3-ab18ce41436a\_story.html</a> [accessed 23 January 2018].
- Watling, Jack, "How Can Iraq Rebuild?" *Defense One* [11 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/07/how-can-iraq-rebuild/139334/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/07/how-can-iraq-rebuild/139334/</a> [accessed 12 July 2017].
- Wilkinson, Tracy, "Areas freed from Islamic State will test U.S. policy on limiting overseas role," *Los Angeles Times* [23 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-fg-us-isis-next-steps-20171023-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-fg-us-isis-next-steps-20171023-story.html</a> [accessed 24 October 2017].
- Williams, Katie Bo, "US Official: We May Cut Support for Iraq If New Government Seats Pro-Iran Politicians," *Defense One* [26 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/threats/2018/09/official-us-may-cut-support-iraq-if-new-government-seats-pro-iran-politicians/151597/">https://www.defenseone.com/threats/2018/09/official-us-may-cut-support-iraq-if-new-government-seats-pro-iran-politicians/151597/</a> [accessed 28 September 2018].
- Winter, Charlie, "How ISIS Will Go On Without Mosul," *Defense One* [3 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/07/how-isis-will-go-without-mosul/139161/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/07/how-isis-will-go-without-mosul/139161/</a> [accessed 5 July 2017].
  - Not a lot of information on how the author sees things developing. The gist is that the fall of Mosul was foreseen and does not spell the end of ISIS.
- Wood, Graeme, "Why Did the Islamic State Claim the Las Vegas Shooting?" *The Atlantic* [2 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/isis-amaq-las-vegas/541746/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/isis-amaq-las-vegas/541746/</a> [accessed 3 October 2017].
  - There is a reason why I value Graeme Wood's writing and analysis on ISIS. He is thoughtful, well-informed, and usually correct. His article and assessment on the ISIS claim of responsibility is therefore worth reading. In short, we do not know, at this point, whether or not this claim has validity, but by making such a claim ISIS has staked some level of credibility on what the facts will bear out.
- Wood, Graeme, "The Bloody End of the Islamic State's Utopian Dream," *Defense One* [20 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/10/bloody-end-islamic-states-utopian-dream/141930/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/10/bloody-end-islamic-states-utopian-dream/141930/</a> [accessed 23 October 2017].
- ★ Wright, Robin, "The Dangerous Dregs of ISIS," The New Yorker [16 April 2019].
  <a href="https://www.newyorker.com/news/dispatch/the-dangerous-dregs-of-isis">https://www.newyorker.com/news/dispatch/the-dangerous-dregs-of-isis</a> [accessed 22 April 2019].
  - This is a great summary of so many of the problems with the post-ISIS Middle East. What is to be done with the fighters and their families? Many of them want to participate in a caliphate; maybe not ISIS, but something like it. The anti-ISIS coalition wants to fight this war on the cheap and that attitude results in conditions that are probable breeding grounds for the next round of conflict in the region.
  - Yacoubian, Mona, "Raqqa After ISIS Still Needs US Help," *Defense One* [27 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/10/raqqa-after-isis-still-needs-us-help/142100/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/10/raqqa-after-isis-still-needs-us-help/142100/</a> [accessed 30 October 2017].
  - Zaman, Amberin, "Inside the prison holding IS detainees in northeast Syria," *al-Monitor* [15 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/03/syria-kurdish-region-isis-prison-sdf.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/03/syria-kurdish-region-isis-prison-sdf.html</a> [accessed 18 March 2019].
  - Zinman, Galit Truman, "ISIS' Jihad Grows Stronger in the COVID Era," *The Algemeiner* [28 August 2020]. <a href="https://www.algemeiner.com/2020/08/28/isis-jihad-grows-stronger-in-the-covid-era/">https://www.algemeiner.com/2020/08/28/isis-jihad-grows-stronger-in-the-covid-era/</a> [accessed 1 September 2020].
  - Zucchino, David, "Iraqi Forces Begin Assault Near Kurdish-Held City of Kirkuk," *The New York Times* [15 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/15/world/middleeast/kurds-independence-iraq.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/15/world/middleeast/kurds-independence-iraq.html</a> [accessed 16 October 2017].

Zucchino, David, "Iraqi Forces Sweep Into Kirkuk, Checking Kurdish Independence Drive," *The New York Times* [16 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/16/world/middleeast/kirkuk-iraq-kurds.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/16/world/middleeast/kirkuk-iraq-kurds.html</a> [accessed 17 October 2017].

### **ISIS inside United States**

- Aaronson, Trevor, "An American ISIS Fighter Describes the Caliphate's Final Days and His Own," *The Intercept* [15 July 2021]. <a href="https://static.theintercept.com/amp/american-isis-podcast.html">https://static.theintercept.com/amp/american-isis-podcast.html</a> [accessed 25 August 2021].
- Al Jazeera, "Investigators looking at whether Tashfeen Malik radicalized husband", *Al Jazeera* [6 December 2015]. <a href="http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/12/6/investigators-looking-at-whether-female-shooter-radicalized-husband.html">http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/12/6/investigators-looking-at-whether-female-shooter-radicalized-husband.html</a> [accessed 7 December 2015].
  - Background on one of the two attackers in San Bernardino on 2 December 2015 that killed 14 and wounded 21.
- Awford, Jenny, "'You Will Burn': Sick ISIS supporters threaten to bomb London and New York and attack a plane in chilling terror posters," *The Sun* [27 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9383038/isis-bomb-london-big-ben-new-york-terror-posters/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9383038/isis-bomb-london-big-ben-new-york-terror-posters/</a> [accessed 27 June 2019].
- Baker, Peter and Eric Schmidt, "California Attack Has U.S. Rethinking Strategy on Homegrown Terror", New York Times [5 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/06/us/politics/california-attack-has-us-rethinking-strategy-on-homegrown-terror.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/06/us/politics/california-attack-has-us-rethinking-strategy-on-homegrown-terror.html</a> [accessed 7 December 2015]. Information on domestic US policy responses to the 2 December 2015 attack in San Bernardino.
- Baldor, Lolita C. and Deb Riechmann, "Possible American citizen fighting with Islamic State in US hands," *Military Times* [15 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/15/possible-american-citizen-fighting-with-islamic-state-in-us-hands/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/15/possible-american-citizen-fighting-with-islamic-state-in-us-hands/</a> [accessed 15 September 2017].
- ★ Bellingcat. The Other Foreign Fighters: An Open-Source Investigation into American Volunteers Fighting the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. Leicester: Bellingcat, 2015. <a href="https://www.bellingcat.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/The-Other-Foreign-Fighters1.pdf">https://www.bellingcat.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/The-Other-Foreign-Fighters1.pdf</a> [accessed 14 March 2016].
  - Browne, Ryan and David Shortell, "First on CNN: US transports alleged American ISIS fighter back from Syria to face trial," *CNN* [18 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.cnn.com/2019/07/18/politics/us-transports-isis-suspect/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2019/07/18/politics/us-transports-isis-suspect/index.html</a> [accessed 19 July 2019].
  - Callimachi, Rukmini, "When Its Attacker Is in Handcuffs, ISIS Stays Mum," *The New York Times* [1 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/01/world/americas/isis-manhattan-truck-attack.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/01/world/americas/isis-manhattan-truck-attack.html</a> [accessed 3 November 2017].
  - Davies, Wyre, "Investigation reveals elaborate technology terror web," *BBC News* [16 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-44826806">https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-44826806</a> [accessed 16 July 2018].
  - Dean, Matthew, "FBI's Comey warns of 'terrorist diaspora' from ISIS territory," *Fox News* [23 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2017/03/23/fbis-comey-warns-terrorist-diaspora-from-isis-territory.html">http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2017/03/23/fbis-comey-warns-terrorist-diaspora-from-isis-territory.html</a> [accessed 24 March 2017].
  - Engel, Richard, "American ISIS member Warren Clark says he wanted to see 'what the group was about'," *NBC News* [15 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/american-isis-member-detained-syria-says-he-wanted-go-see-n958711">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/american-isis-member-detained-syria-says-he-wanted-go-see-n958711</a> [accessed 19 January 2019].
  - Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "For Muslims in the U.S. military, a different U.S. than the one they swore to defend", Washington Post [9 December 2015].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/12/09/for-muslims-in-the-u-s-military-a-different-u-s-than-the-one-they-swore-to-defend/ [accessed 10 December 2015].
    - This is a good report on the response of Muslims in America regarding insensitive comments made by political candidates in December 2015.

- Gorka, Sebastian and Katherine C. Gorka, "ISIS: The Threat to the United States", Threat Knowledge Group [November 2015].
- Halaschak, Zachary, "Two men arrested for allegedly attempting to join ISIS: 'I want to be the beheading person'," *Washington Examiner* [29 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/two-men-arrested-for-allegedly-attempting-to-join-isis-i-want-to-be-the-beheading-person">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/two-men-arrested-for-allegedly-attempting-to-join-isis-i-want-to-be-the-beheading-person</a> [accessed 30 July 2019].
- John, Tara, "International courts, Guantanamo, citizenship-stripping: What next for Western ISIS supporters?" *CNN* [4 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.cnn.com/2019/03/04/middleeast/western-isis-supporters-intl/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2019/03/04/middleeast/western-isis-supporters-intl/index.html</a> [accessed 6 March 2019].
- Johnson, Bridget, "Using George Floyd Protests, al-Qaeda Makes Play for Christian Supporters," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [7 July 2020]. https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/using-george-floyd-protests-alqaeda-makes-play-for-christian-supporters/ [accessed 8 July 2020].
  - I have recently been working on a chapter in which I suggest that groups like ISIS would seek to narratively take advantage of COVID-19 and the American protests. In the case of this article, the primary actor is al-Qaeda and not ISIS. 2020 gives us a front row seat to watch just how manipulatable people are through standard, online, and social media. Other writers have already warned about attempts to manipulate populations with respect to elections. COVID-19 and various protests provide an important opportunity to teach critical thinking skills in order to develop resilient and anti-fragile thinkers who are inoculated to manipulations from misinformation.
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Ohio man pleads guilty to terror charges after attempting to join ISIS in Libya," *The Long War Journal* [6 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/ohio-man-pleads-guilty-to-terror-charges-after-attempting-to-join-isis-in-libya.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/ohio-man-pleads-guilty-to-terror-charges-after-attempting-to-join-isis-in-libya.php</a> [accessed 10 July 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "New York City bomber 'did it for the Islamic State'," *The Long War Journal* [12 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/new-york-city-bomber-did-it-for-the-islamic-state.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/new-york-city-bomber-did-it-for-the-islamic-state.php</a> [accessed 13 December 2017].
- Kaufman, Sarah, "ISIS In America: Who Is The Average Islamic State Sympathizer", *Vocativ* [1 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/news/256460/isis-in-america-who-is-the-average-islamic-state-sympathizer">http://www.vocativ.com/news/256460/isis-in-america-who-is-the-average-islamic-state-sympathizer</a> [accessed 2 December 2015].
  - This is a summary of the George Washington University Report in the bibliography below. Simple restatement of the data.
- King, James and Adi Cohen, "EXCLUSIVE: ISIS Adherents Praise San Bernardino Massacre, "America Burning", *Vocativ* [2 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/news/256909/isis-san-bernardino-mass-shooting-america-burning/">http://www.vocativ.com/news/256909/isis-san-bernardino-mass-shooting-america-burning/</a> [accessed 3 December 2015].
  - The shootings in San Bernardino, California on 2 December engender this response on Twitter.
- LoBianco, Tom, "Obama: U.S. safe against ISIS attack", CNN [3 December 2015]. http://www.cnn.com/2015/12/03/politics/barack-obama-isis/ [accessed 4 December 2015]. Presidential comments prior to holidays and during the investigation into the 2 December San Bernardino attacks.
- Martin, Jeff, "Man arrested in terrorism probe told FBI he'd execute a US service member for ISIS," *Military Times* [18 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/09/18/man-arrested-in-terrorism-probe-told-fbi-hed-execute-a-us-service-member-for-isis/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/09/18/man-arrested-in-terrorism-probe-told-fbi-hed-execute-a-us-service-member-for-isis/</a> [accessed 19 September 2019].
- McCabe, Ginny, "Ohio man pleads guilty to charges he planned U.S. Capitol attack," *Reuters* [1 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ohio-congress-suspect-idUSKCN10C2OU">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ohio-congress-suspect-idUSKCN10C2OU</a> [accessed 2 August 2016].

- Mullickdec, Haider Ali Hussein, "Don't Make San Bernardino a Victory for ISIS", *New York Times* [3 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/04/opinion/dont-make-san-bernardino-a-victory-for-isis.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/04/opinion/dont-make-san-bernardino-a-victory-for-isis.html</a> [accessed 7 December 2015].
  - Op-Ed piece by a Muslim-American.
- Nakashima, Ellen, "Ohio ISIS supporter pleads guilty to calling for murder of U.S. service members," *The Washington Post* [19 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/ohio-isis-supporter-pleads-guilty-to-calling-for-murder-of-us-service-members/2017/04/19/6c359b58-251b-11e7-a1b3-faff0034e2de story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/ohio-isis-supporter-pleads-guilty-to-calling-for-murder-of-us-service-members/2017/04/19/6c359b58-251b-11e7-a1b3-faff0034e2de story.html</a> [accessed 20 April 2017].
- Nir, Sarah Maslin and William K. Rashbaum, "Bomber Strikes Near Times Square, Disrupting City but Killing None," *The New York Times* [11 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/11/nyregion/explosion-times-square.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/11/nyregion/explosion-times-square.html</a> [accessed 12 December 2017].
- ★ Rawnsley, Adam, "Meet the Americans Flocking to Iraq and Syria to Fight the Islamic State", Foreign Policy [26 August 2015]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/26/meet-the-americans-flocking-to-iraq-and-syria-to-fight-the-islamic-state/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/26/meet-the-americans-flocking-to-iraq-and-syria-to-fight-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 27 August 2015].
  - Riechman, Deb, "US says detainee studied in Louisiana, became ISIS fighter," *Military Times* [15 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/15/us-says-detainee-studied-in-louisiana-became-isis-fighter/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/02/15/us-says-detainee-studied-in-louisiana-became-isis-fighter/</a> [accessed 16 February 2018].
  - Savage, Charlie, "American ISIS Suspect Fights Plan to Release Him in Syria," *The New York Times* [7 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/07/us/politics/american-isis-suspect-syria-release-plan.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/07/us/politics/american-isis-suspect-syria-release-plan.html</a> [accessed 11 June 2018].
  - Simkins, J.D. "Georgia woman arrested for allegedly helping ISIS build 'kill lists' of US service members," *Military Times* [12 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/03/12/georgia-woman-arrested-for-allegedly-helping-isis-build-kill-lists-of-us-service-members/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/03/12/georgia-woman-arrested-for-allegedly-helping-isis-build-kill-lists-of-us-service-members/</a> [accessed 13 March 2019].
  - Sinco Kelleher, Jennifer, "Soldier to Plead Guilty in Trying to Help ISIS," *Military.com* [29 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/08/29/soldier-plead-guilty-trying-help-isis.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/08/29/soldier-plead-guilty-trying-help-isis.html</a> [accessed 30 August 2018].
  - Smith, Mitch, "F.B.I. Treats Minnesota Mall Stabbing Attack as 'Potential Act of Terrorism'," *The New York Times* [18 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/19/us/police-shoot-attacker-in-minnesota-mall-after-8-are-stabbed.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/19/us/police-shoot-attacker-in-minnesota-mall-after-8-are-stabbed.html</a> [accessed 19 September 2016].
    - This references an attack on 17 September 2016 in Minnesota that occurred on the same day as attacks also occurred in New Jersey and new York. In this case it was a stabbing attack.
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "PERSPECTIVE: ISIS Fighter Claims Attack Plot Via Mexico, Underscoring Border Vulnerability," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [3 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-isis-fighter-claims-attack-plot-via-mexico-underscoring-border-vulnerability/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-isis-fighter-claims-attack-plot-via-mexico-underscoring-border-vulnerability/</a> [accessed 10 June 2019].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "The ISIS 'Honey Trap' to Catch Recruiter Deso Dogg and the Rogue FBI Translator," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [10 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/the-isis-honey-trap-to-catch-recruiter-deso-dogg-and-the-rogue-fbi-translator/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/the-isis-honey-trap-to-catch-recruiter-deso-dogg-and-the-rogue-fbi-translator/</a> [accessed 17 June 2019].
  - Vidino, Lorenzo and Seamus Hughes, "ISIS in America: From Retweets to Raqqa", Program on Extremism: The George Washington University {December 2015]. https://cchs.gwu.edu/sites/cchs.gwu.edu/files/downloads/ISIS%20in%20America%20-

## %20Full%20Report.pdf [accessed 2 December 2015].

This report provides information on U.S. residents and citizens charged and arrested for supporting ISIS. Some the information from the executive summary is included here: "As of the fall of 2015, U.S. authorities speak of some 250 Americans who have traveled or attempted to travel to Syria/Iraq to join the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and 900 active investigations against ISIS sympathizers in all 50 states."

- The average age is 26; 86% are male; Their activities were located in 21 states.
- 51% traveled or attempted to travel abroad; 27% were involved in plots to carry out attacks on U.S. soil.
- 55% were arrested in an operation involving an informant and/or an undercover agent.
- A small number of Americans have been killed in ISIS-related activities: three inside the U.S., at least a
  dozen abroad.
- The profiles of individuals involved in ISIS-related activities in the U.S. differ widely in race, age, social class, education, and family background. Their motivations are equally diverse and defy easy analysis.
- Social media plays a crucial role in the radicalization and, at times, mobilization of U.S.-based ISIS sympathizers. The Program on Extremism has identified some 300 American and/or U.S.-based ISIS sympathizers active on social media, spreading propaganda, and interacting with like-minded individuals. Some members of this online echo chamber eventually make the leap from keyboard warriors to actual militancy.
- American ISIS sympathizers are particularly active on Twitter, where they spasmodically create accounts
  that often get suspended in a never-ending cat-and-mouse game. Some accounts (the "nodes") are the
  generators of primary content, some (the "amplifiers") just retweet material, others (the "shout-outs")
  promote newly created accounts of suspended users.
- ISIS-related radicalization is by no means limited to social media. While instances of purely web-driven, individual radicalization are numerous, in several cases U.S.-based individuals initially cultivated and later strengthened their interest in ISIS's narrative through face-to-face relationships. In most cases online and offline dynamics complement one another.
- The spectrum of U.S.-based sympathizers' actual involvement with ISIS varies significantly, ranging from those who are merely inspired by its message to those few who reached mid-level leadership positions within the group
- Weiner, Rachel, "What life inside the Islamic State looks like for new recruits," *The Washington Post* [6 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/islamic-state-recruit-testifies-i-just-wanted-to-see-the-other-side/2017/06/06/54853ae6-47b1-11e7-98cd-af64b4fe2dfc\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/islamic-state-recruit-testifies-i-just-wanted-to-see-the-other-side/2017/06/06/54853ae6-47b1-11e7-98cd-af64b4fe2dfc\_story.html</a> [accessed 7 June 2017].
  - Good information on the reception and vetting of new ISIS recruits once they arrive in ISIS territory.
- ★ Wood, Graeme, "I Wrote to John Walker Lindh. He Wrote Back." *Defense One* [23 May 2019]. https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/05/i-wrote-john-walker-lindh-he-wrote-back/157232/ [accessed 26 May 2019].
  - Please read this short article. The best point of many good ones is the comment about a lack of opportunities to alter violent Islamist narratives in American prisons.
  - Zavadski, Katie, "ISIS Targets American Imams for Believing Muslims Can Thrive in U.S." *The Daily Beast* [14 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/14/isis-targets-american-imams-for-believing-muslims-can-thrive-in-u-s.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/14/isis-targets-american-imams-for-believing-muslims-can-thrive-in-u-s.html</a> [accessed 14 April 2016].

# **ISIS Objectives**

- ★ Benhold, Katrin, "Jihad and Girl Power: How ISIS Lured 3 London Girls", *The New York Times* [17 August 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/18/world/europe/jihad-and-girl-power-how-isis-lured-3-london-teenagers.html?ref=world&\_r=1">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/18/world/europe/jihad-and-girl-power-how-isis-lured-3-london-teenagers.html?ref=world&\_r=1</a> [18 August 2015].
- ★ Bunzel, Cole, "The Islamic State of Decline: Anticipating the Paper Caliphate," Jihadica [15 June 2016].
   <a href="http://www.jihadica.com/the-islamic-state-of-decline/">http://www.jihadica.com/the-islamic-state-of-decline/</a> [accessed 10 August 2016].
   ISIS identifies reality and is honest with followers about the nature of the situation while at the same time
  - reminding the opponent what the nature of the fight is competition of the narrative.

    Callimachi, Rukmini, "ISIS and the Lonely Young American", New York Times [27 June 2015]
- ★ Callimachi, Rukmini, "ISIS and the Lonely Young American", New York Times [27 June 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/28/world/americas/isis-online-recruiting-american.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/28/world/americas/isis-online-recruiting-american.html</a> [accessed 10 December 2015].
  - Detailed account of the attempted recruitment of a US woman through social media. This gets at powerful issues of acceptance and meaning.
  - Callimachi, Rukmini, "U.S. Strategy Seeks to Avoid ISIS Prophecy", *New York Times* [7 December 2015]. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/08/world/middleeast/us-strategy-seeks-to-avoid-isis-prophecy.html? r=1 [accessed 8 December 2015].
    - This is a simple reference to the battle of Dabiq. Many of the statements are wrong, but it gives some useful information.
- ★ Dickey, Christopher, "There's a Machiavellian Method to the ISIS Madness," *The Daily Beast* [7 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/07/07/there-s-a-machiavellian-method-to-the-isis-madness.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/07/07/there-s-a-machiavellian-method-to-the-isis-madness.html</a> [accessed 7 July 2016].
  - Useful summary of attacks conducted or inspired by ISIS during Ramadan 2016. The assessment and summary are informative and accurate.
- ★ Erelle, Anna, "Skyping with the Enemy: I Went Undercover as a Jihadi Girlfriend", *The Guardian* [26 May 2015]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/26/french-journalist-poses-muslim-convert-isis-anna-erelle">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/26/french-journalist-poses-muslim-convert-isis-anna-erelle</a> [accessed 3 June 2015].
- ★ Gerges, Fawaz, "The Strategic Logic of the Islamic State," National Interest [14 August 2016]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/the-strategic-logic-the-islamic-state-17351">http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/the-strategic-logic-the-islamic-state-17351</a> [accessed 15 August 2016].
  - I think the assessment misses some important nuances, but it is still a useful think-piece regarding the organizational strategy of ISIS.
  - Gorka, Sebastian, "The ISIS/Naji Plan", Threat Knowledge Group [5 June 2015].
    - Summary of the "The Mastery of Savagery" in a single slide.
- ★ Hamid, Shadi, "Is There a Method to ISIS's Madness?", The Atlantic [23 November 2015]. http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/11/isis-rational-actor-paris-attacks/417312/ [accessed 24 November 2015].
  - Haslett, Allison, "The Islamic State: A Political-Religious Totalitarian Regime," *Scientia et Humanitas*: A Journal of Student Research, Middle Tennessee State University [2021].
  - Islamic State, "The Illusions of the Crusaders in the Age of the Caliphate," al-Naba, number 34, 8 June 2016. Arabic language title and article. Translations by author. <a href="http://www.jihadica.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/awham.pdf">http://www.jihadica.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/awham.pdf</a> [accessed 10 August 2016].
  - McCants, Will, "ISIS and Israel", *Jihadica* [6 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.jihadica.com/isis-and-israel/?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=New%20Campaign&utm\_term=%2AMideast%20Brief">http://www.jihadica.com/isis-and-israel/?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=New%20Campaign&utm\_term=%2AMideast%20Brief</a> [accessed 11 November 2015].
- Mironova, Vera and Sam Whitt, "A Glimpse into the Minds of Four Foreign Fighters in Syria," Combatting

- Terrorism Center at West Point, CTC Sentinel, June 2014, volume 7, Issue 6, pages 5-7. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/CTCSentinel-Vol7Iss6.pdf">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/CTCSentinel-Vol7Iss6.pdf</a> [accessed 29 February 2016].
- Morris, Loveday, "Islamic State, losing fighters and territory, increasingly turns to child bombers," *The Washington Post* [22 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/islamic-state-losing-fighters-and-territory-increasingly-turns-to-child-bombers/2016/08/22/bc611ce6-687a-11e6-8225-fbb8a6fc65bc\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/islamic-state-losing-fighters-and-territory-increasingly-turns-to-child-bombers/2016/08/22/bc611ce6-687a-11e6-8225-fbb8a6fc65bc\_story.html</a> [accessed 23 August 2016].
  - Introduction to the use of young men as suicide bombers. This is the first article capturing the details and information from these early attacks.
- Mostofa, Shafi Md. and Helen Ware, "Development of Daesh's Ideology," *Peace and Security Review*, Vol. 8, No. 18, Third Quarter, 2018, 12-22. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/38209253/Development">https://www.academia.edu/38209253/Development</a> of Daesh Ideology?email work card=view-paper [accessed 21 October 2020].
- ★ Olidort, Jacob. Inside The Caliphate's Classroom: Textbooks, Guidance Literature, and Indoctrination Methods of the Islamic State. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, August 2016. <a href="http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus147-Olidort.pdf">http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus147-Olidort.pdf</a> [accessed 9 August 2016].
  - Well-researched assessment of the material published by ISIS both in the form of textbooks and republications of earlier works. This contains direct quotes and analysis as well as recommendations for policy. This is the best work to date on the printed "educational" works produced by ISIS.
- ★ Olidort, Jacob. "After ISIS: A New ISIS," *The Cipher Brief* [8 September 2016].

  <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/strategic-view/after-isis-new-isis-1089">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/strategic-view/after-isis-new-isis-1089</a> [accessed 14 April 2017].
  - This is a great assessment of the potential role of ISIS over the long haul. It is just as important a read now as it was when published.
- ★ Olidort, Jacob. "The Islamic State's "Homo Jihadus," Lawfare [18 September 2016]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/islamic-states-homo-jihadus">https://www.lawfareblog.com/islamic-states-homo-jihadus</a> [accessed 14 April 2017].
  Another excellent product from Jacob Olidort. He has a report on the bibliography on what ISIS is teaching in the classrooms to children.
- ★ Patrikarakos, David, "The Saudi Bombings And The Legacy Of Bin Laden," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty [6 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/content/saudi-bombings-legacy-of-bin-laden/27841310.html">http://www.rferl.org/content/saudi-bombings-legacy-of-bin-laden/27841310.html</a> [accessed 7 July 2016].
  - This is a short and simple assessment of motivations and objectives of ISIS that are linked to the bombings on 4 July 2016 in Saudi Arabia. Great and, I believe, accurate analysis of the purposes of the attacks foment and encourage the ongoing Sunni-Shia fighting generally and increase stress in Saudi Arabia specifically.
  - Rubin, Alissa J. "A Swedish Girl, ISIS and a Cautionary Tale of Global Terrorism," *New York Times* [2 March 2016]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/03/world/europe/a-swedish-girl-isis-and-a-cautionary-tale-of-global-terrorism.html?r=0&\_r=0 [3 March 2016].
  - Sanbalooshe, Abdillahi Mohamed, "Somalia Doesn't Need Tears. Help Us Fight Terrorism." *The New York Times* [26 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/26/opinion/somalia-united-states-terrorism.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/26/opinion/somalia-united-states-terrorism.html</a> [accessed 30 October 2017].
  - Shiloach, Gilad, "ISIS Media Blitz Incites Palestinians To Kill Jews," *Vocativ* [19 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.vocativ.com/news/240849/isis-media-blitz-incites-palestinians-to-kill-jews/">http://www.vocativ.com/news/240849/isis-media-blitz-incites-palestinians-to-kill-jews/</a> [accessed 20 October 2015].
  - Siebert, Johannes, Detlof von Winterfeldt, and Richard S. John, "Identifying and Structuring the Objectives of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and Its Followers," Decision Analysis,

Articles in Advance, pages 1-25, 2015.

http://teamcore.usc.edu/projects/security/Muri\_publications/ISIL%20Paper%20Revision%20-%20Main%20Body%208-22-15.pdf [accessed 28 June 2016].

Abstract. This study addresses three questions: 1. What are the objectives of the leaders of ISIL? 2. What are the objectives of the followers of ISIL? 3. How are the two sets of objectives related?

To answer these questions, we analyzed the transcripts of interviews and presentations of 59 subject matter experts (SMEs) and conducted a separate analysis of speeches of ISIL leaders and selected Internet sources. In both efforts we identified and structured the strategic, fundamental, and means objectives of ISIL and its followers. The results indicate that ISIL's leaders pursue four strategic objectives: (1) Establish a Caliphate in Iraq and the Levant, (2) Control and Govern the Caliphate, (3) Expand Islam and Sharia Law Worldwide, and (4) Recreate the Power and Glory of (Sunni) Islam. The followers' objectives can be partitioned into three strategic objectives: Humanitarian Fulfillment, Religious Fulfillment, and Personal Fulfillment. The objectives identified from the SME interviews were similar to those identified from ISIL leaders' statements and the Internet. However, the Internet search revealed many more personal objectives of ISIL followers. The results further indicate that ISIL's leadership objectives are closely aligned with those of its followers. There also is a sharp contrast between the objectives of ISIL and those of Al Qaeda, particularly ISIL's emphasis on occupying and controlling territories in Iraq and Syria versus Al Qaeda's focus on worldwide jihad.

★ Winter, Charlie and Haroro J. Ingram, "Why ISIS Is So Good at Branding Its Failures as Successes,"

\*\*Defense One [20 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/09/why-isis-so-good-branding-its-failures-successes/141142/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/09/why-isis-so-good-branding-its-failures-successes/141142/</a> [accessed 21 September 2017].

The author is one of the few people worth reading every time he or she writes about ISIS. In this case, the article explains the narrative power of ISIS attacks regardless of objective assessments of success or failure. The perspective is that of Western security forces rather than the ISIS view as explained in *The Management of Savagery*. ISIS does not need to accomplish objective success to achieve its end. They are seeking to overwhelm Western forces by causing them to create an onerous security apparatus whose social and financial burdens will exhaust the state. In this grain, every ISIS attack that leads to an increase in the security burden is "success."

Zavadski, Katie, "The American Anti-Vaccine Mom Turned ISIS Superstar," *The Daily Beast* [29 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/29/the-american-anti-vaccine-mom-turned-isis-superstar.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/29/the-american-anti-vaccine-mom-turned-isis-superstar.html</a> [accessed 29 March 2016].

# ISIS outside Mesopotamia

- Banlaoi, Rommel C. *Al-Harakatul Al-Islamiyyah: Essays on the Abu Sayyaf Group: Terrorism in the Philippines from Al-Qaeda to ISIS.* 4<sup>th</sup> Edition. Manila: Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research (PIPVTR), 2019.
  - https://www.academia.edu/40446207/Al Harakatul Al Islamiyyah Essays on the Abu Sayyaf Group Terrorism in the Philippines from Al Qaeda to ISIS [accessed 13 February 2021].
- Abo Nasra, Mohammed, "The Islamic State and Israel's Arab Population: The Scope of the Challenge and Ways to Respond," The Institute for National Security Studies, Strategic Assessment, Volume 19, No. 3, October 2016. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/uploadlmages/systemFiles/adkan19-3ENG">http://www.inss.org.il/uploadlmages/systemFiles/adkan19-3ENG</a> 3 Abo%20Nasra.pdf [accessed 27 November 2016].
  - A necessary article with some hard polling data regarding the perceptions of ISIS within Israel and around the region.
- Adam, Karla, "A British mom spent 10 months in Islamic State-held territory. She said it wasn't her 'cup of tea." The Washington Post [15 October 2015].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/10/15/british-woman-says-islamic-state-was-not-my-cup-of-tea/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/10/15/british-woman-says-islamic-state-was-not-my-cup-of-tea/</a> [accessed 16 October 2015].
- AFP-JIJI, "Islamic State brings reign of terror to fractured Libya's Sirte", *The Japan Times* [5 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/02/05/world/residents-live-reign-terror-islamic-states-sirte-stronghold/#.VrSYPI-cGM">http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/02/05/world/residents-live-reign-terror-islamic-states-sirte-stronghold/#.VrSYPI-cGM</a> [accessed 5 February 2016].
- Al Jazeera, "ISIL claims 'province' in India, officials call it 'propaganda'," *Al Jazeera* [12 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/isil-claims-province-india-officials-call-propaganda-190512092230131.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/isil-claims-province-india-officials-call-propaganda-190512092230131.html</a> [accessed 17 May 2019].
- Allen, Peter, "Church Was on ISIS Hit List," *The Sun* [26 July 2016]. <a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1504518/rouen-saint-etienne-du-rouvray-isis-1504518/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1504518/rouen-saint-etienne-du-rouvray-isis-1504518/</a> [accessed 26 July 2016].
  - This is a supporting story to those regarding the murder of a Catholic priest in his church on 26 July 2016.
- Altman, Howard, "Airstrike in Libya kills 11 ISIS members, AFRICOM says," *Military Times* [25 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/09/25/airstrike-in-libya-kills-11-isis-members-africom-says/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/09/25/airstrike-in-libya-kills-11-isis-members-africom-says/</a> [accessed 30 September 2019].
- Amarasingam, Amarnath, "Terrorism on the Teardrop Island: Understanding the Easter 2019 Attacks in Sri Lanka," CTC Sentinel, 1-10 [May/June 2019].

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/39302854/Terrorism">https://www.academia.edu/39302854/Terrorism</a> on the Teardrop Island Understanding the Easter 2019 Attacks in Sri Lanka [accessed 21 October 2020].
- Associated Press, "UN envoy to Libya says time running out, IS expanding," *Hickory Record.com* [17 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.hickoryrecord.com/news/world/ap/un-envoy-to-libya-says-time-running-out-is-expanding/article">http://www.hickoryrecord.com/news/world/ap/un-envoy-to-libya-says-time-running-out-is-expanding/article</a> d34342a3-f886-544c-9e04-53db89b3d982.html [accessed 18 February 2016].
- Associated Press, "Libyan forces advance in push on Islamic State strongholds," *Associated Press* [30 May 2016]. <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/article/a3cf2a8855114adeb1edc972ab86ae7b/libyan-forces-advance-push-islamic-state-strongholds">http://bigstory.ap.org/article/a3cf2a8855114adeb1edc972ab86ae7b/libyan-forces-advance-push-islamic-state-strongholds</a> [accessed 31 May 2016].
- Associated Press, "A look at the Islamic State affiliate's rise in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [19 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/08/19/a-look-at-the-islamic-state-affiliates-rise-in-afghanistan/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/08/19/a-look-at-the-islamic-state-affiliates-rise-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 20 August 2019].

- Associated Press and Larisa Brown, "The missed warnings: As bombing mastermind is revealed to be an ISIS fanatic, how Sri Lankan security forces were first told of the threat on April 4," *Daily Mail* [22 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6948615/The-missed-warnings-Sri-Lankan-security-forces-told-threat-April-4.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6948615/The-missed-warnings-Sri-Lankan-security-forces-told-threat-April-4.html</a> [accessed 23 April 2019].
- Atran, Scott and Nafees Hamid, "Thoughts after Brussels," Artis International. Email sent on 31 March 2016.
- Baldor, Lolita C. "Official: IS leader in Libya likely killed in U.S. airstrike," *Military Times* [14 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/11/14/official-leader-libya-likely-killed-us-airstrike/75774360/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/11/14/official-leader-libya-likely-killed-us-airstrike/75774360/</a> [accessed 16 November 2015].
- Baldor, Lolita C. "Mattis: Militants who attacked US troops in Niger were new to area," *Military Times* [11 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/11/mattis-militants-that-attacked-us-troops-in-niger-were-new-to-area/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/11/mattis-militants-that-attacked-us-troops-in-niger-were-new-to-area/</a> [accessed 12 October 2017].
- Barton, Greg, "The Historical Context and Regional Social Network Dynamics of Radicalisation and Recruitment of Islamic State Foreign Terrorist Fighters in Indonesia and its Southeast Asian Neighbours," a chapter in 2020 *United by Violence, Divided by Cause?*<a href="https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748905738">https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748905738</a>, 117-140. <a href="https://www.nomos-elibrary.de/10.5771/9783748905738-117/the-historical-context-and-regional-social-network-dynamics-of-radicalisation-and-recruitment-of-islamic-state-foreign-terrorist-fighters-in-indonesia-and-its-southeast-asian-neighbours">https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748905738-117/the-historical-context-and-regional-social-network-dynamics-of-radicalisation-and-recruitment-of-islamic-state-foreign-terrorist-fighters-in-indonesia-and-its-southeast-asian-neighbours">https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748905738-117/the-historical-context-and-regional-social-network-dynamics-of-radicalisation-and-recruitment-of-islamic-state-foreign-terrorist-fighters-in-indonesia-and-its-southeast-asian-neighbours</a> [accessed 23 July 2020].
- Battaglia, Gabriele, "What do Islamic State and Tibet have to do with China's crackdown in Xinjiang?" South China Morning Post [18 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.scmp.com/week-asia/geopolitics/article/2079542/what-do-islamic-state-and-tibet-have-do-chinas-crackdown">http://www.scmp.com/week-asia/geopolitics/article/2079542/what-do-islamic-state-and-tibet-have-do-chinas-crackdown</a> [accessed 21 March 2017].
- BBC, "IS in Afghanistan: US special forces soldier is killed," *BBC News* [8 April 2017]. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-39542834 [accessed 10 April 2017].
- BBC, "Sri Lanka attacks: 'International network' linked to bombings," *BBC News* [22 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48012085">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48012085</a> [accessed 1 May 2019].
- BBC, "Egypt police killed in IS attack on Sinai checkpoint," BBC News [5 June 2019]. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48525868 [accessed 11 June 2019].
- Beech, Hannah and Jason Gutierrez, "How ISIS Is Rising in the Philippines as It Dwindles in the Middle East," *The New York Times* [9 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/09/world/asia/isis-philippines-jolo.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/09/world/asia/isis-philippines-jolo.html</a> [accessed 12 March 2019].
  - ISIS is not dead just because it is losing and maybe even lost territory in Syria and Iraq. What is happening in the Philippines is critical to seeing the global resilience of the group.
  - Bennett, Brian and W.J. Hennigan, "Islamic State-linked fighters seizing oil-rich land in Libya", Los Angeles Times [8 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-isis-libya-20160208-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-isis-libya-20160208-story.html</a> [accessed 9 February 2016].
  - Bradatan, Anastasia, "Afghanistan peace process must tackle Taliban discontent and the allure of ISIS," *The Defense Post* [12 October 2018]. <a href="https://thedefensepost.com/2018/10/12/afghanistan-taliban-peace-process-iskp-opinion/">https://thedefensepost.com/2018/10/12/afghanistan-taliban-peace-process-iskp-opinion/</a> [accessed 15 October 2018].
  - Bradsher, Keith and Sandra E. Garcia, "Sri Lanka Blames Radical Islamist Group for Easter Bombings," *The New York Times* [22 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/22/world/asia/ntj-sri-lanka-national-thowheeth-jamaath.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/22/world/asia/ntj-sri-lanka-national-thowheeth-jamaath.html</a> [accessed 23 April 2019].
  - Burns, Robert, "US says it will intensify fight against ISIS in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [10 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/10/us-says-it-will-intensify-fight-against-isis-">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/10/us-says-it-will-intensify-fight-against-isis-</a>

- in-afghanistan/ [accessed 11 June 2018].
- Calamur, Krishnadev, "ISIS in Afghanistan Is Like a Balloon That Won't Pop," *Defense One* [28 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/12/isis-afghanistan-balloon-wont-pop/144862/">www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/12/isis-afghanistan-balloon-wont-pop/144862/</a> [accessed 2 January 2018].
- ★ Callimachi, Rukmini, "Long Before Brussels, ISIS Sent Terror Operatives to Europe," New York Times [29 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/29/world/europe/isis-attacks-paris-brussels.html?r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/29/world/europe/isis-attacks-paris-brussels.html?r=0</a> [accessed 29 March 2016].
  - This is a powerful discussion of the rat-line the leads back to Europe from Syria. Normally when commentators speak of sophisticated terrorist attacks they do not explain why four people attacking different places at similar times is considered sophisticated. This article gives insight into the reasons why. It usually deals with controlling the explosives and evading security.
- ★ Callimachi, Rukmini, "How a Secretive Branch of ISIS Built a Global Network of Killers," *The New York Times* [3 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/04/world/middleeast/isis-german-recruit-interview.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/04/world/middleeast/isis-german-recruit-interview.html</a> [accessed 3 August 2016].
  - Tremendous detail on ISIS training and ISIS operations in Europe. One can clearly see both the emphasis on actions in Europe and reasons why those actions happen where they do.
  - Carpenter, Claudia and Hatem Mohareb, "Libya Issues `Cry for Help' as Islamic State Attacks Oil Tanks", *Bloomberg Business* [5 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-01-05/libya-issues-cry-for-help-as-islamic-state-attacks-oil-tanks">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-01-05/libya-issues-cry-for-help-as-islamic-state-attacks-oil-tanks</a> [accessed 6 January 2016].
    - The article includes a brief quote that mentions ISIS diversionary tactics. It is unclear what exactly the speaker means is the attack on oil facilities diversionary or was the earlier attacks on the nearby villages diversionary. Regardless, the point is that ISIS operates with the intent to divert.
  - Carsten, Paul, "Islamic State fills the void in Nigeria as soldiers retreat to 'super camps'," *Reuters* [15 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/islamic-state-fills-the-void-in-nigeria-as-soldiers-retreat-to-super-camps/ar-AAHIXzM">https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/islamic-state-fills-the-void-in-nigeria-as-soldiers-retreat-to-super-camps/ar-AAHIXzM</a> [accessed 16 September 2019].
  - Chew, Amy, "Malaysia offers citizens conditional return as ISIL crumbles," *Al Jazeera* [11 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/malaysia-offers-citizens-conditional-return-isil-crumbles-190312012544910.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/malaysia-offers-citizens-conditional-return-isil-crumbles-190312012544910.html</a> [accessed 12 March 2019].
  - The Cipher Brief, "ISIS Looks to Rebound in the Philippines—And Spread," *The Cipher Brief* [1 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/asia/isis-looks-rebound-philippines-spread">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/asia/isis-looks-rebound-philippines-spread</a> [accessed 5 March 2018].
  - Connolly, Kate, "Man arrested after Borussia Dortmund attack 'led Isis unit in Iraq'," *The Guardian* [13 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/football/2017/apr/13/man-arrested-after-borussia-dortmund-attack-led-isis-unit-in-iraq-prosecutor-says">https://www.theguardian.com/football/2017/apr/13/man-arrested-after-borussia-dortmund-attack-led-isis-unit-in-iraq-prosecutor-says</a> [accessed 14 April 2017].
    - Response to a pipe bomb attack on a soccer team bus on 11 April 2017.
  - Cooper, Helene, "Boko Haram and ISIS Are Collaborating More, U.S. Military Says," *New York Times* [20 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/21/world/africa/boko-haram-and-isis-are-collaborating-more-us-military-says.html?">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/21/world/africa/boko-haram-and-isis-are-collaborating-more-us-military-says.html?</a> r=1 [accessed 21 April 2016].
  - Cragin, R. Kim, "The November 2015 Paris Attacks: The Impact of Foreign Fighter Returnees," Foreign Policy Research Institute by Elsevier Ltd., Spring 2017, 212-226.

    <a href="http://www.fpri.org/article/2017/03/november-2015-paris-attacks-impact-foreign-fighter-returnees/">http://www.fpri.org/article/2017/03/november-2015-paris-attacks-impact-foreign-fighter-returnees/</a> [accessed 21 August 2019].
  - Davies, Wyre, "The global terror network that started in Pontypridd," *BBC News* [15 July 2018]. <a href="https://www-bbc-com.cdn.ampproject.org/c/s/www.bbc.com/news/amp/uk-wales-44826806">https://www-bbc-com.cdn.ampproject.org/c/s/www.bbc.com/news/amp/uk-wales-44826806</a> [accessed 20 May 2020].

- Dearden, Lizzie, "UK home to up to 25,000 Islamist extremists who could pose threat, EU official warns," *Independent* [1 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/islamist-extremists-uk-highest-number-europe-25000-terror-threat-eu-official-isis-islam-britain-a7923966.html">https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/islamist-extremists-uk-highest-number-europe-25000-terror-threat-eu-official-isis-islam-britain-a7923966.html</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
- Defense One, "Here's What Special Operators Want To Do In Libya", *Defense One* [20 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/01/heres-what-special-operators-want-do-libya/125286/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/01/heres-what-special-operators-want-do-libya/125286/</a> [accessed 21 January 2016].
- deGrandpre, Andrew, "ISIS in Afghanistan claims it has confiscated sensitive U.S. military equipment," *Military Times* [6 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/08/06/isis-afghanistan-claims-have-confiscated-us-military-gear-id-cards/88341478/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/08/06/isis-afghanistan-claims-have-confiscated-us-military-gear-id-cards/88341478/</a> [accessed 8 August 2016].
- DePillis, Lydia, "What was behind ISIS's attack on Paris, according to experts," *The Washington Post* [15 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2015/11/15/what-was-behind-isiss-attack-on-paris-according-to-experts/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2015/11/15/what-was-behind-isiss-attack-on-paris-according-to-experts/</a> [accessed 16 November 2015].
- De Visser, Nadette, "How Belgium Became a Terrorism Hotbed," *The Daily Beast* [15 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/15/how-belgium-became-a-terrorism-hotbed.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/15/how-belgium-became-a-terrorism-hotbed.html</a> [accessed 16 November 2015].
- Diamond, Christopher, "Army civil affairs soldiers use education to curb Boko Haram's influence in Cameroon," *Army Times* [27 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/articles/army-civil-affairs-soldiers-use-education-to-curb-boko-harams-influence-in-cameroon">https://www.armytimes.com/articles/army-civil-affairs-soldiers-use-education-to-curb-boko-harams-influence-in-cameroon</a> [accessed 2 May 2017]. Excellent quote from a Cameroon officer on the importance of education in the fight.
- Ebrahimian, Bethany Allen, "Report: More Than 100 Chinese Muslims Have Joined the Islamic State," Foreign Policy [20 July 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/20/report-100-chinese-muslims-have-joined-isis-islamic-state-china-terrorism-uighur/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/20/report-100-chinese-muslims-have-joined-isis-islamic-state-china-terrorism-uighur/</a> [accessed 22 July 2016].
- The Economist, "The next front against Islamic State", *The Economist* [6 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21690057-libyas-civil-war-has-given-caliphate-fresh-opportunities-western-military">http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21690057-libyas-civil-war-has-given-caliphate-fresh-opportunities-western-military</a> [accessed 5 February 2016].
- Edwards, Will, "ISIS' Reach Extends to Southeast Asia," *The Cipher Brief* [20 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/asia/isis-reach-latches-southeast-asia">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/asia/isis-reach-latches-southeast-asia</a> [accessed 22 August 2017].
- ★ El-Amrani, Issandr, "How Much of Libya Does the Islamic State Control?" Foreign Policy [18 February 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/18/how-much-of-libya-does-the-islamic-state-control/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/18/how-much-of-libya-does-the-islamic-state-control/</a> [accessed 19 February 2016].
  - Emont, Jon and Felipe Villamor, "ISIS' Core Helps Fund Militants in Philippines, Report Says," *The New York Times* [20 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/20/world/asia/philippines-isis-marawi-duterte.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/20/world/asia/philippines-isis-marawi-duterte.html</a> [accessed 21 July 2017].
    - An Islamic State affiliate controls a city and territory in the Philippines. This has direct implications on the future of the Caliphate should it be destroyed in Mesopotamia.
  - Fahim, Kareem, "Tunisia hit by twin bombings on the same day its president falls gravely ill," Washington Post [27 June 2019]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/twin-

- suicide-bombings-in-tunisian-capital-kill-police-officer-interior-ministry-says/2019/06/27/29b5131a-98d4-11e9-a027-c571fd3d394d\_story.html?utm\_term=.5bc05b372210 [accessed 28 June 2019].
- Faiez, Rahim, "Afghan president: ISIS being wiped out in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [6 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/06/afghan-president-isis-being-wiped-out-afghanistan/81402504/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/war-on-is/2016/03/06/afghan-president-isis-being-wiped-out-afghanistan/81402504/</a> [accessed 7 March 2016].
- Faiez, Rahim, "57 Killed in Kabul Suicide Bombing and ISIS Is Claiming Responsibility," *Time* [22 April 2018]. http://time.com/5249568/kabul-suicide-bombing-isis-taliban/ [accessed 23 April 2018].
- Faiez, Rahim and Amir Shah, "Islamic State attacks Afghan intelligence compound in Kabul," *Military Times* [18 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/2017/12/18/islamic-state-attacks-afghan-intelligence-compound-in-kabul/">https://www.militarytimes.com/2017/12/18/islamic-state-attacks-afghan-intelligence-compound-in-kabul/</a> [accessed 19 December 2017].
- Faiez, Rahim and Kathy Gannon, "At least 22 dead, 22 wounded in ISIS attack on Afghan university," *Military Times* [2 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/11/02/at-least-22-dead-22-wounded-in-isis-attack-on-afghan-university/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/11/02/at-least-22-dead-22-wounded-in-isis-attack-on-afghan-university/</a> [accessed 12 November 2020].
- Fonbuena, Carmela, "Leader of Isis in Philippines killed, DNA tests confirm," *The Guardian* [14 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/14/leader-of-isis-in-philippines-killed-dna-tests-confirm">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/14/leader-of-isis-in-philippines-killed-dna-tests-confirm</a> [accessed 15 April 2019].
- Fuller, Liz, "IS Claims Responsibility For Suicide Bombing In Daghestan", Radio free Europe Radio Liberty [15 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/content/caucasus-report-is-daghestan-bombing/27553830.html">http://www.rferl.org/content/caucasus-report-is-daghestan-bombing/27553830.html</a> [accessed 16 February 2016].
- Gannon, Kathy, "Islamic State group in competition for recruits in Pakistan," *The Big Story Associated Press* [2 March 2016]. <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/article/f5137e5a1f1d452c90b7d3d2b9d36140/islamic-state-group-competition-recruits-pakistan">http://bigstory.ap.org/article/f5137e5a1f1d452c90b7d3d2b9d36140/islamic-state-group-competition-recruits-pakistan</a> [accessed 2 March 2016].
- ★ Gannon, Kathy, "ISIS expands in Afghanistan, threatening West," Military Times [10 June 2019]. https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2019/06/10/isis-expands-in-afghanistan-threatening-west/ [accessed 11 June 2019]. Informative and important to read. As ISIS tries to reestablish itself it has sought out ground in one of the most difficult countries to police or control – Afghanistan. What is uncertain is how much the Taliban/ISIS divide will be crossed by any possible peace deal with the US government.
  - Ganor, Boaz, "What can be learned from Paris's black Friday the 13th", International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [15 November 2015]. <a href="http://trailer.web-view.net/Show/0X745AD52CFA0ADEF2945E18539F02C6D19848F8F67F5EAA6AD722F7747AA84DAA.html">http://trailer.web-view.net/Show/0X745AD52CFA0ADEF2945E18539F02C6D19848F8F67F5EAA6AD722F7747AA84DAA.html</a> [accessed 15 November 2015].
  - Garellek, Alana, "Defeating Boko Haram", *The Cipher Brief* [17 February 2016]. <a href="http://thecipherbrief.com/article/africa/defeating-boko-haram">http://thecipherbrief.com/article/africa/defeating-boko-haram</a> [accessed 17 February 2016].
  - Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed, Vivian Hagerty, and Madeline Dement, "The Demographics of Southeast Asian Jihadism," War on the Rocks [5 September 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/the-demographics-of-southeast-asian-jihadism/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/the-demographics-of-southeast-asian-jihadism/</a> [accessed 6 September 2018]. Excellent statistical summary.
  - Gaydos, Ryan, "ISIS uses US Special Forces helmet cam in twisted propaganda video," *Fox News* [5 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.foxnews.com/world/2018/03/05/isis-uses-us-special-forces-helmet-cam-in-twisted-propaganda-video.html">http://www.foxnews.com/world/2018/03/05/isis-uses-us-special-forces-helmet-cam-in-twisted-propaganda-video.html</a> [accessed 5 March 2018].
  - George, Susannah and Sharif Hassan, "Islamic State attack on Afghan prison stretches into its second day, with 21 dead," *The Washington Post* [3 August 2020]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/islamic-state-attack-on-an-afghan-prison-stretches-into-

- <u>its-second-day-with-21-dead/2020/08/03/69e7146e-d556-11ea-a788-2ce86ce81129\_story.html</u> [accessed 4 August 2020].
- Ghazi, Zabihullah, "Pro-IS Rally at Afghan University Stirs Concern", *Voice of America* [10 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/content/pro-islamic-state-rally-afghan-university-stirs-concern/3052305.html">http://www.voanews.com/content/pro-islamic-state-rally-afghan-university-stirs-concern/3052305.html</a> [accessed 13 November 2015].
- Gohel, Sajjan, "How Uzbekistan became ripe recruiting territory for ISIS," *CNN* [1 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2017/11/01/opinions/uzbekistan-isis-recruiting/index.html">http://www.cnn.com/2017/11/01/opinions/uzbekistan-isis-recruiting/index.html</a> [accessed 6 November 2017].
- Goldbaum, Christina and Eric Schmitt, "In Bid to Boost Its Profile, ISIS Turns to Africa's Militants," *The New York Times* [7 April 2021]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/world/africa/ISIS-Africa-Mozambique.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/world/africa/ISIS-Africa-Mozambique.html</a> [accessed 31 May 2021].
- Graham, David A., "Here's Why Assad and ISIS Hate France's Stake in the Middle East," *The Atlantic* [16 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/politics/2015/11/heres-why-assad-and-isis-hate-frances-stake-middle-east/123725/?oref=d-mostread">http://www.defenseone.com/politics/2015/11/heres-why-assad-and-isis-hate-frances-stake-middle-east/123725/?oref=d-mostread</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
- Graham, David A., "An Attack From the ISIS Playbook," *The Atlantic* [19 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/06/london-terror-attack-antimuslim/530778/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/06/london-terror-attack-antimuslim/530778/</a> [accessed 20 June 2017].
  - The article comments on a van attack conducted in London on 18 June 2017, but this time directed against Muslims.
- Gul, Ayaz, "IS Beheads 2 Afghans Accused Being American Spies," *Voice of America* [14 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/is-beheads-two-afghans-accuses-them-of-being-american-spies/4028460.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/is-beheads-two-afghans-accuses-them-of-being-american-spies/4028460.html</a> [accessed 15 September 2017].
- Gul, Ayaz, "New Report Warns IS Increasing 'Footprint' in Pakistan," *Voice of America* [8 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/new-report-warns-is-increasing-footprint-in-pakistan/4198200.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/new-report-warns-is-increasing-footprint-in-pakistan/4198200.html</a> [accessed 9 January 2018].
- Gul, Ayaz, "Russia Says IS Turning Afghanistan Into 'Resting Base' for Regional Terrorism," *Voice of America* [8 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/russia-weighs-in-on-islamic-state-in-afghan/4244261.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/russia-weighs-in-on-islamic-state-in-afghan/4244261.html</a> [accessed 10 February 2018].
- Gul, Rahmat and Rahim Faiez, "Afghan forces retake prison after deadly attack by ISIS group," *Military Times* [3 August 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/08/03/afghan-forces-retake-prison-after-deadly-attack-by-isis-group/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/08/03/afghan-forces-retake-prison-after-deadly-attack-by-isis-group/</a> [accessed 4 August 2020].
- Guled, Abdi "US-targeted ISIS in Somalia could be a 'significant threat'," *Military Times* [13 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/13/us-targeted-isis-in-somalia-could-be-a-significant-threat/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/13/us-targeted-isis-in-somalia-could-be-a-significant-threat/</a> [accessed 15 November 2017].
- Gunaratna, Rohan, "Ending the Fight in Marawi," S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, volume 9, issue 10, 1-5 [October 2017]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/38901401/Ending">https://www.academia.edu/38901401/Ending the Fight in Marawi</a> [accessed 13 February 2021].
- Habibzada, Mohammad, "Islamic State Commander Accused of Rape Surrenders," VOA News [6 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/is-commander-accused-of-rape-surrenders-to-authoritie/4516044.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/is-commander-accused-of-rape-surrenders-to-authoritie/4516044.html</a> [accessed 7 August 2018].
- ★ Hannan, Dan, "There's no such thing as total security from terrorism," Washington Examiner [25 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/theres-no-such-thing-as-total-security-from-terrorism/article/2624192">http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/theres-no-such-thing-as-total-security-from-terrorism/article/2624192</a> [accessed 26 May 2017].
  - This is from a British member of parliament and one of the most succinct set of statements addressing common questions that always come up after a terrorist attack. In this case, this is in response to the 22 May

- 2017 attack on the Ariana Grande concert in Manchester, England.
- Harding, Andrew, "Mozambique: Is Cabo Delgado the latest Islamic State outpost?" *BBC News* [5 May 2020]. <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-52532741">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-52532741</a> [accessed 14 August 2020].
- Hart, Michael, "A Year After Marawi, What's Left of ISIS in the Philippines?" *The Diplomat* [25 October 2018]. <a href="https://thediplomat.com/2018/10/a-year-after-marawi-whats-left-of-isis-in-the-philippines/">https://thediplomat.com/2018/10/a-year-after-marawi-whats-left-of-isis-in-the-philippines/</a> [accessed 1 November 2018].
- Hassan, "ISIS has stepped up its campaigns in Yemen, Egypt and Afghanistan. The coalition fighting it should be worried," *The National* [23 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/comment/isis-has-stepped-up-its-campaigns-in-yemen-egypt-and-afghanistan-the-coalition-fighting-it-should-be-worried-1.733239">https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/comment/isis-has-stepped-up-its-campaigns-in-yemen-egypt-and-afghanistan-the-coalition-fighting-it-should-be-worried-1.733239</a> [accessed 24 May 2018].
- Hussein, Rikar and Nisan Ahmado, "Islamic State Regrouping in Libyan Desert, Experts Warn," *Voice of America* [29 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-regrouping-libyan-desert-experts-warn/4050753.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-regrouping-libyan-desert-experts-warn/4050753.html</a> [accessed 2 October 2017].
- ICT, "The Paris Black Friday 13/11/2015 Attacks What do we know? What should we do?" International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [22 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.ict.org.il/UserFiles/ICT-The-Black-Friday-Paris-Attacks-Nov15.pdf">http://www.ict.org.il/UserFiles/ICT-The-Black-Friday-Paris-Attacks-Nov15.pdf</a> [accessed 16 November 2015].
- ICT, "The Berlin Vehicular Ramming Attack What we know & Insights from ICT Experts," International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [15 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1883/the-berlin-vehicular-ramming-attack?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Berlin">https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1883/the-berlin-vehicular-ramming-attack?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Berlin [accessed 24 December 2016].</a>
  - Background information on the 19 December 2016 Berlin truck ramming attack. The article provides useful information on jihadi activity in and emanating from Germany.
- Imhof, Oliver and Osama Mansour, "The Last Days of ISIS' Libya Stronghold," *The Daily Beast* [5 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-last-days-of-isis-libya-stronghold">https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-last-days-of-isis-libya-stronghold</a> [accessed 12 July 2018].
- International Crisis Group, "How the Islamic State Rose, Fell and Could Rise Again in the Maghreb," International Crisis Group Middle East Report, Number 178, 24 July 2017. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/178-how-the-islamic-state-rose\_0.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/178-how-the-islamic-state-rose\_0.pdf</a> [accessed 25 July 2017].
  - This is an excellent summary with high quality footnotes. This report provides great explanation and assessment regarding actions in North Africa.
  - Issacharoff, Avi, "Elite Hamas fighters defecting to Islamic State," *Times of Israel* [7 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.timesofisrael.com/elite-hamas-fighters-defecting-to-islamic-state/">http://www.timesofisrael.com/elite-hamas-fighters-defecting-to-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 9 February 2017].
    - An interesting development of cross border action between two serious groups. The question is whether or not Hamas becomes more competent as a result of the association.
  - Issacharoff, Avi, "In Sinai, a local tribe fights to push back the Islamic State," *Times of Israel* [5 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.timesofisrael.com/islamic-states-two-pronged-war-in-sinai/">http://www.timesofisrael.com/islamic-states-two-pronged-war-in-sinai/</a> [accessed 6 June 2017].
    - This is a fascinating description of the ISIS dynamic in Sinai where a major Bedouin tribe now opposes them.
  - Jadoon, Amira, "Allied & Lethal: Islamic State Khorasan's Network and Organizational Capacity in Afghanistan and Pakistan," *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point* [December 2018]. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/12/Allied-Lethal.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/12/Allied-Lethal.pdf</a> [accessed 5 December 2018].
  - Jadoon, Amira, Andrew Mines, and Abdul Sayed, "The Evolving Taliban-ISK Rivalry," Real Clear Defense

- [9 September 2021]. <a href="https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2021/09/09/the\_evolving\_taliban-isk\_rivalry\_793603.html">https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2021/09/09/the\_evolving\_taliban-isk\_rivalry\_793603.html</a> [accessed 14 September 2021].
- Johnston, Patrick B. and Colin P. Clarke, "Is the Philippines the Next Caliphate? ISIS is looking to regroup, and is setting its sights eastward." *Foreign Policy* [27 November 2017]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/11/27/is-the-philippines-the-next-caliphate/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/11/27/is-the-philippines-the-next-caliphate/</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State 'province' claims 4 suicide attacks on Yemeni, Gulf forces," *The Long War Journal* [6 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/islamic-state-province-claims-4-suicide-attacks-on-yemeni-gulf-forces.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/islamic-state-province-claims-4-suicide-attacks-on-yemeni-gulf-forces.php</a> [accessed 7 October 2015].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State's Libyan 'province' launches new offensive," *The Long War Journal* [4 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/01/islamic-state-libyan-province-goes-on-offensive-in-libya.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/01/islamic-state-libyan-province-goes-on-offensive-in-libya.php</a> [accessed 5 January 2016].

  Information on the expansion or claimed expansion of the ISIS affiliate in Libya
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "US: Emir of Islamic State's Khorasan province killed in Apr. 27 raid," *The Long War Journal* [7 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/us-emir-of-islamic-states-khorasan-province-killed-in-raid.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/us-emir-of-islamic-states-khorasan-province-killed-in-raid.php</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State claims attack on bus carrying Coptic Christians in Egypt," *The Long War Journal* [27 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/islamic-state-claims-attack-on-bus-carrying-coptic-christians-in-egypt.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/islamic-state-claims-attack-on-bus-carrying-coptic-christians-in-egypt.php</a> [accessed 30 May 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State facilitator moved recruits through Turkey, US says," *The Long War Journal* [17 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/06/islamic-state-facilitator-moved-recruits-through-turkey-us-says.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/06/islamic-state-facilitator-moved-recruits-through-turkey-us-says.php</a> [accessed 19 June 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State's Khorasan 'province' assaults Iraqi embassy in Kabul," *The Long War Journal* [31 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/islamic-states-khorasan-province-assaults-iraqi-embassy-in-kabul.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/islamic-states-khorasan-province-assaults-iraqi-embassy-in-kabul.php</a> [accessed 1 August 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State fighters overrun checkpoint in Libya, behead captives," *The Long War Journal* [24 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/08/islamic-state-fighters-overrun-checkpoint-in-libya-behead-captives.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/08/islamic-state-fighters-overrun-checkpoint-in-libya-behead-captives.php</a> [accessed 28 August 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State claims its 'soldiers' carried out London tube bombing," *The Long War Journal* [15 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/islamic-state-claims-its-soldiers-carried-out-london-tube-bombing.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/islamic-state-claims-its-soldiers-carried-out-london-tube-bombing.php</a> [accessed 18 September 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Taliban touts defection of Islamic State 'deputy'," *The Long War Journal* [4 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/taliban-touts-defection-of-islamic-state-deputy.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/taliban-touts-defection-of-islamic-state-deputy.php</a> [accessed 5 December 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State claims its men planted bomb at St. Petersburg supermarket," *The Long War Journal* [29 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/islamic-state-claims-its-men-planted-bomb-at-st-petersburg-supermarket.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/islamic-state-claims-its-men-planted-bomb-at-st-petersburg-supermarket.php</a> [accessed 2 January 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "ISIS supporter tried to recruit 55 children for attacks in London," *The Long War Journal* [2 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/03/isis-supporter-tried-to-recruit-55-children-for-attacks-in-london.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/03/isis-supporter-tried-to-recruit-55-children-for-attacks-in-london.php</a> [accessed 5 March 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Raid on Afghan school for midwives ended after several hours," *The Long War Journal* [29 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/07/raid-on-afghan-school-for-midwives-ended-after-several-hours.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/07/raid-on-afghan-school-for-midwives-ended-after-several-hours.php</a> [accessed 30 July 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Islamic State spokesman touts attack in Ahvaz, Iran," The Long War Journal [26

- September 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/islamic-state-spokesman-touts-attack-in-ahvaz-iran.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/islamic-state-spokesman-touts-attack-in-ahvaz-iran.php</a> [accessed 28 September 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Analysis: The Islamic State's allegiance videos," *The Long War Journal* [23 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/analysis-the-islamic-states-allegiance-videos.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/analysis-the-islamic-states-allegiance-videos.php</a> [accessed 1 May 2019].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Terrorists in Sri Lanka swore allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi," *The Long War Journal* [23 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/terrorists-in-sri-lanka-swore-allegiance-to-baghdadi.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/terrorists-in-sri-lanka-swore-allegiance-to-baghdadi.php</a> [accessed 1 May 2019].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Sri Lankan security forces clash with Islamic State loyalists," *The Long War Journal* [27 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/sri-lankan-security-forces-clash-with-islamic-state-loyalists.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/sri-lankan-security-forces-clash-with-islamic-state-loyalists.php</a> [accessed 30 April 2019].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "UN sanctions Islamic State's Khorasan province, as jihadists claim operations in Kashmir and Pakistan," *The Long War Journal* [15 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/un-sanctions-islamic-states-khorasan-province-as-jihadists-claim-operations-in-kashmir-and-pakistan.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/un-sanctions-islamic-states-khorasan-province-as-jihadists-claim-operations-in-kashmir-and-pakistan.php</a> [accessed 17 May 2019].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Suicide bomber strikes military academy in Kabul," *The Long War Journal* [30 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/suicide-bomber-strikes-military-academy-in-kabul.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/suicide-bomber-strikes-military-academy-in-kabul.php</a> [accessed 31 May 2019].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Jihadists in West Africa renew allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi," *The Long War Journal* [17 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/06/jihadists-in-west-africa-renew-allegiance-to-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/06/jihadists-in-west-africa-renew-allegiance-to-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi.php</a> [accessed 19 June 2019].
- Joscelyn, Thomas and Caleb Weiss, "Islamic State warns Shabaab of impending battle in Somalia," *The Long War Journal* [16 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/islamic-state-warns-shabaab-of-impending-battle-in-somalia.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/islamic-state-warns-shabaab-of-impending-battle-in-somalia.php</a> [accessed 19 November 2018].
- Jubber, Nicholas, "ISIS Sets Sights on Rest of Africa," *The Daily Beast* [4 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/04/isis-sets-sights-on-rest-of-africa.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/04/isis-sets-sights-on-rest-of-africa.html</a> [accessed 4 October 2016].
  - The author expresses concern over the continued displacement of ISIS from location to the next and he suggests that ISIS will continue to expand to other parts of Africa. He says that Libya is a sandstorm that spreads radicalism.
- Kermani, Secunder, "The Taliban's secretive war against IS," *BBC* [29 October 2021]. <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-59080871">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-59080871</a> [accessed 31 October 2021].
- Kirchner, Stephanie and Michael Birnbaum, "Germany train attacker had no direct Islamic State connections, top official says," *The Washington Post* [20 July 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/germany-train-attacker-had-no-direct-islamic-state-connections-top-official-says/2016/07/20/35392aac-4e70-11e6-820d-efdef6663357\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/germany-train-attacker-had-no-direct-islamic-state-connections-top-official-says/2016/07/20/35392aac-4e70-11e6-820d-efdef6663357\_story.html</a> [accessed 22 July 2016].
- Kirkpatrick, David D., Ben Hubbard, and Eric Schmittnov, "ISIS' Grip on Libyan City Gives It a Fallback Option", New York Times [28 November 2015].
  <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/29/world/middleeast/isis-grip-on-libyan-city-gives-it-a-fallback-option.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/29/world/middleeast/isis-grip-on-libyan-city-gives-it-a-fallback-option.html</a>? r=0 [accessed 1 December 2015].
  - This is a well-researched article on the Islamic State expansion in Libya. This supports the "everywhere army" narrative as the article assumes that Libya is being prepared as a fallback position for ISIS should Iraq or Syria collapse.
  - Kugelman, Michael and Atif Jalal Ahmad, "Will ISIS Infect Bangladesh?", *National Interest* [8 December 2015]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/will-isis-infect-south-asia-14538">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/will-isis-infect-south-asia-14538</a> [accessed 9 December 2015].

- This is a discussion on the rapid development of the rise of extremist violence in Bangladesh.
- Lamothe, Dan, "The Islamic State is growing in Afghanistan, and has its eyes on a specific city," *The Washington Post* [6 October 2015].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/10/06/the-islamic-state-is-growing-in-afghanistan-and-has-its-eyes-on-a-specific-city/ [accessed 7 October 2015].
- Lawrence, J.P. "Green Berets and Afghan commandos announce capture of ISIS stronghold," *Stars & Stripes* [8 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/green-berets-and-afghan-commandos-announce-capture-of-isis-stronghold-1.536605">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/green-berets-and-afghan-commandos-announce-capture-of-isis-stronghold-1.536605</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].
  - Quote from Afghan about how nice ISIS was when they showed up in the area.
- Maan, Ajit, "ISIS Announces Establishment of Province in India," *SOF News* [3 June 2019]. <a href="http://www.sof.news/islamic-state/isis-province-india/">http://www.sof.news/islamic-state/isis-province-india/</a> [accessed 4 June 2019].
- Maclean, Ruth, "Isis tries to impose new leader on Boko Haram in Nigeria," *The Guardian* [4 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/05/isis-tries-to-impose-new-leader-on-boko-haram-in-nigeria">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/05/isis-tries-to-impose-new-leader-on-boko-haram-in-nigeria</a> [accessed 5 August 2016].
- Mark, Monica, "Inside The Botched Raid That Left Four US Soldiers Dead In Niger," *BuzzFeed News* [9 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.buzzfeed.com/monicamark/niger-secret-wars-in-africa">https://www.buzzfeed.com/monicamark/niger-secret-wars-in-africa</a> [accessed 11 December 2017].
- Marks, Monica, "ISIS and Nusra in Turkey: Jihadist recruitment and Ankara's response," *Institute for Strategic Dialogue*, London, UK [2016].

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/32865020/ISIS">https://www.academia.edu/32865020/ISIS</a> and Nusra in Turkey Jihadist recruitment and Ankar as Response 2016 [accessed 6 November 2019].
- Mashal, Mujib, "Afghan ISIS Branch Makes Inroads in Battle Against Taliban," *The New York Times* [13 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/14/world/asia/afghan-isis-branch-makes-inroads-in-battle-against-taliban.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/14/world/asia/afghan-isis-branch-makes-inroads-in-battle-against-taliban.html</a> [accessed 14 October 2015].
- Mashal, Mujib, Zahra Nader, and Jawad Sukhanyar, "Kab I Bombing Adds New Layers of Agony for Afghanistan's Hazaras," *The New York Times* [24 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/25/world/asia/hazara-afghanistan-victims.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/25/world/asia/hazara-afghanistan-victims.html</a> [accessed 25 July 2016].
- Mashal, Mujib, Fahim Abed and Najim Rahim, "Joint Taliban-ISIS Attack Kills Dozens, Afghan Officials Say," *The New York Times* [6 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/06/world/asia/taliban-islamic-state-attack-afghanistan.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/06/world/asia/taliban-islamic-state-attack-afghanistan.html</a> [accessed 7 August 2017].
- Mazen, Maram, "In Egypt, angry talk of Western conspiracy over plane crash", *Military Times* [10 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/11/10/egypt-angry-talk-western-conspiracy-over-plane-crash/75504828/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/11/10/egypt-angry-talk-western-conspiracy-over-plane-crash/75504828/</a> [accessed 11 November 2015].
- McBeth, John, "What the World Can Learn From the ISIS Jakarta Attacks," *National Interest* [20 January 2016]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/what-the-world-can-learn-the-isis-jakarta-attacks-14967">http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/what-the-world-can-learn-the-isis-jakarta-attacks-14967</a> [accessed 21 January 2016].
- McBeth, John, "Islamic State church bombings rip Indonesia," *Asia Times* [14 May 2018]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/islamic-state-church-bombings-rip-indonesia/">http://www.atimes.com/article/islamic-state-church-bombings-rip-indonesia/</a> [accessed 14 May 2018].
- McBeth, John, "Indonesia is Islamic State's new frontline," *Asia Times* [17 May 2018]. http://www.atimes.com/article/indonesia-is-islamic-states-new-frontline/ [accessed 21 May 2018].
- Military Times, "Lebanon's army prepares to clear border area of ISIS militants," *Military Times* [8 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/08/lebanons-army-prepares-to-clear-">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/08/lebanons-army-prepares-to-clear-</a>

- border-area-of-isis-militants/ [accessed 9 August 2017].
- Mohammed, Awal, "Mothers recount how sons fled to join Al Shabaab," New Kenyan [30 August 2020]. <a href="https://newkenyan.com/mothers-recount-how-sons-fled-to-join-al-shabaab/">https://newkenyan.com/mothers-recount-how-sons-fled-to-join-al-shabaab/</a> [accessed 15 September 2020].
- Moki, Edwin Kindzeka, "Boko Haram has been repelled, Cameroon's leader declares," *Associated Press News* [30 September 2018]. <a href="https://apnews.com/5294593e5c034405a225efc2fcbe6281">https://apnews.com/5294593e5c034405a225efc2fcbe6281</a> [accessed 2 October 2018].
- Murray, Rebecca, "On the Frontline of the Battle Against Islamic State, Libyan Fighters Face a Vicious Enemy," *Vice News* [8 June 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/on-the-frontline-of-the-battle-against-islamic-state-libyan-fighters-face-a-vicious-enemy">https://news.vice.com/article/on-the-frontline-of-the-battle-against-islamic-state-libyan-fighters-face-a-vicious-enemy</a> [accessed 9 June 2016].
- Musa, Rami, "IS suicide bomber hits Libya checkpoint, kills 2," *The Washington Post* [31 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/suspected-is-suicide-bomber-hits-libya-checkpoint-kills-2/2017/08/31/9883cff2-8e54-11e7-9c53-6a169beb0953\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/suspected-is-suicide-bomber-hits-libya-checkpoint-kills-2/2017/08/31/9883cff2-8e54-11e7-9c53-6a169beb0953\_story.html</a> [accessed 1 September 2017].
- Nadeau, Barbie Latza, "Do All Roads Lead Through Italy for ISIS?" *The Daily Beast* [30 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/30/do-all-roads-lead-through-italy-for-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/30/do-all-roads-lead-through-italy-for-isis.html</a> [accessed 31 March 2016].
- Najafizada, Eltaf, "Islamic State Attack Shows Growing Capability in Afghanistan," *Bloomberg* [24 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-07-24/deadly-kabul-attack-shatters-afghan-claim-of-victory-over-isis">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-07-24/deadly-kabul-attack-shatters-afghan-claim-of-victory-over-isis</a> [accessed 26 July 2016].
- Nawaz, Maajid, "The Jihadi Joker, Anjem Choudary, Was a Terror Mastermind," *The Daily Beast* [22 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/22/the-jihadi-joker-anjem-choudary-was-a-terror-mastermind.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/22/the-jihadi-joker-anjem-choudary-was-a-terror-mastermind.html</a> [accessed 22 August 2016].
  - A British jihadist inciter is finally convicted, but not until after inciting numerous attacks within Britain.
- Nordland, Rod, "All 6 U.S. Combat Deaths in Afghanistan in 2017 Were in Fight Against ISIS," *The New York Times* [11 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/11/world/asia/afghanistan-military-american-soldiers-deaths.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/11/world/asia/afghanistan-military-american-soldiers-deaths.html</a> [accessed 12 June 2017].
- Notezai, Muhammad Akbar, "Can ISIS Gain a Foothold in Balochistan?", *The Diplomat* [7 January 2016]. <a href="http://thediplomat.com/2016/01/can-isis-gain-a-foothold-in-balochistan/">http://thediplomat.com/2016/01/can-isis-gain-a-foothold-in-balochistan/</a> [accessed 7 January 2016].
  - Good list of various jihadist groups that operate in Iran.
- Obaji, Philip Jr. "ISIS Orders Its Franchises to Kill Christians," *The Daily Beast* [13 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/14/isis-orders-its-franchises-to-kill-christians.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/14/isis-orders-its-franchises-to-kill-christians.html</a> [accessed 15 August 2016].
- Obaji, Philip Jr. "Near Miss: Lessons From the ISIS Plot to Blow Up the U.S. Embassy in Nigeria," *The Daily Beast* [2 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/05/02/near-miss-lessons-from-the-isis-plot-to-blow-up-the-u-s-embassy-in-nigeria">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/05/02/near-miss-lessons-from-the-isis-plot-to-blow-up-the-u-s-embassy-in-nigeria</a> [accessed 5 May 2017].
  - Boko Haram or the ISIS affiliate in Nigeria is adapting to new dynamics.
- Obaji, Philip Jr. "Inside the Boko Haram Deal that Brought Back More Than 80 Chibok Girls," *The Daily Beast* [7 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/05/07/inside-the-boko-haram-deal-that-brought-back-more-than-80-chibok-girls">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/05/07/inside-the-boko-haram-deal-that-brought-back-more-than-80-chibok-girls</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
- O'Connor, Tom, "ISIS Militants Plotted Tehran Attacks for a Year, Fought in Iraq and Syria, Iran Says," *Newsweek* [8 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.newsweek.com/isis-militants-plot-tehran-attacks-iraq-syria-iran-623214">http://www.newsweek.com/isis-militants-plot-tehran-attacks-iraq-syria-iran-623214</a> [accessed 9 June 2017].

- Fantastic quotes on Iranian influence of the media narrative blame US and Saudi Arabia for an ISIS attack on the Iranian parliament. This fits the narrative that they created in Iraq US created and operationally supports ISAIS. This is reference to the 7 June attack in Tehran.
- Orozobekova, Cholpon, "Central Asia and the ISIS Phantom," *The Diplomat* [2 October 2015]. <a href="http://thediplomat.com/2015/10/central-asia-and-the-isis-phantom/">http://thediplomat.com/2015/10/central-asia-and-the-isis-phantom/</a> [accessed 5 October 2015].
- Pack, Jason, "ISIS Is Coming: Why Militias in Libya Need to Unite—And Fast," *National Interest* [14 October 2015]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/isis-coming-why-militias-libya-need-unite%E2%80%94-fast-14067">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/isis-coming-why-militias-libya-need-unite%E2%80%94-fast-14067</a> [accessed 14 October 2015].
- Pal, Alasdair and Jibran Ahmed, "Islamic State uses Taliban's own tactics to attack Afghanistan's new rulers," *Reuters* [23 September 2021]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/islamic-state-uses-talibans-own-tactics-attack-afghanistans-new-rulers-2021-09-23/">https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/islamic-state-uses-talibans-own-tactics-attack-afghanistans-new-rulers-2021-09-23/</a> [accessed 30 September 2021].
- Parameswaran, Prashanth, "Malaysian Islamic State Suicide Bombers Kill More Than 30 in Middle East", The Diplomat [11 January 2016]. <a href="http://thediplomat.com/2016/01/malaysian-islamic-state-suicide-bombers-kill-more-than-30-in-middle-east/">http://thediplomat.com/2016/01/malaysian-islamic-state-suicide-bombers-kill-more-than-30-in-middle-east/</a> [accessed 12 January 2016].
- Paraszczuk, Joanna, "IS Central Asian Recruitment Drive A Family Affair," *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty* [4 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-central-asia-recruitment-family-affair/27653606.html">http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-central-asia-recruitment-family-affair/27653606.html</a> [accessed 5 April 2016].
- Pawlyk, Oriana, "In Libya, the U.S. opens a fourth front in war on ISIS," *Military Times* [19 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/02/19/libya-us-opens-fourth-front-warisis/80620174/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/02/19/libya-us-opens-fourth-front-warisis/80620174/</a> [accessed 22 February 2016].
- Petersmann, Sandra, "Islamist threat lingers in Philippines despite Marawi victory," *Deutsche-Welle* [18 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/islamist-threat-lingers-in-philippines-despite-marawi-victory/a-46783576">https://www.dw.com/en/islamist-threat-lingers-in-philippines-despite-marawi-victory/a-46783576</a> [accessed 19 December 2018].
- Petersmann, Sandra, "The Philippines in the sights of IS," *Deutsche-Welle* [11 April 2019]. https://www.dw.com/en/the-philippines-in-the-sights-of-is/a-48260533 [accessed 14 April 2019].
- Petesch, Carley, "Al-Qaida, ISIS affiliates team up in West Africa, says US Special Operations Command Africa leader," *Military Times* [27 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/02/27/al-qaida-isis-affiliates-team-up-in-west-africa-says-us-special-operations-command-africa-leader/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/02/27/al-qaida-isis-affiliates-team-up-in-west-africa-says-us-special-operations-command-africa-leader/</a> [accessed 2 March 2020].
- Prothero, Mitch and Annabelle Azadé, "Their Parents Fought With ISIS. Now France Is Trying To Figure Out What To Do With Them." *BuzzFeed News* [19 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.buzzfeed.com/mitchprothero/their-parents-fought-with-isis-now-france-is-trying-to?utm\_term=.pdbgeORlm#.cfKm3x2Kg">https://www.buzzfeed.com/mitchprothero/their-parents-fought-with-isis-now-france-is-trying-to?utm\_term=.pdbgeORlm#.cfKm3x2Kg</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
- Qayyum, Tabish, "The ISIS' Footprint in Pakistan: Myth or Reality," Thesis, Department of International Relations Faculty of Contemporary Studies, National Defence University, Islamabad, Pakistan, 2014-2016. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/31628011/The ISIS Footprint">https://www.academia.edu/31628011/The ISIS Footprint in Pakistan Myth or Reality [accessed 19 September 2019].</a>
- Raghavan, Sudarsan, "The Islamic State is making these Afghans long for the Taliban," *The Washington Post* [13 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\_pacific/a-new-age-of-brutality-how-islamic-state-rose-up-in-one-afghan-province/2015/10/13/a6dbed67-717b-41e3-87a5-01c81384f34c story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\_pacific/a-new-age-of-brutality-how-islamic-state-rose-up-in-one-afghan-province/2015/10/13/a6dbed67-717b-41e3-87a5-01c81384f34c story.html</a> [accessed 14 October 2015].
- ★ Raghavan, Sudarsan, "Even with U.S. airstrikes, a struggle to oust ISIS from Libyan stronghold," *The Washington Post* [7 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/even-with-us-airstrikes-a-struggle-to-oust-isis-from-libyan-stronghold/2016/08/06/097dea30-5b52-11e6-8b48-">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/even-with-us-airstrikes-a-struggle-to-oust-isis-from-libyan-stronghold/2016/08/06/097dea30-5b52-11e6-8b48-</a>

- Ocb344221131 story.html [accessed 8 August 2016].
- The article provides a good summary of the fighting in Libya and the challenges associated with US military support. Air power is not sufficient to end the ISIS threat in country.
- Rahim, Najim and Rod Nordland, "Are ISIS Fighters Prisoners or Honored Guests of the Afghan Government?" *The New York Times* [4 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/04/world/asia/islamic-state-prisoners-afghanistan.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/04/world/asia/islamic-state-prisoners-afghanistan.html</a> [accessed 7 August 2018].
- Rasmussen, Sune Engel, "ISIS, Afghanistan's Accidental Broker?" *The New York Times* [1 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/01/opinion/isis-afghanistans-accidental-broker.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/01/opinion/isis-afghanistans-accidental-broker.html</a> [accessed 2 December 2016].
  - Great information on the sectarian tensions or lack thereof in Afghanistan and how ISIS' previous model of driving people apart to expand power seems not to be working. Yet.
- Rempfer, Kyle, "Pentagon denies ISIS claim of killing U.S. soldier," *Military Times* [22 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/01/22/pentagon-denies-isis-claim-of-killing-us-soldier/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/01/22/pentagon-denies-isis-claim-of-killing-us-soldier/</a> [accessed 23 January 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "Is ISIS gaining 'serious' ground in Afghanistan? Russia says yes. The US says no." *Military Times* [27 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/26/is-isis-gaining-serious-ground-in-afghanistan-russia-says-yes-the-us-says-no/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/26/is-isis-gaining-serious-ground-in-afghanistan-russia-says-yes-the-us-says-no/</a> [accessed 27 March 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "US airstrike kills top Islamic State commander in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [9 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/09/us-airstrike-kills-top-islamic-state-commander-in-afghanistan/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/09/us-airstrike-kills-top-islamic-state-commander-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 10 April 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "US killed No. 2 leader of ISIS-Somalia, officials say," *Air Force Times* [15 April 2019]. https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2019/04/15/us-killed-number-two-leader-of-isis-somalia-officials-say/ [accessed 19 April 2019].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "US airstrikes interrupt ISIS and al-Shabaab battleground," *Military Times* [29 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/05/29/us-airstrikes-interrupt-isis-and-al-shabaab-battleground/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/05/29/us-airstrikes-interrupt-isis-and-al-shabaab-battleground/</a> [accessed 30 May 2019].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "Inside a fatal Ranger raid that killed an ISIS-K emir in Afghanistan," *Army Times* [13 August 2020]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2020/08/13/inside-a-fatal-ranger-raid-that-killed-an-isis-k-emir-in-afghanistan/">https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2020/08/13/inside-a-fatal-ranger-raid-that-killed-an-isis-k-emir-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 14 August 2020].
- Ressa, Maria, "Experts warn PH: Don't underestimate ISIS", Rappler [13 January 2016].

  <a href="http://www.rappler.com/nation/118850-experts-warn-ph-not-to-underestimate-isis">http://www.rappler.com/nation/118850-experts-warn-ph-not-to-underestimate-isis</a> [accessed 15 January 2016].
  - The article includes some interesting advice and discussion on the manner of growth for a wilaya for ISIS.
  - Reuters, "More guards killed in Islamic State attacks on Libya's oil ports," *Reuters* [5 January 2015]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-idUSKBN0UJ0WE20160105">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-idUSKBN0UJ0WE20160105</a> [accessed 5 January 2016].
    - The role of ISIS in Libya seems to be growing.
  - Reuters, "Libyan Forces, Fighting ISIS in Surt, Free 13 Foreign Captives," *The New York Times* [22 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/23/world/middleeast/libya-islamic-state-isis.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/23/world/middleeast/libya-islamic-state-isis.html</a> [accessed 24 October 2016].
    - Is ISIS succeeding or losing in Libya? This report is that ISIS is losing.
  - Reuters, "Islamic State beheads 15 of its own fighters: Afghan official," *Reuters* [23 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-islamic-state/islamic-state-beheads-15-of-its-own-fighters-afghan-official-idUSKBN1DN121">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-islamic-state/islamic-state-beheads-15-of-its-own-fighters-afghan-official-idUSKBN1DN121</a> [accessed 26 November 2017].

- Reuters, "Head of Islamic State in Afghanistan killed, government says," *Reuters* [26 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-attack/head-of-islamic-state-in-afghanistan-killed-says-government-idUSKCN1LB0BD">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-attack/head-of-islamic-state-in-afghanistan-killed-says-government-idUSKCN1LB0BD</a> [accessed 27 August 2018].
- Rodzi, Nadirah H. "Malaysia's prisons under threat of radicalization," *The Strait Times* [8 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/malaysias-prisons-under-threat-of-radicalisation">http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/malaysias-prisons-under-threat-of-radicalisation</a> [accessed 9 October 2017].
- Roggio, Bill, "Senior Islamic State Khorasan leaders defect to Taliban," *The Long War Journal* [11 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/04/senior-islamic-state-khorasan-leaders-defect-to-taliban.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/04/senior-islamic-state-khorasan-leaders-defect-to-taliban.php</a> [accessed 12 April 2016].
- Roggio, Bill, "Islamic State Khorasan province's emir targeted in US raid," *The Long War Journal* [28 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/04/islamic-state-khorasan-provinces-emir-targeted-in-us-raid.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/04/islamic-state-khorasan-provinces-emir-targeted-in-us-raid.php</a> [accessed 3 May 2017].
- Roggio, Bill, "Islamic State's Wilayah Khorasan bombs convoy carrying Pakistani politician," *The Long War Journal* [13 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/islamic-states-wilayah-khorasan-bombs-convoy-carrying-pakistani-politician.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/islamic-states-wilayah-khorasan-bombs-convoy-carrying-pakistani-politician.php</a> [accessed 15 May 2017].
- Roggio, Bill and Caleb Weiss, "Taliban, Islamic State continue battle in northern Afghanistan," *The Long War Journal* [18 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/07/taliban-islamic-state-continue-battle-in-northern-afghanistan.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/07/taliban-islamic-state-continue-battle-in-northern-afghanistan.php</a> [accessed 23 July 2018].
- Ryan, Missy and Sudarsan Raghavan, "Another Western intervention in Libya looms," *The Washington Post* [3 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/another-western-intervention-in-libya-looms/2016/04/03/90386fde-f76e-11e5-9804-537defcc3cf6\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/another-western-intervention-in-libya-looms/2016/04/03/90386fde-f76e-11e5-9804-537defcc3cf6\_story.html</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
- Ryan, Missy, "U.S. establishes Libyan outposts with eye toward offensive against Islamic State," *The Washington Post* [12 May 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-establishes-libyan-outposts-with-eye-toward-offensive-against-islamic-state/2016/05/12/11195d32-183c-11e6-9e16-2e5a123aac62">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-establishes-libyan-outposts-with-eye-toward-offensive-against-islamic-state/2016/05/12/11195d32-183c-11e6-9e16-2e5a123aac62</a> story.html [accessed 16 May 2016].
- Safi, Michael, "Kashmir conflict shifts with top militant vowing fight is for an Islamic state," *The Guardian* [22 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/22/kashmir-conflict-shifts-top-militant-fight-islam-independence-zakir-musa">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/22/kashmir-conflict-shifts-top-militant-fight-islam-independence-zakir-musa</a> [accessed 24 May 2017].
- Sarmiento, Bong S., "Where will ISIS strike next in the Philippines?" *Asia Times* [23 May 2018]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/where-will-isis-strike-next-in-the-philippines/">http://www.atimes.com/article/where-will-isis-strike-next-in-the-philippines/</a> [accessed 24 May 2018].
- Sarmiento, Bong S., "Philippines teeters between war and peace," *Asia Times* [26 July 2018]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/philippines-teeters-between-war-and-peace/">http://www.atimes.com/article/philippines-teeters-between-war-and-peace/</a> [accessed 27 July 2018].
- Sarmiento, Bong S., "Islamic State finds safe haven in the Philippines," *Asia Times* [1 November 2018]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/islamic-state-finds-safe-haven-in-the-philippines/">http://www.atimes.com/article/islamic-state-finds-safe-haven-in-the-philippines/</a> [accessed 4 November 2018].
- Schick, Camilla and Stephen Castle, "'I Trusted Him': London Attacker Was Friendly With Neighbors," *The New York Times* [5 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/05/world/europe/london-attack-theresa-may.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/05/world/europe/london-attack-theresa-may.html</a> [accessed 6 June 2017].
  - The article provides some details on the 3 June 2017 attacks in London as well as the implications on the British elections.
- Schmitt, Eric, "U.S. Scrambles to Contain Growing ISIS Threat in Libya," *New York Times* [21 February 2016]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/22/world/africa/us-scrambles-to-contain-growing-isis-

- threat-in-libya.html?r=0& r=0 [accessed 22 February 2016].
- Schmitt, Eric, "Pentagon Has Plan to Cripple ISIS in Libya With Air Barrage," New York Times [8 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/09/world/middleeast/pentagon-considers-military-options-against-isis-in-libya.html?r=0& r=0 [accessed 9 March 2016].">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/09/world/middleeast/pentagon-considers-military-options-against-isis-in-libya.html?r=0& r=0 [accessed 9 March 2016].</a>
- Schmitt, Eric, Declan Walsh and Carlotta Gall, "U.S. Strikes ISIS Camp in Libya, Killing More Than 30," New York Times [19 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/20/world/middleeast/us-airstrike-isis-libya.html?r=1">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/20/world/middleeast/us-airstrike-isis-libya.html?r=1</a> [accessed 19 February 2016].
- Schmitt, Eric and Dionne Searcey, "U.S. Plans to Put Advisers on Front Lines of Nigeria's War on Boko Haram," New York Times [25 February 2016]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/26/world/africa/us-plans-to-help-nigeria-in-war-on-boko-haram-terrorists.html [accessed 26 February 2016].
- Sediqi, Abdul Qadir and Ahmad Sultan, "Taliban, U.S. pact in Afghanistan could boost Islamic State," *Reuters* [15 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-afghanistan-islamicstate/taliban-u-s-pact-in-afghanistan-could-boost-islamic-state-idUSKCN1V50XS">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-afghanistan-islamicstate/taliban-u-s-pact-in-afghanistan-could-boost-islamic-state-idUSKCN1V50XS</a> [accessed 15 August 2019].
- Seftel, Bennet, "ISIS Festers and Grows in Lawless Libya," *The Cipher Brief* [26 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/isis-festers-grows-lawless-libya">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/isis-festers-grows-lawless-libya</a> [accessed 15 February 2018].
- Shalizi, Hamid, "Embassy, mosque attacks fuel fears ISIS bringing Iraq war to Afghanistan," *Reuters* [2 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-islamic-state-idUSKBN1Al0V1">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-islamic-state-idUSKBN1Al0V1</a> [accessed 5 August 2017].
- Shuster, Simon, "Why Germany Can't Figure Out the Identity of Its First ISIS Attacker," *Time* [20 July 2016]. <a href="http://time.com/4415501/germany-isis-ax-train-attack-terrorism/">http://time.com/4415501/germany-isis-ax-train-attack-terrorism/</a> [accessed 22 July 2016].
- Sieff, Kevin, "Al-Qaeda affiliates are threatening West Africa's most peaceful cities," Washington Post [15 May 2016]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/al-qaeda-affiliates-are-threatening-west-africas-most-peaceful-cities/2016/05/15/4210ecf2-1643-11e6-971a-dadf9ab18869\_story.html [accessed 16 May 2016].
- Smith, Josh, "Afghans battle Islamic State to stalemate in east", *Stars and Stripes* [8 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.stripes.com/news/afghans-battle-islamic-state-to-stalemate-in-east-1.382671">http://www.stripes.com/news/afghans-battle-islamic-state-to-stalemate-in-east-1.382671</a> [accessed 9 December 2015].
  - The article provides a good summary on the fight between Afghan government forces and ISIS. The best sequence is from a local official who says both that they will defeat ISIS and that they must have more assistance or ISIS will spread elsewhere. This is a great example of the dynamics of the culture.
- Snow, Shawn, "Pentagon: US forces kill ISIS leader in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [14 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/pentagon-us-forces-kill-isis-leader-in-afghanistan">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/pentagon-us-forces-kill-isis-leader-in-afghanistan</a> [accessed 16 July 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "US drone strikes ISIS in Libya," *Military Times* [24 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/24/us-warplanes-strike-isis-in-libya/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/24/us-warplanes-strike-isis-in-libya/</a> [accessed 25 September 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "U.S. airstrike kills dozens of ISIS fighters in Yemen," *Military Times* [17 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/17/us-airstrike-kills-dozens-of-isis-fighters-in-yemen/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/17/us-airstrike-kills-dozens-of-isis-fighters-in-yemen/</a> [accessed 18 October 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "Philippine commando video shows Marawi in ruins after liberation from ISIS," *Military Times* [4 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/04/philippine-commando-video-shows-marawi-in-ruins-after-liberation-from-isis/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/04/philippine-commando-video-shows-marawi-in-ruins-after-liberation-from-isis/</a> [accessed 5 December 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "ISIS in Afghanistan is still able to field thousands of fighters despite hellacious fight to

- destroy it," *Military Times* [4 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/04/isis-in-afghanistan-is-still-able-to-field-thousands-of-fighters-despite-hellacious-fight-to-destroy-it/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/04/isis-in-afghanistan-is-still-able-to-field-thousands-of-fighters-despite-hellacious-fight-to-destroy-it/</a> [accessed 7 October 2019].
- Snow, Shawn, "ISIS loses more than half its fighters from US airstrikes and Taliban ground operations," *Military Times* [27 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/02/27/isis-loses-more-than-half-its-fighters-from-us-airstrikes-and-taliban-ground-operations/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/02/27/isis-loses-more-than-half-its-fighters-from-us-airstrikes-and-taliban-ground-operations/</a> [accessed 2 March 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Mother's Deadly Day: She Blew Up Herself and Her Two Girls to Murder Christians," *The Daily Beast* [13 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/mothers-deadly-day-she-blew-up-herself-and-her-two-girls-to-murder-christians?ref=author">https://www.thedailybeast.com/mothers-deadly-day-she-blew-up-herself-and-her-two-girls-to-murder-christians?ref=author</a> [accessed 15 May 2018].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "ISIS Claims the Easter Sunday Bombings in Sri Lanka. Here's Why We Should Have Seen Them Coming." *The Daily Beast* [23 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/isis-claims-the-easter-sunday-bombings-in-sri-lanka-heres-why-we-should-have-seen-them-coming?ref=author">https://www.thedailybeast.com/isis-claims-the-easter-sunday-bombings-in-sri-lanka-heres-why-we-should-have-seen-them-coming?ref=author</a> [accessed 1 May 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne, Mona Thakkar, and Molly Ellenberg, "European Attacks and the Uproar Over Hate Speech as ISIS Virtual Caliphate Continues to Reign," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [9 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/european-attacks-and-the-uproar-over-hate-speech-as-isis-virtual-caliphate-continues-to-reign/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/european-attacks-and-the-uproar-over-hate-speech-as-isis-virtual-caliphate-continues-to-reign/</a> [accessed 26 November 2020].
- Starr, Barbara and Ryan Browne, "First on CNN: US drops largest non-nuclear bomb in Afghanistan," CNN [13 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2017/04/13/politics/afghanistan-isis-moab-bomb/index.html">http://www.cnn.com/2017/04/13/politics/afghanistan-isis-moab-bomb/index.html</a> [accessed 14 April 2017].
- Stavridis, James, "Sri Lanka Attacks Mark the Birth of Terrorism 3.0," *Bloomberg* [23 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2019-04-23/sri-lanka-attacks-mark-the-birth-of-terrorism-3-0">https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2019-04-23/sri-lanka-attacks-mark-the-birth-of-terrorism-3-0</a> [accessed 25 April 2019].
- Syed, Baqir Sajjad, "Top IS leadership targeted in Mastung operation," *Dawn* [4 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.dawn.com/news/1337339/top-is-leadership-targeted-in-mastung-operation">https://www.dawn.com/news/1337339/top-is-leadership-targeted-in-mastung-operation</a> [accessed 6 June 2017].
  - Some 7 to 9 of 10 key leaders gathers together in Pakistan were killed in a police raid according to this article.
- Tanzeem, Ayesha and Ayaz Gul, "Iran Accuses US of Supporting IS in Afghanistan; Washington Denies Allegation," *Voice of America News* [12 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/iran-accuses-us-supporting-islamic-state-afghanistan/4295356.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/iran-accuses-us-supporting-islamic-state-afghanistan/4295356.html</a> [accessed 13 March 2018].
- Taylor, Adam, "A growing gang of Islamic State supporters is taking root in the Philippines", *The Washington Post* [12 January 2016].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/12/a-growing-gang-of-islamic-state-supporters-is-taking-root-in-the-philippines/ [accessed 12 January 2016].
  - Three group that have individually pledged allegiance to ISIS have collectively done so. The author suggests that ISIS may eventually designate the group Wilayat Mindanao.
- Tharoor, Ishaan, "Sri Lanka shows the deadly reach of the Islamic State," *The Washington Post* [29 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/04/29/sri-lanka-shows-deadly-reach-islamic-state/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/04/29/sri-lanka-shows-deadly-reach-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 2 May 2019].
- Tilghman, Andrew, "In Libya, ISIS is 'fighting to the death' despite U.S. bombardment," *Military Times* [7 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/authority-for-us-air-strikes-in-libya-extends-as-isis-holds-ground">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/authority-for-us-air-strikes-in-libya-extends-as-isis-holds-ground</a> [accessed 9 November 2016].
  - ISIS is still fighting in Libya contrary to press expressing their defeat.

- Times of Israel Staff, "IS in Sinai seizes Iranian weapons shipment bound for Hamas report," *Times of Israel* [24 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.timesofisrael.com/is-in-sinai-seizes-weapons-shipment-sent-from-iran-to-hamas-report/">https://www.timesofisrael.com/is-in-sinai-seizes-weapons-shipment-sent-from-iran-to-hamas-report/</a> [accessed 26 November 2018].
- Tucker, Patrick, "What A War With ISIS in Libya Would Look Like," *Defense One* [5 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2016/05/what-war-isis-libya-would-look/128082/?oref=d-river">http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2016/05/what-war-isis-libya-would-look/128082/?oref=d-river</a> [accessed 6 May 2016].
- Vandiver, John, "Airstrikes devastated ISIS camps in Libya, defense official says," *Stars and Stripes* [10 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/africa/airstrikes-devastated-isis-camps-in-libya-defense-official-says-1.602581">https://www.stripes.com/news/africa/airstrikes-devastated-isis-camps-in-libya-defense-official-says-1.602581</a> [accessed 11 October 2019].
- Vice News, "Islamic State Killed 10 Yemeni Troops in a Former al-Qaeda Stronghold," Vice News [12 May 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/islamic-state-killed-10-yemeni-troops-in-a-former-al-qaeda-stronghold">https://news.vice.com/article/islamic-state-killed-10-yemeni-troops-in-a-former-al-qaeda-stronghold</a> [accessed 13 May 2016].
- Villamor, Felipe, "Key ISIS Operative in Philippines 'Taken' in Gunfight, President Says," *The New York Times* [19 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/19/world/asia/mahmud-ahmad-isis-philippines-marawi.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/19/world/asia/mahmud-ahmad-isis-philippines-marawi.html</a> [accessed 20 October 2017].
- Villamor, Felipe, "ISIS Threat in Philippines Spreads in Remote Battles," *The New York Times* [23 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/23/world/asia/isis-philippines-mindanao-marawi.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/23/world/asia/isis-philippines-mindanao-marawi.html</a> [accessed 24 October 2017].
- Walsh, Declan, "Militias in Libya Advance on ISIS Stronghold of Surt With Separate Agendas," *The New York Times* [1 June 2016]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/02/world/africa/militias-in-libya-advance-on-isis-stronghold-of-surt-with-separate-agendas.html? r=1 [accessed 2 June 2016].
- Watts, Clint, "What Paris Taught Us About the Islamic State," War on the Rocks [16 November 2015]. http://warontherocks.com/2015/11/what-paris-taught-us-about-the-islamic-state/ [accessed 16 November 2015].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Islamic State promotes training camps in 'Khorasan'," *Long War Journal* [21 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/islamic-state-promotes-training-camps-in-khorasan.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/islamic-state-promotes-training-camps-in-khorasan.php</a> [accessed 22 October 2015].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Islamic State West Africa launches coordinated assaults in northeast Nigeria," *Long War Journal* [29 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/12/islamic-state-west-africa-launches-coordinated-assaults-in-northeast-nigeria.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/12/islamic-state-west-africa-launches-coordinated-assaults-in-northeast-nigeria.php</a> [accessed 29 December 2015].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Islamic State West Africa reaffirms loyalty to al Baghdadi," *Long War Journal* [2 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/04/islamic-state-west-africa-reaffirms-loyalty-to-al-baghdadi.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/04/islamic-state-west-africa-reaffirms-loyalty-to-al-baghdadi.php</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Al Qaeda has launched more than 100 attacks in West Africa in 2016," *Long War Journal* [8 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/06/over-100-al-qaeda-attacks-in-west-africa-since-beginning-of-the-year.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/06/over-100-al-qaeda-attacks-in-west-africa-since-beginning-of-the-year.php</a> [accessed 9 June 2016].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Islamic State-loyal forces battle Filipino troops inside provincial capital," *Long War Journal* [23 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/islamic-state-loyal-forces-battle-filipino-troops-inside-provincial-capital.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/islamic-state-loyal-forces-battle-filipino-troops-inside-provincial-capital.php</a> [accessed 24 May 2017].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Foreign Islamic State fighters captured by Taliban in Jawzjan," *Long War Journal* [4 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/foreign-islamic-state-fighters-captured-by-taliban-in-jawzjan.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/foreign-islamic-state-fighters-captured-by-taliban-in-jawzjan.php</a> [accessed 8 August 2018].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Shabaab kills pro-Islamic State commander," *Long War Journal* [14 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/01/shabaab-kills-pro-islamic-state-commander.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/01/shabaab-kills-pro-islamic-state-commander.php</a> [accessed 20 January 2019].

- Weiss, Caleb, "Islamic State claims attack in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," *Long War Journal* [18 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/islamic-state-claims-attack-in-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/islamic-state-claims-attack-in-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo.php</a> [accessed 19 April 2019].
- ★ Weiss, Michael, "Is This Frenchman Running ISIS Terror Networks in the West?" The Daily beast [1 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/01/is-this-frenchman-running-isis-terror-networks-in-the-west.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/01/is-this-frenchman-running-isis-terror-networks-in-the-west.html</a> [accessed 2 May 2016].
  - Wellman, Phillip Walter, "Leader of ISIS in Afghanistan arrested, security officials say," *Stars and Stripes* [4 April 2020]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/leader-of-isis-in-afghanistan-arrested-security-officials-say-1.624897">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/leader-of-isis-in-afghanistan-arrested-security-officials-say-1.624897</a> [accessed 6 April 2020].
  - Winter, Charlie, "Signs of a Nascent Islamic State Province in the Philippines," War on the Rocks [25 May 2016]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2016/05/signs-of-a-nascent-islamic-state-province-in-the-philippines/">https://warontherocks.com/2016/05/signs-of-a-nascent-islamic-state-province-in-the-philippines/</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - Wood, Graeme, "ISIS Ends Its Separate Peace With Turkey," *Defense One* [3 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/01/isis-ends-its-separate-peace-turkey/134280/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/01/isis-ends-its-separate-peace-turkey/134280/</a> [accessed 5 January 2017].
    - Brief assessment of the importance of the New Year's Eve nightclub attack in Istanbul by one of the best authors on ISIS. Essentially, this is the first ISIS-claimed attack in Turkey and signals a change in the battle.
  - Yashar, Ari, "ISIS starts building an air force in Libya", *Israel National News* [2 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/204278#.VmB2">http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/204278#.VmB2</a> MPospH [accessed 3 December 2015].
    - A brief disclosure of ISIS fighters in Libya gaining control of a flight simulator and a discussion of possible implications.
  - Youssef, Nancy A., "Exclusive: Obama Refuses to Hit ISIS's Libyan Capital", *The Daily Beast* [17 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/18/exclusive-obama-refuses-to-hit-isis-s-libyan-capital.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/18/exclusive-obama-refuses-to-hit-isis-s-libyan-capital.html</a> [accessed 18 February].
  - Youssef, Nour, "In Reversal, Egypt Says Terrorists Downed Russian Jet Over Sinai," *New York Times* [24 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/25/world/middleeast/in-reversal-egypt-says-terrorists-downed-russian-jet-o.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/25/world/middleeast/in-reversal-egypt-says-terrorists-downed-russian-jet-o.html</a> [accessed 25 February 2016].
  - Zahid, Noor, "IS Goes on Attack Spree After Afghan Forces Clear One District," *Voice of America News* [15 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/a/afghan-orces-drive-islamic-state-from-remote-district/3676872.html">http://www.voanews.com/a/afghan-orces-drive-islamic-state-from-remote-district/3676872.html</a> [accessed 17 January 2017].
  - Zahid, Noor and Zabihullah Ghazi, "Islamic State Seeks Foothold in Eastern Afghan Provinces," *Voice of America News* [7 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/is-seeks-foothold-in-eastern-afghan-provinces/3974610.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/is-seeks-foothold-in-eastern-afghan-provinces/3974610.html</a> [accessed 8 August 2017].
  - Zway, Suliman Ali, Kareem Fahid, and Eric Schmitt, "In Libya, U.S. Courts Unreliable Allies to Counter ISIS", *New York Times* [18 January 2016].
    - http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/19/world/middleeast/in-libya-us-courts-unreliable-allies-to-counter-isis.html [accessed 19 January 2016].
    - The challenges of trying to work by, with, and through when the partner is little better than the enemy.

#### Islam and ISIS

- Al-Otaiba, Yousef, "A Vision for a Moderate, Modern Muslim World", Foreign Policy [2 December 2015]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/02/a-vision-for-a-moderate-modern-muslim-world-uae-abu-dhabi-isis/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/02/a-vision-for-a-moderate-modern-muslim-world-uae-abu-dhabi-isis/</a> [accessed 19 December 2015].
  - Op-Ed piece written by the UAE ambassador to the US discussing the need for moderation and a need to fight the ideas of ISIS as well as the physical strength of ISIS.
- Bunzel, Cole, "Caliphate in Disarray: Theological Turmoil in the Islamic State," *Jihadica* [3 October 2017]. http://www.jihadica.com/caliphate-in-disarray/ [accessed 25 October 2018].
- Bunzel, Cole, "A House Divided: Origins and Persistence of the Islamic State's Ideological Divide," *Jihadica* [5 June 2018]. http://www.jihadica.com/a-house-divided/ [accessed 25 October 2018].
- Danforth. Nick, "The Myth of the Caliphate The Political History of an Idea", Foreign Affairs [19 November 2014].
  - The main contention of the article is that the Ottoman Caliphate is something of a myth and that there is little probability of a successful revival of the Ottoman notion of the caliph.
- ★ Kaplan, Jeffrey and Christopher P. Costa, "The Islamic State and the new tribalism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Issue 27 [November 2015], pages 926–969.
  - The authors explain ISIS through a discussion of religious movements and a use of a construct of four waves of tribalism within religion. One of the interesting links is the link between ISIS and *Dabiq* magazine and Anwar al-Awlaki and *Inspire* magazine. Generally, a good read with good analysis. They get some simple things wrong which does give one pause in trusting their more complex points.
  - Majozi, Nkululeko, "Theorising the Islamic State: A Decolonial Perspective," *ReOrient* 3.2, Pluto Journals, Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa, Human Sciences Research Council [2018]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/40797625/THEORISING">https://www.academia.edu/40797625/THEORISING</a> THE ISLAMIC STATE A DECOLONIAL PERSPE CTIVE [accessed 19 July 2021].
    - This provides what some may characterize as a woke or a CRT perspective on ISIS reporting and scholarship.
  - Mariam Karouny, "Apocalyptic prophecies drive both sides to Syrian battle for end of time", Reuters [1 April 2014]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/04/01/us-syria-crisis-prophecy-insight-idUSBREA3013420140401">http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/04/01/us-syria-crisis-prophecy-insight-idUSBREA3013420140401</a> [accessed 23 January 2015].
- ★ Moghul, Haroon, "The Secret to Defeating the ISIS 'Caliphate' Might Just Be in Islam Itself", Defense One [11 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/11/secret-defeating-isis-caliphate-might-just-be-islam-itself/123608/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/11/secret-defeating-isis-caliphate-might-just-be-islam-itself/123608/</a> [accessed 13 November 2015].
  - Roy, Oliver, "What is the driving force behind jihadist terrorism? A scientific perspective on the causes/circumstances of joining the scene", International Terrorism: How can prevention and repression keep pace? Bundeskriminalamt Autumn Conference, 18 19 November 2015. <a href="https://life.eui.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/OLIVIER-ROY-what-is-a-radical-islamist.pdf">https://life.eui.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/OLIVIER-ROY-what-is-a-radical-islamist.pdf</a> [accessed 25 November 2015].
    - The author provides an academic discussing on who is radicalized and why. The best part of the paper is the emphasis on the differences between religion and ideology and the motivations for radicalization. Simply state, it happens quickly and it preys upon the young.
  - Schweitzer, Yoram, "The Islamic State: Down The Salafi-Jihad Movement: Up," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 947, 29 June 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/No.-947.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/No.-947.pdf</a> [accessed 1 July 2017].

# The George Washington University – Program on Extremism

- Al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad. 2020. *The Islamic State's Real Estate Department: Documents and Analysis*. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University Program on Extremism [June 2020]. <a href="https://isisfiles.gwu.edu/report/8336h188">https://isisfiles.gwu.edu/report/8336h188</a>j [accessed 30 June 2020].
- Bunzel, Cole. 2020. *The ISIS Files: The Islamic State's Ideology: History of a Rift*. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University Program on Extremism [June 2020]. https://isisfiles.gwu.edu/report/70795765b [accessed 30 June 2020].
- Ingram, Haroro J. and Devorah Margolin. 2020. *The ISIS Files: Inside The Islamic State In Mosul: A Snapshot Of The Logic & Banality Of Evil*. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University Program on Extremism [June 2020]. <a href="https://isisfiles.gwu.edu/report/4j03cz64w">https://isisfiles.gwu.edu/report/4j03cz64w</a> [accessed 30 June 2020].
- Vidino, Lorenzo. 2020. *The ISIS Files: An Introduction.* Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University Program on Extremism [June 2020]. <a href="https://isisfiles.gwu.edu/report/rv042t04f">https://isisfiles.gwu.edu/report/rv042t04f</a> [accessed 30 June 2020].

### Other Players - China

Halper, Stefan. *China: The Three Warfares*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Net Assessment Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2014.

http://images.smh.com.au/file/2014/04/11/5343124/China %2520The%2520three%2520warfares.pdf [accessed 24 October 2017].

Huning, Wang. 1991. *America Against America (USA)*. Originally published in Chinese on 1 April 1989 through the Department of International Politics, Fudan University.

https://ia601806.us.archive.org/12/items/america-against-america/America%20Against%20America.pdf [accessed 27 February 2022].

The author is considered to be one of the most influential figures in twenty-first century Chinese politics. There is a 1988 article from him below as well as a descriptive article about him. This book captures his descriptions of the United States as an observer of the country with emphasis on the paradoxes of the nation.

- Chandran, Nyshka, "China says it will increase its military presence in Africa," CNBC [27 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/27/china-increases-defence-ties-with-africa.html">https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/27/china-increases-defence-ties-with-africa.html</a> [accessed 28 June 2018].
- ★ Huning, Wang, "The Structure of China's Changing Political Culture," translated by Matthew D. Johnson and hosted by the Reading and Writing the China Dream Project at readingthechinadream.com [March 1988]. <a href="https://www.readingthechinadream.com/wang-huning-ldquothe-structure-of-chinarsquos-changing-political-culturerdquo.html">https://www.readingthechinadream.com/wang-huning-ldquothe-structure-of-chinarsquos-changing-political-culturerdquo.html</a> [accessed 3 November 2021].

This is a fabulous article expressing narrative war within China and the desire by the author to create a new narrative for China. This is supportive of my current (2021) assertion that China's behavior regarding to decisions about limiting youth video game use, limitations on outside male characterizations, and treatment of Uighurs are all efforts to establish a consistent and unified national narrative. Given the fact that the author is considered to be the single most important ideological voice in 2021 China gives my assertion a greater level of significance.

Lange, Libby and Doowan Lee, "Disinformation, Annexation, & Deterrence: Why the CCP Is More Likely to Subvert Taiwan Than Invade," Lawfare [22 June 2021].
<a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/disinformation-annexation-deterrence-why-ccp-more-likely-subvert-taiwan-invade-0">https://www.lawfareblog.com/disinformation-annexation-deterrence-why-ccp-more-likely-subvert-taiwan-invade-0</a> [accessed 23 June 2021].

The Taiwan-China conflict is an essential area of study to understand narrative war in progress.

The primary elements of narrative war are the effort to disrupt the resonance of the governing story (in this case the government of Taiwan) with the societal narrative and to increase the resonance of the opposing story (in this case the CCP) with the societal narrative. The secondary element is the displacement of the governing story and maybe the government itself. We are seeing these efforts play out across the world.

This is the present dominant philosophy of war. Conduct of narrative war plays into the hands of those who are willing to be patient and it provides a way for a weak actor to win against a strong actor without the need for power transition.

Thank you, Libby Lange and Doowan Lee for writing this and Calvin Evans for sharing it.

★ Lyons, N.S. "The Triumph and Terror of Wang Huning," *Palladium Magazine* [11 October 2021]. <a href="https://palladiummag.com/2021/10/11/the-triumph-and-terror-of-wang-huning/">https://palladiummag.com/2021/10/11/the-triumph-and-terror-of-wang-huning/</a> [accessed 21 October 2021].

This is a nice summary of the influence and ideology of Wang Huning.

Maxey, Levi, "China's Fourth Industrial Revolution: Artificial Intelligence," *The Cipher Brief* [7 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/tech/chinas-fourth-industrial-revolution-artificial-intelligence">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/tech/chinas-fourth-industrial-revolution-artificial-intelligence</a> [accessed 10 February 2018].

- Molavi, Afshin, "The New Silk Road Runs through the UAE," *Proceedings Magazine*, October 2018 vol. 144/10/1,388. <a href="https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2018-10/new-silk-road-runs-through-uae">https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2018-10/new-silk-road-runs-through-uae</a> [accessed 18 October 2018].
- Rubel, Robert C. "Exporting Security: China, the United States, and the Innovator's Dilemma," *Naval War College Review*, Spring 2017, volume 70, number 2, 11-28.
  - https://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/56a82afa-146f-459e-b216-7f4cf3529d60/Exporting-Security---China,-the-United-States,-and.aspx [accessed 17 April 2017].
  - This is an excellent perspective of the global security dilemma. It challenges many basic ideas of whose perspective is correct.
- Stavridis, James, "China's military power already on par with US in East Asia," *Nikkei Asia Review* [22 November 2017]. <a href="https://asia.nikkei.com/Viewpoints/James-Stavridis/China-s-military-power-already-on-par-with-US-in-East-Asia">https://asia.nikkei.com/Viewpoints/James-Stavridis/China-s-military-power-already-on-par-with-US-in-East-Asia</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
- Stewart, Elliot, "The Islamic State Stopped Talking About China," War on the Rocks [19 January 2021]. https://warontherocks.com/2021/01/the-islamic-state-stopped-talking-about-uighurs/ [accessed 3 February 2021].

### Other Players – Egypt

- Abuheweila, Iyad and Isabel Kershner, "ISIS Declares War on Hamas, and Gaza Families Disown Sons in Sinai," *The New York Times* [10 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/10/world/middleeast/isis-hamas-sinai.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/10/world/middleeast/isis-hamas-sinai.html</a> [accessed 10 January 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Egypt says security forces killed 450 fighters in Sinai peninsula," *Al Jazeera* [16 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/egypt-security-forces-killed-450-fighters-sinai-peninsula-181016170315029.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/egypt-security-forces-killed-450-fighters-sinai-peninsula-181016170315029.html</a> [accessed 18 October 2018].
- Associated Press, "Egypt's Coptic Pope Warns of Increased Attacks on Christians," ABC News [25 July 2016]. <a href="http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/egypts-coptic-pope-warns-increased-attacks-christians-40856888">http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/egypts-coptic-pope-warns-increased-attacks-christians-40856888</a> [accessed 26 July 2016]
- Associated press, "Egypt reeling from attack on mosque in Sinai that killed 305," MSN Online [26 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/egypt-reeling-from-attack-on-mosque-in-sinai-that-killed-305/ar-BBFC3Hv?li=BBmkt5R&ocid=spartanntp">https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/egypt-reeling-from-attack-on-mosque-in-sinai-that-killed-305/ar-BBFC3Hv?li=BBmkt5R&ocid=spartanntp</a> [accessed 26 November 2017].
- Author Withheld, "Battle may be brewing in Sinai between al-Qaeda, IS groups," *al-Monitor* [1 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/egypt-al-qaeda-jund-al-islam-attack-wilayat-sinai.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/egypt-al-qaeda-jund-al-islam-attack-wilayat-sinai.html</a> [accessed 4 December 2017].
- Barak, Michael, "The Al-Azhar Institute A Key Player in Shaping the Religious and Political Discourse in Egypt," International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [28 March 2016 <a href="https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1647/The-Al-Azhar-">https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1647/The-Al-Azhar-</a>
  <a href="mailto:lnstitute?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=JWMG">https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1647/The-Al-Azhar-</a>
  <a href="mailto:lnstitute?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=JWMG">lnstitute?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=JWMG</a> [accessed 1 April 2016].
- Callimachi, Rukmini, "To the World, They Are Muslims. To ISIS, Sufis Are Heretics." *The New York Times* [25 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/25/world/middleeast/sufi-muslims-isis-sinai.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/25/world/middleeast/sufi-muslims-isis-sinai.html</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
- Galal, Rami, "Egypt's next national security threat: all the single ladies?" *Al Monitor: the Pulse of the Middle East* [16 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/05/egypt-spinsters-national-security-threat.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/05/egypt-spinsters-national-security-threat.html</a> [accessed 1 June 2016].
- ★ Hamid, Shadi, "Sisi's Regime is a gift to the Islamic State", *Brookings* [7 August 2015]. http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/08/07-sisi-gift-to-islamic-state-hamid [accessed 11 August 2015].
  - Hamid, Shadi, "Misunderstanding the Victims of the Sinai Massacre," *The Atlantic* [26 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/11/sufis-egypt-mosque-sinai/546752/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/11/sufis-egypt-mosque-sinai/546752/</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
  - Hashem, Mostafa, "IS militants claim hotel attack that killed seven in Egypt's Sinai" *Reuters* [24 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/11/24/us-egypt-bomb-idUSKBNOTD0BC20151124#AQf0zL5IuvZmxAr8.97">http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/11/24/us-egypt-bomb-idUSKBNOTD0BC20151124#AQf0zL5IuvZmxAr8.97</a> [accessed 25 November 2015].
  - Hellyer, H.A. "To find the extremism behind the Egypt terror attack, start with anti-Sufi preachers," *The Guardian* [28 November 2017]. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/nov/28/extremism-egypt-terror-attack-sufi-islam-extremist-ideology [accessed 28 November 2017].
  - Hendawi, Hamza, "Egypt parliament expels lawmaker over meeting with Israeli," *The Washington Post* [2 March 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/egypt-parliament-expels-lawmaker-over-meeting-with-israeli/2016/03/02/f0f0a6de-e099-11e5-8c00-8aa03741dced\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/egypt-parliament-expels-lawmaker-over-meeting-with-israeli/2016/03/02/f0f0a6de-e099-11e5-8c00-8aa03741dced\_story.html</a> [accessed 3 March 2016].

- Knipp, Kersten, "The long record of terror on the Sinai Peninsula," *Deutsche Welle* [26 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/the-long-record-of-terror-on-the-sinai-peninsula/a-41538401">http://www.dw.com/en/the-long-record-of-terror-on-the-sinai-peninsula/a-41538401</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
- ★ Rohan, Brian, "In Egypt, disaffected youth increasingly drawn to extremism", Yahoo News [4 August 2015]. <a href="http://news.yahoo.com/egypts-disaffected-youth-increasingly-calling-violence-055924571.html">http://news.yahoo.com/egypts-disaffected-youth-increasingly-calling-violence-055924571.html</a> [accessed 5 August 2015].
  - The Soufan Group, "The Islamic State's War With Hamas," *The Soufan Group* [10 January 2018]. <a href="http://www.soufangroup.com/tsc-intelbrief-the-islamic-states-war-with-hamas/">http://www.soufangroup.com/tsc-intelbrief-the-islamic-states-war-with-hamas/</a> [accessed 10 January 2018].
  - Specia, Megan, "Who Are Sufi Muslims and Why Do Some Extremists Hate Them?" *The New York Times* [24 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/24/world/middleeast/sufi-muslim-explainer.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/24/world/middleeast/sufi-muslim-explainer.html</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
  - Stack, Liam, "A Gloomy Egypt Sees Its International Influence Wither Away," *The New York Times* [2 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/03/world/middleeast/egypt-sisi-foreign-policy.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/03/world/middleeast/egypt-sisi-foreign-policy.html</a> [accessed 2 August 2016].
  - Trew, Bel, "If Trump's Looking for a Mideast Winner, He's Made a Bad Bet on Sisi," *The Daily Beast* [3 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/04/03/if-trump-s-looking-for-a-mideast-winner-he-s-made-a-bad-bet-on-sisi.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/04/03/if-trump-s-looking-for-a-mideast-winner-he-s-made-a-bad-bet-on-sisi.html</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
    - Summary of problems in Egypt since Sisi came into power. Good information on the ISIS behavior with respect to Egyptian Christians.
  - Walsh, Declan and Nour Uoussef, "Militants Kill 305 at Sufi Mosque in Egypt's Deadliest Terrorist Attack," *The New York Times* [24 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/24/world/middleeast/mosque-attack-egypt.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/24/world/middleeast/mosque-attack-egypt.html</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].

### Other Players – Hezbollah

- Dekel, Udi, Gabi Siboni, and Omer Einav, editors. *The Quiet Decade: In the Aftermath of the Second Lebanon War, 2006-2016.* Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies, July 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/memo167">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/memo167</a> 6.pdf [accessed 21 July 2017]. This book length series of papers on issues explains what happened during and following the Second Lebanon War. Obviously, this is written from an Israeli perspective.
- Abi Nader, Jean, "Why Hezbollah Continues to Thrive in Lebanon," *Inside Arabia Online* [6 July 2018]. http://insidearabia.com/2018/07/06/hezbollah-shia-thrive-lebanon/ [accessed 23 July 2018].
- Agence France-Presse, "Hezbollah says ready to pull forces from Iraq after IS defeat," *al-Monitor* [20 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/11/iraq-syria-conflict-lebanon-hezbollah.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/11/iraq-syria-conflict-lebanon-hezbollah.html</a> [accessed 21 November 2017].
- Alami, Mona, "Hezbollah, Israel both mum on recent escalation," Al Monitor: Syria Pulse [21 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/12/israel-hezbollah-war-attacks-syria-golan-heights.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/12/israel-hezbollah-war-attacks-syria-golan-heights.html</a> [accessed 28 December 2016].
  - Information on actions in late Fall and early winter 2016 between Israel and Hezbollah.
- Alami, Mona, "Mideast braces for war: Israel vs. Iran-backed Hezbollah," Al Monitor: Syria Pulse [2 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/lebanon-syria-israel-iran-war-weapons-war-achievements.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/lebanon-syria-israel-iran-war-weapons-war-achievements.html</a> [accessed 5 March 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Hezbollah and Iran 'to stay in Syria until it is liberated'," *Al Jazeera* [6 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/hezbollah-iran-stay-syria-liberated-180606162339625.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/hezbollah-iran-stay-syria-liberated-180606162339625.html</a> [accessed 7 June 2018].
- ★ Anderson, Sulome, "Terrorist to the World, Hero at Home: The Legacy of Hezbollah's Dead Military Commander," *Vice News* [18 May 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/terrorist-to-the-world-hero-at-home-the-legacy-of-hezbollahs-dead-military-commander">https://news.vice.com/article/terrorist-to-the-world-hero-at-home-the-legacy-of-hezbollahs-dead-military-commander</a> [accessed 19 May 2016].
  - Anderson, Sulome, "Hezbollah's New Strength Leaves Israeli Border Tense," *NBC News* [16 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/hezbollah-s-new-strength-leaves-israeli-border-tense-n801596">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/hezbollah-s-new-strength-leaves-israeli-border-tense-n801596</a> [accessed 18 September 2017].
  - Associated Press. Decade After War With Israel, Syria's War Pulls Hezbollah In. *The Associated Press* [12 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2016/07/12/world/middleeast/ap-ml-lebanon-hezbollahs-war.html">http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2016/07/12/world/middleeast/ap-ml-lebanon-hezbollahs-war.html</a> [accessed 12 July 2016].
  - Associated Press, "Syrian Rebels Head Home; US Gives Lebanon Combat Vehicles," *Voice of America* [14 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/syrian-rebels-head-home-lebanon/3984566.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/syrian-rebels-head-home-lebanon/3984566.html</a> [accessed 15 August 2017].
  - Aziz, Jean, "Will US terrorism finance law do more harm than good in Lebanon?" *al-Monitor* [11 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/05/us-act-against-hezbollah-impact-lebanon-banks.html#">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/05/us-act-against-hezbollah-impact-lebanon-banks.html#</a> [accessed 13 May 2016].
  - Bassam, Laila, "Hezbollah leader tells Israel to brace for retaliation over Qantar's death", *Reuters* [27 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-hezbollah-idUSKBNOUA0FP20151227">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-hezbollah-idUSKBNOUA0FP20151227</a> [accessed 28 December 2015].
    - The challenge Hezbollah faces is how to maintain its primary identity as an opponent of Israel and also contribute in support of the Syrian regime.
  - Bulos, Nabih, "Lebanon's Hezbollah group insists: We're not the 'menace' Trump says we are," *Los Angeles Times* [31 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-hezbollah-20170731-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-hezbollah-20170731-story.html</a> [accessed 1 August 2017].

- Clarke, Colin P. "Hezbollah Has Been Active in America for Decades," *National Interest* [26 August 2017]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/hezbollah-has-been-active-america-decades-22051">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/hezbollah-has-been-active-america-decades-22051</a> [accessed 28 August 2017].
- Cohen, Gili, "Israel's Army Chief: Hezbollah Commander Mustafa Badreddine Killed by His Own Men," Haaretz [22 March 2017]. haaretz.com/israel-news/1.778560 [accessed 24 March 2017].
- Cunningham, Erin and Louisa Loveluck, "Hezbollah, on the rise in Lebanon, fends off Saudi Arabia," Washington Post [26 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/hezbollah-on-the-rise-in-lebanon-fends-off-saudi-arabia/2017/11/23/d9d92b1c-c961-11e7-b506-8a10ed11ecf5\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/hezbollah-on-the-rise-in-lebanon-fends-off-saudi-arabia/2017/11/23/d9d92b1c-c961-11e7-b506-8a10ed11ecf5\_story.html</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
- Daly, Michael, "The Hezbollah Sleeper Agent Busted for Black Ops in America," *The Daily Beast* [5 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/ali-kourani-the-hezbollah-sleeper-agent-who-allegedly-ran-black-ops-in-america?ref=scroll">https://www.thedailybeast.com/ali-kourani-the-hezbollah-sleeper-agent-who-allegedly-ran-black-ops-in-america?ref=scroll</a> [accessed 6 May 2019].
- Daoud, David, "Hezbollah responds to Israeli assassination of commander," *The Long War Journal* [6 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/01/hezbollah-responds-to-israeli-assassination-of-commander.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/01/hezbollah-responds-to-israeli-assassination-of-commander.php</a> [accessed 7 January 2016].
  - The article provides a useful summary of Hezbollah-Israeli conflict.
- Daoud, David, "Analysis: Hezbollah redeploys forces after withdrawal from Syrian-Lebanese border positions," *The Long War Journal* [20 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/analysis-hezbollah-redeploys-forces-after-withdrawal-from-syrian-lebanese-border-positions.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/analysis-hezbollah-redeploys-forces-after-withdrawal-from-syrian-lebanese-border-positions.php</a> [accessed 22 May 2017]. This is more repositioning than redeployment.
- Einav, Omer, "From Baabda to al-Qusayr: Hezbollah's Victory March," The Institute for National Security Studies, INSS Insight No. 870, 21 November 2016, <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4538&articleid=12572">http://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4538&articleid=12572</a> [accessed 27 November 2016]. Concern about the national importance of Hezbollah in Lebanon and a recommendation for the Trump administration to tie support for the Lebanese government to denying resources to Hezbollah.
- Exum, Andrew, "The Hubris of Hezbollah," *Defense One* [18 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/09/hubris-hezbollah/141086/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/09/hubris-hezbollah/141086/</a> [accessed 19 September 2017].
- Ganor, Boaz and Dr. Miri Halperin-Wernli, "The Paris Black Friday 13/11/2015 Attacks A Captagon Connection?" International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [19 November 2015].

  <a href="http://www.ict.org.il/UserFiles/ICT-PBFA-A-Captagon-Connection.pdf?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Captagon\_laccessed\_21 November 2015].">http://www.ict.org.il/UserFiles/ICT-PBFA-A-Captagon\_Connection.pdf?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Captagon\_laccessed\_21 November 2015].</a>
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "Hezbollah has U.S. armored personnel carriers. But how did they get them?" The Washington Post [16 November 2016]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/11/16/hezbollah-has-u-s-armored-personnel-carriers-but-how-did-they-get-them/ [accessed 17 November 2016].
- Graham, David A., "The Empathy Gap Between Paris and Beirut", *The Atlantic* [16 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/11/paris-beirut-terrorism-empathy-gap/416121/">http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/11/paris-beirut-terrorism-empathy-gap/416121/</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
- Helou, Agnes, "Does Hezbollah's electoral victory spell the end to Lebanon's US military aid?" *Defense News* [8 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/06/08/does-hezbollahs-electoral-victory-spell-the-end-to-lebanons-us-military-aid/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/06/08/does-hezbollahs-electoral-victory-spell-the-end-to-lebanons-us-military-aid/</a> [accessed 11 June 2018].

- Hubbard, Ben, "Hezbollah: Iran's Middle East Agent, Emissary and Hammer," The New York Times [27] August 2017]. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/27/world/middleeast/hezbollah-iran-syria-israellebanon.html [accessed 28 August 2017].
  - Interesting reporting of a broad regional dynamic. The author does not explain why the growth and spread is good or bad for the Middle East, nor are there any details on the consequences of Hezbollah's commitments. Despite these criticisms, this is one of the best articles on Hezbollah's role.
- ★ International Crisis Group, "Hizbollah's Syria Conundrum," International Crisis Group Middle East Report, Number 175, 14 March 2017. https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/175-hizbollah-s-syriaconundrum.pdf [accessed 16 March 2017].
  - This is an excellent summary with high quality footnotes. This report provides great explanation and assessment regarding Hezbollah involvement in Syria as well as implications with respect to Israel.
- ★ International Crisis Group, "Israel, Hizbollah and Iran: Preventing Another War in Syria," International Crisis Group Middle East Report, Number 182, 8 February 2018. https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/182-israel-hizbollah-and-iran-preventing-another-war-insyria 0.pdf [accessed 8 February 2018].
  - A quality discussion on the dynamics within the region.
  - Joscelyn, Thomas and Bill Roggio, "Ep. 37 How Hezbollah Profits from Black Cocaine," Long War Journal [22 December 2020]. https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2020/12/ep-37-howhezbollah-profits-from-black-cocaine.php [accessed 1 January 2021].
    - Interview with Emanuele Ottolenghi about "the history of Iran's and Hezbollah's illicit activities across Central and South America, including the trafficking of "black cocaine." Interesting perspective.
  - Karam, Joyce, "Iran pays Hezbollah \$700 million a year, US official says," The National [5 June 2018]. https://www.thenational.ae/world/the-americas/iran-pays-hezbollah-700-million-a-year-us-officialsays-1.737347 [accessed 7 June 2018].
  - Kershner, Isabel and David M. Halbfinger, "Israel Moves to Seal Hezbollah Tunnels at Lebanon Border," The New York Times [4 December 2018].
    - https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/04/world/middleeast/israel-tunnels-lebanon-borderhezbollah.html [accessed 5 December 2018].
  - Khatib, Lina, "Hizbullah's Image Management Strategy," USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School, CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy Paper 1, 2012 [January 2012]. https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u35361/2012%20P aper%201.pdf [accessed 19 April 2018].
    - This is an excellent article expressing the importance of narrative in how Hezbollah conducts their operations.
  - Lees, Kevin A. "Why Beirut Matters Too", National Interest [17 November 2015].
    - http://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-beirut-matters-too-14362 [accessed 17 November 2015].
  - Levi, Roman, "Changes in Hezbollah's Identity and Fundamental Worldview," The Institute for National Security Studies, Strategic Assessment, Volume 19, No. 2, July 2016. http://www.inss.org.il/wpcontent/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/INSS.StrAss19.2.July16.04Levi.pdf [accessed 5 July 2017].
  - Levitt, Matthew, "Hezbollah Isn't Just in Beirut. It's in New York, Too." Foreign Policy [14 June 2019]. https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/14/hezbollah-isnt-just-in-beirut-its-in-new-york-too-canadaunited-states-jfk-toronto-pearson-airports-ali-kourani-iran/ [accessed 17 June 2019].
  - Lodge, Fritz, "Israel and Hezbollah Eye Their Next War," The Cipher Brief [29 August 2017]. https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/israel-hezbollah-eye-next-war [accessed 29 August 2017].
  - Lucas, Ryan. US Looks to Clamp Down on Hezbollah Funding. Roll Call [12 July 2016].

- http://www.rollcall.com/news/policy/us-looks-clamp-hezbollah-funding [accessed 15 July 2016].
- Maltz, Derek and Emanuele Ottolenghi, "It's Time for the Justice Department to Hold Hezbollah Accountable," *Foreign Policy* [19 January 2018]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/01/19/its-time-for-the-justice-department-to-hold-hezbollah-accountable/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/01/19/its-time-for-the-justice-department-to-hold-hezbollah-accountable/</a> [accessed 22 January 2018].
- Martin, Josh, "Hezbollah in Nigeria A Potential Problem," *SOF News* [31 July 2018]. <a href="http://www.sof.news/conflicts/hezbollah-in-nigeria/">http://www.sof.news/conflicts/hezbollah-in-nigeria/</a> [accessed 1 August 2018].
- Maxey, Levi, "Hezbollah Goes on the Cyber Offensive with Iran's Help," *The Cipher Brief* [30 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/hezbollah-goes-cyber-offensive-irans-help">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/hezbollah-goes-cyber-offensive-irans-help</a> [accessed 8 February 2018].
- Meyer, Josh, "The secret backstory of how Obama let Hezbollah off the hook," *Politico* [17 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.politico.com/interactives/2017/obama-hezbollah-drug-trafficking-investigation/">https://www.politico.com/interactives/2017/obama-hezbollah-drug-trafficking-investigation/</a> [accessed 18 December 2017].
  - Great information. This is a long article with great information on Hezbollah's connections to drugs and used cars. The headline does not really communicate the value of the piece for people interested in Middle East dynamics.
  - Mizrahi, Orna and Yoram Schweitzer, "The Demonstrations in Lebanon: Hezbollah Struggles to Preserve its Status," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No. 1236, 2 December 2019. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/No.-1236.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/No.-1236.pdf</a> [accessed 6 December 2019].
- ★ Mouzahem, Haytham, "Hezbollah torn between its local and regional roles," *al-Monitor* [2 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/02/lebanon-hezbollah-resistance-military-regional-role.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/02/lebanon-hezbollah-resistance-military-regional-role.html</a> [accessed 15 February 2017].
  - The best discussion on Hezbollah's reasoning for entry into Syria and a larger voice in the region.
  - Naylor, Hugh, "In jab at Iran, gulf Arab states declare Hezbollah a terrorist group," *The Washington Post* [2 March 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/saudi-led-bloc-declares-iran-backed-hezbollah-terror-group/2016/03/02/7f660092-e06f-11e5-9c36-e1902f6b6571">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/saudi-led-bloc-declares-iran-backed-hezbollah-terror-group/2016/03/02/7f660092-e06f-11e5-9c36-e1902f6b6571</a> story.html [accessed 3 March 2016].
  - Naylor, Hugh, "Hezbollah blames top commander's death on Sunni extremists," *Boston Globe* [14 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.bostonglobe.com/news/world/2016/05/14/hezbollah-blames-top-commander-death-sunni-dea
    - <u>extremists/VmmnTUXS4ZmNDSV1fHPeRK/story.html?s\_campaign=email\_BG\_TodaysHeadline&s\_campaign=[accessed 15 May 2016].</u>
  - Naylor, Hugh, "Lebanese lawmakers pick Hezbollah ally Michel Aoun to end presidential logjam," *The Washington Post* [31 October 2016].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/lebanese-lawmakers-pick-hezbollah-ally-michel-aoun-to-end-presidential-logjam/2016/10/31/0a4b0638-9f58-11e6-8832-23a007c77bb4\_story.html [accessed 2 November 2016].
    - Lebanon now has a president as groups agree to accept the previously unacceptable.
  - Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Israel Heeds Hezbollah Threats, Drills Mass Evacuation of Civilians Near Border," *Defense News* [13 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/articles/israel-heeds-hizbollah-threats-drills-mass-evacuation-of-civilians-near-border">http://www.defensenews.com/articles/israel-heeds-hizbollah-threats-drills-mass-evacuation-of-civilians-near-border</a> [accessed 15 September 2016].
    - Information on an Israeli drill. Is Hezbollah serious? It is unlikely that they could fight the IDF while still conducting expeditionary operations in Syria. This is certainly for domestic consumption in that they want to remind their Lebanese supporters and detractors that they are still an anti-Israeli organization.
  - Orion, Assaf, "UNIFIL II, Ten Years On: Strong Force, Weak Mandate," The Institute for National Security Studies Insight No. 844, 14 August 2016.

- http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20844%20-%20Assaf%20for%20web.pdf [accessed 16 January 2017].
- Orion, Assaf, "Hezbollah and Lebanon, in Aounian Terms: One and the Same?," The Institute for National Security Studies Insight No. 902, 27 February 2017.
  - http://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4538&articleid=13098 [accessed 2 March 2017].
  - Too much commentary, however, the commentary does provide insight into Israeli strategic thought vis-à-vis Hezbollah.
- Orion, Assaf, "Southern Lebanon: The Land of Three Armies," The Institute for National Security Studies Insight No. 1184, 2 July 2019. https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/No.-1184.pdfhttp://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4538&articleid=13098 [accessed 4 July 2019].
- Ottolenghi, Emanuele, "Department of Justice right to go after Hezbollah," *The Hill* [16 October 2018]. <a href="https://thehill.com/opinion/criminal-justice/411703-department-of-justice-right-to-go-after-hezbollah">https://thehill.com/opinion/criminal-justice/411703-department-of-justice-right-to-go-after-hezbollah</a> [accessed 18 October 2018].
- Ottolenghi, Emanuele, "Emanuele Ottolenghi: To fight Hezbollah, Latin American countries first need to acknowledge it exists," Fox News [17 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/emanuele-ottolenghi-in-buenos-aires-a-time-to-remember-and-recommit">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/emanuele-ottolenghi-in-buenos-aires-a-time-to-remember-and-recommit</a> [accessed 18 July 2019].
- Perry, Tom, "Hezbollah and rebels agree ceasefire at Lebanese-Syrian border," *Reuters* [27 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-lebanon-idUSKBN1ACOGN">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-lebanon-idUSKBN1ACOGN</a> [accessed 27 July 2017].
- Perry, Tom, "Hezbollah: It's time for Iran's allies to start working to avenge Soleimani," *Reuters* [12 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-security-hezbollah/hezbollah-its-time-for-irans-allies-to-start-working-to-avenge-soleimani-idUSKBN1ZBOLJ">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-security-hezbollah/hezbollah-its-time-for-irans-allies-to-start-working-to-avenge-soleimani-idUSKBN1ZBOLJ</a> [accessed 13 January 2020].
- Reuters, "Hezbollah Declares Victory in Syria: 'We Have Won the War'," *Haaretz* [12 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/syria/1.811898">http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/syria/1.811898</a> [accessed 12 September 2017].
- ★ Rosenfeld, Jesse, "Hezbollah Fighters Are Fed Up With Fighting Syria's War", *The Daily Beast* [30 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/30/hezbollah-fighters-are-fed-up-with-fighting-syria-s-war.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/30/hezbollah-fighters-are-fed-up-with-fighting-syria-s-war.html</a> [accessed 30 December 2015].
  - This article gives anecdotal support for the pain that the Syrian civil war is inflicting on Hezbollah. This is not proof, but this is support for failing pro-Assad or anti-extremist efforts in Syria.
  - Schweitzer, Yoram and David Siman-Tov, "Words over Missiles: Hezbollah's Cognitive Campaign in Syria," The Institute for National Security Studies, Insight No. 1082 [2 August 2018]. http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/No.-1082.pdf [accessed 3 August 2018].
  - Schweitzer, Yoram and Orna Mizrahi, "The Complexity behind Hezbollah's Response to Israel's Attacks," The Institute for National Security Studies, Insight No. 1210 [4 September 2019].
  - https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/No.-1210.pdf [accessed 4 September 2019].
- ★ Shapir, Yiftah S. "Hezbollah as an Army," The Institute for National Security Studies Strategic Assessment, Volume 19, No. 4, January 2017.
  - http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/Hezbollah%20as%20an%20Army.pdf [accessed 9 February 2017].
  - A great summary of capabilities and actions regarding the growth and development of Hezbollah's military over the last decade.
  - The Soufan Center, "Intelbrief: On Balance, Hezbollah Has Benefited from the Syrian Conflict," *The Soufan Center* [17 September 2018]. <a href="http://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-on-balance-hezbollah-has-benefited-from-the-syrian-conflict/">http://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-on-balance-hezbollah-has-benefited-from-the-syrian-conflict/</a> [accessed 17 September 2018].
  - STRATFOR, "Israel's Next War With Hezbollah Will Be Worse Than the Last," STRATFOR Analysis [23 November 2016]. https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/israels-next-war-hezbollah-will-be-worse-last

- [accessed 27 November 2016].
- Brief assessment with little revelations. This is a simple reference for the potential problems of Hezbollah over the near future. Good hyperlinks to other background information.
- Times of Israel Staff, "Hezbollah nearly bankrupt, but Nasrallah awash in cash report," *Times of Israel* [2 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.timesofisrael.com/hezbollah-nearly-bankrupt-but-nasrallah-awash-in-cash-report/">http://www.timesofisrael.com/hezbollah-nearly-bankrupt-but-nasrallah-awash-in-cash-report/</a> [accessed 3 May 2017].
- Vohra, Anchal, "Hezbollah's young adherents emboldened after US announcement on Jerusalem," Deutsche Welle [19 December 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/hezbollahs-young-adherents-emboldened-after-us-announcement-on-jerusalem/a-41861041">http://www.dw.com/en/hezbollahs-young-adherents-emboldened-after-us-announcement-on-jerusalem/a-41861041</a> [accessed 20 December 2017].
- ★ Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "Lebanese Hezbollah Select Worldwide Activity," Washington Institute for Near East Policy [3 August 2020].
  https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/hezbollahinteractivemap/# [accessed 4 August 2020].
  - Weiss, Caleb, "Hezbollah announces ceasefire with Sunni jihadists near Arsal," *Long War Journal* [28 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/hezbollah-announces-ceasefire-with-sunni-militants-near-arsal.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/hezbollah-announces-ceasefire-with-sunni-militants-near-arsal.php</a> [accessed 31 July 2017].
  - West, Ben, "Hezbollah Watches and Waits," Stratfor [15 June 2017].

    <a href="https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/hezbollah-watches-and-waits">https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/hezbollah-watches-and-waits</a> [accessed 19 June 2017].

    This is one of the better articles explaining the differences between Hezbollah and ISIS. It also addresses the changes in Hezbollah since the death of Imad Mughniyah.

### Other Players - Indonesia

- Bayt ar-Rahmah li ad-Da'wa al-Islamiyah Rahmatan li al-'Alamin, "White House Declares Support for @NahdlatulUlama," Press Release [6 June 2018]. <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018</a> 06 06 VPOTUS/2018 06 06 VPOTUS.pdf [accessed 8 June 2018].
- Bayt ar-Rahmah li ad-Da'wa al-Islamiyah Rahmatan li al-'Alamin, "President Jokowi Appoints KH. Yahya Cholil Staquf to Key Position," Press Release [31 May 2018].

  <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018</a> 05 31 Presidential-Advisory-Council.pdf [accessed 8 June 2018].
- Bayt ar-Rahmah li ad-Da'wa al-Islamiyah Rahmatan li al-'Alamin, "Indonesian Muslim Leader Delivers a "Message of Compassion," and Reconciliation, from the Holy City of Jerusalem," Press Release [29 June 2018]. <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018</a> 06 29 Jerusalem/2018 06 29 Jerusalem.pdf [accessed 2 July 2018].
- Bayt ar-Rahmah li ad-Da'wa al-Islamiyah Rahmatan li al-'Alamin, "NU General Secretary's Historic Visit to Jerusalem Helped Shape Public Discourse Amid the Heat of Indonesia's 2018 Regional Election Campaign," Impact Analysis [25 July 2018]. <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018</a> 07 25 Impact-Analysis/2018 07 25 Impact-Analysis.pdf [accessed 25 July 2018].
- Bayt ar-Rahmah li ad-Da'wa al-Islamiyah Rahmatan li al-'Alamin, "Multi-Faith Vanguard Unites to Adopt Nusantara Statement and Join Global Humanitarian Islam Movement," Press Release [1 November 2018].
- Bayt ar-Rahmah li ad-Da'wa al-Islamiyah Rahmatan li al-'Alamin, "Nusantara Manifesto Initiates the Renewal of Islamic Teachings through the Recontextualization (i.e., Reform) of Obsolete Tenets within Islamic Orthodoxy," Press Release [25 October 2018].

  <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018</a> 10 25 Nusantara-Manifesto.pdf [accessed 12 November 2018].
- Bayt ar-Rahmah li ad-Da'wa al-Islamiyah Rahmatan li al-'Alamin, "The Nusantara Manifesto Adopted and Promulgated by Gerakan Pemuda Ansor and Bayt Ar-Rahmah in Yogyakarta, Indonesia on October 25, 2018," Press Release [25 October 2018]. <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2018/Nusantara-Manifesto">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2018/Nusantara-Manifesto</a> 2018.pdf [accessed 12 November 2018].
- Bayt ar-Rahmah li ad-Da'wa al-Islamiyah Rahmatan li al-'Alamin, "POLITICAL COMMUNIQUÉ: 2019\_10\_16\_World First: Nahdlatul Ulama Abolishes the Legal Category of "Infidel" within Islamic Law," Press Release [16 October 2019]. <a href="https://baytarrahmah.org/2019-10-16\_world-first-nahdlatul-ulama-abolishes-the-legal-category-of-infidel-within-islamic-law/">https://baytarrahmah.org/2019-10-16\_world-first-nahdlatul-ulama-abolishes-the-legal-category-of-infidel-within-islamic-law/</a> [accessed 17 October 2019].
- Chalk, Peter, "Islamic State Goes Global: ISIL Spreads in Indonesia", *The National Interest* [21 December 2015]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/islamic-state-goes-global-isil-spreads-indonesia-14696">http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/islamic-state-goes-global-isil-spreads-indonesia-14696</a> [accessed 22 December 2015].
  - Growing ISIS interest, participation, and allegiance in Indonesia. This is a potential concern for where this entire adventure may be going.
- Chan, Francis, "Efforts under way to verify chatter about death of Indonesian ISIS leader linked to Marina Bay plot," *The Strait Times* [4 December 2017]. <a href="http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/efforts-underway-to-verify-chatter-about-the-death-of-indonesian-isis-leader-linked-to-faccessed">http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/efforts-underway-to-verify-chatter-about-the-death-of-indonesian-isis-leader-linked-to-faccessed</a> December 2017].
- Delman, Edward, "Why Indonesia is Immune to ISIS", *The Atlantic* [3 January 2016]. http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/01/why-indonesia-immune-isis/124821/ [accessed 4

January 2016].

The article includes theories on why Indonesia doesn't have a lot of jihadist participants and other countries do. It goes as follows: "Indonesia is a country that doesn't have a repressive government, is not under occupation, it's politically stable, so there's no social unrest or conflict, and the Muslims aren't a persecuted minority. So when you put all of those factors together, it's not all that surprising that it's actually only a tiny minority of even the activist population that's leaving for Syria."

- Dorsey, James M. "Did they or didn't they? The battle for control of Brussels' Grand Mosque," Huffington Post [17 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/did-they-or-didnt-they-the-battle-for-control-of-us-5a0ec8a0e4b023121e0e91a4">https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/did-they-or-didnt-they-the-battle-for-control-of-us-5a0ec8a0e4b023121e0e91a4</a> [accessed 21 November 2017].
- Gupta, Aishwarya and Ossama Ayesh, "Navigating risk landscape amid political disruption," *The Jakarta Post* 8 February 2018]. <a href="www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2018/02/08/navigating-risk-landscape-amid-political-disruption.html">www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2018/02/08/navigating-risk-landscape-amid-political-disruption.html</a> [accessed 20 February 2018].
- Hosen, Nadirsyah, "Understanding Kyai Haji Yahya Cholil Staquf's Message of Compassion," Monash University Faculty of Law and Chairman, Nahdlatul Ulama Supreme Council, Australia/New Zealand [23 July 2018]. <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2018/nadirhosen\_memahami-pesan-rahmah-kh-yahya-cholil-staguf\_06-19-18.pdf">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2018/nadirhosen\_memahami-pesan-rahmah-kh-yahya-cholil-staguf\_06-19-18.pdf</a> [accessed 25 July 2018].
- Schröter, Suzanne, "Jihadists as the Elite Troops of Islam," Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung [29 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2017/FAZ\_Jihadists-as-the-Elite-Troops-of-Islam\_08-29-17.pdf">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2017/FAZ\_Jihadists-as-the-Elite-Troops-of-Islam\_08-29-17.pdf</a> [accessed 19 September 2017].
  - The author quotes Pak Yahya from the NU reference recognizing the role of specific interpretations of the faith in fomenting and encouraging violence.
- Soeriaatmadia, Wahyudi, "Indonesia police nab terrorist suspect planning to join ISIS in Marawi," *The Straits Times* [13 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/indonesia-police-nab-terrorist-suspect-planning-to-join-isis-in-marawi">http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/indonesia-police-nab-terrorist-suspect-planning-to-join-isis-in-marawi</a> [accessed 15 November 2017].
- Soloway, Benjamin, "To Understand Why the Islamic State Just Hit Jakarta, Don't Look to Paris Look to Indonesia", Foreign Policy [14 January 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/14/to-understand-why-the-islamic-state-just-hit-jakarta-dont-look-to-paris-look-to-indonesia/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/14/to-understand-why-the-islamic-state-just-hit-jakarta-dont-look-to-paris-look-to-indonesia/</a> [accessed 16 January 2016].
  - The gist of the article is that all ISIS attacks are local. Not shocking in the context of the events as have happened, but this does challenge the common notion that ISIS is representative of a monolithic Islamist organization or ideology.
- ★ Stahlhut, Marco, "In Interview, Top Indonesian Muslim Scholar Says Stop Pretending That Orthodox Islam and Violence Aren't Linked," *Time* [7 September 2017]. <a href="http://time.com/4930742/islam-terrorism-islamophobia-violence/">http://time.com/4930742/islam-terrorism-islamophobia-violence/</a> [accessed 12 September 2017].
  - One rarely reads such a candid assessment of the connection of the traditional/fundamental interpretations of the Islamic faith to the current level of violence from an Islamic leader/scholar. I have interacted with the Nahdlatul Ulama and their representatives and find that they are serious about gaining control of the narrative space of Islam from the violent extremists who have driven the debate since 9/11 (at least). The Nahdlatul Ulama seek to redefine the relationship between Muslims and their respective states and the minority or majority non-Muslim populations with whom they live. I wish Yahya Cholil Staquf and his organization all the success possible in this effort.
  - Staquf, Kyai Haji Yahya Cholil, "Civilizational Nobility," Speech given by the General Secretary, Nahdlatul Ulama Supreme Council Asia Liberty Forum 2018, Mandarin Oriental Hotel, Jakarta, Indonesia [11 February 2018]. <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018\_02\_11\_Civilizational-Nobility/2018\_02\_11\_Civilizational-Nobility.pdf">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2018/2018\_02\_11\_Civilizational-Nobility/2018\_02\_11\_Civilizational-Nobility.pdf</a> [accessed 20 February 2018].

Staquf, Kyai Haji Yahya Cholil, "The enduring threat of Islamist politics in 'reformasi' (post-Soeharto) Indonesia and its global ramifications," The Jakarta Post [22 May 2018].
<a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2018/jakarta-post\_enduring-threat-of-Islamist-politics-in-reformasi-Indonesia-and-its-global-ramifications\_05-22-18.pdf">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2018/jakarta-post\_enduring-threat-of-Islamist-politics-in-reformasi-Indonesia-and-its-global-ramifications\_05-22-18.pdf</a> [accessed 2 June 2018].

This is an excellent expression of elements of narrative strategies and what I call maneuver in the narrative space. The author and General Secretary of the Nahdlatul Ulama Supreme Council in Indonesia expresses the importance of transformation of the narrative space landscape such that there is a "successful implementation of a global strategy to develop a new Islamic orthodoxy that reflects the actual circumstances of the modern world in which Muslims must live and practice their faith."

# Other Players - Iran

- Jones, Seth G. 2020. Containing Tehran: Understanding Iran's Power and Exploiting Its Vulnerabilities. Lanham, Maryland: Center for Strategic and International Studies [January 2020]. <a href="https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/200106">https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/200106</a> Jones ContainingIran WEB.pdf?vcq9TKxKsEizo01f.tJ5ZpUcOssC 3qK [accessed 7 January 2020].
- ★ US Defense Intelligence Agency. 2019. Iran Military Power: Ensuring Regime Survival and Securing Regional Dominance. Washington DC: US Government Publishing Office.
  https://www.dia.mil/Portals/27/Documents/News/Military%20Power%20Publications/Iran Military Power LR.pdf [accessed 9 January 2020].
  This is a recombination of long o
  - This is an excellent non-partisan appreciation of Iran's military capabilities and strategic outlook. This has some of the best information with respect to weapon systems and service capacity.
  - al-Jaffal, Omar, "Will Iraq comply with US-imposed Iran sanctions?" *al-Monitor* [10 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/iraq-iran-us-sanction.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/iraq-iran-us-sanction.html</a> [accessed 13 August 2018].
  - Al Jazeera, "Supreme leader: Iran won't be told what to do in the Middle East," *Al Jazeera* [8 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/supreme-leader-iran-won-told-middle-east-180308203616382.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/supreme-leader-iran-won-told-middle-east-180308203616382.html</a> [accessed 9 March 2018].
  - Al Jazeera, "Will the US confront Iran's forces in Syria?," *Al Jazeera* [20 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/confront-iran-forces-syria-180419080427756.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/confront-iran-forces-syria-180419080427756.html</a> [accessed 20 April 2018].
  - Arango, Tim, "In Bid to Counter Iran, Ayatollah in Iraq May End Up Emulating It," *The New York Times* [1 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/02/world/middleeast/iraq-iran-ayatollah-sistani.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/02/world/middleeast/iraq-iran-ayatollah-sistani.html</a> [accessed 2 November 2015].
- ★ Arango, Tim, James Risen, Farnaz Fassihi, Ronen Bergman and Murtaza Hussain, "The Iran Cables: Secret Documents Show How Tehran Wields Power in Iraq," *The New York Times* [18 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/18/world/middleeast/iran-iraq-spy-cables.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/18/world/middleeast/iran-iraq-spy-cables.html</a> [accessed 18 November 2019].
  - Most people who served in Iraq clearly know that Iran was the winner of the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the insurgency that followed. This article makes clear that which we intuitively knew Iran bought and manipulated Iraqi politicians and regularly outmaneuvered their American counterparts. It was clear, in 2014 and 2015 that the Iranians were in a separate joint operations center with the Iraqi security forces. They were regularly using the fight against ISIS as a means to expand their influence in Iraq. Read this article for the supporting summary and limited documentation of those already surmised truths.
  - The Associated Press, "Iran Recruiting Thousands of Afghans, Pakistanis to Fight in Syria," *Haaretz* [16 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/iran/1.812628">http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/iran/1.812628</a> [accessed 16 September 2017].
  - The Associated Press, "Supreme leader: Iran has outflanked US since 1979 revolution," *Military Times* [3 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/11/03/supreme-leader-iran-has-outflanked-us-since-1979-revolution/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/11/03/supreme-leader-iran-has-outflanked-us-since-1979-revolution/</a> [accessed 6 November 2019].
  - Axe, David, "U.S. Sailors Released but Iran Won't Stop Taking Hostages", *The Daily Beast* [13 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/13/sailors-released-but-iran-won-t-stop.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/13/sailors-released-but-iran-won-t-stop.html</a> [accessed 14 January 2016].
  - Baker, Peter, Ronen Bergman, David D. Kirkpatrick, Julian E. Barnes, and Alissa J. Rubin, "Seven Days in

- January: How Trump Pushed U.S. and Iran to the Brink of War," *The New York Times* [11 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/11/us/politics/iran-trump.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/11/us/politics/iran-trump.html</a> [accessed 13 January 2020].
- Balanche, Fabrice, "From the Iranian Corridor to the Shia Crescent: Demography and Geopolitics," *Hoover Press* [2018].
  - https://www.academia.edu/37275066/From the Iranian Corridor to the Shia Crescent-Demography and Geopolitics?email work card=title [accessed 25 January 2020].
- Capaccio, Anthony, "U.S. Reaper Drone Left Soleimani With Little Chance," *Bloomberg* [6 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-01-06/general-atomics-reaper-drone-left-soleimani-with-little-chance">https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-01-06/general-atomics-reaper-drone-left-soleimani-with-little-chance</a> [accessed 7 January 2020].
- Chulov, Martin, "Iran tells Middle East militias: prepare for proxy war," *The Guardian* [16 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/16/iran-tells-middle-east-militias-prepare-for-proxy-war">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/16/iran-tells-middle-east-militias-prepare-for-proxy-war</a> [accessed 17 May 2019].
- Cooley, Skye, Robert Hinck, Sara Kitsch, and Asya Cooley, "Iranian Media Narrative Perspectives on the US and Global Competition: A Media Ecology & Strategic Analysis (MESA) Group Report," Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) Contract Publication with NSI Team [August 2019].

  <a href="https://nsiteam.com/iranian-media-narrative-perspectives-on-the-us-and-global-competition/">https://nsiteam.com/iranian-media-narrative-perspectives-on-the-us-and-global-competition/</a>
  [accessed 7 August 2019].
- ★ Daragahi, Borzou, "Inside Iran's Mission To Dominate The Middle East," BuzzFeed News [30 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.buzzfeed.com/borzoudaragahi/irans-plan-to-run-the-middle-east">https://www.buzzfeed.com/borzoudaragahi/irans-plan-to-run-the-middle-east</a> [accessed 31 July 2017].
  - The best article I have read to provide the general scope and conduct of Iranian operations around the Middle East. This provides information on Maneuver in the Narrative Space from an Iranian perspective. The goals for Iran are spelled out by an Iranian International relations professor about half way into the article in short, they are an expeditionary force that intends to secure Iran by promoting Iranian interests abroad. A few paragraphs later, the author provides the conceptual underpinnings of Iranian maneuver in the narrative space.
  - Dareini, Ali Akbar, "AP Explains: Iranian clerics tasked with picking top leader," *The Washington Post* [29 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/ap-explains-iranian-clerics-tasked-with-picking-top-leader/2016/02/29/4e103cea-df27-11e5-8c00-8aa03741dced\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/ap-explains-iranian-clerics-tasked-with-picking-top-leader/2016/02/29/4e103cea-df27-11e5-8c00-8aa03741dced\_story.html</a> [accessed 1 March 2016].
  - Dehghanpisheh, Babak and Phil Stewart, "From Iraq to Yemen, drones raise U.S. alarm over Iranian plans," *Reuters* [17 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-iran-drones/from-iraq-to-yemen-drones-raise-u-s-alarm-over-iranian-plans-idUSKCN1UC1X4">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-iran-drones/from-iraq-to-yemen-drones-raise-u-s-alarm-over-iranian-plans-idUSKCN1UC1X4</a> [accessed 18 July 2019].
- ★ De Luce, Dan, "Inside the U.S. Navy's Iran Fiasco," Foreign Policy [1 March 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/01/inside-the-u-s-navys-iran-fiasco-persian-gulf/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/01/inside-the-u-s-navys-iran-fiasco-persian-gulf/</a> [accessed 2 March 2016].
  - Denning, Dorothy, "Following the developing Iranian cyberthreat," *Fifth Domain* [12 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.fifthdomain.com/international/2017/12/12/following-the-developing-iranian-cyberthreat/">https://www.fifthdomain.com/international/2017/12/12/following-the-developing-iranian-cyberthreat/</a> [accessed 13 December 2017].
  - Detsch, Jack, "Kurdish rebels join anti-Iran lobbying fray," al-Monitor [2 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/10/kurdish-rebels-anti-iran-lobbying.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/10/kurdish-rebels-anti-iran-lobbying.html</a> [accessed 4 October 2018].
  - Dickey, Christopher, "Shah Enough: Oblivious to History, Trump's Turning Up the Heat on Iran. He Should Look at the 1953 CIA Coup." *The Daily Beast* [26 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-there-http://www.thedailybeast.com/oblivious-to-history-trumps-turning-up-the-heat-on-iran-but-t

- are-lessons-in-the-1953-cia-coup [accessed 27 June 2017].
- Dockery, Wesley, "Iran threatens Saudi Arabia after Iran parade attack," *Deutsche-Welle* [24 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/iran-threatens-saudi-arabia-after-iran-parade-attack/a-45620799">https://www.dw.com/en/iran-threatens-saudi-arabia-after-iran-parade-attack/a-45620799</a> [accessed 25 September 2018].
- Dunlap, Charlie, "The killing of General Soleimani was lawful self-defense, not "assassination"," *Lawfire* [3 January 2020]. <a href="https://sites.duke.edu/lawfire/2020/01/03/the-killing-of-general-soleimani-was-lawful-self-defense-not-assassination/">https://sites.duke.edu/lawfire/2020/01/03/the-killing-of-general-soleimani-was-lawful-self-defense-not-assassination/</a> [accessed 8 January 2020].
- Eisenstadt, Michael. The Missing Lever: Information Activities against Iran. Policy Notes from The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Number 1, March 2010.
  <a href="http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyNote01.pdf">http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyNote01.pdf</a> [accessed 6 October 2016].
  - Excellent piece describing the need to address what I refer to as Maneuver in the Narrative Space. The author provides quality observations on the nature of narrative (he speaks in terms of strategic communications) in Iran and more broadly in the region.
- Eisenstadt, Michael. The Strategic Culture of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Religion, Expediency, and Soft Power in an Era of Disruptive Change. Middle East Studies Monographs. Quantico, Virginia: Marine Corps University, November 2015.
  <a href="https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/MESM\_7\_Eisenstadt.pdf">https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/MESM\_7\_Eisenstadt.pdf</a> [accessed 6 October 2016].
  - Excellent discussion on the root motivations of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
  - Eisenstadt, Michael. Iran's Lengthening Cyber Shadow. Research Notes from The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Number 34, July 2016.
    - http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/ResearchNote34\_Eisenstadt.pdf [accessed 6 October 2016].
    - Explanation of Iran's growing cyber capability.
- ★ Entous, Adam and Evan Osnos, "Qassem Suleimani And How Nations Decide To Kill: A new frontier in the use of assassination." The New Yorker [3 February 2020].
  https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/02/10/qassem-suleimani-and-how-nations-decide-to-kill [accessed 19 February 2020].
  - The article provides excellent context for the killing of Qassim Soleimani. It is well worth the time to read or listen to at the link below. The authors provide a balanced discussion and historical perspective. They also ask some interesting and important questions for consideration.
  - Esfandiari, Golnaz, "Tempers Flare As Iranian Lawmakers Debate UN Effort Targeting Terrorism," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* [23 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/iran-tempers-flare-as-lawmakers-debate-un-effort-targeting-terrorism/29246005.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/iran-tempers-flare-as-lawmakers-debate-un-effort-targeting-terrorism/29246005.html</a> [accessed 24 May 2018].
  - Etehad, Melissa, "Five things Americans should know about Iran's upcoming presidential election," *Los Angeles Times* [14 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-iranian-election-breakdown-20170514-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-iranian-election-breakdown-20170514-story.html</a> [accessed 15 May 2017].
  - Faram, Mark D. "Discharge panel votes to retain naval officer who apologized to Iran," *Navy Times* [19 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.navytimes.com/articles/discharge-panel-votes-to-retain-naval-officer-who-apologized-to-iran">https://www.navytimes.com/articles/discharge-panel-votes-to-retain-naval-officer-who-apologized-to-iran</a> [accessed 20 April 2017].
  - Fassihi, Farnaz, "Iran Blocks Nearly All Internet Access," *The New York Times* [17 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/17/world/middleeast/iran-protest-rouhani.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/17/world/middleeast/iran-protest-rouhani.html</a> [accessed 18 November 2019].
  - Giglio, Mike, "The Flash Point Between America and Iran Could Be Iraq's Militias," The Atlantic [8 May

- 2019]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/05/iraq-militias-flash-point-between-united-states-and-iran/589003/">https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/05/iraq-militias-flash-point-between-united-states-and-iran/589003/</a> [accessed 13 May 2019].
- Gilli, Andrea and Mauro Gilli, "So what if Iranian drones did strike Syria? We are not entering a dark age of robotic warfare." *The Washington Post* [4 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/04/04/so-what-if-iranian-drones-did-strike-syria-we-are-not-entering-a-dark-age-of-robotic-warfare/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/04/04/so-what-if-iranian-drones-did-strike-syria-we-are-not-entering-a-dark-age-of-robotic-warfare/</a> [accessed 5 April 2016].
- Gladstone, Rick, "Iran's Top Leader Distances Himself from Nuclear Pact, Which He Once Supported," *The New York Times* [1 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/world/middleeast/iran-ayatollah-nuclear.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/world/middleeast/iran-ayatollah-nuclear.html</a> [accessed 2 August 2016].
- Goldberg, Richard and Behnam Ben Taleblu, "Iran's New Missile Cap Offer Is a Total Sham," *The National Interest* [8 November 2017]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/irans-new-missile-cap-offer-sham-23108">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/irans-new-missile-cap-offer-sham-23108</a> [accessed 10 November 2017].
- Gordon, Philip H. "A Path to War With Iran," *Foreign Affairs* [20 May 2019]. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2019-05-20/path-war-iran [accessed 26 May 2019].
- Gould, Joe, "CIA director confirms he sent warning letter to Iranian Quds commander," *Military Times* [3 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/digital-show-dailies/reagan-defense-forum/2017/12/03/cia-director-confirms-he-sent-warning-letter-to-quds-commander/">https://www.militarytimes.com/digital-show-dailies/reagan-defense-forum/2017/12/03/cia-director-confirms-he-sent-warning-letter-to-quds-commander/</a> [accessed 4 December 2017].
- Grady, John, "Mattis: U.S. Left Nuclear Deal Due to Iranian Military Aggression, Missile Testing," *United States Naval Institute News* [9 May 2018]. <a href="https://news.usni.org/2018/05/09/mattis-u-s-left-nuclear-deal-due-ongoing-iranian-missile-tests-military-aggression">https://news.usni.org/2018/05/09/mattis-u-s-left-nuclear-deal-due-ongoing-iranian-missile-tests-military-aggression</a> [accessed 10 May 2018].
- Hafezi, Parisha, "Iran's elite Guards to gain regional, economic power in post-sanctions era", *Reuters* [19 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-sanctions-guards-insight-idUSKCN0UX2M3">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-sanctions-guards-insight-idUSKCN0UX2M3</a> [accessed 21 January 2016].
- Hashem, Ali, "Hamas, Iran plot closer path forward amid Qatar crisis," *al-Monitor* [11 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/iran-hamas-relations-rouhani-inauguration-soleimani-visit.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/iran-hamas-relations-rouhani-inauguration-soleimani-visit.html</a> [accessed 14 August 2017].
- Hellyer, H. A. "Middle Eastern Voices Deserve to Be Heard in Western Media," *Foreign Policy* [9 January 2020]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/01/09/suleimani-arab-world-reaction-western-media-iran/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/01/09/suleimani-arab-world-reaction-western-media-iran/</a> [accessed 11 January 2020].
  - Paul Cobaugh's comments on this article are more important than the article itself. I completely agree with the importance of understanding (actually and completely) the people who are the focus of an action, engagement, or policy. I disagree with the author's implication that policy makers pay attention to the tone and nuances of reporters. I don't believe that such reports actually shape policy at all. The problem, with respect to this article, in policy making is that so few of the people a policy maker trusts have the understanding the author is advocating. It isn't reporters who need to understand the local people (they probably need to, but their understanding won't make much of a difference) it is the military, political, and policy professionals.
  - I agree with the emphasis on proper understanding of what I (and many others) call narrative space in the regions and countries where we engage. That understanding must be shared by many people. I hope that this article and others like it will challenge those who make decisions to do better framing of the problem set to achieve a more complete and properly appreciated conceptualization of the problems trying to be solved.
- Hiltermann, Joost, "Chemical Wonders", London Review of Books [Volume 38, No 3, 4 February 2016, pages 3-6]. <a href="http://www.lrb.co.uk/v38/n03/joost-hiltermann/chemical-wonders">http://www.lrb.co.uk/v38/n03/joost-hiltermann/chemical-wonders</a> [accessed 5 February 2016].
  - Interesting discussion of some elements of the Iran-Iraq War.

- Horowitz, Michael, "Where to Draw the Line Against Iran's Mideast Takeover," *The Daily Beast* [27 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/where-to-draw-the-line-against-irans-mideast-takeover">http://www.thedailybeast.com/where-to-draw-the-line-against-irans-mideast-takeover</a> [accessed 28 June 2017].
- Iddon, Paul, "Iran Lobs Ballistic Missiles at Iraq and Syria: The air force sits out Tehran's retaliatory strikes," *War is Boring* [8 October 2018]. <a href="https://warisboring.com/56221-2/">https://warisboring.com/56221-2/</a> [accessed 9 October 2018].
- ★ Irish, John and Ahmed Rasheed, "Exclusive: Iran moves missiles to Iraq in warning to enemies," Reuters [31 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-iraq-missiles-exclusive/exclusive-iran-moves-missiles-to-iraq-in-warning-to-enemies-idUSKCN1LG0WB">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-iraq-missiles-exclusive/exclusive-iran-moves-missiles-to-iraq-in-warning-to-enemies-idUSKCN1LG0WB</a> [accessed 3 September 2018]. The cause and effect of anti-Iranian pressure is uncertain, but the expansion of the Iranian direct military capability is alarming.
- Jakanbani, Nakissa, "Beyond Soleimani: Implications for Iran's Proxy Network in Iraq and Syria," West Point, NY: Combatting Terrorism Center [10 January 2020]. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/beyond-soleimani-implications-irans-proxy-network-iraq-syria/">https://ctc.usma.edu/beyond-soleimani-implications-irans-proxy-network-iraq-syria/</a> [accessed 11 January 2020].

  My apologies for inundating you with posts, but this one is worth your time. It is really informative in a relatively short article. It includes insights into Iraq and Syria and places greater emphasis on the impact of the death of al-Muhandis than most articles that focus almost solely on Soleimani. Thank you, Paul Cobaugh, for sharing.
  - Jedinia, Mehdi, "Analysts: Tehran Sees Liberation of Mosul as Victory for Iraq and Iran," *Voice of America* [15 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/analyst-says-tehran-sees-liberation-of-mosul-as-victory-for-iraq-iran/3945363.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/analyst-says-tehran-sees-liberation-of-mosul-as-victory-for-iraq-iran/3945363.html</a> [accessed 16 July 2017].
  - Katz, Brian, "Confronting the axis: Is the US prepared for a regional war with Iran and its allies?" *Defense News* [23 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/opinion/commentary/2018/10/23/confronting-the-axis-is-the-us-prepared-for-a-regional-war-with-iran-and-its-allies/">https://www.defensenews.com/opinion/commentary/2018/10/23/confronting-the-axis-is-the-us-prepared-for-a-regional-war-with-iran-and-its-allies/</a> [accessed 25 October 2018].
  - Katzman, Kenneth, "Iran, Gulf Security, and U.S. Policy," *Congressional Research Service* [29 December 2015].
  - Katzman, Kenneth, "Iran Sanctions," *Congressional Research Service* [18 April 2018]. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS20871.pdf [accessed 2 May 2018].
  - Katzman, Kenneth and Paul K. Kerr, "Iran Nuclear Agreement," *Congressional Research Service* [15 September 2017]. <a href="https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R43333.pdf">https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R43333.pdf</a> [accessed 2 May 2018].
  - Katzman, Kenneth, Paul K. Kerr, and Valerie Heitshusen, "Options to Cease Implementing the Iran Nuclear Agreement," *Congressional Research Service* [5 April 2018]. <a href="https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R44942.pdf">https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R44942.pdf</a> [accessed 2 May 2018].
  - Katzman, Kenneth, Kathleen J. McInnis, and Clayton Thomas, "U.S.-Iran Conflict and Implications for U.S. Policy," *Congressional Research Service* [6 January 2020]. <a href="https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R45795.pdf">https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R45795.pdf</a> [accessed 8 January 2020].
  - Keller, Megan, "Iran says it killed 'mastermind' behind military parade attack," *The Hill* [16 October 2018]. <a href="https://thehill.com/policy/international/411667-iran-says-it-has-killed-mastermind-behind-military-parade-attack">https://thehill.com/policy/international/411667-iran-says-it-has-killed-mastermind-behind-military-parade-attack</a> [accessed 17 October 2018].
  - Larter, David, Meghann Myers and Andrew Tilghman, "Sailors on seized U.S. Navy boats mistakenly steered into Iranian waters", *Navy Times* [14 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.navytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/14/us-sailors-mistakenly-steered-into-iranian-waters/78796140/">http://www.navytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/14/us-sailors-mistakenly-steered-into-iranian-waters/78796140/</a> [accessed 15 January 2016].
    - More information on the events. No significant details, but more than what was broadcast.

- Lawson, Sean, "What will be the effect of the latest US cyberattack on Iran?" *Fifth Domain* [23 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.fifthdomain.com/thought-leadership/2019/10/23/what-will-be-the-effect-of-the-latest-us-cyberattack-on-iran/">https://www.fifthdomain.com/thought-leadership/2019/10/23/what-will-be-the-effect-of-the-latest-us-cyberattack-on-iran/</a> [accessed 24 October 2019].
- Lippman, Daniel, Wesley Morgan, Meredith McGraw, and Nahal Toosi, "How Trump decided to kill Iran's Soleimani: The assassination of Tehran's feared paramilitary commander was months in the making." *Politico* [3 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.politico.eu/article/how-trump-decided-to-kill-irans-soleimani/">https://www.politico.eu/article/how-trump-decided-to-kill-irans-soleimani/</a> [accessed 6 January 2020].
- Logan, Michael K., Lauren Zimmerman, and Gina S. Ligon, "Influential Violent Extremist Organizational Partners of Iran," Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) Contract Publication with NSI Team [August 2019]. <a href="https://nsiteam.com/influential-violent-extremist-organizational-partners-of-iran/">https://nsiteam.com/influential-violent-extremist-organizational-partners-of-iran/</a> [accessed 7 August 2019].
- McInnis, J. Matthew, "Iran at War: Understanding Why and How Tehran Uses Military Force," American Enterprise Institute, December 2016. <a href="https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/RPT-FP-McInnis-Iran-at-War-final-December-2016.pdf">https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/RPT-FP-McInnis-Iran-at-War-final-December-2016.pdf</a> [accessed 22 February 2017].
  - A primer on Iranian military behavior and action. The weakness is that there is not a lot of material to create the sort of assessment that the author lays claim to. Iran has not fought a conventional war since 1988 and one could argue only one since 1979.
- McLeary, Paul, "Iranian Drones Now Hitting Rebel Targets in Syria," *Foreign Policy* [29 February 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/29/iranian-drones-now-hitting-rebel-targets-in-syria/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/29/iranian-drones-now-hitting-rebel-targets-in-syria/</a> [accessed 1 March 2016].
- Meyer, Josh, "Obama's hidden Iran deal giveaway," *Politico* [24 April 2017]. http://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/24/obama-iran-nuclear-deal-prisoner-release-236966 [accessed 26 April 2017].
  - Detailed information on the prisoner exchange involving US and Iranian personnel and the implications of the release of the Iranian individuals. The greatest value in the article is the discussion of the downstream effects on counterproliferation efforts.
- Mostaghim, Ramin and Shashank Bengali, "Death toll rises in Iran unrest as Rouhani acknowledges protesters' 'rightful demands'," Los Angeles Times [1 January 2018].

  <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iran-protest-deaths-20180101-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iran-protest-deaths-20180101-story.html</a>
  [accessed 2 January 2018].
- Mostaghim, Ramin and Noga Tarnopolsky, "Mideast tensions flare in response to Trump's nuke-deal pullout; Iran says he 'cannot do a damn thing'," *Los Angeles Times* [9 May 2018]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-iran-nuclear-deal-reaction-20180509-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-iran-nuclear-deal-reaction-20180509-story.html</a> [accessed 10 May 2018].
- Murphy, Jack and Zach Dorfman, "'Conspiracy is hard': Inside the Trump administration's secret plan to kill Qassem Soleimani," Yahoo [8 May 2021]. <a href="https://www.yahoo.com/news/conspiracy-is-hard-inside-the-trump-administrations-secret-plan-to-kill-qassem-soleimani-090058817.html">https://www.yahoo.com/news/conspiracy-is-hard-inside-the-trump-administrations-secret-plan-to-kill-qassem-soleimani-090058817.html</a> [accessed 10 May 2021].
  - This is the most in depth reporting that I have seen on the logic and preparation associated with the targeted killing of Qassem Soleimani. As I said at the time, I believed this was the most significant Middle East security event of the Trump presidency. I think that possibly the bilateral peace deals with Israel and other states in the region might surpass the importance. Regardless of the long-term impact, the loss of Soleimani has clearly had immediate impact on Iran's ability to conduct and coordinate operations in the region.
  - Natali, Denise, "Iran Rising: Capabilities, Power Projection, and Regional Relations," Event Report for Institute for National Strategic Studies [29 June 2017].
    - Includes good information on Iranian influenced groups operating in Iraq and Syria.

- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Israeli F-16I destroyed in attacks prompted by Iranian UAV infiltration," *Defense News* [10 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/02/10/israeli-f-16i-destroyed-in-attacks-prompted-by-iranian-uav-infiltration/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/02/10/israeli-f-16i-destroyed-in-attacks-prompted-by-iranian-uav-infiltration/</a> [accessed 12 February 2018].
- Pappalardo, Joe, "Iran Just Claimed Control over the Persian Gulf. Here's How They'd Defend It." *Popular Mechanics* [27 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.popularmechanics.com/military/navy-ships/a22843206/iran-control-persian-gulf/">https://www.popularmechanics.com/military/navy-ships/a22843206/iran-control-persian-gulf/</a> [accessed 28 August 2018].
- Perry, Mark, "Mattis's Last Stand Is Iran," Foreign Policy [28 June 2018]. https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/06/28/mattiss-last-stand-is-iran/ [accessed 29 June 2018].
- ★ Pillar, Paul R. "What Iran Really Wants," National Interest [16 April 2018].
  <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/what-iran-really-wants-25410?page=show">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/what-iran-really-wants-25410?page=show</a> [accessed 17 April 2018].
  - This is one of the best articles for explaining the difference in perspectives between the US and Iran with respect to interests in the Middle East.
  - Roggio, Bill, "Qods Force commander Qassem Soleimani rallies Iranian officers, Hezbollah in Syria," *Long War Journal* [14 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/qods-force-commander-qassem-soleimani-rallies-iranian-officers-hezbollah-in-syria.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/qods-force-commander-qassem-soleimani-rallies-iranian-officers-hezbollah-in-syria.php</a> [accessed 15 October 2015].
  - Roggio, Bill, "US Treasury adds Qods Force, Hezbollah officials to list of global terrorists," *Long War Journal* [13 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/us-treasury-adds-gods-force-hezbollah-officials-to-list-of-global-terrorists.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/us-treasury-adds-gods-force-hezbollah-officials-to-list-of-global-terrorists.php</a> [accessed 15 November 2018].
  - Ryan, Missy, "U.S. military scrambles to confront a new reality across the Middle East," *The Washington Post* [7 March 2020]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/us-military-scrambles-to-confront-a-new-reality-across-the-middle-east/2020/03/07/939bfe5a-60a8-11ea-b014-4fafa866bb81">https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/us-military-scrambles-to-confront-a-new-reality-across-the-middle-east/2020/03/07/939bfe5a-60a8-11ea-b014-4fafa866bb81</a> story.html [accessed 9 March 2020].
- ★ Sadjadpour, Karim, "Iran's Hollow Victory: The High Price of Regional Dominance," Foreign Affairs [March/April 2022]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2022-02-16/irans-hollow-victory">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2022-02-16/irans-hollow-victory</a> [accessed 16 February 2022].
  - This is an excellent summary of Iran's problems. Often Iran is presented as a regional strategic genius, but this presents a contrary position.
  - Schanzer, Jonathan and Tony Badran, "The Iran-Israel War Flares Up," Foundation for Defense of Democracies [11 February 2018]. <a href="http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/schanzer-jonathan-the-iran-israel-war-flares-up/">http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/schanzer-jonathan-the-iran-israel-war-flares-up/</a> [accessed 12 February 2018].
  - Shabani, Mohammad Ali, "Terror plot accusations undermine Iran-Europe engagement at worst possible time," *al-Monitor* [6 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/11/iran-denmark-france-bomb-assassination-plot-israel-jcpoa.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/11/iran-denmark-france-bomb-assassination-plot-israel-jcpoa.html</a> [accessed 8 November 2018].
  - Sharafedin, Bozorgmehr, "Khamenei says missiles, not just talks, key to Iran's future," *Reuters* [30 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-missiles-khamenei-idUSKCNOWWOPT">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-missiles-khamenei-idUSKCNOWWOPT</a> [accessed 30 March 2016].
  - Sharafedin, Bozorgmehr and Noah Browning, "In Iran, Islamic State seeks to fan militancy among minorities," *Reuters* [15 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-security-militancy-idUSKCN1AV1CJ">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-security-militancy-idUSKCN1AV1CJ</a> [accessed 16 August 2017].
  - Shavit, Eldad and Raz Zimmi, "Iraq as a Conflict Arena between the United States and Iran," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No. 1096, October 9, 2018. http://www.inss.org.il/publication/iraq-conflict-arena-united-states-iran/ [accessed 9 October

2018].

- Smith, Philip, "Iran's Losing Major Operatives in Syria," *The Daily Beast* [14 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/14/iran-s-losing-major-operatives-in-syria.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/14/iran-s-losing-major-operatives-in-syria.html</a> [accessed 14 October 2015].
- Snow, Shawn, "Iraqi Shia cleric whose militia killed American troops says crisis is over following Iran strike and Trump speech," *Military Times* [8 January 2020].

  <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/01/08/iraqi-shia-cleric-whose-militia-killed-american-troops-says-crisis-is-over-following-iran-strike-and-trump-speech/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/01/08/iraqi-shia-cleric-whose-militia-killed-american-troops-says-crisis-is-over-following-iran-strike-and-trump-speech/</a> [accessed 9 January 2020].
- ★ Soufan, Ali, "Qassem Soleimani and Iran's Unique Regional Strategy," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point *CTCSentinal*, November 2018, Volume 11, Issue 10. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/qassem-soleimani-irans-unique-regional-strategy/">https://ctc.usma.edu/qassem-soleimani-irans-unique-regional-strategy/</a> [accessed 12 November 2018].
  - An excellent article. The author summarizes everything a reader needs to know to understand Qassem Soleimani and Iranian actions and intentions in the Middle East. This is long, but well worth your time.
  - South, Todd, Kyle Rempfer, Shawn Snow, and Howard Altman, "What war with Iran could look like," *Military Times* [4 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2019/06/04/what-war-with-iran-could-look-like/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2019/06/04/what-war-with-iran-could-look-like/</a> [accessed 4 June 2019].
- ★ Tadros, Samuel, "Countering Iran Requires A Political Strategy," *The Caravan* Hoover Institution Issue 1716 [12 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.hoover.org/research/countering-iran-requires-political-strategy">https://www.hoover.org/research/countering-iran-requires-political-strategy</a> [accessed 4 January 2018].
  - Probably one of the best single article critiques of Iran and the broader actions of that regime in the region and recommendations for responses to those actions.
  - Thomas, Clayton, "U.S. Killing of Qasem Soleimani: Frequently Asked Questions," *Congressional Research Service* [8 January 2020]. <a href="https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46148">https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46148</a> [accessed 8 January 2020].
  - Toumaj, Amir, "Why Iran supported Houthi attacks against the US Navy," *Long War Journal* [31 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/10/why-iran-supported-houthi-attacks-against-the-us-navy.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/10/why-iran-supported-houthi-attacks-against-the-us-navy.php</a> [accessed 2 November 2016].
  - Toumaj, Amir, "Qassem Soleimani boasts of Tehran's expanded footprint throughout Middle East," *Long War Journal* [6 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/qassem-soleimani-boasts-of-tehrans-expanded-footprint-throughout-middle-east.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/07/qassem-soleimani-boasts-of-tehrans-expanded-footprint-throughout-middle-east.php</a> [accessed 10 July 2017].
  - Toumaj, Amir, "The IRGC touts drone strikes against the Islamic State," *Long War Journal* [9 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/the-irgc-touts-drone-strikes-against-the-islamic-state.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/the-irgc-touts-drone-strikes-against-the-islamic-state.php</a> [accessed 11 September 2017].
  - Toumaj, Amir, "Iran highlights Qods Force commander killed by the Islamic State," *Long War Journal* [21 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/iran-highlights-qods-force-commander-killed-by-the-islamic-state.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/iran-highlights-qods-force-commander-killed-by-the-islamic-state.php</a> [accessed 25 September 2017].
  - Toumaj, Amir, "Iraqi militia publicizes Iranian Qods Force chief by Syrian border town," *Long War Journal* [18 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/iraqi-militia-publicizes-iranian-qods-force-chief-by-syrian-border-town.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/iraqi-militia-publicizes-iranian-qods-force-chief-by-syrian-border-town.php</a> [accessed 20 November 2017].
  - Toumaj, Amir, "Iran sends drone into Israeli airspace one day before 1979 revolution anniversary," Long War Journal [10 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/iran-sends-drone-into-israeli-airspace-one-day-before-revolution-anniversary.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/iran-sends-drone-into-israeli-airspace-one-day-before-revolution-anniversary.php</a> [accessed 12 February 2018].
  - Toumaj, Amir, "Analysis: Tehran's push to force US exit from Iraq," *Long War Journal* [21 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/analysis-tehrans-push-to-force-us-exit-">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/analysis-tehrans-push-to-force-us-exit-</a>

- from-iraq.php [accessed 24 September 2018].
- Toumaj Amir and David Adesnik, "FDD Profiles of Leading Iranian-Backed Militias," Foundation for the Defense of Democracies [28 February 2018]. <a href="http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/iranian-backed-militia-profiles/">http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/iranian-backed-militia-profiles/</a> [accessed 1 March 2018].
- Tucker, Patrick, "US Military Leaders Worry About Iran's Media Operations," *Defense One* [15 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/09/isis-loses-territory-military-leaders-worry-about-irans-media-operations/141044/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/09/isis-loses-territory-military-leaders-worry-about-irans-media-operations/141044/</a> [accessed 18 September 2017].
- ★ Vakil, Sanam and Hossein Rassam, "Iran's Next Supreme Leader: The Islamic Republic After Khamenei," Foreign Affairs [9 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2017-04-09/iran-s-next-supreme-leader">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2017-04-09/iran-s-next-supreme-leader</a> [accessed 13 April 2017].
  - This is an excellent primer for the development of the position of Iranian Supreme Leader as well as predictions of how and who will be involved in the transition of authority when the current Supreme Leader dies.
  - Wright, Robin, "Will The Iran Nuclear Deal Survive?" *The New Yorker* [14 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/will-the-iran-nuclear-deal-survive">http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/will-the-iran-nuclear-deal-survive</a> [accessed 15 July 2016].
  - Ziabari, Kourosh, "The IRGC, Iran's military industrial complex," *Asia Times* [20 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/05/article/the-irgc-irans-military-industrial-complex/">https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/05/article/the-irgc-irans-military-industrial-complex/</a> [accessed 26 May 2019].
  - Zimmt, Raz, "The Gasoline Protests in Iran: Initial Assessments and Implications," The Institute for National Security Studies, INSS Insight No. 1228, 18 November 2019. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/No.-1228.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/No.-1228.pdf</a> [accessed 19 November 2019].

# Other Players - Jordan

- Al-Badayneh, Diab M., Murad A. Almawajdeh, and Abduallah Baddahdah, "Radical thoughts; Fears about and Supporting ISIS among Jordanian College Students," Paper presented at the NATO Advanced Research Workshop (ARW), —The Post ISIS-era: Regional and Global Implications, held on September 6-8, 2019 in Washington DC.
  - https://www.academia.edu/40634806/Radical thoughts Fears about and Supporting ISIS amon g Jordanian College Students [accessed 12 July 2020].
  - The data on conservative thought is fascinating in its sad percentages of extreme opinion in Jordan. High percentages believe in what I believe to be extreme thoughts about Islam and the broader world even though very small percentages admit to actual support of ISIS. I think this is because they believe they will be outed if they express their real thoughts toward ISIS. That argues with the report; however, it might be accurate.
- Al Jazeera, "Three US troops killed in shooting at Jordan airbase," *Al Jazeera English* [4 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/11/soldiers-killed-gunfire-jordan-air-base-army-161104130012777.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/11/soldiers-killed-gunfire-jordan-air-base-army-161104130012777.html</a> [accessed 5 November 2016].
- Al Sharif, Osama, "Russia key to reset of Jordanian-Syrian ties," *al Monitor* [23 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/07/jordan-syria-relations-normal-refugees-nasib-assad-moscow.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/07/jordan-syria-relations-normal-refugees-nasib-assad-moscow.html</a> [accessed 24 July 2018].
- Bar'el, Zvi, "In Trump's Peace Plan, Jordan Only Sees an Ambush," *Ha'aretz* [26 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/jordan/.premium-in-trump-s-peace-plan-jordan-only-sees-an-ambush-1.8443647">https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/jordan/.premium-in-trump-s-peace-plan-jordan-only-sees-an-ambush-1.8443647</a> [accessed 27 January 2020].
- Barmin, Yury, "Russia calls on Jordan to help stabilize Syrian 'safe' zones," *al-Monitor* [20 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/02/putin-abdullah-russia-jordan-meeting.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/02/putin-abdullah-russia-jordan-meeting.html</a> [accessed 22 February 2018].
- Beevor, Eleanor, "After Al-Salt: Jordan Cannot Fight Terrorism With Police And Soldiers Alone," *albawaba News* [13 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.albawaba.com/news/after-salt-jordan-cannot-fight-terrorism-police-and-soldiers-alone-1172954">https://www.albawaba.com/news/after-salt-jordan-cannot-fight-terrorism-police-and-soldiers-alone-1172954</a> [accessed 14 August 2018].
- Braizat, Fares, Anne Speckhard, Ardian Shajkovci, and Amer Sabaileh, "Determining Youth Radicalization in Jordan," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [21 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/determining-youth-radicalization-in-jordan/">http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/determining-youth-radicalization-in-jordan/</a> [accessed 21 November 2017].
- De Luce, Dan and Ruby Mellen, "Trump Dumped U.S. Ambassador to Amman at Request of King," Foreign Policy [31 August 2017]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/08/31/trump-dumped-u-s-ambassador-to-amman-at-request-of-king/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/08/31/trump-dumped-u-s-ambassador-to-amman-at-request-of-king/</a> [accessed 14 February 2018].
- Dozier, Kimberly, "Green Berets 'Murdered by an Ally,' Families Charge," *The Daily Beast* [7 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/03/07/green-berets-murdered-by-an-ally-families-charge.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/03/07/green-berets-murdered-by-an-ally-families-charge.html</a> [accessed 5 April 2017].
  - Information on the 4 November 2016 shooting of three US military personnel by a Jordanian Armed Forces gate guard.
- Eran, Oded, "Concerns for Jordan's Stability," The Institute for National Security Studies, INSS Insight No. 1169, 21 May 2019, <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/No.-1169.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/No.-1169.pdf</a> [accessed 22 May 2019].
- Halperin, David and Michael J. Koplow, "Trump's Budget Cuts Threaten Jordan's Role in Defeating ISIS," *Newsweek* [7 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.newsweek.com/trumps-budget-cuts-threaten-jordans-role-defeating-isis-580068">http://www.newsweek.com/trumps-budget-cuts-threaten-jordans-role-defeating-isis-580068</a> [accessed 18 April 2017].
- Insinna, Valerie, "In Jordan, Iraqi Officers Prepare for Mosul Battle and Beyond," Defense News [4

- October 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/articles/in-jordan-iraqi-officers-prepare-for-mosul-battle-and-beyond">http://www.defensenews.com/articles/in-jordan-iraqi-officers-prepare-for-mosul-battle-and-beyond</a> [accessed 5 October 2016].
- Training of Iraqi soldiers at KASOTC.
- Kilani, Abdulaziz, "Jordan's Diplomacy in Syria, Part 1," *New Lines Institute* [10 November 2021]. <a href="https://newlinesinstitute.org/syria/jordans-diplomacy-in-syria-part-1/">https://newlinesinstitute.org/syria/jordans-diplomacy-in-syria-part-1/</a> [accessed 6 December 2021].
- Lieber, Dov, "How Jordan's 'sheikh of sheikhs' negotiated with Zionists, founded a kingdom," *The Times of Israel* [3 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.timesofisrael.com/how-jordans-sheikh-of-sheikhs-negotiated-with-zionists-founded-a-kingdom/">http://www.timesofisrael.com/how-jordans-sheikh-of-sheikhs-negotiated-with-zionists-founded-a-kingdom/</a> [accessed 8 September 2016].
- Luck, Taylor, "The questions unanswered in Jordan attack that killed 2 U.S. contractors", Washington Post [21 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-questions-unanswered-in-jordan-attack-that-killed-2-us-contractors/2015/11/21/354e592a-8ef1-11e5-ae1f-af46b7df8483">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-questions-unanswered-in-jordan-attack-that-killed-2-us-contractors/2015/11/21/354e592a-8ef1-11e5-ae1f-af46b7df8483</a> story.html [accessed 23 November 2015].
- Malkawi, Khetam, "Jordan raids headquarters of Muslim Brotherhood group," *Associated Press* [13 April 2016]. <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/article/8c8fd85ff373452c8514ad515297124b/jordan-raids-headquarters-muslim-brotherhood-group">http://bigstory.ap.org/article/8c8fd85ff373452c8514ad515297124b/jordan-raids-headquarters-muslim-brotherhood-group</a> [accessed 14 April 2016].
- Mansur, Yusuf, "Mansaf Economics," Jordan Times [27 March 2006].
- Onyanga-Omara, Jane and Jim Michaels, "2 Americans among 5 killed at Jordan police camp", *Military Times* [10 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/news/world/2015/11/09/reports-americans-killed-jordan/75442246/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/news/world/2015/11/09/reports-americans-killed-jordan/75442246/</a> [accessed 10 November 2015].
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Jordan Proves Heavyweight in Fight Against ISIS," *Defense News* [9 May 2016]. http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/international/2016/05/09/jordan-proves-heavyweight-fight-against-isis/83936296/ [accessed 10 May 2016].
- Paraszczuk, Joanna, "Jordanian IS Suicide Bomber Said Recruited In Ukraine," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* [5 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-jordanian-suicide-bomber-recruited-ukraine/27289455.html">http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-jordanian-suicide-bomber-recruited-ukraine/27289455.html</a> [accessed 6 October 2015].
- Reuters, "Jordan Troops Hunt Militants at Syria Border," *New York Times* [1 March 2016]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/02/world/middleeast/jordan-troops-hunt-militants-at-syria-border.html [1 March 2016].
- Roule, Norman T. "Jordan's \$2.5b Security Lifeline to the Future," *The Cipher Brief* [13 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/jordans-2-5b-security-lifeline-future">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/jordans-2-5b-security-lifeline-future</a> [accessed 14 June 2018].
- Ryan, Curtis R. "What to expect from Jordan's new prime minister," *Washington Post* [2 June 2016]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/06/01/what-to-expect-from-jordans-new-prime-minister/ [accessed 2 June 2016].
- Schenker, David, "A Safe Zone in Southern Syria: Jordan's Role," The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Watch 2767, 27 February 2017. <a href="http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/a-safe-zone-in-southern-syria-jordans-role">http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/a-safe-zone-in-southern-syria-jordans-role</a> [accessed 2 March 2017].

  This report includes some detailed questions regarding a safe zone in southern Syria.
- Schenker, David, "The Growing Islamic State Threat in Jordan," The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Watch 2747, 10 January 2017. <a href="http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-growing-islamic-state-threat-in-jordan">http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-growing-islamic-state-threat-in-jordan</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
  - How safe is Jordan? \$800 million in military aid in 2016. Wow!
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Fighting ISIS in the Digital Space in Jordan," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [28 October 2018].

- https://www.academia.edu/37660710/Fighting ISIS in the Digital Space in Jordan?auto=downlo ad [accessed 29 October 2018].
- This is an excellent explanation of a specific countering violent extremism attempt in Jordan. Some of the quotes from Jordanian postings are excellent in explaining just how people actually perceive the US and the actions of extremists.
- Sweis, Rana F. "ISIS Is Said to Claim Responsibility for Attack at Jordan-Syria Border," *New York Times* [27 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/28/world/middleeast/islamic-state-jordan-suicide-attack.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/28/world/middleeast/islamic-state-jordan-suicide-attack.html</a> [accessed 28 June 2016].
- Vice News, "Intelligence Agents Killed in Attack on Refugee Camp in Jordan," Vice News [6 June 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/five-dead-after-attack-on-palestinian-refugee-camp-in-jordan">https://news.vice.com/article/five-dead-after-attack-on-palestinian-refugee-camp-in-jordan</a> [accessed 7 June 2016].
- Warrick, Joby and Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "Investigators: Killing of 3 U.S. soldiers in Jordan appears to have been deliberate," *The Washington Post* [21 November 2016].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/investigators-killing-of-3-us-soldiers-in-jordan-appears-to-have-been-deliberate/2016/11/21/3fc13754-b035-11e6-8616-52b15787add0 story.html [accessed 22 November 2016].
  - What is happening in Jordan? Did the Jordanian soldier kill Americans for a reason or was this a response to some provocation?
- Yom, Sean and Katrina Sammour, "The Social Terrain of Islamist Radicalization: Insights from Jordan," Lawfare [21 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/social-terrain-islamist-radicalization-insights-jordan">https://www.lawfareblog.com/social-terrain-islamist-radicalization-insights-jordan</a> [accessed 22 August 2016].
  - The article highlights the problems in Jordan's schools and provides some troubling statistics regarding number of Jordanians fighting in Syrian and Iraq and conservative feelings of Jordanians.
- Younes, Ali, "Jordan's economic crisis threatens political stability," *Al Jazeera* [14 February 2018]. <a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/jordan-economic-crisis-threatens-political-stability-180214112245542.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/jordan-economic-crisis-threatens-political-stability-180214112245542.html</a> [accessed 15 February 2018].
- Younes, Ali, "Jordan crisis: Why Gulf states are rushing to step in," Al Jazeera [10 June 2018]. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/jordan-crisis-gulf-states-rushing-step-180610103246160.html [accessed 11 June 2018].
- Zahran, Mudar, "Why Three American Soldiers Were Killed in Jordan," *American Thinker* [27 November 2016].
  - http://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2016/11/why three american soldiers were killed in j ordan.html [accessed 26 December 2016].
  - I have my doubts about the accuracy or authenticity of this article. That said, I have confirmed it with a retired Jordanian officer. I still have doubts. Regardless, this provides insight into a part of Jordan that most people are unaware about.

#### Other Players – Lebanon

- Katicha, Wehbe, "Lebanese parliamentarian: The Gulf is a center of crisis and wars," *Defense News* [2 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/outlook/2019/12/02/lebanese-parliamentarian-the-gulf-is-a-center-of-crisis-and-wars/">https://www.defensenews.com/outlook/2019/12/02/lebanese-parliamentarian-the-gulf-is-a-center-of-crisis-and-wars/</a> [accessed 5 December 2019].
- Lee, Matthew, "Trump administration approves over \$100M for Lebanon military," *Defense News* [2 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2019/12/02/trump-administration-approves-100m-for-lebanon-military/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2019/12/02/trump-administration-approves-100m-for-lebanon-military/</a> [accessed 5 December 2019].
- Mardasov, Anton, "Lebanon embraces Russia's refugee initiative for Syria," *al-Monitor* [21 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/russia-lebanon-syria-refugees.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/russia-lebanon-syria-refugees.html</a> [accessed 23 August 2018].
- Mchantaf, Chirine, "Lebanon could lose out on US military aid after surprise resignation," *Defense News* [7 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2017/11/07/lebanon-could-lose-out-on-us-military-aid-after-surprise-resignation/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2017/11/07/lebanon-could-lose-out-on-us-military-aid-after-surprise-resignation/</a> [accessed 8 November 2017].
- Mizrahi, Orna, "The Mass Demonstrations in Lebanon: What Do They Portend?" *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 1218, 25 October 2019. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/No.-1218.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/No.-1218.pdf</a> [accessed 31 October 2019].
- Perry, Tom and Laila Bassam, "Saudi reopens Lebanon front in struggle with Iran," *Reuters* [7 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon-politics-hariri-analysis/saudi-reopens-lebanon-front-in-struggle-with-iran-idUSKBN1D72BA">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon-politics-hariri-analysis/saudi-reopens-lebanon-front-in-struggle-with-iran-idUSKBN1D72BA</a> [accessed 8 November 2017].
- Sanders, Lewis IV, "Some blame Saudis as Lebanon PM resigns; others accuse Iran," *Deutsche Welle* [7 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/some-blame-saudis-as-lebanon-pm-resigns-others-accuse-iran/a-41279049">http://www.dw.com/en/some-blame-saudis-as-lebanon-pm-resigns-others-accuse-iran/a-41279049</a> [accessed 8 November 2017].
- Wedeman, Ben, "We've entered the post-ISIS phase in the Middle East," CNN [7 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2017/11/06/middleeast/post-isis-middle-east/index.html">http://www.cnn.com/2017/11/06/middleeast/post-isis-middle-east/index.html</a> [accessed 8 November 2017].

# Other Players - Libya

- Bodetti, Austin, "A quiet conflict is raging in Libya's desertic south," *The New Arab* [16 July 2019]. https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2019/7/16/a-quiet-conflict-is-raging-in-libyas-desertic-south [accessed 21 July 2019].
- DeYoung, Karen and Missy Ryan, "Trump's call with renegade Libyan general could signal a shift in U.S. policy," *Washington Post* [19 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trumps-call-with-renegade-libyan-general-could-signal-a-shift-in-us-policy/2019/04/19/d1428264-62d0-11e9-9ff2-abc984dc9eec\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trumps-call-with-renegade-libyan-general-could-signal-a-shift-in-us-policy/2019/04/19/d1428264-62d0-11e9-9ff2-abc984dc9eec\_story.html</a> [accessed 23 April 2019].
- El Amrani, Issandr, "New Risks in Libya as Khalifa Haftar Dismisses UN-backed Accord," *International Crisis Group* [21 December 2017]. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/21xii17-libya-commentary.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/21xii17-libya-commentary.pdf</a> [accessed 24 December 2017].
- Engelkes, Simon S. "The Guiding Book and the Aiding Sword: An In-Depth Analysis of the Islamic State's Governance Capacities in Libya," A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a Master of Arts Degree, M.A. Terrorism, Security, and Society, King's College London War Studies Department [24 August 2017].

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/34706463/The\_Guiding\_Book\_and\_the\_Aiding\_Sword\_An\_In\_Depth\_Analysis\_of\_the\_Islamic\_States\_Governance\_Capacities\_in\_Libya">https://www.academia.edu/34706463/The\_Guiding\_Book\_and\_the\_Aiding\_Sword\_An\_In\_Depth\_Analysis\_of\_the\_Islamic\_States\_Governance\_Capacities\_in\_Libya</a> [accessed 1 January 2021].
- Gall, Carlotta, "Weary of Chaos, Factions in Libya Consider Peace", New York Times [12 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/13/world/middleeast/weary-of-chaos-factions-in-libya-tentatively-shift-toward-peace.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/13/world/middleeast/weary-of-chaos-factions-in-libya-tentatively-shift-toward-peace.html</a> [accessed 13 January 2016].
  - The problems in Libya may be nearing an end if they truly are growing tired of killing each other.
- ★ Gazzini, Claudia, "Traversing the Tribal Patchwork of Libya's South West," *International Crisis Group* [12 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/libya/traversing-tribal-patchwork-libyas-south-west">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/libya/traversing-tribal-patchwork-libyas-south-west</a> [accessed 19 June 2017].
  - An excellent discussion on the aftermath of the overthrow of the Libyan leader Gadhafi through the eyes of an intrepid reporter.
  - International Crisis Group, "Libya's Unhealthy Focus on Personalities," *International Crisis Group Middle East and North Africa Briefing*, Number 57, 8 May 2018.

    <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b057-libyas-unhealthy-focus-on-personalities.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b057-libyas-unhealthy-focus-on-personalities.pdf</a> [accessed 9 May 2018].
  - Marlowe, Ann, "The Next Dangerous Move in Libya," *The Daily Beast* [21 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/22/the-next-dangerous-move-in-libya.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/22/the-next-dangerous-move-in-libya.html</a> [accessed 22 February 2016].
  - Musa, Rami and Samy Magdy, "In Libya, a rogues' gallery of militias prepare for war," *AP News* [16 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.apnews.com/76313fb7c3654a1a9270bbd7b4bd96f2">https://www.apnews.com/76313fb7c3654a1a9270bbd7b4bd96f2</a> [accessed 19 April 2019].
- Naylor, Sean D. and Nick Turse, "Libyan war escalates amid lack of U.S strategy for secret missions in Africa," Yahoo [10 April 2019]. <a href="https://news.yahoo.com/libyan-war-escalates-amid-lack-of-us-strategy-for-secret-missions-in-africa-090000507.html">https://news.yahoo.com/libyan-war-escalates-amid-lack-of-us-strategy-for-secret-missions-in-africa-090000507.html</a> [accessed 11 April 2019].

  Excellent summary of the events in Libya.
  - South, Todd, "ISIS, al-Qaida 'regrouping' in Libya, what's US strategy? Congress asks," *Military Times* [23 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/04/23/isis-al-qaida-regrouping-in-libya-whats-us-strategy-congress-asks/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/04/23/isis-al-qaida-regrouping-in-libya-whats-us-strategy-congress-asks/</a> [accessed 24 April 2018].
  - Styszynski, Martin, editor, "Analysis of Naba Newspaper", *Naba Newspaper* [9 February 2016].

    Naba is a weekly newspaper in Arabic distributed among local populations in regions controlled by ISIS,

including Libya territories or Sinai in Egypt.

Vismara, Elena, "The contemporary nature of tribalism. Anthropological insights on the libyan case," Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI Working Paper WP 2018:12). <a href="https://www.cmi.no/publications/6695-the-contemporary-nature-of-tribalism">https://www.cmi.no/publications/6695-the-contemporary-nature-of-tribalism</a> [accessed 5 February 2020].

★ Wehrey, Frederic, "When the Islamic State Came to Libya," *The Atlantic* [10 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/02/isis-libya-hiftar-al-qaeda-syria/552419/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/02/isis-libya-hiftar-al-qaeda-syria/552419/</a> [accessed 12 February 2018].

An explanation of the ISIS involvement in Libya primarily through the eyes of one man's experience.

Zelin, Aaron Y. "The Others: Foreign Fighters in Libya," Policy Notes, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, PN45, 2018.

https://www.academia.edu/35829269/The Others Foreign Fighters in Libya [accessed 1 January 2021].

#### Other Players - Russia

- Grau, Lester W. and Charles K. Bartles. *The Russian Way of War: Force Structure, Tactics, and Modernization of the Russian Ground Forces*. Fort Leavenworth, KS: Foreign Military Studies Office, 2016.
- Radin, Andrew and Clint Reach. *Russian Views of the International Order*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017.
  - https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1800/RR1826/RAND\_RR1826.pdf [accessed 25 May 2017].
- Thomas, Timothy L. Russia Military Strategy: Impacting 21st Century Reform and Geopolitics. Ft.

  Leavenworth, Kansas: Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO), 2015.

  <a href="https://ia803103.us.archive.org/2/items/Russia\_Military\_Strategy\_Impacting\_21st\_Century\_Reform\_and\_G/Russia\_Military\_Strategy\_Impacting\_21st\_Century\_Reform\_and\_Geopolitics\_Timothy\_L.\_Thomas.pdf">https://ia803103.us.archive.org/2/items/Russia\_Military\_Strategy\_Impacting\_21st\_Century\_Reform\_and\_Geopolitics\_Timothy\_L.\_Thomas.pdf</a> [accessed 29 December 2019].
- Thomas, Timothy L. *Russian Military Thought: Concepts and Elements*. McLean, Virginia: MITRE Corporation [August 2019]. <a href="https://www.mitre.org/sites/default/files/publications/pr-19-1004-russian-military-thought-concepts-elements.pdf">https://www.mitre.org/sites/default/files/publications/pr-19-1004-russian-military-thought-concepts-elements.pdf</a> [accessed 29 December 2019].
- Arkhipov, Ilya, Stepan Kravchenko, and Henry Meyer, "Putin Officials Said to Admit Real Syria Goal Is Far Broader," *Bloomberg* [19 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-10-19/putin-officials-said-to-admit-real-syrian-goals-are-far-broader">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-10-19/putin-officials-said-to-admit-real-syrian-goals-are-far-broader</a> [accessed 20 October 2015].
- Ash, Lucy, "How Russia outfoxes its enemies," *BBC News* [29 January 2015]. <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-31020283">https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-31020283</a> [accessed 11 February 2020].
- Atherton, Kelsey, "Cry 'Mavic' and let slip the drones of irregular war," *C4ISRNet* [2 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/05/02/cry-mavic-and-let-slip-the-drones-of-irregular-war/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/05/02/cry-mavic-and-let-slip-the-drones-of-irregular-war/</a> [accessed 4 May 2018].
- Atherton, Kelsey, "Russia confirms its armed robot tank was in Syria," *C4ISRNet* [7 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/05/07/russia-confirms-its-armed-robot-tank-was-in-syria/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/05/07/russia-confirms-its-armed-robot-tank-was-in-syria/</a> [accessed 9 May 2018].
- Axe, David, "Russia's Secret Weapon of the ISIS War," *The Daily Beast* [30 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/30/russia-s-secret-weapon-of-the-isis-war.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/30/russia-s-secret-weapon-of-the-isis-war.html</a> [accessed 30 March 2016].
- Baumann, Robert F. "Review Essay of Stephen F. Cohen's *War with Russia?* From Putin & Ukraine to Trump & Russiagate," *Military Review*, September-October 2019, 152-163.

  <a href="https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/SO-19/Baumann-Russiagate.pdf">https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/SO-19/Baumann-Russiagate.pdf</a> [accessed 14 November 2019].
- Becker, Markus, Matthias Gebauer, Konstantin von Hammerstein, Christiane Hoffmann, Peter Müller, Ralf Neukirch, René Pfister, Matthias Schepp and Christoph Schult, "Putin vs. Erdogan: NATO Concerned over Possible Russia-Turkey Hostilities," *Speigel Online* [19 February 2016].
- Bērziņš, Jānis, "Russia's New Generation Warfare in Ukraine: Implications for Latvian Defense Policy," National Defence Academy of Latvia Center for Security and Strategic Research, Policy Paper No. 02, April 2014. <a href="https://sldinfo.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/New-Generation-Warfare.pdf">https://sldinfo.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/New-Generation-Warfare.pdf</a> [accessed 12 February 2019].
- Boot, Max, "How a monstrous Putin beat the U.S. in Syria," *Las Angeles Times* [15 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-boot-putin-removes-troops-from-syria-20160316-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-boot-putin-removes-troops-from-syria-20160316-story.html</a> [accessed 20 March 2016].

- Boston, Scott and Dara Massicot, "The Russian Way of Warfare: A Primer," Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2017.
  - https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE200/PE231/RAND\_PE231.pdf [accessed 20 December 2017].
- Bugajski, Janusz, "For Russia, war with the US never ended and likely never will," *The Hill* [3 April 2019]. <a href="https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/437138-for-russia-war-with-the-us-never-ended-and-likely-never-will">https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/437138-for-russia-war-with-the-us-never-ended-and-likely-never-will</a> [accessed 9 April 2019].
- Calamur, Krishnadev, "The Rhetoric Over a Downed Plane", *The Atlantic* [30 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/11/turkey-russia-syria-plane/417957/">http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/11/turkey-russia-syria-plane/417957/</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
  - This explains some of the contemporary issues following the shoot down of the Russian aircraft and how it is affecting relations between Russia and Turkey.
- Carroll, Oliver, "Cracking Down on Russia's Caliphate," Foreign Policy [31 May 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/05/31/cracking-down-on-russias-caliphate-islamic-state/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/05/31/cracking-down-on-russias-caliphate-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 1 June 2016].
- Cenciotti, David, "Updated: Turkey has just shot down a Russian Sukhoi Su-24 near the border with Syria", *The Aviationist* [24 November 2015]. <a href="http://theaviationist.com/2015/11/24/ruaf-su-24-shot-down-by-turkey/">http://theaviationist.com/2015/11/24/ruaf-su-24-shot-down-by-turkey/</a> [accessed 25 November 2015].
- Chivvis, Christopher S. "Understanding Russian "Hybrid Warfare" And What Can Be Done About It," Testimony presented before the House Armed Services Committee on 22 March 2017. RAND Corporation.
- Clarke, Colin. Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, and Emerging Threats, United States House of Representatives Hearing "Jihadist Violence in the Caucasus: Russia Between Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency," 7 November 2017.

  <a href="https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/CT400/CT483/RAND\_CT483.pdf">https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/CT400/CT483/RAND\_CT483.pdf</a>
  [accessed 8 November 2017].
- ★ Conley, Heather A., James Mina, Ruslan Stefanov, and Martin Vladimirov, "The Kremlin Playbook: Understanding Russian Influence in Central and Eastern Europe," Center for Strategic & International Studies [October 2016]. <a href="https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/1601017">https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/1601017</a> Conley KremlinPlaybook Web.pdf [accessed 19 October 2016]. A 90 page document explaining how the Russians are using economic and political influence to "capture" countries in eastern and central Europe. This is useful in understanding the connections of MITNS beyond the Middle East.
  - Daraghi, Brozon, "Here's How The West Is Preparing For War With Russia," *BuzzFeed* [9 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.buzzfeed.com/borzoudaragahi/preparing-for-war-with-russia">https://www.buzzfeed.com/borzoudaragahi/preparing-for-war-with-russia</a> [accessed 14 September 2017].
  - Daraghi, Brozon and Nancy A. Youssef, "Putin Is Using Spy Tactics To Split NATO From The Inside," BuzzFeed [19 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.buzzfeed.com/borzoudaragahi/putin-is-using-spy-tactics-to-split-nato-from-the-inside?utm\_term=.ak8YlgJGN#.kbwlj5GrE">https://www.buzzfeed.com/borzoudaragahi/putin-is-using-spy-tactics-to-split-nato-from-the-inside?utm\_term=.ak8YlgJGN#.kbwlj5GrE</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
  - Dettmer, Jamie, "How to Wage an Information War," *Voice of America News* [18 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/how-to-wage-an-information-war/4033287.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/how-to-wage-an-information-war/4033287.html</a> [accessed 19 September 2017].
- ★ Dougherty, Jill, "How the Media Became One of Putin's Most Powerful Weapons", *The Atlantic* [21 April 2015]. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/04/how-the-media-became-putins-putins-">http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/04/how-the-media-became-putins-pu

- most-powerful-weapon/391062/?google editors picks=true [accessed 25 April 2015].
- Durso, James, "Russia's Use of Armed Contractors in Syria Gives the U.S. Leverage," *Real Clear Defense* [27 April 2018].
  - https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2018/04/27/russias use of armed contractors in syria gives the us leverage 113382.html [accessed 30 April 2018].
- Engel, Richard and Kennett Werner, "U.S. troops who repelled Russian mercenaries prepare for more attacks," *NBC News* [15 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/u-s-troops-who-repelled-russian-mercenaries-prepare-more-attacks-n855271">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/u-s-troops-who-repelled-russian-mercenaries-prepare-more-attacks-n855271</a> [accessed 16 March 2018].
- Fainberg, Sarah and Viktor Eichner, "Russia's Army in Syria: Testing a New Concept of Warfare," The Institute for National Security Studies, Strategic Assessment, Volume 20, No. 2, July 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/adkan20-2ENG\_4-35-46.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/adkan20-2ENG\_4-35-46.pdf</a> [accessed 31 July 2017].
- Fedyk, Nicholas, "Russian "New Generation" Warfare: Theory, Practice, and Lessons for U.S. Strategists," Small Wars Journal [4 May 2017]. http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/russian-%E2%80%9Cnew-generation%E2%80%9D-warfare-theory-practice-and-lessons-for-us-strategists [accessed 15 May 2017].
  - This is a good summary of Russian actions and perspective on warfare. The important quotes include: Indeed, there is no artificial binary between war and peace, but simply war at all times, in all places, and with all resources. (2)
    - It is not a set campaign; it is a way of life. (5)
- Finkel, Evgeny. "The Conflict in the Donbas between Gray and Black: The Importance of Perspective," Report to DHS S&T Office of University Programs and DoD Strategic Multilayer Assessment Branch. College Park, MD: START, December 2016.
  - Information on the fighting happening in Ukraine and how the Gray Zone exists there.
- Fox, Amos C. and Andrew J. Rossow, "Making Sense of Russian Hybrid Warfare: A Brief Assessment of the Russo-Ukrainian War," The Institute of Land Warfare Papers, Number 112, March 2017. <a href="https://www.ausa.org/sites/default/files/publications/LWP-112-Making-Sense-of-Russian-Hybrid-Warfare-A-Brief-Assessment-of-the-Russo-Ukrainian-War.pdf">https://www.ausa.org/sites/default/files/publications/LWP-112-Making-Sense-of-Russian-Hybrid-Warfare-A-Brief-Assessment-of-the-Russo-Ukrainian-War.pdf</a> [accessed 17 May 2017].
- Fox, Tyler, "Eurasianism, History, and the Narrative Space: Why Russian Information Operations are so Effective," *Modern War Institute at West Point* [12 March 2018]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/eurasianism-history-narrative-space-russian-information-operations-effective/">https://mwi.usma.edu/eurasianism-history-narrative-space-russian-information-operations-effective/</a> [accessed 20 March 2018].
- Freedman, Lawrence, "Ukraine and the Art of Exhaustion," War on the Rocks [11 August 2015]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/08/ukraine-and-the-art-of-exhaustion/">http://warontherocks.com/2015/08/ukraine-and-the-art-of-exhaustion/</a> [accessed 26 October 2015].
- Galeotti, Mark, "I'm Sorry for Creating the 'Gerasimov Doctrine'," Foreign Policy [5 March 2018]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/05/im-sorry-for-creating-the-gerasimov-doctrine/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/05/im-sorry-for-creating-the-gerasimov-doctrine/</a> [accessed 11 March 2018].
- Gerasimov, Valery, "The Value of Science Is in the Foresight: New Challenges Demand Rethinking the Forms and Methods of Carrying out Combat Operations," *Military Review*, January-February 2016, 23-29. Originally published in *Military-Industrial Kurier*, 27 February 2013. Translated from Russian 21 June 2014 by Robert Coalson, editor, Central News, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. <a href="https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/MilitaryReview\_20160228\_art008.pdf">https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/MilitaryReview\_20160228\_art008.pdf</a> [accessed 11 February 2019].
- Gerasimov, Valery, "Remarks by Chief of General Staff of the Russian Federation General of the Army

- Valery Gerasimov at the Russian Defence Ministry's board session (November 7, 2017)," *Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation* [11 November 2017].
- http://eng.mil.ru/en/news\_page/country/more.htm?id=12149743@egNews [accessed 26 November 2017].
- Gerasimov, Valery with Nielsen, Anders Puck translator, "General Gerasimov describes state of Russia's armed forces," *Romeo Squared* translation of remarks by General Valery Gerasimov [13 November 2017]. <a href="https://romeosquared.eu/2017/11/13/general-gerasimov-describes-state-of-russias-armed-forces">https://romeosquared.eu/2017/11/13/general-gerasimov-describes-state-of-russias-armed-forces</a>/ [accessed 26 November 2017].
- Gorenburg, Dmitry, "Russian Foreign Policy Narratives," George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Security Insights No. 42 [November 2019].

  <a href="https://www.marshallcenter.org/mcpublicweb/mcdocs/files/College/F\_Publications/secInsights/security\_insights\_42.pdf">https://www.marshallcenter.org/mcpublicweb/mcdocs/files/College/F\_Publications/secInsights/security\_insights\_42.pdf</a> [accessed 19 November 2019].
- ★ Greenberg, Andy, "The Untold Story of NotPetya, the Most Devastating Cyberattack in History," Wired [22 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.wired.com/story/notpetya-cyberattack-ukraine-russia-code-crashed-the-world/">https://www.wired.com/story/notpetya-cyberattack-ukraine-russia-code-crashed-the-world/</a> [accessed 26 August 2018].
  - This is really a great article. Thanks Howard for sharing. There is so much that we do not even know or agree about when it comes to cyber crimes and cyber attacks. Is it warfare? When does it become war? Can one retaliate with physical violence when confronted by cyber violence? This is truly a staggering set of questions that we must address or unintended consequences could be devastating.
  - Harris, Shane and Nancy A. Youssef, "U.S. Spies Root for an ISIS-Russia War", *The Daily Beast* [9 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/09/u-s-spies-root-for-an-isis-russia-war.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/11/09/u-s-spies-root-for-an-isis-russia-war.html</a> [accessed 10 November 2015].
  - Ioffe, Julia, "How Russians Got Used to Terrorism," *The Atlantic* [4 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/04/russia-st-petersburg-terrorism/521796/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/04/russia-st-petersburg-terrorism/521796/</a> [accessed 5 April 2017].
- ★ Ioffe, Julia, "What Putin Really Wants," *Defense One* [17 December 2017].

  <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/12/what-putin-really-wants/144626/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/12/what-putin-really-wants/144626/</a> [accessed 19 December 2017].
  - An excellent read that explains the contingent and fragile nature of the Putin regime.
  - Isachenkov, Vladimir, "Russian military shows drones it says came from Syria raid," *Defense News* [11 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/01/11/russian-military-shows-drones-it-says-came-from-syria-raid/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/01/11/russian-military-shows-drones-it-says-came-from-syria-raid/</a> [accessed 12 January 2018].
  - Jonsson, Oscar, "Gen. McChrystal is right in fact, Russian leaders think they already are at war," Foreign Policy [30 January 2017]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/30/gen-mcchrystal-is-right-in-fact-russian-leaders-think-they-already-are-at-war/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/30/gen-mcchrystal-is-right-in-fact-russian-leaders-think-they-already-are-at-war/</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
  - Kenar, Ceren and Ragip Soylu, "Why Are Russian Engineers Working at an Islamic State-Controlled Gas Plant in Syria?" *Foreign Policy* [9 February 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/09/why-are-russian-engineers-working-at-an-islamic-state-controlled-gas-plant-in-syria/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/09/why-are-russian-engineers-working-at-an-islamic-state-controlled-gas-plant-in-syria/</a> [accessed 10 February 2016].
  - Kofman, Michael, "Russian Hybrid Warfare and Other Dark Arts," War on the Rocks [11 March 2016]. http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/russian-hybrid-warfare-and-other-dark-arts/ [accessed 15 August 2016].
    - This article argues that there is no Russian hybrid warfare. In fact, what we are observing is standard conventional warfare and a confused observer.
  - Kofman, Michael, "Russian Performance in the Russo-Georgian War Revisited," War on the Rocks [11

- March 2016]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/russian-performance-in-the-russo-georgian-war-revisited/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/russian-performance-in-the-russo-georgian-war-revisited/</a> [accessed 5 September 2018].
- Kramer, Andrew E. "Russian General Pitches 'Information' Operations as a Form of War," *The New York Times* [2 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/02/world/europe/russia-hybrid-war-gerasimov.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/02/world/europe/russia-hybrid-war-gerasimov.html</a> [accessed 3 March 2019].
- Kramer, Franklin D. and Lauren M. Speranza, "Meeting the Russian Hybrid Challenge: A Comprehensive Strategic Framework," *Atlantic Council: Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security* [May 2017].
- Landay, Jonathan and Warren Strobel, "U.S. sees bearable costs, key goals met for Russia in Syria so far", Reuters [28 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-russia-syria-idUSKBNOUB0BA20151228">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-russia-syria-idUSKBNOUB0BA20151228</a> [accessed 28 December 2015].
  - In the debate between direct and indirect intervention in the Syrian civil war this article provides support for the direct intervention approach and opposes comments made by President Obama in November 2015 about the eventual failure of the Russian venture into Syria.
- Lanoszka, Alexander. 2016. "Russian Hybrid Warfare and Extended Deterrence in Eastern Europe," *International Affairs*, 92:1, 175–195.
- Luxmoore, Matthew, "Aboard Russia's Propaganda Train Of 'Syrian War Trophies'," *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty* [28 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-propaganda-train-syrian-war-trophies-/29796480.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-propaganda-train-syrian-war-trophies-/29796480.html</a> [accessed 3 March 2019].
- MacFarquhar, Neil, "Russia Says Bomb Downed Plane in Egypt and Intensifies Attacks on ISIS", *New York Times* [17 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/18/world/europe/russia-plane-crash-bomb.html?r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/18/world/europe/russia-plane-crash-bomb.html?r=0</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
- Malsin, Jared, "Who Are the Syrian Turkmen Rebels?" *Time* [24 November 2015]. <a href="http://time.com/4125881/syrian-turkmen-rebels-downed-russian-warplane/">http://time.com/4125881/syrian-turkmen-rebels-downed-russian-warplane/</a> [accessed 25 November 2015].
- Mastriano, Douglas, project leader. *Project 1721: A U.S. Army War College Assessment on Russian Strategy in Eastern Europe and How to Leverage Landpower to Maintain the Peace*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press, March 2017. <a href="http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?publD=1342">http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?publD=1342</a> [accessed 6 April 2017].
  - Executive Summary: Since its occupation of Crimea, Russia has adopted an aggressive and often belligerent approach to the nations on its borders. The on-going war against Ukraine and its occupation of large portions of Georgian territory demonstrates this increasingly hostile foreign policy. However, far more dangerous to the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is the Kremlin's use of a strategy of ambiguity. In this, Moscow keeps hostilities at a low boil, leveraging a Russian diaspora, a web of complex information-campaign-trolls, to stir ethnic unrest that has the potential to destroy NATO and end the unparalleled post-World War II peace experienced in Europe. Yet, there are actions that the United States and NATO can take to prevent Russian aggression from turning into a war and Project 1721 provides the answers to this complex and dangerous security dilemma.
- Matisek, Jahara, "From Little Green Men to Little Blue Helmets: Imagining the Future of Russian Aggression—and What to Do About It," *Modern Warfare Institute* [2 November 2021]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/from-little-green-men-to-little-blue-helmets-imagining-the-future-of-russian-aggression-and-what-to-do-about-it/">https://mwi.usma.edu/from-little-green-men-to-little-blue-helmets-imagining-the-future-of-russian-aggression-and-what-to-do-about-it/</a> [accessed 3 November 2021].
  - The article presents an interesting variation of the little green men approach. I recommend reading the introduction of *Stand Out of Our Light: Freedom and Resistance in the Attention Economy* (https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/3F8D7BA2C0FE3A7126A4D9B73A89415D/9781108429092AR.pdf/Stand out of our Light .pdf?event-type=FTLA [accessed 3 November 2021].) by James Williams to appreciate how easy it might be to

pull off such a proposed scenario. The idea of the attention economy is that this is the economy about which

- humans will compete in this century. My extrapolation of the thesis and not the author's necessarily.
- ★ Meakins, Joss, "The Other Side of the COIN: The Russians in Chechnya," *Small Wars Journal* [13 January 2017]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-other-side-of-the-coin-the-russians-in-chechnya">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-other-side-of-the-coin-the-russians-in-chechnya</a> [accessed 22 February 2017].
  - This article calls into question notions about what makes a successful counter-insurgency campaign. The author is up front with the attitude that this would not work for the US, but it should cause thinkers to question notions about what brings stability.
  - Mehta, Aaron, "How the US has 'learned a lot' about Russian capabilities in Syria," *Defense News* [27 August 2018]. https://www.defensenews.com/air/2018/08/27/how-the-us-has-learned-a-lot-about-russian-capabilities-in-syria/ [accessed 28 August 2018].
  - Miller, James, "Putin's Attack Helicopters and Mercenaries Are Winning the War for Assad," *Foreign Policy* [30 March 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/30/putins-attack-helicopters-and-mercenaries-are-winning-the-war-for-assad/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/30/putins-attack-helicopters-and-mercenaries-are-winning-the-war-for-assad/</a> [accessed 31 March 2016].
  - Majumdar, Dave, "The Rise of Russia's Military," *The National Interest* [19 June 2018]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-rise-russias-military-26339?page=show">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-rise-russias-military-26339?page=show</a> [accessed 20 June 2018].
  - Naylor, Hugh and Andrew Roth, "NATO faces new Mideast crisis after downing of Russian jet by Turkey", Wahington Post [24 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/turkey-downs-russian-military-aircraft-near-syrias-border/2015/11/24/9e8e0c42-9288-11e5-8aa0-5d0946560a97\_story.html?hpid=hp\_rhp-top-table-main\_turkey-350am%3Ahomepage%2Fstory [accessed 25 November 2015].
  - Nemtsova, Anna, "In Nagorno-Karabakh, a Bloody New War With Putin on Both Sides," *The Daily Beast* [4 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/04/in-nagorno-karabakh-a-bloody-new-war-with-putin-on-both-sides.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/04/in-nagorno-karabakh-a-bloody-new-war-with-putin-on-both-sides.html</a> [accessed 5 April 2016].
  - Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Israeli Satellite Imagery Shows Russian Nuclear-Capable Missiles in Syria," *Defense News* [6 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/articles/israeli-satellite-imagary-shows-russian-nuclear-capable-missiles-in-syria">http://www.defensenews.com/articles/israeli-satellite-imagary-shows-russian-nuclear-capable-missiles-in-syria</a> [accessed 9 January 2017].
    - The Russians have deployed SS-26 rockets to Syria. These are nuclear capable intermediate range missiles.
- ★ Perry, Bret, "Non-Linear Warfare in Ukraine: The Critical Role of Information Operations and Special Operations," Small Wars Journal [14 August 2015]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/non-linear-warfare-in-ukraine-the-critical-role-of-information-operations-and-special-opera">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/non-linear-warfare-in-ukraine-the-critical-role-of-information-operations-and-special-opera</a> [accessed 5 January 2017].
  - An excellent article explaining the development of Russian thought regarding responses to dynamics in the current operational environment and how they have moved toward a form of MITNS. The summary of Russian "non-linear warfare" is crucial to the discussion on other applications of narrative outside the Middle East.
  - Peterson, Nolan, "Exclusive Front-Line Report: Modern Trench Warfare in Eastern Ukraine," *Coffee or Die* [26 October 2021]. <a href="https://coffeeordie.com/ukraine-front-line/">https://coffeeordie.com/ukraine-front-line/</a> [accessed 31 October 2021]. This is long (about 6000 words). It is also fascinating. The author gives excellent insight into what is happening in Ukraine. There isn't any background, so, if you don't know why people are fighting in the Donbas or even where the Donbas is, you will need to do some Wikipedia background reading.
  - Renz, Bettina and Hanna Smith, editors, "After 'hybrid warfare', what next? Understanding and responding to contemporary Russia," Finland Prime Minister's Office, 27 October 2016. <a href="http://tietokayttoon.fi/documents/10616/0/Understanding+and+responding+to+contemporary+Russia/49bdb37f-11da-4b4a-8b0d-0e297af39abd?version=1.0">http://tietokayttoon.fi/documents/10616/0/Understanding+and+responding+to+contemporary+Russia/49bdb37f-11da-4b4a-8b0d-0e297af39abd?version=1.0</a> [accessed 16 November 2016].
    - This reports argues for a holistic look at the Russian threat and a more nuanced understanding of the threat

- posed by Russia than labeling their behavior "hybrid warfare." Two edited pieces provide arguments in support of this effort. One discusses the notion of moral forces in war and the second addresses Russian use of soft power.
- Ripley, Tim, "Russia sets up Palmyra base," *Janes Defence Weekly* [10 May 2016]. http://www.janes.com/article/60102/russia-sets-up-palmyra-base [accessed 10 May 2016].
- Seely, Bob, "A Definition of Contemporary Russian Conflict: How Does the Kremlin Wage War?" Russia and Eurasia Studies Centre Research Paper No. 15 (2018), The Henry Jackson Society [June 2018]. <a href="http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/A-Definition-of-Contemporary-Russian-Conflict.pdf">http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/A-Definition-of-Contemporary-Russian-Conflict.pdf</a> [accessed 7 June 2018].
- Simes, Dimitri K. "Russia and America: Destined for Conflict?" *The National Interest* [26 June 2016]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/russia-america-destined-conflict-16726?page=show">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/russia-america-destined-conflict-16726?page=show</a> [accessed 4 October 2016].
  - Russia and America are not destined to be opponents. In fact, the decision of opposition has typically been a result of ignorant US action and Russia trying to defend their space.
- Smith, Todd, "The Greatest Threat:' Russian buildup puts US, NATO troops on edge," *Army* Times [18 September 2017], 24-27.
- Snegovaya, Maria, "Putin's Information Warfare in Ukraine: Soviet Origins of Russia's Hybrid Warfare," Institute for the Study of War Russia Report 1, September 2015.
  - http://understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Russian%20Report%201%20Putin%27s%20Information%20Warfare%20in%20Ukraine-
  - %20Soviet%20Origins%20of%20Russias%20Hybrid%20Warfare.pdf [accessed 14October 2016].
  - This paper explains the Russian concept of information warfare called Reflexive Control using actions in Ukraine as an example. This is important in tying MITNS to a broader global application.
- Snow, Shawn, "US troops have been squaring off with Russian contractors in Syria raising worries of wider conflict," *Military Times* [6 February 2020].
  - https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/02/06/us-troops-have-been-squaring-off-with-russian-contractors-in-syria-raising-worries-of-wider-conflict/ [accessed 7 February 2020].
- Snyder, Timothy, "Vladimir Putin's Hall of Mirrors: The Russian president sees the world through the lens of maskirovka and provokatsiia." The Atlantic [21 February 2022]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/02/putin-ukraine-invasion-maskirovka-provokatsiia/622874/">https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/02/putin-ukraine-invasion-maskirovka-provokatsiia/622874/</a> [accessed 21 February 2022].
  - The article includes some great comments on Russian narrative war as it progressed with respect to Ukraine.
  - Sparks, John, "Revealed: Russia's 'Secret Syria Mercenaries'," *Sky News* [10 August 2016]. <a href="http://news.sky.com/story/revealed-russias-secret-syria-mercenaries-10529248">http://news.sky.com/story/revealed-russias-secret-syria-mercenaries-10529248</a> [accessed 11 August 2016].
    - Those interviewed for this article state that they fought as shock troops in the recapture of Palmyra from ISIS.
  - Tsvetkova, Maria, "Exclusive: Russia, despite draw down, shipping more to Syria than removing," Reuters [30 March 2016]. http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-russia-supplies-idUSKCNOWWODJ [accessed 30 March 2016].
  - Tsvetkova, Maria and Anton Zverev, "Ghost soldiers: the Russians secretly dying for the Kremlin in Syria," *Reuters* [3 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-russia-insight-idUSKBN12YOM6">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-russia-insight-idUSKBN12YOM6</a> [accessed 4 November 2016].
    - Are Russian soldiers fighting with the Syrian military? The answer seems to be yes, but maybe they are contractors being hired to deliver the military force.
  - Tucker, Patrick, "Information Warfare Looms Larger in Russia's New Security Strategy," Defense One [13]

July 2021]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/technology/2021/07/information-warfare-looms-larger-russias-new-security-strategy/183717/">https://www.defenseone.com/technology/2021/07/information-warfare-looms-larger-russias-new-security-strategy/183717/</a> [accessed 14 July 2021].

This is a simple look into Russian thought, story, and narrative. It is in the Russian narrative that it is beset and surrounded by enemies. This was well articulated by George Kennan way back in the 1940s. The Vladimir Putin story has expanded what surrounded means to include international organizations and according to this article Twitter and the internet. My point is that this reimagining of the Russian story is still quite consistent with the Russian narrative that goes back for decades and probably centuries.

- U.S. Government. 2015. Russian Battlefield Development Plan (U): Tactics: Brigade and Below (Draft). Department of the Army, United States National Ground Intelligence Center.
- Weiss, Michael, Holger Roonemaa, Mattias Carlsson, Liliana Botnariuc, and Pierre Vaux, "The Fallen Mercenaries in Russia's Dark Army: Former Ukrainian intelligence officers spent seven years compiling a database of Russia's notorious mercenaries. We found the parents, siblings and widows of those killed in battle," New Lines Mag [19 December 2021]. <a href="https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/the-fallen-mercenaries-in-russias-dark-army/">https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/the-fallen-mercenaries-in-russias-dark-army/</a> [accessed 24 February 2022].
  - Excellent reporting of members of the Wagner Group, their families and the reasons for people joining the group.
  - Wesolowsky, Tony and Mark Krutov azen, "Activist Says Russia Using 'Hybrid Warfare' In Syria", *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty* [11 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.rferl.org/content/russia-syria-cybersleuth-hybrid-warfare/27358490.html">http://www.rferl.org/content/russia-syria-cybersleuth-hybrid-warfare/27358490.html</a> [accessed 13 November 2015].
  - Zakem, Vera, Paul Saunders, and Daniel Antoun, "Mobilizing Compatriots: Russia's Strategy, Tactics, and Influence in the Former Soviet Union," CNA Analysis and Solutions Occasional Paper, November 2015. <a href="https://www.cna.org/CNA\_files/PDF/DOP-2015-U-011689-1Rev.pdf">https://www.cna.org/CNA\_files/PDF/DOP-2015-U-011689-1Rev.pdf</a> [accessed 2 March 2017]. How the Russian government seems to be using ethnic Russians outside Russia to promote and expand Russian influence. This includes an interesting discussion on Russian information and cyber techniques.

## Other Players – Sahel

- Babb, Carla, "'We Are Not Winning' Counterterror War in Sahel, US Military Leader in Africa Says," Voice of America News [28 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/we-are-not-winning-counterterror-war-in-sahel-us-military-leader-in-africa-says-/4808988.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/we-are-not-winning-counterterror-war-in-sahel-us-military-leader-in-africa-says-/4808988.html</a> [accessed 4 March 2019].
- Brinton, Chad K. "Clausewitz in the Sahel: An Analysis of Operation Serval through the Lens of On War," *FAO Journal* [6 January 2021].
  - C:\Users\Steed\AppData\Local\Microsoft\Windows\INetCache\Content.Outlook\IK3WOA80\email. mht [accessed 8 January 2021].
- Burke, Jason, "US special forces deaths in Niger lift veil on shadow war against Islamists in Sahel," *The Guardian* [15 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/15/sahel-niger-us-special-forces-islamists">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/15/sahel-niger-us-special-forces-islamists</a> [accessed 16 October 2017].
- Castellanos, Miguel, "Countering lies with truth: Battling terrorist propaganda in East Africa," *Military Times* [8 November 2019].

  <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/opinion/commentary/2019/11/08/countering-lies-with-truth-battling-terrorist-propaganda-in-east-africa/">https://www.militarytimes.com/opinion/commentary/2019/11/08/countering-lies-with-truth-battling-terrorist-propaganda-in-east-africa/</a> [accessed 9 November 2019].
- ★ Davies, Firle and Alastair Leithead, "The war in the desert: Why the Sahara is terror's new front line," BBC News [21 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/war\_in\_the\_desert">https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/war\_in\_the\_desert</a> [accessed 22 June 2018].
  - A great single-source primer on problems in the Sahel. Two of my recently graduated students are from Nigeria and Mali. This article provides excellent insight into the struggles in those countries and the region.
  - Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed, Jacob Zenn, Sarah Sheafer, and Sandro Bejdic, "Evolving Terror: The Development of Jihadist Operations Targeting Western Interests in Africa," Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, February 2018.

    <a href="http://www.defenddemocracy.org/content/uploads/documents/REPORTS">http://www.defenddemocracy.org/content/uploads/documents/REPORTS</a> EvolvingTerror.pdf [accessed 27 February 2018].
  - Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed, "Spike in African Terrorism Highlights the Importance of Jihadist Innovation," War on the Rocks [26 February 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/spike-african-terrorism-highlights-importance-jihadist-innovation/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/spike-african-terrorism-highlights-importance-jihadist-innovation/</a> [accessed 27 February 2018].
  - Hassan, Hamdy, "The Making of a Mobile Caliphate State in the African Sahel," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity*, Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2019. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-0242-8-158-1">https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-0242-8-158-1</a> or <a href="https://www.academia.edu/40203832/The Making of a Mobile Caliphate State in the African Sahel">https://www.academia.edu/40203832/The Making of a Mobile Caliphate State in the African Sahel</a> [accessed 1 January 2021].
  - Morgan, Wesley, "Behind the secret U.S. war in Africa," *Politico* [2 July 2018]. https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/02/secret-war-africa-pentagon-664005 [accessed 3 July 2018].
  - Parkinson, Joe and Mackenzie Knowles-Coursin, "'A Nest of Spies': Niger's Deserts Become Front Line of Fight Against Jihadism," *The Wall Street Journal* [15 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.wsj.com/articles/anest-of-spies-how-poverty-stricken-niger-is-becoming-a-security-hub-for-the-west-1537176601">https://www.wsj.com/articles/anest-of-spies-how-poverty-stricken-niger-is-becoming-a-security-hub-for-the-west-1537176601</a> [accessed 17 October 2018].
  - Reuters, "How a Herdsman Became the Jihadist Who Killed US Soldiers in Niger," *Voice of America News* [12 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/niger-herdsman-jihadist-us-soldiers/4111534.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/niger-herdsman-jihadist-us-soldiers/4111534.html</a> [accessed 15 November 2017].
  - Weis, Caleb, "Analysis: Jihadist attacks on the rise in northern Burkina Faso," Long War Journal [2

October 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/10/analysis-jihadist-attacks-on-the-rise-in-northern-burkina-faso.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/10/analysis-jihadist-attacks-on-the-rise-in-northern-burkina-faso.php</a> [accessed 3 October 2017].

#### Other Players – Saudi Arabia

- Agence France-Presse, "Saudi threatens nations who back Yemen probe," *al-Monitor* [27 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/09/yemen-conflict-saudi-un-rights-probe.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/09/yemen-conflict-saudi-un-rights-probe.html</a> [accessed 27 September 2017].
- al-Arabiya, "1979, the year that changed arts and culture in Saudi Arabia," *al-Arabiya English* [27 October 2017]. <a href="http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/features/2017/10/27/1979-the-year-that-changed-arts-and-culture-in-Saudi-Arabia.html">http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/features/2017/10/27/1979-the-year-that-changed-arts-and-culture-in-Saudi-Arabia.html</a> [accessed 28 October 2017].
- Al Jazeera, "'Tainted' Saudi prince ruins Trump's Middle East plans: analysts," *Al Jazeera* [25 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/saudi-prince-ruins-trump-middle-east-plans-analysts-181025061715223.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/saudi-prince-ruins-trump-middle-east-plans-analysts-181025061715223.html</a> [accessed 26 October 2018].
- Almosawa, Shuaib and Ben Hubbard, "I A Roar at a Funeral, and Yemen's War Is Altered," *The New York Times* [9 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/10/world/middleeast/yemen-saudi-arabia-military.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/10/world/middleeast/yemen-saudi-arabia-military.html</a> [accessed 11 October 2016].
  - The article describes the aftermath of an alleged Saudi airstrike against a funeral. The insinuation here is that this might be an earthquake in the narrative space.
- Associated Press, "Foreign secretary: UK helping Saudi-led Yemen campaign", *Military Times* [12 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/12/foreign-secretary-uk-helping-saudi-led-yemen-campaign/78682634/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/12/foreign-secretary-uk-helping-saudi-led-yemen-campaign/78682634/</a> [accessed 13 January 2016].
- Atherton, Kelsey D. "Attacks in Saudi Arabia expose a battle for asymmetry," *C4ISRNet* [17 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2019/09/17/saudi-arabia-cannot-spend-its-way-out-of-asymmetry/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2019/09/17/saudi-arabia-cannot-spend-its-way-out-of-asymmetry/</a> [accessed 18 September 2019].
- Barmin, Yury, "Can Mohammed bin Salman break the Saudi-Wahhabi pact?" *Al Jazeera* [7 January 2018]. <a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/mohammed-bin-salman-break-saudi-wahhabi-pact-180107091158729.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/mohammed-bin-salman-break-saudi-wahhabi-pact-180107091158729.html</a> [accessed 8 January 2018].
- Bendix, Aria, "U.S. Approves \$1.4 Billion Military Sale to Saudi Arabia," *The Atlantic* [6 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2017/06/us-approves-14-billion-sale-to-saudi-arabia/529257/">https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2017/06/us-approves-14-billion-sale-to-saudi-arabia/529257/</a> [accessed 7 June 2017].
  - The article addresses controversy over the \$110 billion-dollar figure announced in May for the sale of US equipment and training to KSA. It is questionable how real that deal is.
- Bhadrakumar, M.K. "China debunks theory Saudi Arabia wants regional war," *Asia Times* [18 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/china-debunks-theory-saudi-arabia-wants-regional-war/">http://www.atimes.com/article/china-debunks-theory-saudi-arabia-wants-regional-war/</a> [accessed 20 November 2017].
- Bhadrakumar, M.K. "Putin prefers Aramco to Trump's sword dance," *Asia Times* [16 February 2018]. www.atimes.com/article/putin-prefers-aramco-trumps-sword-dance/ [accessed 16 February 2018].
- Bowen, Andrew, "28 Pages, Zero Proof of Anything," *Foreign Policy* [22 July 2016]. http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/22/28-pages-zero-proof-of-anything-saudi-arabia-9-11-al-qaeda-financing/ [accessed 25 July 2016].
- Brahimi, Alia, "Did Mohammed bin Salman Just Give Jihadis the World's Greatest Terrorist Recruiting Tool?" Foreign Policy [7 August 2019]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/08/07/did-mohammed-bin-salman-just-give-jihadis-the-worlds-greatest-terrorist-recruiting-tool-usa-troops-saudi-arabia-osama-bin-laden/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/08/07/did-mohammed-bin-salman-just-give-jihadis-the-worlds-greatest-terrorist-recruiting-tool-usa-troops-saudi-arabia-osama-bin-laden/</a> [accessed 12 August 2019].
- Carey, Glen, "Saudi Arabia to Overhaul Military in Plan for Life After Oil," *Bloomberg* [25 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-04-25/saudi-prince-seeks-to-bolster-military-industry-to-meet-demand">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-04-25/saudi-prince-seeks-to-bolster-military-industry-to-meet-demand</a> [accessed 26 April 2016].

- Carey, Glen and Zaid Sabah, "Saudi King Replaces Military Commanders as Yemen War Lingers On," *Bloomberg* [26 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-02-26/saudi-king-replaces-military-commanders-as-yemen-war-lingers-on">https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-02-26/saudi-king-replaces-military-commanders-as-yemen-war-lingers-on</a> [accessed 27 February 2018].
- Dettmer, Jamie, "Is a Saudi-Iran Thaw Possible?" *Voice of America News* [10 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/saudi-arabia-iran-detente/4022590.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/saudi-arabia-iran-detente/4022590.html</a> [accessed 11 September 2017].
- Deutsche Welle, "Saudi Arabia seeks to ratchet up pressure against Iran," *Deutsche Welle* [19 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/saudi-arabia-seeks-to-ratchet-up-pressure-against-iran/a-41443390">http://www.dw.com/en/saudi-arabia-seeks-to-ratchet-up-pressure-against-iran/a-41443390</a> [accessed 20 November 2017].
- ★ Filkins, Dexter, "A Saudi Prince's Quest to Remake the Middle East," *The New Yorker* [9 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/04/09/a-saudi-princes-quest-to-remake-the-middle-east">https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/04/09/a-saudi-princes-quest-to-remake-the-middle-east</a> [accessed 3 April 2018].
  - Dexter Filkins has written some excellent material on the Middle East. I recommend reading his piece in connection with the article from Jeffrey Goldberg as they present different pictures of the same subject. As is usual, the truth is probably best derived as a combination of both articles. It is certain that both writers provide excellent details.
  - Frantzman, Seth J. "Analysis: Can Saudi Arabia reduce Iranian influence in Iraq?" *The Jerusalem Post* [25 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Iran-News/Analysis-Can-Saudi-Arabia-reduce-Iranian-influence-in-Iraq-503369">http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Iran-News/Analysis-Can-Saudi-Arabia-reduce-Iranian-influence-in-Iraq-503369</a> [accessed 25 August 2017].
- ★ Friedman, Uri, "There's Far More to the Saudi-Iran Feud Than Sunnis-Vs.-Shia", *Defense One* 7 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/01/theres-far-more-saudi-iran-feud-sunnis-vs-shia/124944/?oref=d-river">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/01/theres-far-more-saudi-iran-feud-sunnis-vs-shia/124944/?oref=d-river</a> [accessed 8 January 2016].
  - The best part of the article is the direct interview with Frederic Wehrey. In this the interviewee does a very impressive job of communicating the complexities of Middle East power politics.
  - Gambrell, Jon, "Videos raise questions over Saudi missile intercept claims," *Defense News* [26 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/03/26/videos-raise-questions-over-saudi-missile-intercept-claims/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/03/26/videos-raise-questions-over-saudi-missile-intercept-claims/</a> [accessed 27 March 2018].
- ★ Goldberg, Jeffrey, "Saudi Crown Prince: Iran's Supreme Leader 'Makes Hitler Look Good'," *The Atlantic* [2 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/04/mohammed-bin-salman-iran-israel/557036/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/04/mohammed-bin-salman-iran-israel/557036/</a> [accessed 3 April 2018].
  - Jeffrey Goldberg has done some of the best interviews of major political leaders in the last several years. This is simply the latest such interview. One can understand much of the Saudi perspective of the Middle East a, the world, and Islam's relationship with the rest of the world. The article is about 10 pages or so. It is worth reading to appreciate the full discussion.
  - Gutowski, Alexandra, "Saudi-led coalition turns the tide in Yemen conflict," *Long War Journal* [10 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/01/saudi-led-coalition-turns-the-tide-in-yemen-conflict.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/01/saudi-led-coalition-turns-the-tide-in-yemen-conflict.php</a> [accessed 11 January 2018].
  - Hannah, John, "Saudi Arabia Can Win Islam's War of Ideas," Foreign Policy [15 March 2018]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/15/saudi-arabia-can-win-islams-war-of-ideas/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/15/saudi-arabia-can-win-islams-war-of-ideas/</a> [accessed 19 March 2018].
  - Harris, Shane, "Did the Saudis Start This Mideast Crisis on Purpose?", *The Daily Beast* [4 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/04/did-the-saudis-start-this-mideast-crisis-on-purpose.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/04/did-the-saudis-start-this-mideast-crisis-on-purpose.html</a> [accessed 5 January 2016].
  - Hubbard, Ben, "ISIS Turns Saudis Against the Kingdom, and Families Against Their Own," *New York Times* [31 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/01/world/middleeast/isis-saudi-arabia-wahhabism.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/01/world/middleeast/isis-saudi-arabia-wahhabism.html</a>? <a href="red">r=0</a> [accessed 1 April 2016].

- Hubbard, Ben, "Saudi Arabia, Blamed for Spawning Jihadists, Is Again Their Target," *The New York Times* [6 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/07/world/middleeast/saudi-arabia-isis-al-qaeda-jihadists.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/07/world/middleeast/saudi-arabia-isis-al-qaeda-jihadists.html</a> [accessed 7 July 2016].
  - Good reference to a survey on Saudi perceptions of ISIS conducted in 2015.
- Johnson, Henry, "This Wikileaks Cable Explains Why the Death of One Cleric Has the Mideast On Edge", Foreign Policy [4 January 2016]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/04/this-wikileaks-cable-explains-why-the-death-of-one-cleric-has-the-mideast-on-edge/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/04/this-wikileaks-cable-explains-why-the-death-of-one-cleric-has-the-mideast-on-edge/</a> [accessed 4 January 2016].
  - This article is not what the title purports it to be. There is information from a 2008 State Department cable that discusses the gist of a meeting with the cleric, but nothing of real substance for why he was executed other than the fact that he was trying to pit the US against Sunnis.
- Lewis, Jeffrey, "Patriot Missiles Are Made in America and Fail Everywhere," Foreign Policy [28 March 2018]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/28/patriot-missiles-are-made-in-america-and-fail-everywhere/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/28/patriot-missiles-are-made-in-america-and-fail-everywhere/</a> [accessed 30 March 2018].
- Lynch, Colum, "U.N. Chief Says Saudi Air War Taking Heavy Toll on Yemeni Children," *Foreign Policy* [2 August 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/02/u-n-chief-says-saudi-air-war-taking-heavy-toll-on-yemeni-children/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/02/u-n-chief-says-saudi-air-war-taking-heavy-toll-on-yemeni-children/</a> [accessed 4 August 2016].
- Malley, Robert, "The Middle East Is Nearing an Explosion," *Defense One* [9 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/11/middle-east-nearing-explosion/142421/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/11/middle-east-nearing-explosion/142421/</a> [accessed 10 November 2017].
- Mamouri, Ali, "Saudi Arabia looks to expand its footprint in Iraq," *al-Monitor* [20 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/iraq-saudi-basra-najaf.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/iraq-saudi-basra-najaf.html</a> [accessed 26 March 2018].
- McDowall, Angus, "Anger grows in Saudi Arabia's Shi'ite areas after executions", *Reuters* [6 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-security-shi-ite-idUSKBN0UK24J20160106">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-security-shi-ite-idUSKBN0UK24J20160106</a> [accessed 7 January 2016].
  - Shia anger inside Saudi Arabia.
- McDowall, Angus, Ahmed Tolba, and Yara Bayoumy, "Islamic State threatens to destroy Saudi prisons after executions", *Reuters* [6 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-security-idUSKBNOUK0V520160106">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-security-idUSKBNOUK0V520160106</a> [accessed 6 January 2016].
  - Will ISIS successfully make the prison breaks in Saudi Arabia?
- Mehta, Aaron, "Revealed: Trump's \$110 billion weapons list for the Saudis," *Defense News* [8 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/articles/revealed-trumps-110-billion-weapons-list-for-the-saudis">http://www.defensenews.com/articles/revealed-trumps-110-billion-weapons-list-for-the-saudis</a> [accessed 9 June 2017].
- Mizokami, Kyle, "Did Yemen Rebels Shoot Down an F-15 Fighter Jet?" *Popular Mechanics* [10 January 2018]. <a href="http://www.popularmechanics.com/military/aviation/a14929167/yemen-rebels-shot-down-f15-tornado/">http://www.popularmechanics.com/military/aviation/a14929167/yemen-rebels-shot-down-f15-tornado/</a> [accessed 11 January 2018].
- Nereim, Vivian, "Saudi Plans Military Base and Nuclear Dump Near Qatar," *Bloomberg* [9 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-04-09/saudi-mulls-military-base-nuclear-dump-near-qatar-report-says">https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-04-09/saudi-mulls-military-base-nuclear-dump-near-qatar-report-says</a> [accessed 10 April 2018].
- Pamuk, Humeyra, "Exclusive: U.S. probe of Saudi oil attack shows it came from north report," *Reuters* [19 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-aramco-attacks-iran-exclusive/exclusive-u-s-probe-of-saudi-oil-attack-shows-it-came-from-north-report-idUSKBN1YN299">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-aramco-attacks-iran-exclusive-u-s-probe-of-saudi-oil-attack-shows-it-came-from-north-report-idUSKBN1YN299</a> [accessed 20 December 2019].
- Panda, Ankit, "Thinking West: India Expands Partnership With Saudi Arabia, Focusing on Counter-Terrorism, Defense," *The Diplomat* [4 April 2016]. <a href="http://thediplomat.com/2016/04/thinking-west-">http://thediplomat.com/2016/04/thinking-west-</a>

- <u>india-expands-partnership-with-saudi-arabia-focusing-on-counter-terrorism-defense/</u> [accessed 5 April 2016].
- Parsi, Trita, "Saudi Arabia Wants to Fight Iran to the Last American," *The National Interest* [15 November 2017]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/saudi-arabia-wants-fight-iran-the-last-american-23212">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/saudi-arabia-wants-fight-iran-the-last-american-23212</a> [accessed 16 November 2017].
- ★ Pieraccini, Federico, "Three Saudi Brigades Annihilated in Devastating Houthi Offensive in Saudi Arabia," Strategic Culture Foundation [30 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.strategic-culture.org/news/2019/09/30/three-saudi-brigades-annihilated-in-devastating-houthi-offensive-in-saudi-arabia/">https://www.strategic-culture.org/news/2019/09/30/three-saudi-brigades-annihilated-in-devastating-houthi-offensive-in-saudi-arabia/</a> [accessed 7 October 2019].
  - This is a really interesting article. The tone is rather anti-Saudi which gives cause for doubting its veracity. I have tried to confirm the events and am confident enough to recommend it. I am still uncertain of all the facts being true, however, the possibility of a nation-state losing a major engagement to a non-state actor is worth reading about and digesting the implications.
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "Army Green Berets reportedly helped destroy missile threats on Saudi border," *Military Times* [4 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/04/army-green-berets-reportedly-helped-destroy-missile-threats-on-saudi-border/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/04/army-green-berets-reportedly-helped-destroy-missile-threats-on-saudi-border/</a> [accessed 7 May 2018].
  - Reuters, "Saudi Security Forces Brace for Hajj; No Militant Threats Detected," *Voice of America News* [29 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/saudi-security-forces-brace-haj/4005742.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/saudi-security-forces-brace-haj/4005742.html</a> [accessed 30 August 2017].
    - The important quote is ""From our expertise and experience with al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations, we know that their members do not disappear just because the organization is defeated."
  - Reuters, "US stops refuelling of Saudi-led coalition aircraft in Yemen war," *The Guardian* [10 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/10/us-stops-refuelling-of-saudi-led-coalition-aircraft-in-yemen-war">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/10/us-stops-refuelling-of-saudi-led-coalition-aircraft-in-yemen-war</a> [accessed 12 November 2018].
  - Reuters, "Special Report: Time to take out our swords' Inside Iran's plot to attack Saudi Arabia," Reuters [25 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-aramco-attacks-iran-special-reporttime-to-take-out-our-swords-inside-irans-plot-to-attack-saudi-arabia-idUSKBN1XZ16H">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-aramco-attacks-iran-special-reporttime-to-take-out-our-swords-inside-irans-plot-to-attack-saudi-arabia-idUSKBN1XZ16H</a> [accessed 30 November 2019].
  - Riedel, Bruce, "The Man Who Would Be King in Saudi Arabia," *The Daily Beast* [10 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/10/the-man-who-would-be-king-in-saudi-arabia.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/10/the-man-who-would-be-king-in-saudi-arabia.html</a> [accessed 11 May 2016].
  - Saha, Sagatom, "Saudi Arabia: A Kingdom Coming Undone," *Defense One* [31 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/10/kingdom-coming-undone/132775/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/10/kingdom-coming-undone/132775/</a> [accessed 2 November 2016].
    - The economic problems of the kingdom are so great that they may not overcome them.
  - Sanger, David E., "U.S. in a Bind as Saudi Actions Test a Durable Alliance", *New York Times* [4 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/05/us/politics/us-struggles-to-explain-alliance-with-saudis.html?r=1">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/05/us/politics/us-struggles-to-explain-alliance-with-saudis.html?r=1</a> [accessed 5 January 2016].
  - Shane, Scott, "Saudis and Extremism: 'Both the Arsonists and the Firefighters'," *The New York Times* [25 August 2016]. <a href="http://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/08/26/world/middleeast/saudi-arabia-islam.html?r=1&referer=https://www.google.com/">http://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/08/26/world/middleeast/saudi-arabia-islam.html?r=1&referer=https://www.google.com/</a> [accessed 27 August 2016].
    - Are the Saudis responsible for terrorism's increase around the globe? This report makes some accusations, but it muddies the waters as well. The world is too complex for a simple answer to whether Saudi money and Saudi funded mosques and schools make terrorist or not.
  - Sisk, Richard, "Attacks on Saudi Oil Plants Reveal Weaknesses in US-Made Defenses," Military.com [23

- September 2019]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/2019/09/23/attacks-saudi-oil-plants-reveal-weaknesses-us-made-defenses.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/2019/09/23/attacks-saudi-oil-plants-reveal-weaknesses-us-made-defenses.html</a> [accessed 24 September 2019].
- Sly, Liz, "Saudi Arabia breaks diplomatic ties with Iran as crisis intensifies", Washington Post [3 January 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/saudi-arabias-execution-of-cleric-ignites-fury-in-iran/2016/01/03/6d8c1584-b205-11e5-9388-466021d971de">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/saudi-arabias-execution-of-cleric-ignites-fury-in-iran/2016/01/03/6d8c1584-b205-11e5-9388-466021d971de</a> story.html [accessed 4 January 2016].
- Sly, Liz, "Who is the Saudi cleric whose death caused the Riyadh-Tehran blowup?", Washington Post [4 January 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/who-is-the-saudi-cleric-whose-death-has-caused-the-saudi-iran-blowup/2016/01/04/9ac9f0d4-b2ff-11e5-8abc-d09392edc612">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/who-is-the-saudi-cleric-whose-death-has-caused-the-saudi-iran-blowup/2016/01/04/9ac9f0d4-b2ff-11e5-8abc-d09392edc612</a> story.html [accessed 5 January 2016].
- Telhami, Shibley, "Mohammed bin Salman, Son of the Iraq War," *Lawfare* [22 March 2018]. https://www.lawfareblog.com/mohammed-bin-salman-son-iraq-war [accessed 9 April 2018].
- Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates, "What the Hell Just Happened in Saudi Arabia?" *Politico* [6 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/11/06/saudi-arabia-mohammed-bin-salman-215792">https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/11/06/saudi-arabia-mohammed-bin-salman-215792</a> [accessed 7 November 2017].
- Vahdat, Amir and Jon Gambrell, "Shiite cleric's execution in Saudi exposes Mideast divisions", *The Associated Press* [3 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/03/shiite-clerics-execution-in-saudi-exposes-mideast-divisions/78235068/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/03/shiite-clerics-execution-in-saudi-exposes-mideast-divisions/78235068/</a> [accessed 4 January 2016].
- Worth, Robert F., "Saudis Applaud a Tougher Line Against Tehran", *New York Times* [6 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/07/world/middleeast/saudis-applaud-a-tougher-line-against-tehran.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/07/world/middleeast/saudis-applaud-a-tougher-line-against-tehran.html</a>? <a href="red">r=0</a> [accessed 7 January 2016].
  - A different opinion of what is happening in Saudi Arabia from the execution of the Sheikh. In this case it is seen as a good thing. This is from the perspective of the Saudis and not the Shia population.

## Other Players – Turkey

- Akyol, Mustafa, "The truth about Turkey and Islamic State oil", *Al Monitor* [22 September 2014]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/turkey-iraq-syria-krg-isis-oil-hostages.html#">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/turkey-iraq-syria-krg-isis-oil-hostages.html#</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
  - This is a good, brief article about the complexity of the Turkish border with ISIS and the challenges associated with smuggling.
- Al Jazeera, "Turkey rejects US 'double standards' in Syria ceasefire," *Al Jazeera* [28 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/turkey-ceasefire-resolution-afrin-180228122333571.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/turkey-ceasefire-resolution-afrin-180228122333571.html</a> [accessed 2 March 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Turkish forces and Free Syrian Army capture Afrin city," *Al Jazeera* [18 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/free-syrian-army-group-captures-afrin-city-180318081430817.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/free-syrian-army-group-captures-afrin-city-180318081430817.html</a> [accessed 19 March 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "US denies reaching deal with Turkey over Syria's Manbij," *Al Jazeera* [21 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/denies-reaching-deal-turkey-syria-manbij-180321070406289.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/denies-reaching-deal-turkey-syria-manbij-180321070406289.html</a> [accessed 22 March 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Erdogan calls Netanyahu 'terrorist', Israel 'terrorist state'," *Al Jazeera* [1 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/erdogan-calls-netanyahu-terrorist-israel-terrorist-state-180401140938404.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/erdogan-calls-netanyahu-terrorist-israel-terrorist-state-180401140938404.html</a> [accessed 2 April 2018].
- al-Khateb, Khaled, "Why is Turkey so invested in rehabilitating Syrian city of al-Bab?" *al-Monitor* [29 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/syria-al-bab-turkey-support-operation-euphrates-shield.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/syria-al-bab-turkey-support-operation-euphrates-shield.html</a> [accessed 30 August 2017].
- The Associated Press, "Turkey promises 'safe zones' in Kurdish-held parts of Syria," *Military Times* [24 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/24/turkey-promises-safe-zones-in-kurdish-held-parts-of-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/24/turkey-promises-safe-zones-in-kurdish-held-parts-of-syria/</a> [accessed 25 September 2018].
- Ataman, Joseph, "Lax US arms controls drive Turkish 'fake news' over Afrin," *Asia Times* [28 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/lax-us-arms-controls-drive-turkish-fake-news-afrin/">http://www.atimes.com/article/lax-us-arms-controls-drive-turkish-fake-news-afrin/</a> [accessed 29 March 2018].
- Belenkaya, Marianna, "Russian, Turkish officials meet, keep low profile on Idlib ideas," *al-Monitor* [16 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/russia-turkey-idlib-syria-refugees.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/russia-turkey-idlib-syria-refugees.html</a> [accessed 17 August 2018].
- Bengali, Shashank, "As Turkey's political divisions deepen, Syrian refugees in Istanbul worry about being caught in the middle," *The Los Angeles Times* [7 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-turkey-syria-refugees-2017-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-turkey-syria-refugees-2017-story.html</a> [accessed 8 August 2017].
- Bilginsoy, Zeynep, "Turkey strikes positions held by US-backed Kurdish fighters in northern Syria," *Military Times* [28 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/10/28/turkey-strikes-positions-held-by-us-backed-kurdish-fighters-in-northern-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/10/28/turkey-strikes-positions-held-by-us-backed-kurdish-fighters-in-northern-syria/</a> [accessed 29 October 2018].
- Bryen, Stephen, "Erdogan a threat to US effort to contain Iran," *Asia Times* [24 October 2018]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/is-erdogan-pushing-for-regime-change-in-saudi-arabia/">http://www.atimes.com/article/is-erdogan-pushing-for-regime-change-in-saudi-arabia/</a> [accessed 25 October 2018].
- Bryen, Stephen, "Turkey could seize US nukes stored at air base," *Asia Times* [17 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/10/article/how-risky-are-us-nuclear-bombs-in-turkey/">https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/10/article/how-risky-are-us-nuclear-bombs-in-turkey/</a> [accessed 21 October 2019].
- Cagaptay, Soner, "After the Jarabulus Offensive: How Far Will Turkey Shift Its Syria Policy?" The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, No. 28, September 2016. http://info.washingtoninstitute.org/acton/ct/19961/s-00db-1609/Bct/l-0097/l-0097:d4/ct0 0/1?sid=TV2%3AZOYIe9iie [accessed 6 September 2016].

- Cindemir, Kasim, "Turkey Says It Is Dealing Blows to IS Cells," *Voice of America News* [17 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/turkey-deal-deadly-blows-to-islamic-state-cells/3948404.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/turkey-deal-deadly-blows-to-islamic-state-cells/3948404.html</a> [accessed 19 July 2017].
- Cunningham, Erin, "Kurdish militants reportedly shoot down Turkish security forces helicopter," Washington Post [14 May 2016].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/05/14/kurdish-militants-just-challenged-turkish-air-power-in-a-major-way/ [accessed 16 May 2016].
- Dahir, Abdi Latif, "Turkey Opens Its Largest Overseas Military Base in Somalia," *Defense One* [3 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/news/2017/10/turkey-opens-its-largest-overseas-military-base-somalia/141476/">http://www.defenseone.com/news/2017/10/turkey-opens-its-largest-overseas-military-base-somalia/141476/</a> [accessed 4 October 2017].
- ★ Dreazen, Yochi, "Erdogan: Washington's Closest Allies in Fight Against Islamic State Are Just as Bad as the Islamic State," Foreign Policy [31 March 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/31/erdogan-washingtons-closest-allies-against-islamic-state-are-just-as-dangerous-as-the-islamic-state/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/31/erdogan-washingtons-closest-allies-against-islamic-state-are-just-as-dangerous-as-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 1 April 2016].
- ★ Ford, Robert, "The Fatal Flaw in Trump's ISIS Plan," Defense One [12 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/05/fatal-flaw-trumps-isis-plan/137810/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/05/fatal-flaw-trumps-isis-plan/137810/</a> [accessed 15 May 2017].
  - The author is well qualified to make the commentary included in this op/ed. He also provides some excellent historical and political background for readers to understand the complexities of the situation in Syria and with Turkey.
  - Fraser, Suzan, "Turkey ends anti-PKK operations in mainly Kurdish city," *The Associated Press* [9 March 2016]. <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/article/89ec55be69cd4b7f85a188b7d7913e57/turkey-ends-anti-pkk-operations-mainly-kurdish-city">http://bigstory.ap.org/article/89ec55be69cd4b7f85a188b7d7913e57/turkey-ends-anti-pkk-operations-mainly-kurdish-city</a> [accessed 10 March 2016].
    - Interesting facts regarding the Turkey-PKK struggle.
  - Fraser, Suzan and Costas Kantouris, "Turkey says it captured 'important' ISIS figure in Syria," *Military Times* [14 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/11/14/turkey-says-it-captured-important-isis-figure-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/11/14/turkey-says-it-captured-important-isis-figure-in-syria/</a> [accessed 14 November 2019].
  - Gibbons-Neff, Thomas and Erin Cunningham, "Pentagon's top general seeks to cool anti-American sentiment in Turkey," *The Washington Post* [1 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/08/01/pentagons-top-general-seeks-to-cool-anti-american-sentiment-in-turkey/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/08/01/pentagons-top-general-seeks-to-cool-anti-american-sentiment-in-turkey/</a> [accessed 2 August 2016].
  - Gurcan, Metin, "Is the Islamic State planning a cyber-caliphate?" *al-Monitor* [14 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/07/turkey-syria-isis-cyber-space-turkish-content.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/07/turkey-syria-isis-cyber-space-turkish-content.html</a> [accessed 15 July 2016].
    - The provides useful information and analysis on the concept of an "everywhere army" including cyberspace.
  - Gurcan, Metin, "Turkey-PKK 'drone wars' escalate," *al-Monitor* [18 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/turkey-pkk-drone-conflict-escalates.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/turkey-pkk-drone-conflict-escalates.html</a> [accessed 20 September 2017].
  - Gurcan, Metin, "Turkey is becoming new hub for Salafist-jihadi exodus from Syria," *al-Monitor* [8 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/01/turkey-syria-new-hub-of-salafi-jihadi-exodus.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/01/turkey-syria-new-hub-of-salafi-jihadi-exodus.html</a> [accessed 10 January 2018].
  - Gurcan, Metin, "Deciphering Russia's delivery of Tell Rifaat to Turkey," *al-Monitor* [29 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/turkey-syria-russia-turkish-army-besiege-tell-rifat.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/turkey-syria-russia-turkish-army-besiege-tell-rifat.html</a> [accessed 30 March 2018].
- ★ Gutman, Roy, "Here's How Turkey Lurched From Democracy Toward Dictatorship," *The Daily Beast* [17 April 2017]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/04/17/here-s-how-turkey-lurched-from-

- democracy-toward-dictatorship.html [accessed 19 April 2017].
- This is an excellent summary of the path that Erdogan has taken to get to this most recent referendum where many are criticizing him for seeking dictatorship.
- Gutman, Roy and Nancy A. Youssef, "Istanbul Ataturk Airport Attack: Turkey Could Knock Out ISIS, but Will It?" *The Daily Beast* [29 June 2016].
  - http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/29/istanbul-ataturk-airport-attack-turkey-could-knock-out-isis-but-will-it.html [accessed 30 June 2016].
- ★ Ibish, Hussein, "Turkey Is Changing the Middle East. The U.S. Doesn't Get It." Bloomberg [14 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2019-03-14/turkey-is-changing-the-middle-east-the-u-s-doesn-t-get-it">https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2019-03-14/turkey-is-changing-the-middle-east-the-u-s-doesn-t-get-it</a> [accessed 15 March 2019].
  - This is a brief, but interesting discussion on the development of Turkey as a neo-Ottoman state. The author does not use the term, but it captures the gist of the thesis of the article.
  - Idiz, Semih, "Is a storm brewing for Turkey in Idlib?" *al-Monitor* [31 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/07/turkey-syria-russia-can-putin-afford-disregard-ankara.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/07/turkey-syria-russia-can-putin-afford-disregard-ankara.html</a> [accessed 2 August 2018].
  - Idiz, Semih, "Turkey irate over US obstructions in Syria," *al-Monitor* [29 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/11/turkey-syria-united-states-is-washington-protecting-ypg.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/11/turkey-syria-united-states-is-washington-protecting-ypg.html</a> [accessed 2 December 2018].
  - Idiz, Semih, "Turkey faces serious odds in Manbij and Idlib," *al-Monitor* [7 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/02/turkey-syria-faces-serious-odds-in-manbij-and-idlib.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/02/turkey-syria-faces-serious-odds-in-manbij-and-idlib.html</a> [accessed 8 February 2019].
- ★ International Crisis Group, "Managing Turkey's PKK Conflict: The Case of Nusaybin," International Crisis Group Europe Report, Number 243, 2 May 2017. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/243-managing-turkey-s-pkk-conflict-the-case-of-nusaybin.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/243-managing-turkey-s-pkk-conflict-the-case-of-nusaybin.pdf</a> [accessed 2 May 2017].
  - This is an excellent summary with high quality footnotes. This report provides great explanation and assessment of the dynamics between the Turkish government and the PKK.
  - Jeffrey, James, "Turks in Afrin: How does it end?" *The Cipher Brief* [15 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/expert-view/turks-afrin-end">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/expert-view/turks-afrin-end</a> [accessed 16 March 2018].
  - Keller, Josh, Iaryna Mykhyalyshyn and Safak Timur, "The Scale of Turkey's Purge Is Nearly Unprecedented," *The New York Times* [2 August 2016].
    - http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/08/02/world/europe/turkey-purge-erdogan-scale.html [accessed 4 August 2016].
  - Khattab, Asser, "'Filled with hatred and a lust for blood': Turkey's proxy army in northern Syria accused of abusing civilians," Washington Post [10 November 2019].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/filled-with-hatred-and-a-lust-for-blood-turkeys-proxy-army-in-northern-syria-accused-of-abusing-civilians/2019/11/09/345e2fd6-0175-11ea-8341-cc3dce52e7de\_story.html [accessed 12 November 2019].
  - Knipp, Kersten, "Opinion: Turkey attacking the most effective anti-IS force in Syria," *Deutsche-Welle* [22 January 2018]. <a href="www.dw.com/en/opinion-turkey-attacking-the-most-effective-anti-is-force-in-syria/a-42264619">www.dw.com/en/opinion-turkey-attacking-the-most-effective-anti-is-force-in-syria/a-42264619</a> [accessed 23 January 2018].
  - Kogan, Eugene, "Russia-Turkey Relations: Rapprochement on Russian Terms," *Defense News* [31 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/articles/russia-turkey-relations-rapprochement-on-russian-terms">http://www.defensenews.com/articles/russia-turkey-relations-rapprochement-on-russian-terms</a> [accessed 1 September 2016].
  - Koru, Selim, "The Meaning of Turkey's Five Million Strong Nationalist Moment," *War on the Rocks* [15 August 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/08/the-meaning-of-turkeys-five-million-strong-nationalist-moment">http://warontherocks.com/2016/08/the-meaning-of-turkeys-five-million-strong-nationalist-moment</a>/ [accessed 16 August 2016].
  - Kozok, Firat and Selcan Hacaoglu, "Pushed from opposition, Turkey's Kurds threaten resistance," The

- Long War Journal [3 May 2016]. http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/sns-wp-blm-turkey-64f50eec-113e-11e6-a9b5-bf703a5a7191-20160503-story.html [accessed 4 May 2016].
- Lauinger, John, "Embattled Erdogan visits US as mysterious nemesis watches from compound in Pa. mountains," Fox News [1 April 2016]. http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/04/01/embattled-erdogan-visits-us-as-mysterious-nemesis-watches-from-compound-in-pa-mountains.html [accessed 1 April 2016].
- Loveluck, Louisa, "ISIS's War Kills Syrian Orphans," *The Daily beast* [9 May 2016]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/09/isis-s-war-kills-syrian-orphans.html [accessed 10 May 2016].
- Lynch, Colum and Lara Seligman, "Turkey Pitches Plan to Settle 1 Million Refugees in Northern Syria," Foreign Policy [18 December 2019]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/12/18/turkey-pitches-plan-settle-1-million-refugees-northern-syria-erdogan-kurds/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/12/18/turkey-pitches-plan-settle-1-million-refugees-northern-syria-erdogan-kurds/</a> [accessed 21 December 2019].
- Malsin, Jared, "Inside the Turkish Military's Civil War," *Time* [31 August 2016]. <a href="http://time.com/4473884/inside-the-turkish-militarys-civil-war/">http://time.com/4473884/inside-the-turkish-militarys-civil-war/</a> [accessed 1 September 2016].
- Milan, Francesco, "Turkey's "Anti-Modern" Coup Fiasco," *Defence-in-Depth* [20 July 2016]. <a href="https://defenceindepth.co/2016/07/20/turkeys-anti-modern-coup-fiasco/">https://defenceindepth.co/2016/07/20/turkeys-anti-modern-coup-fiasco/</a> [accessed 22 July 2016].
- Miller, Greg and Souad Mekhennet, "Undercover teams, increased surveillance and hardened borders: Turkey cracks down on foreign fighters," The Washington Post [6 March 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/undercover-teams-increased-surveillance-and-hardened-borders-turkey-cracks-down-on-foreign-fighters/2016/03/06/baa4ba3a-e219-11e5-8d98-4b3d9215ade1\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/undercover-teams-increased-surveillance-and-hardened-borders-turkey-cracks-down-on-foreign-fighters/2016/03/06/baa4ba3a-e219-11e5-8d98-4b3d9215ade1\_story.html</a> [7 March 2016].
  - Misztal, Blaise, Nicholas Danforth, Jessica Michek, "Deep State of Crisis: Re-Assessing Risks to the Turkish State," Bipartisan Policy Center, March 2017. <a href="https://cdn.bipartisanpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/BPC-National-Security-Turkish-State.pdf">https://cdn.bipartisanpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/BPC-National-Security-Turkish-State.pdf</a> [accessed 22 April 2017]. This is a useful summary of the history and actions of the Turkish political leadership leading to recent events in Turkey and the growing presidential powers under Pres Erdogan.
  - Mroue, Bassem, "Syria's Kurds stand to lose all gains from US pullout near Turkish border," *Military Times* [7 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/07/syrias-kurds-stand-to-lose-all-gains-from-us-pullout-near-turkish-border/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/07/syrias-kurds-stand-to-lose-all-gains-from-us-pullout-near-turkish-border/</a> [accessed 11 October 2019].
  - Natali, Denise, "Turkey's Security Interests in Iraq and Syria," Event Report for Institute for National Strategic Studies [22 November 2016].
  - Pitarakis, Lefteris and Mehmet Guzel, "Turkish army and allies in 'total control' of Syria's Afrin," *Military Times* [24 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/24/turkish-army-and-allies-in-total-control-of-syrias-afrin/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/24/turkish-army-and-allies-in-total-control-of-syrias-afrin/</a> [accessed 26 March 2018].
  - Prothero, Mitch, "Turkey's Erdogan has been humiliating Putin all year here's how he did it," *Business Insider* [22 October 2020]. <a href="https://www.businessinsider.com/turkey-humiliating-russia-putin-playbook-syria-libya-armenia-azerbaijan-2020-10">https://www.businessinsider.com/turkey-humiliating-russia-putin-playbook-syria-libya-armenia-azerbaijan-2020-10</a> [accessed 28 October 2020].
  - Raphael, Therese, "U.S.-Turkey Relations Will Never Be the Same," *Bloomberg* [10 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-08-10/u-s-turkey-relations-will-never-be-the-same">https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-08-10/u-s-turkey-relations-will-never-be-the-same</a> [accessed 11 August 2018].
  - Reuters, "Erdogan says Turks in Europe should defy 'grandchildren of Nazism'," *Reuters* [3 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-referendum-europe-erdogan-idUSKBN17517P">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-referendum-europe-erdogan-idUSKBN17517P</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
    - What is Erdogan trying to accomplish with his antics regarding the European Union and his attempt to continue to bring more power into the presidency? The intended role of Turkey within Erdogan's worldview is opaque at best.

- Reuters, "Turkey's Erdogan calls on Iraqi Kurds to lower Kurdish flag in Kirkuk," *Reuters* [4 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-turkey-erdogan-idUSKBN1761PP">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-turkey-erdogan-idUSKBN1761PP</a> [accessed 5 April 2017].
- Sattar, Omar, "How will Sinjar crisis end as tensions mount between Baghdad, Ankara?" *al-Monitor* [9 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/04/sinjar-iraq-kurdistan-turkey-pkk.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/04/sinjar-iraq-kurdistan-turkey-pkk.html</a> [accessed 12 April 2018].
- Schmidt, Michael S. "'There's Something Going On in Turkey,' U.S. Colonel Was Told During Coup Attempt," *The New York Times* [2 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/03/world/europe/turkey-coup-incirlik-air-base.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/03/world/europe/turkey-coup-incirlik-air-base.html</a> [accessed 3 August 2016].
- Seibert, Thomas, "A New Target for ISIS: Tourists", *The Daily Beast* [12 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/12/a-new-target-for-isis-tourists.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/12/a-new-target-for-isis-tourists.html</a> [accessed 13 January 2016].
- Snow, Shawn, "As Turkey launches operation in northern Syria, the coalition touts recent SDF success countering ISIS," *Military Times* [9 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2019/10/09/as-turkey-launches-operation-in-northern-syria-the-coalition-touts-recent-sdf-success-countering-isis/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/2019/10/09/as-turkey-launches-operation-in-northern-syria-the-coalition-touts-recent-sdf-success-countering-isis/</a> [accessed 11 October 2019].
- Solaker, Gulsen and Tuvan Gumrukcu, "Opponents seek to annul Turkish vote as Erdogan's new powers become reality," *Reuters* [18 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-politics-idUSKBN17J0PY">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-politics-idUSKBN17J0PY</a> [accessed 21 April 2017].
- Speckhard, Anne, "Kurds Have Been Preparing for Trump's Syria Betrayal—With a Vengeance," *The Daily Beast* [9 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/kurds-have-been-preparing-for-trumps-syria-betrayalwith-a-vengeance">https://www.thedailybeast.com/kurds-have-been-preparing-for-trumps-syria-betrayalwith-a-vengeance</a> [accessed 11 October 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne, ""Fake News" and the Trump Betrayal of our Kurdish Allies," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [10 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.icsve.org/fake-news-and-the-trump-betrayal-of-our-kurdish-allies/">https://www.icsve.org/fake-news-and-the-trump-betrayal-of-our-kurdish-allies/</a> [accessed 11 October 2019].
- Speckhard, Anne, "Is Turkey Fueling a New Jihad in Northeast Syria?" Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [11 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/is-turkey-fueling-a-new-jihad-in-northeast-syria/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/is-turkey-fueling-a-new-jihad-in-northeast-syria/</a> [accessed 14 November 2019].
- Stratfor, "Turkey Marches Ahead With Its Military Plans in Qatar," *Stratfor Worldview* [16 June 2017]. <a href="https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/turkey-marches-ahead-its-military-plans-qatar">https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/turkey-marches-ahead-its-military-plans-qatar</a> [accessed 20 June 2017].
  - Turkey is currently stationing a company sized force in Qatar and looks to expand that to a battalion with the possibility of ships and aircraft as well.
- Tastekin, Fehim, "IS militants continue to sneak into Turkey despite measures," *al-Monitor* [1 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/02/turkey-syria-isis-militants-try-to-infiltrate-turkish-border.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/02/turkey-syria-isis-militants-try-to-infiltrate-turkish-border.html</a> [accessed 4 March 2019].
- Tastekin, Fehim, "Turkey's withdrawal in Idlib may be omen of war," *al-Monitor* [22 October 2020]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/10/turkey-syria-russia-turkish-withdrawal-safe-zone-war-omen.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/10/turkey-syria-russia-turkish-withdrawal-safe-zone-war-omen.html</a> [accessed 28 October 2020].
- Tastekin, Fehim, "Why Erdogan seeks fresh military mandate for Azerbaijan," *al-Monitor* [19 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/11/turkey-russia-azerbaijan-armenia-parliament-troop-deployment.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/11/turkey-russia-azerbaijan-armenia-parliament-troop-deployment.html</a> [accessed 22 November 2020].
- Teoman, Elizabeth, "Turkey's Near Abroad Expansion," Institute for the Study of War [15 November

- 2018]. <a href="http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2018/11/turkeys-near-abroad-expansion.html">http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2018/11/turkeys-near-abroad-expansion.html</a> [accessed 19 November 2018].
- Tharoor, Ishaan, "What the Islamic State gains from the Istanbul terror attack", Washington Post [12 January 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/12/what-the-islamic-state-gains-from-the-istanbul-terror-attack/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/12/what-the-islamic-state-gains-from-the-istanbul-terror-attack/</a> [accessed 13 January 2016].
  - Both the Tharoor and Seibert articles get at the same questions why did ISIS attack tourists in Istanbul on 12 January 2016? The simple answer is that they and their experts quoted do not know thought they make some useful guesses. It seems as if ISIS is modifying its behavior. The question is how much of a terrorist organization is it turning into and will that mean that it stops being a state?
- Thornton, Rod, "Erdogan and The National Pact: The Fallout Today from the British Army's Seizing of Mosul in 1918," *Defence in Depth* [4 January 2017]. <a href="https://defenceindepth.co/2017/01/04/erdogan-and-the-national-pact-the-fallout-today-from-the-british-armys-seizing-of-mosul-in-1918/">https://defenceindepth.co/2017/01/04/erdogan-and-the-national-pact-the-fallout-today-from-the-british-armys-seizing-of-mosul-in-1918/</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
  - An excellent linkage of historical events into present international relations.
- Tilghman, Andrew, "U.S. troops are now advising Turkish ground forces fighting ISIS in Syria," *Military Times* [16 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-troops-begin-ops-with-turkish-forces-fighting-isis-in-syria">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/us-troops-begin-ops-with-turkish-forces-fighting-isis-in-syria</a> [accessed 19 September 2016].
  - Advise and assist of local forces with joint coordination with Turkey. No additional forces.
- Über Alles, Erdogan, "Turkey's Coup Won't Stop ISIS War," *The Daily Beast* [17 July 2016]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/07/17/turkey-s-coup-won-t-stop-isis-war.html [accessed 19 July 2016].
- Walker, Joshua W. and Selma Bardakci, "How Long Can Turkey and America Keep up Their Alliance?" *National Interest* [18 October 2017]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/how-long-can-turkey-america-keep-their-alliance-22786">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/how-long-can-turkey-america-keep-their-alliance-22786</a> [accessed 19 October 2017].
- Wilkinson, Tracy and Laura King, "Did a U.S. think tank sponsor a military coup? Turkey thinks so." *Los Angeles Times* [10 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-us-turkey-think-tank-coup-20160809-snap-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-us-turkey-think-tank-coup-20160809-snap-story.html</a> [accessed 11 August 2016].
- ★ Worth, Robert F. "Behind the Barricades of Turkey's Hidden War," New York Times [24 May 2016]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/29/magazine/behind-the-barricades-of-turkeys-hiddenwar.html? r=0 [accessed 25 May 2016].
  - Yayla, Ahmet S. and Colin P. Clarke, "Turkey's Double ISIS Standard," *Foreign Policy* [12 April 2018]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/04/12/turkeys-double-isis-standard/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/04/12/turkeys-double-isis-standard/</a> [accessed 15 April 2018].
  - Zaman, Amberin, "Turkish commander accuses US of sabotage," *al-Monitor* [19 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/turkish-commander-us-manufactured-dud-bombs-pkk.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/turkish-commander-us-manufactured-dud-bombs-pkk.html</a> [accessed 20 December 2017].
  - Zaman, Amberin, "What will it take to defuse US-Turkey crisis?," *al-Monitor* [2 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/turkey-us-sanctions-lira-drops.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/turkey-us-sanctions-lira-drops.html</a> [accessed 3 August 2018].

## Other Players – Yemen

- Salmoni, Barak A., Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Well. *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2010. https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a520460.pdf [accessed 25 December 2018].
- Abosaq, Hassan, "The Implications of Unstable Yemen on Saudi Arabia," Strategic Studies Institute [28 February 2012]. https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a560581.pdf [accessed 25 December 2018].
- al-Haj, Ahmed, "Hundreds of Sudanese troops arrive in Yemen's Aden," *Military Times* [17 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/10/17/hundreds-sudanese-troops-arrive-yemens-aden/74132662/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2015/10/17/hundreds-sudanese-troops-arrive-yemens-aden/74132662/</a> [accessed 19 October 2015].
- Al Jazeera, "Anger erupts on Yemen's Socotra as UAE deploys over 100 troops," *Al Jazeera News* [3 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/anger-erupts-yemen-socotra-uae-deploys-100-troops-180503072636773.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/anger-erupts-yemen-socotra-uae-deploys-100-troops-180503072636773.html</a> [accessed 4 May 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "There is a hidden inclination to divide Yemen: Ahmad al-Sayyad," *Al Jazeera News* [17 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/veiled-vision-divide-yemen-unesco-ambassador-180517102641450.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/veiled-vision-divide-yemen-unesco-ambassador-180517102641450.html</a> [accessed 18 May 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "UAE announces pause in Hudaida offensive," *Al Jazeera News* [1 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/07/uae-announces-pause-hudaida-offensive-180701110217244.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/07/uae-announces-pause-hudaida-offensive-180701110217244.html</a> [accessed 2 July 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Yemen: Dozens of civilians killed in school bus attack," *Al Jazeera News* [9 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/08/yemen-dozens-children-killed-wounded-school-bus-attack-180809085843444.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/08/yemen-dozens-children-killed-wounded-school-bus-attack-180809085843444.html</a> [accessed 11 August 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Report: Mass torture in network of UAE-run prisons in south Yemen," *Al Jazeera News* [13 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/08/report-mass-torture-network-uae-run-prisons-south-yemen-180812144559235.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/08/report-mass-torture-network-uae-run-prisons-south-yemen-180812144559235.html</a> [accessed 13 August 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Houthi chief vows to 'not surrender' as rebels lose ground," *Al Jazeera News* [7 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/yemen-houthi-chief-vows-surrender-rebels-lose-ground-181105081800657.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/yemen-houthi-chief-vows-surrender-rebels-lose-ground-181105081800657.html</a> [accessed 8 November 2018].
- Alley, April Longley, "The Killing of Former President Saleh Could Worsen Yemen's War," *International Crisis Group Middle East & North Africa* [6 December 2017].

  <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/6decThe%20Killing%20of%20Former%20President%20Saleh.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/6decThe%20Killing%20of%20Former%20President%20Saleh.pdf</a> [accessed 11 December 2017].
- Alley, April Longley, "Eight Days in Aden a Forgotten City in Yemen's Forgotten War," *International Crisis Group Middle East & North Africa* [23 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/yemen/eight-days-aden-forgotten-city-yemens-forgotten-war">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/yemen/eight-days-aden-forgotten-city-yemens-forgotten-war</a> [accessed 31 May 2018].
- Associated Press, "Al-Qaida Leader Claims Group Fought Alongside US-Backed Forces in Yemen," *Voice of America* [1 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/a/al-qaida-claims-group-fought-alongside-us-backed-forces/3832622.html">http://www.voanews.com/a/al-qaida-claims-group-fought-alongside-us-backed-forces/3832622.html</a> [accessed 3 May 2017].
- Bandow, Doug, "America Should See Saudi Arabia's War on Yemen for the Horror It Really Is," *The National Interest* [15 May 2018]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/america-should-see-saudi-arabias-war-yemen-the-horror-it-25838?page=show">http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/america-should-see-saudi-arabias-war-yemen-the-horror-it-25838?page=show</a> [accessed 16 May 2018].
- Baron, Adam, "The UAE Will Shape the Future of Yemen," *Defense One* [24 September 2018]. https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/09/uae-will-shape-future-yemen/151495/ [accessed 25

- September 2018].
- Binnie, Jeremy, "UAE Patriots credited with two intercepts in Yemen", IHS Jane's Defence Weekly [16 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.janes.com/article/55999/uae-patriots-credited-with-two-intercepts-in-yemen">http://www.janes.com/article/55999/uae-patriots-credited-with-two-intercepts-in-yemen</a> [accessed 17 November 2015].
- Blanchard, Christohpher, Jeremy M. Sharp, and Carla E. Humund, "Congress and the War in Yemen: Oversight and Legislation 2015-2021," *Congressional Research Service* [10 February 2022]. <a href="https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45046">https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45046</a> [accessed 5 March 2022].
- Clausen, Marie-Louise, "Islamic State in Yemen A Rival to al-Qaeda?" Connections, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Winter 2017), pp. 50-62. <a href="https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/26326470.pdf">https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/26326470.pdf</a> [accessed 25 December 2018].
- Copp, Tara, "US puts boots on the ground in Yemen to attack AQAP," *Military Times* [5 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/04/us-ground-forces-airstrikes-attack-aqap-in-yemen/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/08/04/us-ground-forces-airstrikes-attack-aqap-in-yemen/</a> [accessed 7 August 2017].
- Crider, Cori, "The Danger of Yemen's Secret Prisons," *Defense One* [26 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/06/danger-yemens-secret-prisons/138969/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/06/danger-yemens-secret-prisons/138969/</a> [accessed 27 June 2017].
  - An interesting and disturbing discussion in the role of the US along with allied countries in inhumane incarceration and interrogation. This makes one consider the movie *Traitor* when discussing being in prison in Yemen.
- Dehghan, Saeed Kamali, "Killing of Ali Abdullah Saleh changes dynamics of Yemen's civil war," *The Guardian* [5 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/05/ali-abdullah-saleh-killing-changes-dynamics-yemen-civil-war">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/05/ali-abdullah-saleh-killing-changes-dynamics-yemen-civil-war</a> [accessed 5 December 2017].
- Depetris, Daniel, "Time for a full US withdrawal from the Yemen conflict," *The Hill* [21 August 2018]. <a href="http://thehill.com/opinion/international/402824-time-for-a-full-us-withdrawal-from-the-yemen-conflict">http://thehill.com/opinion/international/402824-time-for-a-full-us-withdrawal-from-the-yemen-conflict</a> [accessed 23 August 2018].
- Detsch, Jack, "Congress grills incoming Middle East commander on Yemen," *al-Monitor* [4 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/12/congress-grills-incoming-mideast-commander-yemen.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/12/congress-grills-incoming-mideast-commander-yemen.html</a> [accessed 6 December 2018].
- Ghobari, Mohammed and Noah Browning, "Islamist militants exploit chaos as combatants pursue peace in Yemen," *Reuters* [16 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-talks-idUSKCN0Y71H8">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-talks-idUSKCN0Y71H8</a> [accessed 17 May 2016].
- ★ Ghosh, Bobby, "Yemen's War Is Nearly Lost in the Din of Surrounding Conflicts", *Defense One* [5 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/01/yemens-war-nearly-lost-din-surrounding-conflicts/124872/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2016/01/yemens-war-nearly-lost-din-surrounding-conflicts/124872/</a> [accessed 6 January 2016].
  - This article provides as succinct a summary of the issues as any I have read.
  - Gould, Joe, "US House calls military's role in Yemen civil war unauthorized," *Defense News* [14 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/congress/2017/11/14/us-house-calls-militarys-role-in-yemen-civil-war-unauthorized/">https://www.defensenews.com/congress/2017/11/14/us-house-calls-militarys-role-in-yemen-civil-war-unauthorized/</a> [accessed 15 November 2017].
  - Hamming, Tore Refslund, "Why Did the Jihadi Cold War in Yemen End?" War on the Rocks [7 November 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/11/why-did-the-jihadi-cold-war-in-yemen-end/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/11/why-did-the-jihadi-cold-war-in-yemen-end/</a> [accessed 8 November 2018].
  - International Crisis Group, "Yemen: Is Peace Possible?" *International Crisis Group Middle East Report*, Number 167, 9 February 2016.
    - http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iran%20Gulf/Yemen/167-yemen-is-peace-possible.pdf [accessed 10 February 2016].

- ★ Johnsen, Gregory D. "Yemen's Three Wars," Lawfare Blog [23 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/yemens-three-wars">https://www.lawfareblog.com/yemens-three-wars</a> [accessed 24 September 2018].
  This is an excellent explanation of the complexities present in Yemen. As a result, resolving the conflict may be as complex as the problems sustaining it.
  - Johnson, Ryan, "Yemen: Comparative Insurgency and Counterinsurgency," Thesis for Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California [March 2015]. <a href="https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a620762.pdf">https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a620762.pdf</a> [accessed 25 December 2018].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Arab coalition enters AQAP stronghold in port city of Mukalla, Yemen," *The Long War Journal* [25 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/04/arab-coalition-enters-agap-stronghold-in-port-city-of-mukalla-yemen.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/04/arab-coalition-enters-agap-stronghold-in-port-city-of-mukalla-yemen.php</a> [accessed 26 April 2016].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "AQAP says it withdrew from Mukalla to protect residents," *The Long War Journal* [1 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/aqap-says-it-withdrew-from-mukalla-to-protect-residents.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/aqap-says-it-withdrew-from-mukalla-to-protect-residents.php</a> [accessed 2 May 2016].
  - Kalin, Stephen, "Saudi forces say they have captured leader of Yemen branch of Islamic State," *Reuters* [25 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-isis/saudi-forces-say-they-have-captured-leader-of-yemen-branch-of-islamic-state-idUSKCN1TQ1TX">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-isis/saudi-forces-say-they-have-captured-leader-of-yemen-branch-of-islamic-state-idUSKCN1TQ1TX</a> [accessed 27 June 2019].
  - Khoury, Nabeel, "In Yemen, Drones Aren't a Policy," *The Cairo Review* [23 October 2013]. <a href="http://www.thecairoreview.com/tahrir-forum/in-yemen-drones-arent-a-policy/">http://www.thecairoreview.com/tahrir-forum/in-yemen-drones-arent-a-policy/</a> [accessed 8 April 2016].
  - Knights, Michael, "The Houthi War Machine: From Guerilla War to State Capture," CTC Sentinel, Volume 11, Issue 8, September 2018, 15-23. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/09/CTC-SENTINEL-092018.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/09/CTC-SENTINEL-092018.pdf</a> [accessed 2 February 2019].
  - Lee, Matthew, "UAE: US rejects military aid request in Yemen port assault," *Military Times* [14 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/14/uae-us-rejects-military-aid-request-in-yemen-port-assault/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/14/uae-us-rejects-military-aid-request-in-yemen-port-assault/</a> [accessed 15 June 2018].
  - Malsin, Jared, "Yemen Is the Latest Victim of the Increase in Iran-Saudi Arabia Tension", *Time* [11 January 2016]. <a href="http://time.com/4174837/yemen-analysis/">http://time.com/4174837/yemen-analysis/</a> [accessed 12 January 2016]. Includes this great quote from Farea Al-Muslimi, a Yemeni analyst and visiting scholar at the Carnegie Middle East Center: ""If Saudi suddenly stops supporting Hadi, how long does he have in power? Maybe a few days a few days? A few weeks maximum, but if the Iranians stop supporting the Houthis, I think they've got at least a few years in power," he said. "They're a group that you cannot ultimately deny their local roots.""
  - Martin, Nicolas, "Mass starvation looms quietly as civil war in Yemen rages," *Deutsche Welle* [21 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/mass-starvation-looms-quietly-as-civil-war-in-yemen-rages/a-45975240">https://www.dw.com/en/mass-starvation-looms-quietly-as-civil-war-in-yemen-rages/a-45975240</a> [accessed 22 October 2018].
  - McVeigh, Karen, "'Manmade catastrophe': Yemen conflict has killed 1,100 children, says UN," *The Guardian* [5 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/sep/05/man-made-catastrophe-yemen-conflict-has-killed-1100-children-says-un-united-nations">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/sep/05/man-made-catastrophe-yemen-conflict-has-killed-1100-children-says-un-united-nations</a> [accessed 6 September 2017].
  - Michael, Maggie and Ahmed al-Haj, "Al-Qaida bomb master killed in US strike, officials say," *Military Times* [17 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/08/17/al-qaida-bomb-master-killed-in-us-strike-officials-say/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/08/17/al-qaida-bomb-master-killed-in-us-strike-officials-say/</a> [accessed 20 August 2018].
- ★ Midrats, "Episode 500: The War in Yemen, with Katherine Zimmerman," Midrats on Spreaker [5 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.spreaker.com/user/midrats/episode500">https://www.spreaker.com/user/midrats/episode500</a> [accessed 6 August 2019]. This is worth your time. This is long (61:37), but it is extremely informative. The guest expert, Katherine Zimmerman, explains a lot of the present challenges and problems in Yemen and with the standard coverage

- of the fighting in Yemen.
- ★ Mohamed, Rasha and Rawan Shaif, "Saudi Arabia Is Committing War Crimes in Yemen," Foreign Policy [25 March 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/25/civilian-casualties-war-crimes-saudi-arabia-yemen-war/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/25/civilian-casualties-war-crimes-saudi-arabia-yemen-war/</a> [accessed 27 March 2016].
  - Mustafa, Awad, "Saudi-Led Coalition Announces Final Phase in Yemen Operations, But Analysts Disagree", *Defense News* [7 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/show-daily/dubai-air-show/2015/11/07/united-arab-emirates/75114576/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/show-daily/dubai-air-show/2015/11/07/united-arab-emirates/75114576/</a> [accessed 9 November 2015].
  - Mustafa, Awad, "152 Feared Dead in Yemen Ballistic Missle Strike", *Defense News* [14 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/12/14/united-arab-emirates/77289732/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/12/14/united-arab-emirates/77289732/</a> [accessed 15 December 2015].
  - Naylor, Hugh, "Yemeni rebels pose a rising threat in southern Saudi Arabia," *The Washington Post* [24 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/yemeni-rebels-pose-a-rising-threat-in-southern-saudi-arabia/2016/02/23/ab8f0eaa-d1e4-11e5-90d3-34c2c42653ac\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/yemeni-rebels-pose-a-rising-threat-in-southern-saudi-arabia/2016/02/23/ab8f0eaa-d1e4-11e5-90d3-34c2c42653ac\_story.html</a> [accessed 25 February 2016].
  - Oakford, Samuel and Ryan Goodman, "The U.S. Is Paying More Than It Bargained for in the Yemen War," *The Atlantic* [8 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/12/pentagon-refueling-controversy-saudi-led-war-yemen/577666/">https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/12/pentagon-refueling-controversy-saudi-led-war-yemen/577666/</a> [accessed 10 December 2018].
- ★ Ottaway, David B., "Saudi Arabia's "Terrorist" Allies in Yemen", Wilson Center [3 August 2015]. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/saudi-arabias-terrorist-allies-yemen [6 November 2015].
  - Pratt, Simon Frankel, "What Should We Make of Elite American Mercenaries in Yemen?" War on the Rocks [23 October 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/10/what-should-we-make-of-elite-american-mercenaries-in-yemen/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/10/what-should-we-make-of-elite-american-mercenaries-in-yemen/</a> [accessed 23 October 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "This senator wants to know if US weapons are being used by al-Qaida and Iran-linked groups," *Military Times* [25 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/02/25/senator-probes-allegations-of-us-weapons-being-used-by-al-qaida-and-iran-linked-groups/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/02/25/senator-probes-allegations-of-us-weapons-being-used-by-al-qaida-and-iran-linked-groups/</a> [accessed 26 February 2019].
  - Raghavan, Sudarsan, "'Why is the world so quiet?' Yemen suffers its own cruel losses, far from Aleppo." The Washington Post 18 December 2016].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/why-is-the-world-so-quiet-yemen-suffers-its-own-cruel-losses-far-from-aleppo/2016/12/18/0b13e0ab-b19d-447d-b93b-6c2807a5067d\_story.html [accessed 20 December 2016].
    - The suffering in the Yemen war is destroying priceless archeological remains and the historical identity of Yemen.
  - Riedel, Bruce, "Are Yemeni rebels imploding?" *al-Monitor* [3 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/saudi-arabia-yemen-war-rebel-alliance-imploding-washington.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/09/saudi-arabia-yemen-war-rebel-alliance-imploding-washington.html</a> [accessed 5 September 2017].
  - Riedel, Bruce, "Yemen war escalates as Houthis threaten UAE, Saudi Arabia," *al-Monitor* [29 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/07/yemen-war-houthis-saudi-arabia-escalates.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/07/yemen-war-houthis-saudi-arabia-escalates.html</a> [accessed 30 July 2018].
  - Roggio, Bill, "Taliban storms fourth Afghan base this month," *Long War Journal* [6 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/taliban-storms-fourth-afghan-base-this-month.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/taliban-storms-fourth-afghan-base-this-month.php</a> [accessed 8 November 2018].
  - Roggio, Bill and Alexandra Gutowski, "US conducts 10 counterterrorism strikes in Yemen," *Long War Journal* [6 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/us-conducts-10-counterterrorism-strikes-in-yemen.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/us-conducts-10-counterterrorism-strikes-in-yemen.php</a> [accessed 8 February 2018].

- Roggio, Bill and Alexandra Gutowski, "US conducted a record 131 airstrikes in Yemen last year," *Threat Matrix from the Long War Journal* [7 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/us-conducted-a-record-131-airstrikes-in-yemen-last-year.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/02/us-conducted-a-record-131-airstrikes-in-yemen-last-year.php</a> [accessed 8 February 2018].
- Roggio, Bill and Alexandra Gutowski, "CENTCOM releases some Yemen strike information, but gaps remain," *Long War Journal* [21 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/yemen-release.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/yemen-release.php</a> [accessed 23 May 2018].
- Roggio, Bill and Alexandra Gutowski, "Exclusive: CENTCOM reveals scope of Yemen air campaign," *Long War Journal* [6 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/06/yemen-details.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/06/yemen-details.php</a> [accessed 7 June 2018].
- ★ Roston, Aram, "A Middle East Monarchy Hired American Ex-Soldiers To Kill Its Political Enemies. This Could Be The Future Of War." Buzz Feed News [16 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/aramroston/mercenaries-assassination-us-yemen-uae-spear-golan-dahlan">https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/aramroston/mercenaries-assassination-us-yemen-uae-spear-golan-dahlan</a> [accessed 23 October 2018]. One approach to fighting non-state actors is to do so with other non-state actors. This story is an example of that assertion.
  - Roule, Norman, "The Future of Hodeida Once a Hotbed of Global Espionage Hangs in the Balance," The Cipher Brief [19 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/future-of-hodeida-hotbed-global-espionage-hangs-balance">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/future-of-hodeida-hotbed-global-espionage-hangs-balance</a> [accessed 21 June 2018].
  - Roule, Norman, "What Awaits Yemen After Hodeida?" *The Cipher Brief* [20 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/awaits-yemen-hodeida">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/awaits-yemen-hodeida</a> [accessed 21 June 2018].
  - Ryan, Missy, "Lawmakers grill State Department and Pentagon on U.S. role in Yemen's civil war," *The Washington Post* [17 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/lawmakers-grill-state-department-and-pentagon-on-us-role-in-yemens-civil-war/2018/04/17/ce791d10-4259-11e8-ad8f-27a8c409298b\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/lawmakers-grill-state-department-and-pentagon-on-us-role-in-yemens-civil-war/2018/04/17/ce791d10-4259-11e8-ad8f-27a8c409298b\_story.html</a> [accessed 18 April 2018].
  - Salisbury, Peter, "Yemen's Hodeida Offensive: Once Avoidable, Now Imminent," *International Crisis Group* [20 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/yemen/yemens-hodeida-offensive-once-avoidable-now-imminent">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/yemen/yemens-hodeida-offensive-once-avoidable-now-imminent</a> [accessed 23 September 2018].
  - Scarborough, Rowan, "Navy SEALs startled by Yemeni combat readiness in January mission," Washington Times [15 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/mar/15/navy-seals-found-yemeni-enemies-well-prepared-for-/">http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/mar/15/navy-seals-found-yemeni-enemies-well-prepared-for-/</a> [accessed 16 March 2017].
    - The role of women taking up weapons in this fight will inevitably lead to a greater increase of US special operators killing civilians as women, in particular, cannot be assumed to be non-combatants.
  - Seche, Stephen A., "Worse than Syria", *The Cipher Brief* [8 December 2015].

    <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/worse-syria">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/worse-syria</a> [accessed 9 December 2015].

    Brief discussion on the regional ramifications of the fighting in Yemen by a former US ambassador to Yemen.
  - Shabibi, Namir and Jack Watling, "Britain's Covert War in Yemen: A VICE News Investigation," *Vice News* [6 April 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/britains-covert-war-in-yemen-a-vice-news-investigation">https://news.vice.com/article/britains-covert-war-in-yemen-a-vice-news-investigation</a> [accessed 8 April 2016].
  - Shabibi, Namir and Jack Watling, "Exclusive: How the UK Secretly Helped Direct Lethal US Drone Strikes in Yemen," *Vice News* [7 April 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/exclusive-how-the-uk-secretly-helped-direct-lethal-us-drone-strikes-in-yemen">https://news.vice.com/article/exclusive-how-the-uk-secretly-helped-direct-lethal-us-drone-strikes-in-yemen</a> [accessed 8 April 2016].
  - South, Todd, "Report: Trump mulling direct US military action to take Yemen port," Military Times [4

- June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/04/report-trump-mulling-direct-us-military-action-to-take-yemen-port/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/04/report-trump-mulling-direct-us-military-action-to-take-yemen-port/</a> [accessed 5 June 2018].
- Trew, Bel, "Inside the UAE's war on al-Qaeda in Yemen," *The Independent* [14 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/uae-yemen-civil-war-al-qaeda-aden-dar-saad-gulf-saudi-arabia-conflict-a8492021.html">https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/uae-yemen-civil-war-al-qaeda-aden-dar-saad-gulf-saudi-arabia-conflict-a8492021.html</a> [accessed 16 August 2018].
- William, Katie Bo, "Mattis Sets 30-Day Deadline for Yemen Ceasefire," *Defense One* [30 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/news/2018/10/mattis-sets-30-day-deadline-yemen-ceasefire/152443/">https://www.defenseone.com/news/2018/10/mattis-sets-30-day-deadline-yemen-ceasefire/152443/</a> [accessed 31 October 2018].
- Wilson, Trish, Maggie Michael, and Lee Keath, "Investigation: Yemen war binds US, allies with al-Qaida," Military Times [6 August 2018].
  - https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/08/06/investigation-yemen-war-binds-us-allies-with-al-qaida/ [accessed 7 August 2018].
  - War is chaos and confusion. This article is dangerously titled a lot like click bait. It is also very much worth reading. It challenges thinking about war and how war should and often is prosecuted. Why should we care if our enemies leave an area alive? Is this a war of annihilation where all enemies must be killed or destroyed? If so, wont such a declaration harden the resolve of those fighting? The information on the wear in Yemen is excellent. It addresses some of the complexities and temporalities of alliances. This is the kind of piece that should leave a reader with far more questions than it answers.
  - Yadav, Stacey Philbrick, "Why the managed transition after Yemen's uprising led to war," *The Washington Post* [18 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/02/18/why-yemens-uprising-succeeded-but-its-managed-transition-led-to-war/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/02/18/why-yemens-uprising-succeeded-but-its-managed-transition-led-to-war/</a> [accessed 19 February 2016].

## **Syrian Regime**

- Balanche, Fabrice. 2018. *Sectarianism in Syria's Civil War*. Washington DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy [January 2018].
  - https://www.academia.edu/35855218/SECTARIANISM\_IN\_SYRIAS\_CIVIL\_WAR?email\_work\_card=title [accessed 25 January 2020].
- ★ Abbas, Yasir, "How Al Qaeda is Winning in Syria," War on the Rocks [10 May 2016]. http://warontherocks.com/2016/05/how-al-qaeda-is-winning-in-syria/ [accessed 11 May 2016].
  - Abdulhamid, Ammar, "Is Syria Obama's Fault?" *Lawfare* [28 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/syria-obamas-fault">https://www.lawfareblog.com/syria-obamas-fault</a> [accessed 29 February 2016].
  - Ahmado, Nisan, "Is Assad Poised for Victory in Syria?" *Voice of America News* [25 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/is-assad-poised-for-victory-in-syria/4315616.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/is-assad-poised-for-victory-in-syria/4315616.html</a> [accessed 29 March 2018].
  - Aji, Albert, "US military presence in Syria is 'illegitimate,' says defense minister," *Military Times* [18 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/18/us-military-presence-in-syria-is-illegitimate-says-defense-minister/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/18/us-military-presence-in-syria-is-illegitimate-says-defense-minister/</a> [accessed 19 March 2019].
  - Aji, Albert and Philip Issa, "Syrian troops drive ISIS out of historic Palmyra," *Military Times* [27 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/27/syrian-troops-drive-isis-out-historic-palmyra/82320478/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/27/syrian-troops-drive-isis-out-historic-palmyra/82320478/</a> [accessed 28 March 2016].
- ★ Alam, Kamal, "Why Assad's Army Has Not Defected", National Interest [12 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.nationalinterest.org/feature/why-assads-army-has-not-defected-15190">http://www.nationalinterest.org/feature/why-assads-army-has-not-defected-15190</a> [accessed 12 February 2016].
  - Alam, Kamal, "Kissinger's Prophecy Fulfilled in Syria," War on the Rocks [23 January 2019]. https://warontherocks.com/2019/01/kissingers-prophecy-fulfilled-in-syria/ [accessed 2 February 2019].
  - Aleksashenko, Sergey, "A three-sided disaster: The American, Russian, and Iranian strategic triangle in Syria," *Brookings* [16 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/10/16-us-russia-iran-syrian-interests-aleksashenko">http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/10/16-us-russia-iran-syrian-interests-aleksashenko</a> [accessed 19 October 2015].
  - Al Jazeera News, "Erdogan: US trying to form 'terror army' in Syria," *Al Jazeera News* [15 January 2018]. <a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/01/turkey-slams-plan-kurds-syria-force-180115065210843.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/01/turkey-slams-plan-kurds-syria-force-180115065210843.html</a> [accessed 16 January 2018].
  - Al Jazeera News, "Syria's civil war explained from the beginning," *Al Jazeera News* [5 February 2018]. <a href="http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/syria-civil-war-explained-160505084119966.html">http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/syria-civil-war-explained-160505084119966.html</a> [accessed 8 February 2018].
  - Al Jazeera News, "Douma chemical attack draws international outrage," *Al Jazeera News* [8 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/douma-chemical-attack-draws-international-outrage-180408123134301.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/douma-chemical-attack-draws-international-outrage-180408123134301.html</a> [accessed 9 April 2018].
  - Al Jazeera News, "Syrian government raises flag in Deraa, birthplace of revolt," *Al Jazeera News* [12 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/07/syrian-government-raises-flag-deraa-birthplace-revolt-180712180058690.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/07/syrian-government-raises-flag-deraa-birthplace-revolt-180712180058690.html</a> [accessed 13 July 2018].
  - Al Jazeera News, "Syria's Assad offers amnesty to army deserters," Al Jazeera News [9 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/syria-assad-offers-amnesty-army-deserters-181009090035909.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/syria-assad-offers-amnesty-army-deserters-181009090035909.html</a> [accessed 13 October 2018].
  - al-Khalidi, Suleiman, "Russian-backed air strikes hit Islamic State in southern Syria: sources," Reuters [22]

- July 2018]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria/russian-backed-air-strikes-hit-islamic-state-in-southern-syria-sources-idUSKBN1KCOGJ">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria/russian-backed-air-strikes-hit-islamic-state-in-southern-syria-sources-idUSKBN1KCOGJ</a> [accessed 23 July 2018].
- al-Monitor, "Trump missing piece in Putin's Syria plan," *al-Monitor* [3 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/trump-missing-piece-putin-syria-plan-russia.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/trump-missing-piece-putin-syria-plan-russia.html</a> [accessed 4 June 2018].
- al-Monitor, "Assad says he's open to establishing Iranian bases in Syria," *al-Monitor* [14 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/iran-syria-president-assad-alalam-interview-military-bases.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/iran-syria-president-assad-alalam-interview-military-bases.html</a> [accessed 15 June 2018]
- Associated Press, "Al-Qaida seizes weapons, bases from US-backed Syrian rebels," *Associated Press* [14 March 2016]. <a href="http://news.yahoo.com/al-qaida-seizes-weapons-bases-us-backed-syrian-120101013.html">http://news.yahoo.com/al-qaida-seizes-weapons-bases-us-backed-syrian-120101013.html</a> [accessed 14 March 2016].
  - Details of intra-opposition fighting.
- Associated Press, "Syrian Forces Eye Rebel-Held Province after Defeat of IS," *Voice of America* [7 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/syrian-forces-eye-rebel-held-province-after-defeat-of-is/4196839.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/syrian-forces-eye-rebel-held-province-after-defeat-of-is/4196839.html</a> [accessed 8 January 2018].
- Associated Press, "Russian foreign minister says US trying to 'divide Syria into parts'," *Military Times* [29 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/29/russian-foreign-minister-says-us-trying-to-divide-syria-into-parts/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/29/russian-foreign-minister-says-us-trying-to-divide-syria-into-parts/</a> [accessed 30 April 2018].
- Avni, Benny, "Did Moscow Green-Light an Israeli Attack in Syria?" *The Daily Beast* [27 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/04/27/did-moscow-green-light-an-israeli-attack-in-syria">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/04/27/did-moscow-green-light-an-israeli-attack-in-syria</a> [accessed 5 May 2017].
- Axe, David and Patrick Hilsman, "Russia is Flying Israeli Drones Against Anti-Assad Rebels in Syria," *The Daily Beast* [24 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/24/russia-is-flying-israeli-drones-against-anti-assad-rebels-in-syria.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/24/russia-is-flying-israeli-drones-against-anti-assad-rebels-in-syria.html</a> [accessed 24 March 2016].
- Aziz, Saba, "'Totally destroyed': East Aleppo a year after battle," *Al Jazeera* [17 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/destroyed-east-aleppo-year-battle-171117080601775.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/destroyed-east-aleppo-year-battle-171117080601775.html</a> [accessed 2 April 2019].
- ★ Barnard, Anne, "In Fight for Aleppo, Tangled Alliances in Syria Add to Chaos," New York Times [6 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/07/world/middleeast/aleppo-syria.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/07/world/middleeast/aleppo-syria.html</a> [accessed 7 October 2016].
  - Information on the nature of the fighting around Aleppo in terms of complexity of who is actually fighting whom
  - Barnard, Anne and Michael R. Gordon, "Worst Chemical Attack in Years in Syria; U.S. Blames Assad," *The New York Times* [4 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/04/world/middleeast/syria-gas-attack.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/04/world/middleeast/syria-gas-attack.html</a> [accessed 5 April 2017].
  - Barnard, Anne, Hwaida Saad, and Somini Sengupta, "Starving Syrians in Madaya Are Denied Aid Amid Political Jockeying", *New York Times* [10 January 2016].
    - http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/11/world/middleeast/syria-starvation-madaya-siege-united-nations.html? r=0 [accessed 11 January 2016].
    - People in Madaya, Syria are starving to death. They are surrounded primarily by Hezbollah and maybe their fighters have food, but many do not. This is a modern siege with the horrors of siege warfare.
  - Bassiki, Mohammad, "Iran sets sights on Syrian reconstruction projects," *al-Monitor* [24 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/10/iran-reconstruction-syria-process-electricity-priority-debt.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/10/iran-reconstruction-syria-process-electricity-priority-debt.html</a> [accessed 25 October 2018].
  - BBC, "Syria conflict: Massive power blackout across country," BBC News [3 March 2016].

- http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35717532 [accessed 6 March 2016].
- BBC, "Syria war: Troops mass around last rebel town in Eastern Ghouta," *BBC News* [28 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-43567237">www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-43567237</a> [accessed 29 March 2018].
- BBC, "Syria war: Rebels leave last major besieged enclave," *BBC News* [7 May 2018]. <a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-44034514">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-44034514</a> [accessed 8 May 2018].
- BBC, "Syrian military 'burning farmland in rebel-held north'," BBC News [29 May 2019]. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48444596 [accessed 31 May 2019].
- Bertrano, Natasha, "This was the moment Obama decided not to intervene in Syria", *Business Insider* [7 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.businessinsider.com/why-obama-decided-against-syria-bombing-2016-1">http://www.businessinsider.com/why-obama-decided-against-syria-bombing-2016-1</a> [accessed 8 January 2016].
  - Simple discussion on the decision and policy source for the Obama Administration vis-à-vis Syria.
- Bhalla, Reva, "The Geopolitics of the Syrian Civil War," *Geopolitical Weekly* [January 21, 2014].

  <a href="https://www.stratfor.com/weekly/geopolitics-syrian-civil-war?utm\_source=freelist-f&utm\_medium=email&utm\_term=Gweekly&utm\_campaign=20150804&utm\_content=readmorete\_xt&mc\_cid=d98770da07&mc\_eid=08cc24dfe0 [accessed 4 August 2015].</a>
  - Brands, Hal, "The 'American Century' Is Over, and It Died in Syria," *Bloomberg News* [8 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-03-08/the-american-century-is-over-putin-and-assad-killed-it">https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-03-08/the-american-century-is-over-putin-and-assad-killed-it</a> [accessed 9 March 2018].
  - Bryen, Stephen, "Provocations and Syria: Where Are We Headed?" *Technology Security* [20 October 2015]. <a href="https://technologysecurity.wordpress.com/2015/10/20/provocations-and-syria-where-are-we-headed/">https://technologysecurity.wordpress.com/2015/10/20/provocations-and-syria-where-are-we-headed/</a> [accessed 22 October 2015].
  - Bulos, Nabih, "Syria's government helped create a rebel bastion then attacked it with poison gas, the U.S. says," *Los Angeles Times* [18 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-syria-rebels-endgame-2017-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-syria-rebels-endgame-2017-story.html</a> [accessed 20 April 2017].
- Bulos, Nabih, W.J. Hennigan, and Brian Bennett, "CIA-armed militias are shooting at Pentagon-armed ones in Syria," Chicago Tribune [26 March 2016].
  <a href="http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-syria-militias-us-cia-islamic-state-20160326-story.html">http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-syria-militias-us-cia-islamic-state-20160326-story.html</a> [accessed 28 March 2016].
  - Cambanis, Thanassis, "Aleppo: The Capital of Western Indifference," *The Atlantic* [3 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/10/aleppo-syria-kerry-obama-assad-russia/502625/">http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/10/aleppo-syria-kerry-obama-assad-russia/502625/</a> [accessed 5 October 2016].
    - The fate of Aleppo may be tied to generations of perspective of the West from the Middle East. They have been abandoned and they know it. This will not go away even if a cease fire holds and a negotiated settlement is achieved.
  - Carter, Joseph A., Shiraz Maher, and Peter R. Neumann, "#Greenbirds: Measuring Importance and Influence in Syrian Foreign Fighter Networks," The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, 2014. <a href="http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/ICSR-Report-Greenbirds-Measuring-Importance-and-Infleunce-in-Syrian-Foreign-Fighter-Networks.pdf">http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/ICSR-Report-Greenbirds-Measuring-Importance-and-Infleunce-in-Syrian-Foreign-Fighter-Networks.pdf</a> [accessed 24 October 2017].
  - Charbonneau, Louis and Michelle Nichols, "Syria chemical arms probe found signs of sarin gas exposure: U.N.", *Reuters* [4 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-chemicalweapons-idUSKBNOUI1Z920160104">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-chemicalweapons-idUSKBNOUI1Z920160104</a> [accessed 5 January 2016].
    - A UN report discloses findings of Sarin gas present in Syrians.
  - Charlton, Angela, "Russia puts deep roots in Syria, warns West against meddling," *Military Times* [26 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/26/russia-puts-deep-roots-">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/26/russia-puts-deep-roots-</a>

- in-syria-warns-west-against-meddling/ [accessed 28 September 2018].
- Cooper, Helen, "Mattis Wanted Congressional Approval Before Striking Syria. He Was Overruled." *The New York Times* [17 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/17/us/politics/jim-mattis-trump-syria-attack.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/17/us/politics/jim-mattis-trump-syria-attack.html</a> [accessed 18 April 2018].
- Cooper, Tom, "How Fighter Pilots Made Modern Syria," War is Boring [23 January 2017]. <a href="http://warisboring.com/how-fighter-pilots-made-modern-syria/#.s3gxfqjum">http://warisboring.com/how-fighter-pilots-made-modern-syria/#.s3gxfqjum</a> [accessed 5 April 2017]. Background on Hafez al-Assad as a fighter pilot.
- Dadouch, Sarah, "Assad may have won the Syrian war, but now he's battling the economy," *The Washington Post* [23 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/assad-may-have-won-the-syrian-war-but-now-hes-battling-the-economy/2020/01/22/6c9e1d36-360c-11ea-a1ff-c48c1d59a4a1">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/assad-may-have-won-the-syrian-war-but-now-hes-battling-the-economy/2020/01/22/6c9e1d36-360c-11ea-a1ff-c48c1d59a4a1</a> story.html [accessed 23 January 2020].
- Daragahi, Borsau, "Iran Wants to Stay in Syria Forever," *Foreign Policy* [1 June 2018]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/06/01/iran-wants-to-stay-in-syria-forever/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/06/01/iran-wants-to-stay-in-syria-forever/</a> [accessed 4 June 2018].
- DeGhett, Torie Rose, "Is Syria About to Become Iran's Vietnam?" *Vice News* [7 October 2020]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/is-syria-about-to-become-irans-vietnam">https://news.vice.com/article/is-syria-about-to-become-irans-vietnam</a> [accessed 8 October 2015].
- Dekel, Udi and Carmit Valensi, "The Iranian Threat in Syria: As Bad as It Seems?" *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 967, 23 August 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/No.-967.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/No.-967.pdf</a> [accessed 24 August 2017].
- Dekel, Udi and Zvi Magen, "Russian Involvement in Syria: What has Changed, and the Significance for Israel," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 752, 7 October 2015. http://www.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4538&articleid=10699 [accessed 7 October 2015].
- Deutsche Welle, "Syrian rebel faction evacuates eastern Ghouta under deal with regime," *Deutsche Welle* [23 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/syrian-rebel-faction-evacuates-eastern-ghouta-under-deal-with-regime/a-43095477">http://www.dw.com/en/syrian-rebel-faction-evacuates-eastern-ghouta-under-deal-with-regime/a-43095477</a> [accessed 23 March 2018].
- DeYoung, Karen, "Russia's Syria intervention may force choice on Obama: Act or yield," *The Washington Post* [7 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/russias-syria-intervention-may-force-choice-on-obama-act-or-yield/2015/10/07/a88f9996-6d16-11e5-9bfe-e59f5e244f92">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/russias-syria-intervention-may-force-choice-on-obama-act-or-yield/2015/10/07/a88f9996-6d16-11e5-9bfe-e59f5e244f92</a> story.html [accessed 8 October 2015].
- DeYoung, Karen, "Administration will soon be forced to confront big decisions on Syria," *The Washington Post* [11 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/administration-will-soon-be-forced-to-confront-big-decisions-on-syria/2015/11/11/88a313da-8885-11e5-9a07-453018f9a0ec\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/administration-will-soon-be-forced-to-confront-big-decisions-on-syria/2015/11/11/88a313da-8885-11e5-9a07-453018f9a0ec\_story.html</a> [accessed 13 November 2015].
- DeYoung, Karen, "U.S. says Syria built crematorium to handle mass prisoner killings," *The Washington Post* [11 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-accuses-syria-of-mass-executions-and-burning-bodies/2017/05/15/b7b66c86-3986-11e7-8854-21f359183e8c\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-accuses-syria-of-mass-executions-and-burning-bodies/2017/05/15/b7b66c86-3986-11e7-8854-21f359183e8c\_story.html</a> [accessed 16 May 2017].
- DeYoung, Karen, "World powers to push for Jan. 1 start of Syria negotiations, then cease-fire," *The Washington Post* [14 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/11/isil-whos-calling-the-shots-213360">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/11/isil-whos-calling-the-shots-213360</a> [accessed 16 November 2015].
- DeYoung, Karen and Liz Sly, "Syria, already a catastrophe, seems on the verge of an uncontrollable disaster", *The Washington Post* [9 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/syria-already-a-catastrophe-seems-on-the-verge-of-an-uncontrollable-disaster/2016/02/09/c7fc3e90-cf5b-11e5-b2bc-988409ee911b">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/syria-already-a-catastrophe-seems-on-the-verge-of-an-uncontrollable-disaster/2016/02/09/c7fc3e90-cf5b-11e5-b2bc-988409ee911b</a> story.html [accessed 10 February 2016].

- DeYoung, Karen and Adam Goldman, "Is al-Qaeda's affiliate in Syria no longer a 'sideshow'?" *The Washington Post* [20 July 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/is-al-qaedas-affiliate-in-syria-no-longer-a-sideshow/2016/07/20/e29f9012-4e9a-11e6-aa14-e0c1087f7583">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/is-al-qaedas-affiliate-in-syria-no-longer-a-sideshow/2016/07/20/e29f9012-4e9a-11e6-aa14-e0c1087f7583</a> story.html [accessed 22 July 2016].
- ★ DeYoung, Karen and Hugh Naylor, "Battle for Aleppo may be the most crucial of the Syrian civil war" The Washington Post [10 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/battle-for-aleppo-may-be-the-most-crucial-of-the-syrian-civil-war/2016/08/10/c7ab8040-5f0c-11e6-af8e-54aa2e849447\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/battle-for-aleppo-may-be-the-most-crucial-of-the-syrian-civil-war/2016/08/10/c7ab8040-5f0c-11e6-af8e-54aa2e849447\_story.html</a> [accessed 11 August 2016].
  - A UN report discloses findings of Sarin gas present in Syrians.
  - Evans, Ryan, "Trump's Attack on Syria: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," *War on the Rocks* [7 April 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/04/trumps-attack-on-syria-the-good-the-bad-and-the-ugly/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/04/trumps-attack-on-syria-the-good-the-bad-and-the-ugly/</a> [accessed 7 April 2017].
    - This opinion piece is a response to the US launch of dozens of cruise missiles against a Syrian airbase on 6-7 April 2017.
- ★ Fabbe, Kristin, Chad Hazlett, and Tolga Sinmazdemir, "What Do Syrians Want Their Future to Be?" Foreign Affairs [1 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2017-05-01/what-do-syrians-want-their-future-be">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2017-05-01/what-do-syrians-want-their-future-be</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
  - Absolutely excellent example of using data to challenge preexisting notions of desires of local populace in this difficult of international problems.
  - Fahim, Kareem, "As Syrians Flee Anew, Neighbors' Altruism Hardens Into Resentment", *New York Times* [7 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/08/world/middleeast/as-syrians-flee-anew-neighbors-altruism-hardens-into-resentment.html?r=0& r=0 [accessed 8 February 2016].">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/08/world/middleeast/as-syrians-flee-anew-neighbors-altruism-hardens-into-resentment.html?r=0& r=0 [accessed 8 February 2016].</a>
- ★ Fisk, Robert, "When did protest against the Assad government turn to war in Syria?" *The Independent* [31 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/syria-civil-war-rebellion-isis-assad-western-intervention-arms-a7921526.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/syria-civil-war-rebellion-isis-assad-western-intervention-arms-a7921526.html</a> [accessed 6 September 2017].
  - Ford, Peter, "Update from Peter Ford, Former British Ambassador to Syria," Blog Post [4 June 2019]. <a href="http://static1.squarespace.com/static/5c2f801b9772ae6d89f7eb45/t/5cf63af897a71f00013ca94b/1559640825016/Update">http://static1.squarespace.com/static/5c2f801b9772ae6d89f7eb45/t/5cf63af897a71f00013ca94b/1559640825016/Update</a> Peter+Ford 4+June+2019.pdf {accessed 17 June 2019].
- ★ Fordham, Alice, "5 Years On, Syria's Moderate Rebels Are Exhausted And Sidelined," *National Public Radio* [1 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/03/01/468604939/five-years-on-syrias-moderate-rebels-are-exhausted-and-sidelined">http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/03/01/468604939/five-years-on-syrias-moderate-rebels-are-exhausted-and-sidelined</a> [accessed 2 March 2016].
  - Fox News, "Syrian Regime's Army Vows to Drive Out US from Country," *Military.com* [15 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/01/15/syrian-regimes-army-vows-drive-out-us-country.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/01/15/syrian-regimes-army-vows-drive-out-us-country.html</a> [accessed 16 January 2018].
- ★ Francis, Ellen, "The War on Syria's Doctors," Foreign Policy [11 August 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/11/the-war-on-syrias-doctors-assad-medicine-underground/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/11/the-war-on-syrias-doctors-assad-medicine-underground/</a> [accessed 15 August 2016].
  - A powerful article about the challenges faced by medical professionals in the middle of the Syrian civil war.
  - Gady, Franz-Stefan, "Is North Korea Fighting for Assad in Syria?" *The Diplomat* [24 March 2016]. <a href="http://thediplomat.com/2016/03/is-north-korea-fighting-for-assad-in-syria/">http://thediplomat.com/2016/03/is-north-korea-fighting-for-assad-in-syria/</a> [accessed 24 March 2016].
  - Gehrke, Joel, "Mike Pompeo doubles down: Syrian dictator Bashar Assad, and Iran, must go," *The Washington Examiner* [27 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/pompeo-doubles-down-syrian-dictator-assad-and-iran-must-go">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/pompeo-doubles-down-syrian-dictator-assad-and-iran-must-go</a> [accessed 28 June 2018].

- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "Mapped: Russian airstrikes in Syria post-cease-fire," *The Washington Post* [1 March 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/03/01/mapped-russian-airstrikes-in-syria-post-cease-fire/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/03/01/mapped-russian-airstrikes-in-syria-post-cease-fire/</a> [2 March 2016].
- Gilbert, Benjamin, "The US is pissing off everyone in northern Syria," *Vice News* [30 August 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/article/united-states-kurds-turkey-islamic-state-northern-syria">https://news.vice.com/article/united-states-kurds-turkey-islamic-state-northern-syria</a> [accessed 31August 2016].
  - The point of the article is direct and rather accurate in the sense that the US is operating in a manner that is making matters worse.
- Gould, Joe, "Mideast Conflict Reaching New Levels of Complexity," *Defense News* [12 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/show-daily/ausa/2015/10/12/mideast-conflict-reaching-new-levels-complexity/73833336/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/show-daily/ausa/2015/10/12/mideast-conflict-reaching-new-levels-complexity/738333336/</a> [accessed 13 October 2015].
- Graham-Harrison, Emma and Saeed Kamali Dehghan, "Gulf states plan military response as Putin raises the stakes in Syria," *The Guardian* [3 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/04/russia-bombing-syria-affects-ousting-of-assad">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/04/russia-bombing-syria-affects-ousting-of-assad</a> [accessed 5 October 2015].
- Gurcan, Metin, "How US-Turkey deal in Manbij could affect Russia's influence," *al-Monitor* [22 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/turkey-syria-russia-who-will-benefit-from-manbij-deal.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/turkey-syria-russia-who-will-benefit-from-manbij-deal.html</a> [accessed 25 June 2018].
- Gutman, Roy, "Syria Cease-Fire Brings Turkey Closer to War", Foreign Policy [16 February 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/16/syria-ceasefire-brings-turkey-closer-to-war/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/16/syria-ceasefire-brings-turkey-closer-to-war/</a> [accessed 17 February 2016].
- Gutman, Roy, "Assad and Putin's Sick Strategy Bombing Hospitals," *The Daily Beast* [27 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/07/27/assad-and-putin-s-sick-strategy-bombing-hospitals.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/07/27/assad-and-putin-s-sick-strategy-bombing-hospitals.html</a> [accessed 28 July 2016].
- Gutman, Roy, "Assad Henchman: Here's How We Built ISIS," *The Daily Beast* [1 December 2016]. Part 1 of 3 <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/01/assad-henchman-here-s-how-we-built-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/01/assad-henchman-here-s-how-we-built-isis.html</a> [accessed 5 December 2016].
- Gutman, Roy, "How Assad Staged al Qaeda Bombings," *The Daily Beast* [2 December 2016]. Part 2 of 3 <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/02/how-assad-staged-al-qaeda-bombings.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/02/how-assad-staged-al-qaeda-bombings.html</a> [accessed 5 December 2016].
- Gutman, Roy, "How ISIS Returned to Syria," *The Daily Beast* [5 December 2016]. Part 3 of 3 <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/05/how-isis-returned-to-syria.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/05/how-isis-returned-to-syria.html</a> [accessed 5 December 2016].
  - This is a three part story of the role of the Syrian regime in assisting and, to a degree, creating ISIS. The author makes too much out of his data. He acts as if Assad's behavior in terms of turning loose radicals or in using them to support his own position in power is somehow unconscionable. This is part of maintaining the unstable violence potential equilibrium or rather to control and manage the equilibrium or instability toward a desirable endstate. The author also misses all of the other stories of the Free Syrian Army or other groups cooperating with supposed enemies for the sake of immediate survival or necessity or even convenience. The regime is not alone in this behavior. I do not add this to justify the regime as good or acceptable, but I do need to make the point that what they are doing is normal and not aberrational for the conflict at hand.
- ★ Gutman, Roy, "Assad Used Nerve Gas Because He's Desperate. Expect Worse to Come." The Daily Beast [10 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/04/10/assad-used-nerve-gas-because-he-s-desperate-expect-worse-to-come.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/04/10/assad-used-nerve-gas-because-he-s-desperate-expect-worse-to-come.html</a> [accessed 12 April 2017].
  - A short, but high quality summary of events leading to the use of chemical weapons by the Syrian government.

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K. "Post-War Syria: The Next Big Crisis Between Russia and America?" *The National Interest* [25 October 2017]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/post-war-syria-the-next-big-crisis-between-russia-america-22903">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/post-war-syria-the-next-big-crisis-between-russia-america-22903</a> [accessed 26 October 2017].
- Hauswedell, Charlotte, "bymanhatila mirror refugees' lack of perspectives," *Deutsche Welle* [15 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/dire-conditions-in-shatila-mirror-refugees-lack-of-perspectives/a-38843940">http://www.dw.com/en/dire-conditions-in-shatila-mirror-refugees-lack-of-perspectives/a-38843940</a> [accessed 16 May 2017].
  - Some small details on the environment present in Palestinian refugee camps.
- Hennigan, W.J., Brian Bennett, and Patrick J. McDonnell, "Russia and Iran helping Assad gain upper hand in Syria, head of Joint Chiefs says," *The Los Angeles Times* [27 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-russia-syria-support-20151028-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-russia-syria-support-20151028-story.html</a> [accessed 28 October 2015].
- ★ Heller, Sam, "Al Qaeda's Screwing Up in Syria," The Daily Beast [5 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/05/al-qaeda-s-screwing-up-in-syria.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/05/al-qaeda-s-screwing-up-in-syria.html</a> [accessed 6 April 2016].
  - Hiatt, Fred, "Obama destroyed Syrians' 'glimmer of hope' that America would intervene," *The Washington Post* [6 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/obama-destroyed-syrians-glimmer-of-hope-that-america-would-intervene/2016/04/06/1dea7e52-fb80-11e5-9140-e61d062438bb">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/obama-destroyed-syrians-glimmer-of-hope-that-america-would-intervene/2016/04/06/1dea7e52-fb80-11e5-9140-e61d062438bb</a> story.html [accessed 8 April 2016].
- ★ Hokayem, Emile, "Obama's Disastrous Betrayal of the Syrian Rebels", Foreign Policy [5 February 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/05/obamas-disastrous-betrayal-of-the-syrian-rebels/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/05/obamas-disastrous-betrayal-of-the-syrian-rebels/</a> [accessed 8 February 2016].
  - Homsi, Nada, "Afghan Teenagers Recruited in Iran to Fight in Syria, Group Says," *The New York Times* [1 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/01/world/middleeast/iran-afghan-child-soldiers-syria-war.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/01/world/middleeast/iran-afghan-child-soldiers-syria-war.html</a> [accessed 2 October 2017].
  - Hubbard, Ben, "Syrian War Drags On, but Assad's Future Looks as Secure as Ever," *The New York Times* [25 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/25/world/middleeast/syria-assad-war.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/25/world/middleeast/syria-assad-war.html</a> [accessed 26 September 2017].
  - Hudson, John, "State Department Denies Abandoning Aleppo in Russian Ceasefire Deal," Foreign Policy [29 April 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/29/state-department-denies-abandoning-aleppo-in-russian-ceasefire-deal/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/29/state-department-denies-abandoning-aleppo-in-russian-ceasefire-deal/</a> [accessed 2 May 2016].
  - Iddon, Paul, "Will the Syrian Kurds Team Up with Bashar Al Assad Against Turkey?" War is Boring [30 July 2018]. <a href="https://warisboring.com/will-the-syrian-kurds-team-up-with-bashar-al-assad-against-turkey/">https://warisboring.com/will-the-syrian-kurds-team-up-with-bashar-al-assad-against-turkey/</a> [accessed 31 July 2018].
  - International Crisis Group, "Russia's Choice in Syria," *International Crisis Group Middle East Briefing*, Number 47, 29 March 2016. <a href="http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iraq%20Syria%20Leb">http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iraq%20Syria%20Leb</a> anon/Syria/b047-russia-s-choice-in-syria.pdf [accessed 29 March 2016].
- ★ International Crisis Group, "Voices of Idlib," International Crisis Group, 11 July 2018. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/voices-of-idlib-medium-res.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/voices-of-idlib-medium-res.pdf</a> [accessed 11 July 2018].

  Illustrated article on the environment in the Idlib region of Syria. Not really a fan of the illustrations, but the information is excellent.
  - International Crisis Group, "Saving Idlib from Destruction," *International Crisis Group Middle East Briefing*, Number 63, 3 September 2018. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b063-saving-idlib-from-destruction.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b063-saving-idlib-from-destruction.pdf</a> [accessed 3 September 2018].
  - International Crisis Group, "Squaring the Circles in Syria's North East," International Crisis Group Middle

- *East Report*, Number 204, 31 July 2019. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/204-squaring-circles-syrias-north-east">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/204-squaring-circles-syrias-north-east</a> [accessed 1 August 2019].
- ★ Isachenkov, Vladimir, "From calm to chaos: A reporter's escorted visit to Syria," *Associated Press* [6 March 2016]. <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/article/ff438b799c624e009f31fe64681801a5/calm-chaos-reporters-escorted-visit-syria">http://bigstory.ap.org/article/ff438b799c624e009f31fe64681801a5/calm-chaos-reporters-escorted-visit-syria</a> [accessed 7 March 2016].
  - Isachenkov, Vladimir, "Russia says evidence of Syria chemical attacks was faked," *Military Times* [24 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/24/russia-says-evidence-of-syria-chemical-attacks-was-faked/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/24/russia-says-evidence-of-syria-chemical-attacks-was-faked/</a> [accessed 25 June 2018].
  - Isachenkov, Vladimir, "Iran has no intention to leave Syria, top official says," *Military Times* [15 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/07/15/iran-has-no-intention-to-leave-syria-top-official-says/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/07/15/iran-has-no-intention-to-leave-syria-top-official-says/</a> [accessed 16 July 2018].
  - Isachenkov, Vladimir and Sarah El Deeb, "Syria talks in Russia, Saudi Arabia aim to unify rival sides," *Military Times* [23 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/23/syriatalks-in-russia-saudi-arabia-aim-to-unify-rival-sides/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/23/syriatalks-in-russia-saudi-arabia-aim-to-unify-rival-sides/</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
  - Issa, Philip, "Assad wants American troops out of Syria and threatens to attack region under US-backed Kurds," *Military Times* [31 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/31/assad-wants-american-troops-out-of-syria-and-threatens-to-attack-region-under-us-backed-kurds/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/31/assad-wants-american-troops-out-of-syria-and-threatens-to-attack-region-under-us-backed-kurds/</a> [accessed 2 June 2018].
  - Jedinia, Mehdi and Ahed Al Hendi, "Sources: Iran to Bankroll Pro-Government Militia Fighters in Syria," Voice of America News [28 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/a/sources-iran-to-bankroll-pro-government-militia-fighters-in-syria/3874390.html">http://www.voanews.com/a/sources-iran-to-bankroll-pro-government-militia-fighters-in-syria/3874390.html</a> [accessed 30 May 2017].
  - Jenzen-Jones, Nic, "Can MANPADS Be Controlled in Syria?" *The Daily Beast* [20 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/20/can-manpads-be-controlled-in-syria.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/20/can-manpads-be-controlled-in-syria.html</a> [accessed 20 October 2015].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Jihadists try to rally opposition in southern Syria," *Long War Journal* [27 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/06/jihadists-try-to-rally-opposition-in-southern-syria.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/06/jihadists-try-to-rally-opposition-in-southern-syria.php</a> [accessed 28 June 2018].
  - Karam, Zelna, "Western airstrikes unlikely to impact Assad's war machine," *Military Times* [15 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/15/western-airstrikes-unlikely-to-impact-assads-war-machine/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/15/western-airstrikes-unlikely-to-impact-assads-war-machine/</a> [accessed 16 April 2018].
- ★ Khaddour, Kheder. *The Assad Regime's Hold on the Syrian State*. Beirut: The Carnegie Middle East Center, 2015.
- Kinzer, Stephen, "The media are misleading the public on Syria," The Boston Globe [18 February 2016]. https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2016/02/18/the-media-are-misleading-public-syria/8YB75otYirPzUCnlwaVtcK/story.html [accessed 19 February 2016].
  - Laub, Karin, "Siege Warfare in Syria Revives Debate Over Ancient Tactic", *ABC News* [17 February 2016]. <a href="http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/siege-warfare-syria-revives-debate-ancient-tactic-36992315">http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/siege-warfare-syria-revives-debate-ancient-tactic-36992315</a> [accessed 17 February 2016].
  - Lederer, Edith M., "Russia Calls for a New Syrian Constitution in 18 Months", *Time* [11 November 2015]. <a href="http://time.com/4107870/syria-russia-constitution-united-nations/">http://time.com/4107870/syria-russia-constitution-united-nations/</a> [accessed 11 November 2015].
  - Lederer, Edith M., "Syria foreign minister: Victory over 'terrorism' is near, US must leave," *Military Times* [30 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/30/syria-foreign-minister-victory-over-terrorism-is-near-us-must-leave/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/30/syria-foreign-minister-victory-over-terrorism-is-near-us-must-leave/</a> (accessed 1 October 2018).
  - Lederman, Josh and Suzan Fraser, "US, Turkey say plan reached to resolve rift over US-backed Kurdish fighters in Syria town," *Military Times* [4 June 2018].

- https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/06/04/us-turkey-say-plan-reached-to-resolve-rift-over-us-backed-kurdish-fighters-in-syria-town/ [accessed 5 June 2018].
- Lee, Matthew and Bradley Klapper, "U.S. sees Assad staying in Syria until March 2017", *Military Times* [6 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/06/us-sees-assad-staying-syria-until-march-2017/78349212/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/06/us-sees-assad-staying-syria-until-march-2017/78349212/</a> [accessed 7 January 2016].
  - A US document that finally admits to the complexity of removing Assad from power.
- Lee, Matthew and Susannah George, "US lacks leverage as assault on Syrian enclave looms," *Military Times* [9 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/09/us-lacks-leverage-as-assault-on-syrian-enclave-looms/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/09/09/us-lacks-leverage-as-assault-on-syrian-enclave-looms/</a> [ accessed 10 September 2018].
- Lemmon, Gayle Tzemach, "When Allies Become Enemies (Before the War is Over), Obama's ISIS Plan Has Another Problem," *Defense One* [31 August 2016]. http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/08/when-allies-become-enemies-war-over-obamas-isis
  - http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/08/when-allies-become-enemies-war-over-obamas-isis-plan-has-problem/131172/ [accessed 1 September 2016].
  - Good opinion piece attacking the pushing spaghetti uphill part of "by-with-through."
- ★ Leschaug, David W. "Iran Is Taking Over Syria. Can Anyone Stop It?" *The New York Times* [29 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/29/opinion/iran-syria.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/29/opinion/iran-syria.html</a> [accessed 30 August 2017]. An excellent explanation of the reasons behind the increased influence of Iran in Syria.
  - Lewis, Simon, "The Death Toll From Syria's War Is Actually 470,000, New Research Claims", *Time* [11 February 2016]. <a href="http://time.com/4216896/death-toll-syria-war-470000/">http://time.com/4216896/death-toll-syria-war-470000/</a> [accessed 12 February 2016].
- ★ Lister, Charles, "Syrian Islamists reach out to the U.S., but serious issues remain". *Brookings* [14 July 2015]. <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/07/14-syrian-islamists-us-issues-lister">http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/07/14-syrian-islamists-us-issues-lister</a> [6 November 2015].
- ★ Lister, Charles, "How the Russians Suckered Trump in Syria, and Iran Comes Out the Big Winner," *The Daily Beast* [12 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/how-the-russians-suckered-trump-in-syria-and-iran-comes-out-the-big-winner">http://www.thedailybeast.com/how-the-russians-suckered-trump-in-syria-and-iran-comes-out-the-big-winner</a> [accessed 17 July 2017].
  - Well written criticism of current Syrian problems. The author does not really identify the legitimate and preferred alternatives.
  - Lister, Charles, "The Urgency of Idlib: The Impending Regime Offensive and the Delicate Balance in Syria's Northwest," War on the Rocks [3 August 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/08/the-urgency-of-idlib-the-impending-regime-offensive-and-the-delicate-balance-in-syrias-northwest/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/08/the-urgency-of-idlib-the-impending-regime-offensive-and-the-delicate-balance-in-syrias-northwest/</a> [accessed 8 August 2018].
  - Loveluck, Louisa and David Filipov, "U.S. risks further battles as it steps deeper into Syrian quagmire," The Washington Post [19 June 2017]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/russia-threatens-to-treat-us-coalition-aircraft-as-targets-over-syria/2017/06/19/95e87428-54ca-11e7-9e18-968f6ad1e1d3\_story.html [accessed 20 June 2017].
- ★ Lund, Aron, "Assad's Broken Base: The Case of Idlib," The Century Foundation [14 July 2016]. https://tcf.org/content/report/assads-broken-base-case-idlib/ [accessed 15 July 2016].
  - The article provides insight into the specific issues associated with the management of violence potential within the Assad dominant coalition and how that is being effectively destroyed during the current civil war.
  - Lynch, Marc, ed. "The Political Science of Syria's War," George Washington University Project on Middle East Political Science conference collection, 18 December 2013. <a href="http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/POMEPS\_Studies5\_PoliSciSyria.pdf">http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/POMEPS\_Studies5\_PoliSciSyria.pdf</a> [accessed 12 October 2016].
    - Collection of memoranda from a conference sponsored by POMEPS. This includes more than a dozen entries on issues related to the Syrian civil war and why it is difficult to solve and why it probably won't end for some time to come.

- Lynch, Marc, "What's Really At Stake in the Syria Debate," *War on the Rocks* [10 October 2016]. http://warontherocks.com/2016/10/whats-really-at-stake-in-the-syria-debate/#comment-851716 [accessed 12 October 2016].
  - Opinion piece explaining the escalation of involvement in Syria. The author essentially states that the civil war will take at least ten years and so therefore we must just let things happen.
- Macaron, Joe, "Jordan, Israel hedge their bets in southwest Syria," *al-Monitor* [22 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/us-cedes-southwest-syria-jordan-israel-hedge-bets.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/03/us-cedes-southwest-syria-jordan-israel-hedge-bets.html</a> [accessed 23 March 2018].
- Mason, Paul, "The four questions we need to answer before bombing Isis or Assad," *The Guardian* [30 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/20/the-four-questions-we-need-to-answer-before-bombing-isis-or-assad?CMP=fb\_gu">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/20/the-four-questions-we-need-to-answer-before-bombing-isis-or-assad?CMP=fb\_gu</a> [accessed 5 July 2017].
  - The four questions are: 1) what is happening, 2) what is the desired end result, 3) legality, and 4) geopolitical effectiveness. Though they are not all written as questions they are answered as such.
- Mehta, Aaron, "Who learned more from the strikes in Syria America or Russia?" *Defense News* [20 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2018/04/20/who-learned-more-from-the-strikes-in-syria-america-or-russia/">https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2018/04/20/who-learned-more-from-the-strikes-in-syria-america-or-russia/</a> [accessed 23 April 2018].
- Mehta, Aaron and Awad Mustafa, "Gulf Divides Threaten Anti-Assad Coalition," *Defense News* [12 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/10/11/gulf-division-increases-tensions-in-syria/73663952/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/10/11/gulf-division-increases-tensions-in-syria/73663952/</a> [accessed 13 October 2015].
- Mehta, Aaron and Joe Gould, "Has Kerry Opened the Door for Syria's Assad To Stay?" *Defense News* [17 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/war-in-syria/2015/12/17/kerry-hints-assad-may-stay-syria-russia-isis/77430660/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/war-in-syria/2015/12/17/kerry-hints-assad-may-stay-syria-russia-isis/77430660/</a> [accessed 17 December 2015].
  - The ever evolving US policy with respect to the Syrian civil war develops with a comment made by Secretary Kerry regarding the possibility of Assad staying in power.
- Meyer, Henry, "Russia Says Syria Rejects New Constitution Diluting Assad Powers," *Bloomberg* [21 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-05-21/russia-says-syria-rejects-new-constitution-diluting-assad-powers">https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-05-21/russia-says-syria-rejects-new-constitution-diluting-assad-powers</a> [accessed 23 May 2018].
- Mironova, Vera, "Labor Market of Rebel Groups," Presentation, International Security Fellow, Harvard Kennedy School, PhD Candidate, University of Maryland [26 February 2016].
- Moaveni, Azadeh, "ISIS Women and Enforcers in Syria Recount Collaboration, Anguish and Escape", New York Times [21 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/22/world/middleeast/isis-wives-and-enforcers-in-syria-recount-collaboration-anguish-and-escape.html?r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/22/world/middleeast/isis-wives-and-enforcers-in-syria-recount-collaboration-anguish-and-escape.html?r=0</a> [accessed 23 November 2015].
  - Mohamad, Sinam, "Once We Beat ISIS, Don't Abandon Us," *The New York Times* [11 May 2017]. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/11/opinion/once-syrian-kurds-beat-isis-dont-abandon-them-to-turkey.html [accessed 12 May 2017].
    - A plea from the Kurdish dominated forces leading the fight against ISIS in Syria.
  - Morris, Loveday, "The unbelievable devastation of a shattered Syrian city," *The Washington Post* [5 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-unbelievable-devastation-of-a-shattered-syrian-city/2016/04/05/2d67f896-f51d-11e5-958d-d038dac6e718\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-unbelievable-devastation-of-a-shattered-syrian-city/2016/04/05/2d67f896-f51d-11e5-958d-d038dac6e718\_story.html</a> [accessed 6 April 2016].
  - Morris, Loveday, "Israel is courting Syrian 'hearts and minds' to keep Hezbollah away," *The Washington Post* [11 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/israel-is-courting-syrian-hearts-and-minds-to-keep-hezbollah-away/2017/09/11/2108a2c8-9259-11e7-8482-8dc9a7af29f9\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/israel-is-courting-syrian-hearts-and-minds-to-keep-hezbollah-away/2017/09/11/2108a2c8-9259-11e7-8482-8dc9a7af29f9\_story.html</a> [accessed 12 September 2017].

- Morris, Loveday and Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "Hundreds of Iranian troops mass near Aleppo, U.S. official and activists say," *The Washington Post* [14 October 2015].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hundreds-of-iranian-troops-mass-near-aleppo-us-defense-official-and-activists-say/2015/10/14/0f63227e-7298-11e5-ba14-318f8e87a2fc\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hundreds-of-iranian-troops-mass-near-aleppo-us-defense-official-and-activists-say/2015/10/14/0f63227e-7298-11e5-ba14-318f8e87a2fc\_story.html</a> [accessed 15 October 2015].
- Mroue, Bassem, "Al-Qaida steps up violence against Syrian government," *Military Times* [20 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/al-qaida-steps-up-violence-against-syrian-government">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/al-qaida-steps-up-violence-against-syrian-government</a> [accessed 21 March 2017].
  - What is al-Qaeda doing in Syria? In this case, they are advancing in the city of Damascus. Is this something more than a singular success against a regime caught off guard? Uncertain, and what is more uncertain is the connectivity between this group and the former Jabhat al-Nusra or Jabhat Fatah al-Sham. It seems as if they are unconnected, but this current one still claims connectivity to al-Qaeda.
- Mroue, Bassem, "Al-Qaida's advance in northern Syria threatens fragile truce," *Military Times* [30 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/01/30/al-qaidas-advance-in-northern-syria-threatens-fragile-truce/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/01/30/al-qaidas-advance-in-northern-syria-threatens-fragile-truce/</a> [accessed 2 February 2019].
- Najjar, Farah, "Syria chemical attack: 'It was like my lungs were shutting down'," *Al Jazeera News* [8 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/syria-chemical-attack-lungs-shutting-180408123716663.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/syria-chemical-attack-lungs-shutting-180408123716663.html</a> [accessed 9 April 2018].
- Najjar, Farah, "Syria: Rebels comply and pull heavy weapons out of Idlib," *Al Jazeera News* [10 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/syria-war-rebels-complete-heavy-arms-pullout-idlib-zone-181010145807507.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/syria-war-rebels-complete-heavy-arms-pullout-idlib-zone-181010145807507.html</a> [accessed 13 October 2018].
- ★ Neely, Bill, "Bashar Al-Assad Says U.S. Is 'Not Serious' About Defeating ISIS," NBC News [14 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/bashar-al-assad-says-u-s-not-serious-about-defeating-n609036">http://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/bashar-al-assad-says-u-s-not-serious-about-defeating-n609036</a> [accessed 15 July 2016].
  - This article is based off an NBC interview with President Assad. In that interview and mentioned in this article is a statement about how the US role in the Middle East has only made terrorism more powerful and successful. That captures a mood throughout the region of US effectiveness and purpose.
  - Ohl, Dorothy, Kevin Koehler, and Holger Albrecht, "The Syrian military has thousands of deserters. New research tells us why they left", *The Washington Post* [17 December 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/12/17/talking-to-assads-military-deserters">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/12/17/talking-to-assads-military-deserters</a> [accessed 19 December 2015].
    - The article includes some quality anecdotes on the nature of the Syrian Civil War as it affects desertions within the Syrian Army.
  - Opall-Rome, Barbara. Iran Deploys Hezbollah-Trained Afghan Sniper Brigade in Syria. *Defense News* [19 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2016/07/18/iran-deploys-hizbollah-trained-afghan-sniper-brigade-syria/87261922/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2016/07/18/iran-deploys-hizbollah-trained-afghan-sniper-brigade-syria/87261922/</a> [accessed 19 July 2016].
    - Hezbollah is not in Syria solely as fighters. They have become the premiere trainers for Iranian interests around the region. In this case they trained Afghan snipers.
  - Osman, Tamer, "Syrian Islamist factions join forces against Hayat Tahrir al-Sham," *al-Monitor* [28 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/02/syria-liberation-front-battes-against-hayat-ahrar-al-sham.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/02/syria-liberation-front-battes-against-hayat-ahrar-al-sham.html</a> [accessed 1 March 2018].
  - Oueiss, Hadeel, "The Rebel Commander of Damascus", *The Daily beast* [15 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/15/the-rebel-commander-of-damascus.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/15/the-rebel-commander-of-damascus.html</a> [accessed 15 December 2015].
    - Interview with Zahran Alloush, head of the Army of Islam. This is a wide ranging interview. There are clear biases, however, the article provides some insight into the complexity of the Syrian Civil War.

- Pearson, Alexander, Matthias von Hein, Martin Muno, Jens Thurau, Rahel Klein, and Mikhail Bushuev, "What foreign powers want from the Syrian war," *Deutsche Welle* [21 February 2018]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/what-foreign-powers-want-from-the-syrian-war/a-42686306">http://www.dw.com/en/what-foreign-powers-want-from-the-syrian-war/a-42686306</a> [accessed 22 February 2018].
- Petkova, Mariya, "Where is al-Qaeda in Syria?" *Al Jazeera* [1 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/al-qaeda-syria-180301152110387.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/al-qaeda-syria-180301152110387.html</a> [accessed 2 March 2018].
- Pierret, Thomas, "Brothers in Alms: Salafi Financiers and the Syrian Insurgency," *Carnegie Middle East Center* [18 May 2018]. <a href="https://carnegie-mec.org/2018/05/18/brothers-in-alms-salafi-financiers-and-syrian-insurgency-pub-76390">https://carnegie-mec.org/2018/05/18/brothers-in-alms-salafi-financiers-and-syrian-insurgency-pub-76390</a> [accessed 21 May 2018].
- Polk, William R., "Understanding Syria", Middle East Policy Council [3 December 2013]. <a href="http://www.mepc.org/understanding-syria">http://www.mepc.org/understanding-syria</a> [accessed 18 January 2016]. One of the contentions in the article is that it was four years of severe drought that precipitated the unrest in Syria leading to the civil war.
- Pomerleau, Mark, "Why Syria may be the most aggressive electronic warfare environment on Earth," *C4ISR Net* [24 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/electronic-warfare/2018/04/24/socom-chief-syria-most-aggressive-ew-environment-on-earth/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/electronic-warfare/2018/04/24/socom-chief-syria-most-aggressive-ew-environment-on-earth/</a> [accessed 26 April 2018].
- Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, "Syrian Rebels Accept Russian-Brokered Surrender Deal In Homs Enclave," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* [3 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/syrian-rebels-accept-russian-brokered-surrender-deal-homs-enclave-/29205593.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/syrian-rebels-accept-russian-brokered-surrender-deal-homs-enclave-/29205593.html</a> [accessed 4 May 2018].
- Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, "Lavrov Warns West Not To Interfere In Syria's Idlib," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* [29 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/lavrov-warns-west-not-to-interfere-in-antiterror-actions-in-syria-s-idlib/29460218.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/lavrov-warns-west-not-to-interfere-in-antiterror-actions-in-syria-s-idlib/29460218.html</a> [accessed 30 August 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "US officials say they're not conducting 'presence patrols' in Manbij, Syria, but new photos show otherwise," *Military Times* [29 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/29/us-officials-say-theyre-not-conducting-presence-patrols-in-manbij-syria-but-new-photos-show-otherwise/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/03/29/us-officials-say-theyre-not-conducting-presence-patrols-in-manbij-syria-but-new-photos-show-otherwise/</a> [accessed 30 March 2018].
- Riemer, Ofek and Carmit Valensi, "The Agreement on De-escalation Zones in Syria: Risks to Israel, with Opportunities for Influence," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 928, 15 May 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20929%20.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20929%20.pdf</a> [accessed 15 May 2017].
- Rogin, Josh, "In Syria, we 'took the oil.' Now Trump wants to give it to Iran." *The Washington Post* [30 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2018/03/30/in-syria-we-took-the-oil-now-trump-wants-to-give-it-to-iran/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2018/03/30/in-syria-we-took-the-oil-now-trump-wants-to-give-it-to-iran/</a> [accessed 2 April 2018].
- Roth, Andrew and Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "Russia's military is unlikely to turn the tide in Syria's war," *The Washington Post* [3 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/russias-military-is-unlikely-to-turn-the-tide-in-syrias-war/2015/10/03/1b9fff04-686a-11e5-bdb6-6861f4521205">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/russias-military-is-unlikely-to-turn-the-tide-in-syrias-war/2015/10/03/1b9fff04-686a-11e5-bdb6-6861f4521205</a> story.html [accessed 5 October 2015].
- Sanger, David E. and Helene Cooper, "Obama Turns to Diplomacy and Military in Syria, and Is Met With Doubts", New York Times [10 November 2015].

  <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/11/world/middleeast/obama-assad-syria.html?ref=middleeast">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/11/world/middleeast/obama-assad-syria.html?ref=middleeast</a> [accessed 11 November 2015].
- Seftel, Bennett, "Al Qaeda Spinoffs Rise from Syrian Ashes," *The Cipher Brief* [12 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/al-qaeda-spinoffs-rise-syrian-ashes">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/al-qaeda-spinoffs-rise-syrian-ashes</a> [accessed 13 October 2017].

- Semenov, Kirill, "Russia treads lightly in Syrian deadlock," al-Monitor [23 December 2020]. https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/12/russia-turkey-erdogan-syria-ain-issa-deadlock-sdf-kurds.html [accessed 1 January 2021].
- Serwer, Daniel, "To win in Syria, target Hezbollah," New York Post [29 July 2016].

  <a href="http://nypost.com/2016/07/29/to-win-in-syria-target-hezbollah/">http://nypost.com/2016/07/29/to-win-in-syria-target-hezbollah/</a> [accessed 1 August 2016].

  Here the author suggests that there is a definition of victory that exists in the current U.S. participation in the Syrian Civil War. To attain that end the title suggestion is made. His assumption is flawed in that attacking Hezbollah would accomplish the opposite of the current administration's goal in Syria maintain a quiet situation.
- Shaheen, Kareem, "Syria's White Helmets protest against killings of rescue workers," *The Guardian* [14 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/14/syria-white-helmets-protest-against-killings-of-rescue-workers">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/14/syria-white-helmets-protest-against-killings-of-rescue-workers</a> [accessed 15 August 2017].
- Singh, Michael and Dana Stroul, co-chairs, "September 2019 Final Report and Recommendations: Syria Study Group," Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace [September 2019]. https://www.usip.org/syria-study-group-final-report [accessed 7 October 2019].
- ★ Sly, Liz, "U.S. military aid is fueling big ambitions for Syria's leftist Kurdish militia," The Washington Post [7 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/us-military-aid-is-fueling-big-ambitions-for-syrias-leftist-kurdish-militia/2017/01/07/6e457866-c79f-11e6-acda-59924caa2450\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/us-military-aid-is-fueling-big-ambitions-for-syrias-leftist-kurdish-militia/2017/01/07/6e457866-c79f-11e6-acda-59924caa2450\_story.html</a> [accessed 9 January 2017]. Simple and short explanation of complexities in Syria. What will happen when ISIS is no more? Or will Kurds and Turks fight each other before they fight ISIS? The article doesn't answer these questions, but it does give context for why these questions exist.
  - Sly, Liz and Loveday Morris, "Syria's war mutates into a regional conflict, risking a wider conflagration," *The Washington Post* [12 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syrias-war-mutates-into-a-regional-conflict-risking-a-wider-conflagration/2018/02/12/87c783fc-0da2-11e8-998c-96deb18cca19\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syrias-war-mutates-into-a-regional-conflict-risking-a-wider-conflagration/2018/02/12/87c783fc-0da2-11e8-998c-96deb18cca19\_story.html</a> [accessed 13 February 2018].
  - Snow, Shawn, "Syrian Kurds are now armed with sensitive US weaponry, and the Pentagon denies supplying it," *Military Times* [7 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/syrian-kurds-ypg-us-military-weapons">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/syrian-kurds-ypg-us-military-weapons</a> [accessed 9 May 2017]
  - The Soufan Center, "TSC IntelBrief: Shifting Geopolitical Tides in Syria," *The Soufan Center* [28 February 2019]. <a href="https://mailchi.mp/thesoufancenter/shifting-geopolitical-tides-in-syria">https://mailchi.mp/thesoufancenter/shifting-geopolitical-tides-in-syria</a> [accessed 2 March 2019].
  - Stavridis, James, "The Syrian Civil War Has Raged for 7 Years. This Is What the U.S. Can Do to Help End It," *Time* [12 March 2018]. <a href="http://time.com/5195442/eastern-ghouta-syria-civil-war-anniversary/">http://time.com/5195442/eastern-ghouta-syria-civil-war-anniversary/</a> [accessed 14 March 2018].
  - Stein, Aaron, "The Promise and Peril of Changing U.S. Strategy in Syria," War on the Rocks [1 March 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/the-promise-and-peril-of-changing-u-s-strategy-in-syria/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/the-promise-and-peril-of-changing-u-s-strategy-in-syria/</a> [accessed 2 March 2016].
  - Storm, Christian, "Tens of thousands of people are hiding in these immense Syrian tunnels and caves," *Business Insider* [10 March 2015]. <a href="https://www.businessinsider.com/syrian-secret-cave-hideouts-2015-3?op=1">https://www.businessinsider.com/syrian-secret-cave-hideouts-2015-3?op=1</a> [accessed 23 September 2018].
  - Suchkov, Maxim, "Three things the Tehran summit exposed about Russia, Turkey, Iran 'alliance'," *al-Monitor* [9 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/09/russia-syria-idlib-turkey-iran-us.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/09/russia-syria-idlib-turkey-iran-us.html</a> [accessed 10 September 2018].
  - Tabler, Andrew J. "The Scramble for Eastern Syria: With ISIS Weakening, the Game Is On," *Foreign Affairs* 3 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2017-06-03/scramble-eastern-syria">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2017-06-03/scramble-eastern-syria</a> [accessed 5 June 2017].

- Tastekin, Fehim, "Idlib could be trump card or time bomb for Turkey," *al-Monitor* [31 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/05/idlib-looms-as-time-bomb-for-turkey.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/05/idlib-looms-as-time-bomb-for-turkey.html</a> [accessed 2 June 2018].
- ★ Tastekin, Fehim, "As conditions shift in Syria, Kurds open to talks with Damascus," al-Monitor [21 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/turkey-syria-what-pushes-kurds-deal-with-regime.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/06/turkey-syria-what-pushes-kurds-deal-with-regime.html</a> [accessed 22 June 2018].
  Useful and important insight into the red lines and willingness to change of the political actors in Syria. American foreign policy analysts are well advised by this article to recognize that each player has interests for which they will change allegiances.
  - Taylor, Adam, "The Syrian war's death toll is absolutely staggering. But no one can agree on the number." *The Washington Post* [15 March 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/03/15/the-syrian-wars-death-toll-is-absolutely-staggering-but-no-one-can-agree-on-the-number/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/03/15/the-syrian-wars-death-toll-is-absolutely-staggering-but-no-one-can-agree-on-the-number/</a> [accessed 16 March 2016].
  - Taylor, Adam, "Poll: Most Americans support U.S. military action in Syria but only want a limited amount." *The Washington Post* [15 August 2016].

    <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/08/15/poll-most-americans-support-u-s-military-action-in-syria-but-only-want-a-limited-amount/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/08/15/poll-most-americans-support-u-s-military-action-in-syria-but-only-want-a-limited-amount/</a> [accessed 16 August 2016].
  - Tharoor, Ishaan, "What the fall of Aleppo would mean for Syria and the world," *The Washington Post* [9 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/02/09/what-the-fall-of-aleppo-would-mean-for-syria-and-the-world/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/02/09/what-the-fall-of-aleppo-would-mean-for-syria-and-the-world/</a> [accessed 10 February 2016].
  - Tharoor, Ishaan, "Syrian rebel 'cannibal' who ate enemy's heart is reported dead," *The Washington Post* [7 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/04/07/syrian-rebel-cannibal-who-ate-enemys-heart-is-reported-dead/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/04/07/syrian-rebel-cannibal-who-ate-enemys-heart-is-reported-dead/</a> [accessed 7 April 2016].
  - Tilghman, Andrew, "Experts: Russian navy missile strikes were 'bravado'," *Military Times* [7 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/10/07/russian-naval-strikes/73522038/">http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/10/07/russian-naval-strikes/73522038/</a> [accessed 8 October 2015].
  - Tillerson, Rex W. Remarks on the Way Forward for the United States Regarding Syria at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University. 17 January 2018. https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2018/01/277493.htm [accessed 18 February 2018].
  - Townsend, Mark, "Syria's Kurds march on to Raqqa and the sea," *The Guardian* [6 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/06/syria-kurds-raqqa-mediterranen">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/06/syria-kurds-raqqa-mediterranen</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
  - United States Institute of Peace, "Syria: Promoting Social Cohesion Through Religious, Tribal, and Civic Leader Engagement Final Project Report," Center for Middle East and Africa (MEA), United States Institute of Peace (USIP), February 2016.
- ★ Valensi, Carmit, "From Daraa 2011 to Daraa 2019: The Survival of Assad's Regime and the Challenges to Syria's Stabilization," The Institute for National Security Studies Insight No. 1158 [3 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/publication/daraa-2011-daraa-2019-survival-assads-regime-challenges-syrias-stabilization/">https://www.inss.org.il/publication/daraa-2011-daraa-2019-survival-assads-regime-challenges-syrias-stabilization/</a> [accessed 4 April 2019]. A great short summary of the Syrian civil war and why it went Assad's way.
  - Vasilyeva, Nataliya, "Russia says its airstrikes wounded al-Qaida leader in Syria," *Military Times* [4 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/04/russia-says-its-airstrikes-wounded-al-qaida-leader-in-syria/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/04/russia-says-its-airstrikes-wounded-al-qaida-leader-in-syria/</a> [accessed 5 October 2017].
- ★ Veseli, Luljeta Krasniqi and Charles Recknagel, "Disillusioned Volunteer Says Syria A Battle For War Booty, Territory," *Radio free Europe Radio Liberty* [6 March 2016].

- http://www.rferl.org/content/kosovo-disillusioned-volunteer-syria-war-booty-territory-islamic-state/27592144.html [accessed 7 March 2016].
- Vohra, Anchal, "Eastern Ghouta: Despite bomb hail, Tariq resists evacuation," *Deutsche Welle* [19 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/eastern-ghouta-despite-bomb-hail-tariq-resists-evacuation/a-43040596">http://www.dw.com/en/eastern-ghouta-despite-bomb-hail-tariq-resists-evacuation/a-43040596</a> [accessed 20 March 2018].
- Week in Review, "US decision to cut aid could be opening for flagging Saudi approach to Syria," *al-Monitor* [19 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/syria-stabilization-fund-cut-us-yemen-saudi-school-bus-hit.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/syria-stabilization-fund-cut-us-yemen-saudi-school-bus-hit.html</a> [accessed 18 August 2018].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Turkistan Islamic Party parades in northwestern Syria," *Long War Journal* [5 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/turkistan-islamic-party-parades-in-northwestern-syria.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/turkistan-islamic-party-parades-in-northwestern-syria.php</a> [accessed 7 November 2017].
- Weiss, Caleb, "Chechen commander killed in northern Syria," *Long War Journal* [17 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/chechen-commander-killed-in-northern-syria.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/chechen-commander-killed-in-northern-syria.php</a> [accessed 19 December 2017].
- Weiss, Michael, "'Why Are The Russians Bombing My Ambulances?'," *The Daily Beast* [6 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/06/why-are-the-russians-bombing-my-ambulances.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/06/why-are-the-russians-bombing-my-ambulances.html</a> [accessed 6 October 2015].
- ★ Weiss, Michael, "Does Obama Want to Carve Up Syria?" *The Daily Beast* [24 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/25/does-obama-want-to-carve-up-syria.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/25/does-obama-want-to-carve-up-syria.html</a> [accessed 25 February 2016].
  - Weiss, Michael, "The Mysterious Fate of the Dissident Italian Priest Snatched by ISIS," *The Daily Beast* [28 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/29/the-mysterious-fate-of-the-dissident-italian-priest-snatched-by-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/29/the-mysterious-fate-of-the-dissident-italian-priest-snatched-by-isis.html</a> [accessed 29 February 2016].
  - Weiss, Michael, "Russia Is Trying to Poach U.S.-Trained Rebels With 'Unlimited' Weapons in Syria," *The Daily Beast* [5 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/05/russia-is-trying-to-poach-u-s-trained-rebels-with-unlimited-weapons-in-syria.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/05/russia-is-trying-to-poach-u-s-trained-rebels-with-unlimited-weapons-in-syria.html</a> [accessed 5 August 2016].
- ★ Weiss, Michael, "Syrians Are Wise Not to Count on 'Abu Ivanka'," The Daily Beast [11 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/04/11/syrians-are-wise-not-to-count-on-abu-ivanka.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/04/11/syrians-are-wise-not-to-count-on-abu-ivanka.html</a> [accessed 12 April 2017]. <a href="Michael Weiss">Michael Weiss</a> is one of the best authors writing about the Middle East. In this article, he explains the frustrations in Syria and some of the motivations for the fighting. No matter what happens this is a mess and will require a great deal of commitment to clean up, assuming that this is possible, at all.
  - Weiss, Michael and Pierre Vaux, "Why Did Russia Send 'The Terminator' on a Humanitarian Mission in Syria?" *The Daily Beast* [1 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/01/whydid-russia-send-the-terminator-on-a-humanitarian-mission-in-syria.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/01/whydid-russia-send-the-terminator-on-a-humanitarian-mission-in-syria.html</a> [accessed 2 August 2016].
  - Whitlock, Craig and Brian Murphy, "Russia offers to reopen, broaden military talks with the U.S. over Syria," *The Washington Post* [6 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/nato-secretary-general-rejects-russian-claims-turkish-air-incursions-were-accidental/2015/10/06/8f2a2c42-6c0c-11e5-b31c-d80d62b53e28\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/nato-secretary-general-rejects-russian-claims-turkish-air-incursions-were-accidental/2015/10/06/8f2a2c42-6c0c-11e5-b31c-d80d62b53e28\_story.html</a> [accessed 7 October 2015].
  - Winter, Chase, "Russian airstrikes in southwest Syria signal escalation of regime offensive," *Deutsche Welle* [24 June 2018]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/russian-airstrikes-in-southwest-syria-signal-escalation-of-regime-offensive/a-44368639">http://www.dw.com/en/russian-airstrikes-in-southwest-syria-signal-escalation-of-regime-offensive/a-44368639</a> [accessed 25 June 2018].
  - Winter, Chase, "Russian airstrikes in Syria reportedly killed 18,000 people," *Deutsche Welle* [30 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/russian-airstrikes-in-syria-reportedly-killed-18000-people/a-45702091">https://www.dw.com/en/russian-airstrikes-in-syria-reportedly-killed-18000-people/a-45702091</a> [accessed 1 October 2018].

- Worland, Justin, "What We Know About the Lives of Bashar al-Assad and His Family," *Time* [21 October 2015]. http://time.com/4081256/bashar-al-assad-family-travels/ [accessed 22 October 2015].
- Yacoubian, Mona, "After ISIS, the US Faces Its Next Battle: Syria's Erupting Fault Lines," *Defense One* [18 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/02/after-isis-us-faces-its-next-battle-syrias-erupting-fault-lines/146079/">www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/02/after-isis-us-faces-its-next-battle-syrias-erupting-fault-lines/146079/</a> [accessed 20 February 2018].
- Younes, Ali, "End of the line for Hay'et Tahrir al-Sham in Syria?" *Al Jazeera* [29 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/08/line-hay-tahrir-al-sham-syria-180829132318259.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/08/line-hay-tahrir-al-sham-syria-180829132318259.html</a> [accessed 30 August 2018].
- Yousef, Nancy, "CIA and Pentagon Bicker While Russia Wipes Out U.S.-Backed Rebels," *The Daily Beast* 9 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/09/cia-and-pentagon-bicker-while-russia-wipes-out-u-s-backed-rebels.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/06/09/cia-and-pentagon-bicker-while-russia-wipes-out-u-s-backed-rebels.html</a> [accessed 9 June 2016].
- Zhou, Laura, "Syria courts China for rebuilding push after fall of Islamic State's strongholds," *South China Morning Post* [25 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2121552/syria-courts-china-rebuilding-push-after-fall-islamic">http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2121552/syria-courts-china-rebuilding-push-after-fall-islamic</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
- Zisser, Eyal, "The War in Syria: What Lies Ahead?" The Institute for National Security Studies, Strategic Assessment, Volume 20, No. 2, July 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/adkan20-zisser.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/adkan20-zisser.pdf</a> [accessed 31 July 2017].
  - This is a useful summary of the probable future outcomes.

## The Region

- Abu Nasr, Donna, "Shiite Iraq Cleric Key Player in Sunni Attempts to Curb Iran," *Bloomberg News* [14 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-08-14/shiite-iraq-leader-key-player-in-sunni-attempts-to-weaken-iran">https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-08-14/shiite-iraq-leader-key-player-in-sunni-attempts-to-weaken-iran</a> [accessed 15 August 2017].
- Adulaziz, Ibrahim and Michelle Faul, "Boko Haram destroys Nigerian military base; 107 troops MIA", Associated press [30 November 2015].
  - http://bigstory.ap.org/article/6b988824aee741fb849e43f9023da6de/boko-haram-destroys-nigerian-military-base-107-troops-mia [accessed 1 December 2015].
  - This is hard evidence that the Nigerian government did not destroy Boko Haram in September 2015 as claimed.
- Agence France-Presse, "UAE accuses Qatar of being behind 'war crimes' complaint," *al-Monitor* [28 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/11/uae-conflict-qatar-yemen-court.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/11/uae-conflict-qatar-yemen-court.html</a> [accessed 29 November 2017].
- Al Jazeera, "Qatar blockade case to appear before UN's highest court," *Al Jazeera* [27 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/qatar-blockade-case-international-criminal-court-180627081742617.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/qatar-blockade-case-international-criminal-court-180627081742617.html</a> [accessed 29 June 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Trump: Saudi king wouldn't last 'two weeks' without US support," *Al Jazeera* [2 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/trump-saudi-king-wouldn-weeks-support-181003053438418.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/trump-saudi-king-wouldn-weeks-support-181003053438418.html</a> [accessed 3 October 2018].
- Alley, April Longley, Ali Vaez, Heiko Wimmen, and Ofer Zalzberg, "A Huthi Missile, a Saudi Purge and a Lebanese Resignation Shake the Middle East," *International Crisis Group Middle East & North Africa*, 10 November 2017. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/huthi-missile-saudi-purge-and-lebanese-resignation-shake-middle-east">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/huthi-missile-saudi-purge-and-lebanese-resignation-shake-middle-east</a> [accessed 10 November 2017].
- Arab Center, "2016 Arab Opinion Index: Executive Summary," Arab Center Washington DC [11 April 2017]. <a href="http://arabcenterdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/2016-Arab-Opinion-Index-Executive-Summary-for-web.pdf">http://arabcenterdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/2016-Arab-Opinion-Index-Executive-Summary-for-web.pdf</a> [accessed 28 November 2017].
- Armstrong, Hannah, "The Youth Movement in Sahrawi Refugee Camps," *International Crisis Group* [25 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/western-sahara/youth-movement-sahrawi-refugee-camps">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/western-sahara/youth-movement-sahrawi-refugee-camps</a> [accessed 26 April 2018].
- ★ Becker, Jo and Scott Shane, "The Libya Gamble, Part 1: Hillary Clinton, Smart Power' and a Dictator's Fall," New York Times [27 February 206]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/28/us/politics/hillary-clinton-libya.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/28/us/politics/hillary-clinton-libya.html</a> [accessed 29 February 2016].
  - Bekdil, Burak Ege, "'Nothing more natural': Turkey-Qatar procurement business flourishes," *Defense News* [13 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/industry/2017/12/13/nothing-more-natural-turkey-qatar-procurement-business-flourishes/">https://www.defensenews.com/industry/2017/12/13/nothing-more-natural-turkey-qatar-procurement-business-flourishes/</a> [accessed 14 December 2017].
  - Bhadrakumar, M.K. "Turkey-Iran-Qatar entente mocks Saudi-led 'Arab NATO'," *Asia Times* [18 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/turkey-iran-qatar-entente-mocks-saudi-led-arab-nato/">http://www.atimes.com/turkey-iran-qatar-entente-mocks-saudi-led-arab-nato/</a> [accessed 29 November 2017].
- ★ Bokhari, Kamran, "Why Shiite Expansion Will Be Short-Lived", Stratfor [12 May 2015].
  <a href="https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/why-shiite-expansion-will-be-short-lived">https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/why-shiite-expansion-will-be-short-lived</a> [accessed 14 May 2015].
  - Boukhars, Anouar, "Exclusion and Despair Make Tunisia's Border Regions a Powder Keg," *World Politics Review* [19 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/19389/exclusion-and-despair-make-tunisia-s-border-regions-a-powder-keg">http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/19389/exclusion-and-despair-make-tunisia-s-border-regions-a-powder-keg</a> [accessed 1 March 2017].

- Providing in depth understanding of Tunisia's challenges in integrating economic opportunities across the whole of the country. Having traveled in Tunisia, I recognize the challenges.
- Bowie, Nil F. "Is Brunei's sharia law just for show?" *Asia Times* [5 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/04/article/is-bruneis-sharia-law-just-for-show/">https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/04/article/is-bruneis-sharia-law-just-for-show/</a> [accessed 9 April 2019].
- Browning, Noah, "Arab powers sever Qatar ties, citing support for militants," *Reuters* [5 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-gulf-qatar-idUSKBN18W0DQ">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-gulf-qatar-idUSKBN18W0DQ</a> [accessed 6 June 2017].
  - This reads as serious. It is uncertain if the actions described in the article will have any effect on behavior.
- Copp, Tara, "Terrorism challenges in Africa take back seat in U.S. to other threats," *Military Times* [13 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/02/13/terrorism-challenges-in-africa-take-back-seat-to-other-threats/">https://www.militarytimes.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/02/13/terrorism-challenges-in-africa-take-back-seat-to-other-threats/</a> [accessed 14 February 2018].
- Dagher, Munqith, "Middle East Public Opinion on the American Dream After Afghanistan," *The Washington Institute* [23 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/middle-east-public-opinion-american-dream-after-afghanistan">https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/middle-east-public-opinion-american-dream-after-afghanistan</a> [accessed 27 August 2021]. This has some great information.

In short, there are costs to bad decisions poorly executed.

It should not surprise anyone that when the United States does something that is done poorly then everything associated with the United States suffers in comparison. This report addresses a hit to the ideas of representative government (I hesitate to use the word democracy as that word is misused and poorly understood globally and at home) as well as an increased respect and appreciation (even desire) for authoritarian rule. Not good.

The 2003 invasion of Iraq may have been a bad decision (I supported it at the time and still believe that there was value in toppling Saddam Hussein), but it was horribly executed beyond the initial invasion and operational success. The withdrawal from Afghanistan may be a bad (or a good) idea, but it is being horribly and embarrassingly executed. These things matter.

When a government as large and influential as the United States makes an error, it cannot get away by saying oops or I'm sorry. We have to be better in making the decision and then in how it is done. I would like us to always do right things, but I will settle for always doing things right.

- The Data Team, "The Arab spring, five years on", *The Economist* [11 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2016/01/daily-chart-8">http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2016/01/daily-chart-8</a> [accessed 5 February 2016].
- Detsch, Jack, "Middle East upheaval casts a shadow over 'Arab NATO'," *al-Monitor* [4 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/11/middle-east-upheaval-arab-nato-egypt.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/11/middle-east-upheaval-arab-nato-egypt.html</a> [accessed 5 November 2018].
- Exum, Andrew, "Gulf Leaders Still Love Trump," *The Atlantic* [15 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/05/gulf-trump-emirates/526626/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/05/gulf-trump-emirates/526626/</a> [accessed 16 May 2017].
  - Information on the upcoming UAE Crown Prince visit to the US.
- Fetterolf, Janell and Jacob Poushter, "Key Middle East Publics See Russia, Turkey and U.S. All Playing Larger Roles in Region: Most do not expect Syrian war to end in 2018," Pew Research Center Global Attitudes and Trends [11 December 2017]. <a href="http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/12/11/key-middle-east-publics-see-russia-turkey-and-u-s-all-playing-larger-roles-in-region/">http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/12/11/key-middle-east-publics-see-russia-turkey-and-u-s-all-playing-larger-roles-in-region/</a> [accessed 24 April 2018].
- ★ Feuer, Sarah and Carmit Valensi, "Arab Spring 2.0? Making Sense of the Protests Sweeping the Region," The Institute for National Security Studies, INSS Insight No 1235, 1 December 2019. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/No.-1235.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/No.-1235.pdf</a> [accessed 1 December 2019]. This is the best single article explanation on current protests. There is a lot going on the Middle East and this article places it in comprehensible context.

- Future for Advanced Research and Studies, "Cloning Chaos: Why National Salvation Governments Fail in the Arab Region," Future for Advanced Research and Studies [27 February 2018]. <a href="https://futureuae.com/en-US/Mainpage/Item/3750/cloning-chaos-why-national-salvation-governments-fail-in-the-arab-region">https://futureuae.com/en-US/Mainpage/Item/3750/cloning-chaos-why-national-salvation-governments-fail-in-the-arab-region</a> [accessed 3 March 2018].
- Gambrell, Jon, "Qatar diplomatic crisis engulfs a major US military base," *Military Times* [14 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/14/qatar-diplomatic-crisis-engulfs-a-major-us-military-base/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/14/qatar-diplomatic-crisis-engulfs-a-major-us-military-base/</a> [accessed 15 September 2017].
- Gambrell, Jon, "Qatar's emir warns against military action in Gulf dispute," *Military Times* [29 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/29/qatars-emir-warns-against-military-action-in-gulf-dispute/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/29/qatars-emir-warns-against-military-action-in-gulf-dispute/</a> [accessed 30 October 2017].
- ★ Goldbaum, Christina, "A Trumpian 'War on Terror' That Just Keeps Getting Bigger," *The Atlantic* [11 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/drone-somalia-al-shabaab-al-qaeda-terrorist-africa-trump/569680/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/drone-somalia-al-shabaab-al-qaeda-terrorist-africa-trump/569680/</a> [accessed 11 September 2018].
  - This article provides great fodder for a discussion on the effectiveness of drone warfare. According to this article it seems to be effective, but that means that military power is further dominating the diplomatic effort.
  - Gorvett, Jonathan, "Saudi canal plans signal Qatar crisis still raging," *Asia Times* [22 July 2018]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/saudi-canal-plans-signal-qatar-crisis-still-raging/">http://www.atimes.com/article/saudi-canal-plans-signal-qatar-crisis-still-raging/</a> [accessed 23 July 2018].
  - Gozanky, Yoel and Efraim Halevy, "Oman: The End of the Qaboos Era," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 1246, 13 January 2020. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/No.-1246.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/No.-1246.pdf</a> [accessed 14 January 2020].
  - Grady, John, "Former Diplomat: Middle East on the Edge of Political, Social Implosion," *US Naval Institute News* [11 October 2016]. <a href="https://news.usni.org/2016/10/11/former-diplo-middle-east">https://news.usni.org/2016/10/11/former-diplo-middle-east</a> [accessed 12 October 2016].
    - An Egyptian diplomat expresses the first regional concern as Arab-Israeli peace.
  - Guzansky, Yoel, "Sparta in the Gulf: The Growing Regional Clout of the United Arab Emirates," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 882, 8 January 2017.
    - http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20882%20-
    - %20Guzansky%20on%20UAE website.pdf [accessed 16 January 2017].
    - Short summary of UAE's role and status in the region. The author explains some of the complexity while still making it comprehensible.
  - Guzansky, Yoel, "Oman after Qaboos: Challenges Facing the Sultanate," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 924, 4 May 2017.
    - http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20924%20-
    - %200man%20after%20Qaboos587612598.pdf [accessed 11 May 2017].
  - Hassan, "In the Gulf, Repression and Discontent Are Rising as US Influence Wanes," *Defense One* [5 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/11/gulf-repression-and-discontent-are-rising-us-influence-wanes/152586/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/11/gulf-repression-and-discontent-are-rising-us-influence-wanes/152586/</a> [accessed 6 November 2018].
- ★ Hokayem, Emile, ""Assad or We Burn the Country": Misreading Sectarianism and the Regime in Syria," War on the Rocks [24 August 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/08/assad-or-we-burn-the-country-misreading-sectarianism-and-the-regime-in-syria/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/08/assad-or-we-burn-the-country-misreading-sectarianism-and-the-regime-in-syria/</a> [accessed 25 August 2016].
  - This is one of two responses to the articles written by Cyrus Mahboubian. Great information on Syria as a rebuttal.
  - Insinna, Valerie, "Here are all the defense deals announced at Dubai Airshow," *Defense News* [15 November 2017]. https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/dubai-air-

- <u>show/2017/11/15/here-are-all-the-defense-deals-announced-at-dubai-airshow/</u> [accessed 16 November 2017].
- International Crisis Group, "Blocked Transition: Corruption and Regionalism in Tunisia," *International Crisis Group Middle East & North Africa Report*, Number 177, 10 May 2017. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/tunisia/177-blocked-transition-corruption-and-regionalism-tunisia">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/tunisia/177-blocked-transition-corruption-and-regionalism-tunisia</a> [accessed 11 May 2017].
- International Crisis Group, "Somalia and the Gulf Crisis," *International Crisis Group Africa Report*, Number 260, 5 June 2018. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/260-somalia-and-the-gulf-crisis">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/260-somalia-and-the-gulf-crisis 0.pdf</a> [accessed 5 June 2018].
- Interview with Tunisian Prime Minister Chahad, "Tunisian Prime Minister Chahed: 'Terror No Longer Has a Nationality'," *Spiegel Online* [9 January 2017].
  - http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/tunisian-prime-minister-chahed-terror-has-no-nationality-a-1128955.html [accessed 11 January 2017].
  - The PM is one of the youngest rulers in the Arab world and he provides a fascinating perspective of the problems in Tunisia (economic and security) since the end of the Arab Spring. The titular comment is the most noteworthy, but he also addresses problems with employment of young men and debt debates with the IMF created, in part, by international arms purchases.
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb squadron ambushed in Libya", *The Long War Journal* [30 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/11/aqim-squadron-ambushed-in-libya.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/11/aqim-squadron-ambushed-in-libya.php</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
  - The fighting in Libya is as complex as anywhere else. Here one faction ambushes and kills the leader of the local AQIM affiliate.
- Joscelyn, Thomas and Caleb Weiss, "US designates al Qaeda's branch in Mali as terror organization," *The Long War Journal* [5 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/us-designates-al-qaedas-branch-in-mali-as-terror-organization.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/us-designates-al-qaedas-branch-in-mali-as-terror-organization.php</a> [accessed 6 September 2018].
- Kington, Tom, "UAE allegedly using Chinese drones for deadly airstrikes in Libya," *Defense News* [2 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/unmanned/2019/05/02/uae-allegedly-using-chinese-drones-for-deadly-airstrikes-in-libya/">https://www.defensenews.com/unmanned/2019/05/02/uae-allegedly-using-chinese-drones-for-deadly-airstrikes-in-libya/</a> [accessed 2 May 2019].
- Knights, Michael, "Contesting Facts on the Ground in Iraq," War on the Rocks [25 August 2016]. http://warontherocks.com/2016/08/contesting-facts-on-the-ground-in-iraq/ [accessed 25 August 2016].
  - This is one of two responses to the articles written by Cyrus Mahboubian.
- Kohut, Andrew. Testimony before the U.S. House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations "Arab and Muslim Perceptions of the United States," 10 November 2005. <a href="http://www.pewresearch.org/2005/11/10/arab-and-muslim-perceptions-of-the-united-states/">http://www.pewresearch.org/2005/11/10/arab-and-muslim-perceptions-of-the-united-states/</a> [accessed 24 April 2018].
- Larter, David B. and Stephen Losey, "Trump tweets put 'nerve center' of ISIS war in the middle of Qatar dispute," *Military Times* [6 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/trump-tweets-put-nerve-center-of-isis-war-in-the-middle-of-qatar-dispute">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/trump-tweets-put-nerve-center-of-isis-war-in-the-middle-of-qatar-dispute</a> [accessed 7 June 2017].
- Lynch, Justin and Robbie Gramer, "Arab States Foment Sudan Chaos While U.S. Stands By," *Foreign Policy* [5 June 2019]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/05/arab-states-foment-sudan-chaos-while-u-s-stands-by-sudan-khartoum-protests-violent-crackdown-saudi-arabia-united-arab-emirates-egypt-democracy-push/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/05/arab-states-foment-sudan-chaos-while-u-s-stands-by-sudan-khartoum-protests-violent-crackdown-saudi-arabia-united-arab-emirates-egypt-democracy-push/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/05/arab-states-foment-sudan-chaos-while-u-s-stands-by-sudan-khartoum-protests-violent-crackdown-saudi-arabia-united-arab-emirates-egypt-democracy-push/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/05/arab-states-foment-sudan-chaos-while-u-s-stands-by-sudan-khartoum-protests-violent-crackdown-saudi-arabia-united-arab-emirates-egypt-democracy-push/</a> [accessed 10 June 2019].
- ★ Mahboubian, Cyrus, "Washington's Sunni Myth and the Civil Wars in Syria and Iraq," War on the Rocks [16 August 2016]. http://warontherocks.com/2016/08/washingtons-sunni-myth-and-the-civil-wars-

- in-syria-and-iraq/ [accessed 16 August 2016].
- ★ Mahboubian, Cyrus, "Washington's Sunni Myth and the Middle East Undone," War on the Rocks [23 August 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/08/washingtons-sunni-myth-and-the-middle-east-undone/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/08/washingtons-sunni-myth-and-the-middle-east-undone/</a> [accessed 25 August 2016].

The author, under a pseudonym offers a different perspective of the dynamics roiling the Middle East. He does a good job of arguing against a misplaced sense of black and white that is demonstrated by those in Washington DC and other capitals. He does seem to overly skew the colors though when it comes to the dynamics in Iraq. Regardless this article is worth the read if only because it gives a different perspective from many other articles. This is a two article combination.

Malley, Robert, "The Unwanted Wars: Why the Middle East Is More Combustible Than Ever," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2019 [2 October 2019].

<a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2019-10-02/unwanted-wars">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2019-10-02/unwanted-wars</a> [accessed 7 October 2019].

I completely disagree with the tone and many of the implications and assertions in this article. That said, the author has some real experience with policy in the Middle East and it is worth appreciating his perspective. My disagreements include the following.

- Nations in the Middle East are not as inclined toward war with each other as the author suggests.
  They are very interested in fighting non-state actors and using non-state actors as proxies to fight
  other states, but that is not the same thing as what is being asserted. The states recognize the harm
  of state on state war and that is why it is being so assiduously avoided.
- Violence is a form of communication. The various actors are communicating and it is necessary communication. It is uncertain how this plays out, but artificially freezing the region through an imposed settlement will not resolve the issues any better than the current violence. It is sad for me to say as I love the region and the people who live there, but there needs to come a time when they are tired of killing each other. When that happens there will be peace.
- The Obama Administration did not know what it was doing in the Middle East any better than the
  current administration. My experience serving in multiple countries in the region during different
  presidential administrations taught me how little Washington DC, under every administration,
  understands the Middle East.
- Manek, Nizar, "U.A.E. Military Base in Breakaway Somaliland Seen Open by June," *Bloomberg* [6 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-11-06/u-a-e-military-base-in-breakaway-somaliland-seen-open-by-june">https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-11-06/u-a-e-military-base-in-breakaway-somaliland-seen-open-by-june</a> [accessed 6 November 2018].
- Mazzetti, Mark and Eric Schmitt, "As It Fights ISIS, Pentagon Seeks String of Bases Overseas," *New York Times* [10 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/11/us/politics/pentagon-seeks-string-of-overseas-bases-to-contain-isis.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/11/us/politics/pentagon-seeks-string-of-overseas-bases-to-contain-isis.html</a> [accessed 10 December 2015].
  - Some suggestions of actual locations are included in the article, but this seems to be floating ideas to the media.
- Mazzetti, Mark Jeffrey Gettleman, and Eric Schmitt, "In Somalia, U.S. Escalates a Shadow War," *New York Times* [16 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/16/world/africa/obama-somalia-secret-war.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/16/world/africa/obama-somalia-secret-war.html</a> [accessed 16 October 2016].
  - Brief description of the conduct of war in Somalia and the Horn of Africa. This a good example of the expansion of warfare beyond that understood by the American people This also illustrates US ignorance of the incentives-based system of exclusionary systems of governance.
- McVeigh, Karen, "Child soldier recruits double in one year in Middle East and North Africa," *The Guardian* [11 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/sep/11/child-soldier-recruits-double-in-one-year-in-middle-east-and-north-africa">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/sep/11/child-soldier-recruits-double-in-one-year-in-middle-east-and-north-africa</a> [accessed 12 September 2017].

- Mouchantaf, Chirine, "What's driving the Middle East's armored vehicles market?" *Defense News* [2 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/05/02/whats-driving-the-middle-easts-armored-vehicles-market/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/05/02/whats-driving-the-middle-easts-armored-vehicles-market/</a> [accessed 8 May 2018].
- Mustafa, Awad, "Saudi-Led Islamic Military Coalition Formed to Fight Terrorism", *Defense News* [14 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/12/14/saudi-led-islamic-military-coalition-formed-to-fight-terrorism/77318694/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2015/12/14/saudi-led-islamic-military-coalition-formed-to-fight-terrorism/77318694/</a> [accessed 15 December 2015].

  This article includes a list of the countries involved.
- Newton, Creede, "ISIS Gains a Foothold in Gaza", *The Daily Beast* [9 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/09/isis-gains-a-foothold-in-gaza.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/09/isis-gains-a-foothold-in-gaza.html</a> [accessed 9 December 2015].
  - This article is very good in that it conveys the challenges of ISIS spreading based off frustration. In this case the frustration is from the problem of being in the world's largest prison.
- Opall-Rome, Barabara, "Pentagon eyes intimate R&D tie-up with UAE based on US-Israel model," Defense News [15 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/dubai-air-show/2017/11/15/pentagon-eyes-intimate-rampd-tie-up-with-uae-based-on-us-israel-model/">https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/dubai-air-show/2017/11/15/pentagon-eyes-intimate-rampd-tie-up-with-uae-based-on-us-israel-model/</a> [accessed 16 November 2017].
- Pawlyk, Oriana, "Air Force Acknowledges Clandestine Base in UAE," *DoD Buzz Online Defense and Acquisition Journal by Military.com* [28 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.dodbuzz.com/2017/08/28/air-force-acknowledges-clandestine-base-in-uae/">https://www.dodbuzz.com/2017/08/28/air-force-acknowledges-clandestine-base-in-uae/</a> [accessed 29 August 2017].
- Pollack, Kenneth M. "The U.S. Has Wasted Billions of Dollars on Failed Arab Armies," Foreign Policy [31 January 2019]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/01/31/the-u-s-has-wasted-billions-of-dollars-on-failed-arab-armies/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/01/31/the-u-s-has-wasted-billions-of-dollars-on-failed-arab-armies/</a> [accessed 1 February 2019].
- Rana, Muhammad Amir, "Religion, Nationalism and Insurgency in Balochistan," *Dawn* [14 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.dawn.com/news/1493929/religion-nationalism-and-insurgency-in-balochistan">https://www.dawn.com/news/1493929/religion-nationalism-and-insurgency-in-balochistan</a> [accessed 21 July 2019].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "Russia asked to joint operate a US base in Syria. Coalition says hard pass." *Military Times* [6 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/12/06/russia-asked-to-joint-operate-a-us-base-in-syria-coalition-says-hard-pass/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/12/06/russia-asked-to-joint-operate-a-us-base-in-syria-coalition-says-hard-pass/</a> [accessed 8 December 2018].
- Reuters, "US bids to revive 'Arab NATO' alliance as part of measures against Iran," *Deutsche Welle* [29 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/us-bids-to-revive-arab-nato-alliance-as-part-of-measures-against-iran/a-44866600">https://www.dw.com/en/us-bids-to-revive-arab-nato-alliance-as-part-of-measures-against-iran/a-44866600</a> [accessed 30 July 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Pakistan laughingly says its fight against terrorists is 'unmatched in the world'," *Long War Journal* [25 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/pakistan-laughingly-says-its-fight-against-terrorists-is-unmatched-in-the-world.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/pakistan-laughingly-says-its-fight-against-terrorists-is-unmatched-in-the-world.php</a> [accessed 27 November 2017].
- Roggio, Bill, "US military against targets Shabaab in central Somalia," *Long War Journal* [28 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/us-military-against-targets-shabaab-in-central-somalia.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/us-military-against-targets-shabaab-in-central-somalia.php</a> [accessed 2 December 2018].
- Rosen, Armin, "A nervous Saudi Arabia just launched a massive military exercise," *Business Insider* [18 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.businessinsider.com/saudi-arabia-just-launched-a-massive-military-exercise-2016-2">http://www.businessinsider.com/saudi-arabia-just-launched-a-massive-military-exercise-2016-2</a> [accessed 19 February 2016].
- Roule, Norman, "The New Risks, Realities and Opportunities in the Middle East," *The Cipher Brief* [2 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/new-risks-realities-opportunities-middle-east">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/new-risks-realities-opportunities-middle-east</a> [accessed 4 May 2018].
- Sanderson, Thomas M. "From the Ferghana Valley to Syria and Beyond: A Brief History of Central Asian

- Foreign Fighters," *Center for Strategic & International Studies* [5 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.csis.org/analysis/ferghana-valley-syria-and-beyond-brief-history-central-asian-foreign-fighters">https://www.csis.org/analysis/ferghana-valley-syria-and-beyond-brief-history-central-asian-foreign-fighters</a> [accessed 10 January 2018].
- Sebright, Danny, "The US and UAE forge a new path on defense [Commentary]," *Defense News* 17 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/articles/us-and-uae-priorities-closely-aligned-commentary">http://www.defensenews.com/articles/us-and-uae-priorities-closely-aligned-commentary</a> [accessed 18 May 2017].
  - Op-Ed on the new defense cooperation agreement between the UAE and US. Short on details, but it has lots of value. The author is a US business leader in UAE.
- Shamil, Shams, "Opinion: Pakistan's ignominious surrender to Islamists," *Deutsche Welle* [27 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/opinion-pakistans-ignominious-surrender-to-islamists/a-41543721">http://www.dw.com/en/opinion-pakistans-ignominious-surrender-to-islamists/a-41543721</a> [28 November 2017].
- ★ Shane, Scott and Jo Becker, "The Libya Gamble, Part 2: A New Libya, With 'Very Little Time Left'," New York Times [27 February 206]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/28/us/politics/libya-isis-hillary-clinton.html?r=0& r=0 [accessed 29 February 2016].
  - Shavit, Shabtai, "A New Regional Arrangement in the Middle East the Only Way out of the Deadloc", International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [29 November 2015]. <a href="http://trailer.web-view.net/Show/0X745AD52CFA0ADEF28DD7060C332E5D530AB863DAAE4AF3729FA641D7D497414">http://trailer.web-view.net/Show/0X745AD52CFA0ADEF28DD7060C332E5D530AB863DAAE4AF3729FA641D7D497414</a> 1552835B8FF6C759D.htm [accessed 29 November 2015].
    - This is an unreasonable set of proposals for how to solve the security challenges in the Middle East is presented by anyone other than a former Mossad Chief. Some people might listen to his recommendations. As expected, the recommendations all favor Israel with no pain expected on their side and yet significant pain Iran ceasing to support Hezbollah as one example expected for others.
  - Sieff, Kevin, "Somalia's president says al-Qaeda-backed rebels are 'resurgent'," *The Washington Post* [10 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/somalias-president-says-al-qaeda-backed-rebels-are-resurgent/2016/04/09/56be207c-faa3-11e5-813a-90ab563f0dde\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/somalias-president-says-al-qaeda-backed-rebels-are-resurgent/2016/04/09/56be207c-faa3-11e5-813a-90ab563f0dde\_story.html</a> [accessed 11 April 2016].
  - Snow, Shawn, "American commandos face complicated mission in Mali," *Military Times* [18 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/18/american-commandos-face-complicated-mission-in-mali/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/18/american-commandos-face-complicated-mission-in-mali/</a> [accessed 19 September 2017].
  - South, Todd, "This retired Army lieutenant colonel got a pretty big promotion in another country's military," *Army Times* [11 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/05/11/this-retired-army-lieutenant-colonel-got-a-pretty-big-promotion-in-another-countrys-military/">https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/05/11/this-retired-army-lieutenant-colonel-got-a-pretty-big-promotion-in-another-countrys-military/</a> [accessed 14 May 2018].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Qatar and the Terrorist Blame Game," ICSVE Research Reports [29 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/35788832/Qatar">https://www.academia.edu/35788832/Qatar</a> and the Terrorist Blame Game [accessed 15 February 2018].
  - Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "As al Shabaab Reaches into Kenya to Attack Again: Can Disillusioned Terrorists Denouncing the Group Help Fight it?," ICSVE Research Reports [16 January 2019]. <a href="http://www.icsve.org/as-al-shabaab-reaches-into-kenya-to-attack-again-can-disillusioned-terrorists-denouncing-the-group-help-fight-it/">http://www.icsve.org/as-al-shabaab-reaches-into-kenya-to-attack-again-can-disillusioned-terrorists-denouncing-the-group-help-fight-it/</a> [accessed 28 March 2019].
  - Syeed, Nafeesa, "A Military Power Rises in the Mideast, Courtesy of One Man", *Bloomberg* [24 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-11-24/a-new-military-power-rises-in-the-mideast-courtesy-of-one-man">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-11-24/a-new-military-power-rises-in-the-mideast-courtesy-of-one-man</a> [accessed 30 November 2015].
    - The article places UAE within the broader regional context and discusses how Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed has steers the country toward a more significant security role.
  - Szep, Jason, Matt Spetalnick and Yara Bayoumy, "Exclusive: U.S. glossed over Oman's human rights

- record during Iran talks", *Reuters* [21 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-humantrafficking-oman-exclusive-idUSKBN0U40G720151221">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-humantrafficking-oman-exclusive-idUSKBN0U40G720151221</a> [accessed 21 December 2015].
- The article includes good information on the politicalizing of the human rights and trafficking in persons report from the US Department of State.
- Tharoor, Ishaan, "Chart: The two countries that eat up most U.S. military aid", Washington Post [11 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/11/11/chart-the-two-countries-that-eat-up-most-u-s-military-aid/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/11/11/chart-the-two-countries-that-eat-up-most-u-s-military-aid/</a> [accessed 13 November 2015].
- Tilghman, Andrew, "Mali attack underscores terror threats in Africa, AFRICOM chief says", *Military Times* [20 November 2015].
  - http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/11/20/mali-attack-underscoresterror-threats-africa-africom-chief-says/76116532/ [accessed 23 November 2015].
- ★ Trager, Eric, "The Muslim Brotherhood Is the Root of the Qatar Crisis," The Atlantic [2 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/07/muslim-brotherhood-qatar/532380/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/07/muslim-brotherhood-qatar/532380/</a>
  [accessed 3 July 2017].
  - This is the best single article explaining the issues between Qatar and Saudi Arabia and UAE.
  - Vines, David, "Tomgram: David Vine, Enduring Bases, Enduring War in the Middle East", *Tom Dispatch.com* [14 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/176090/">http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/176090/</a> [accessed 15 January 2016].
    - Considerable information and links on the issue of US bases in the "Greater Middle East." This is in response to a *New York Times* article from 10 December 2015 on the same topic included elsewhere in this bibliography.
  - Weisgerber, Marcus, "The ISIS Fight Is Reshaping US Arms Exports to Its Partners", *Defense One* [3 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/management/2015/12/isis-fight-reshaping-us-arms-exports-its-partners/124161/?oref=d-topstory">http://www.defenseone.com/management/2015/12/isis-fight-reshaping-us-arms-exports-its-partners/124161/?oref=d-topstory</a> [accessed 4 December 2015].
    - The article includes good statistics regards weapons sales to members of the anti-ISIS coalition.
  - White, Debbie, "ISIS 'beheads 11 Christian hostages' on Christmas Day in shocking new execution video in Nigeria," *The Sun* [27 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10625706/isis-beheads-11-christian-hostages-christmas-day-execution-video-nigeria/">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10625706/isis-beheads-11-christian-hostages-christmas-day-execution-video-nigeria/</a> [accessed 29 December 2019].
  - Wintour, Patrick, "Qatar given 10 days to meet 13 sweeping demands by Saudi Arabia," *The Guardian* [23 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/23/close-al-jazeera-saudi-arabia-issues-qatar-with-13-demands-to-end-blockade">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/23/close-al-jazeera-saudi-arabia-issues-qatar-with-13-demands-to-end-blockade</a> [accessed 26 June 2017].
  - Woldemariam, Michael and Alden Young, "What Happens in Sudan Doesn't Stay in Sudan," *Foreign Affairs* [19 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/africa/2019-07-19/what-happens-sudan-doesnt-stay-sudan">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/africa/2019-07-19/what-happens-sudan-doesnt-stay-sudan</a> [accessed 30 July 2019].
- ★ Worth, Robert F. "Mohammed bin Zayed's Dark Vision of the Middle East's Future," *The New York Times*[9 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html</a> [accessed 16 January 2020].
  - This is an excellent appreciation of the role of the United Arab Emirates in the Middle East along with the vision of its most influential leader, Mohamed bin Zayed. I lived and worked in Abu Dhabi from 2011 to 2013 and had direct knowledge of several items in this article. I am impressed with the reporting and the tone.
- ★ Yerkes, Sarah E. "The Tunisia Model: Lessons From a New Arab Democracy," Foreign Affairs
  [November/December 2019]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/tunisia/2019-10-15/tunisia-model">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/tunisia/2019-10-15/tunisia-model</a> [accessed 23 November 2019].
  - Too few articles address the aftermath of the Arab Spring in any detail or with a sense of perspective. This article does both. For those who want to know what people in the Middle East are doing to make their lives

better. This article provides that answer. The story is not all positive, but the information is really important.

Younes, Ali, "Second wave of Arab revolutions 'inevitable', experts say," Al Jazeera [29 April 2018].

https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/wave-arab-revolutions-inevitable-experts-180429072001489.html [accessed 30 April 2018].

Zogby, James, Elizabeth Zogby, and Sarah Hope Zogby, "Sir Bani Yas Forum Public Opinion 2017," Zogby Research Services, LLC [30 November 2017].

https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/aai/pages/13778/attachments/original/1515524868/SBY2 017 Final.pdf?1515524868 [accessed 24 April 2018].

## **United States Doctrine**

Sheehan, Michael A., Erich Marquardt, and Liam Collins, editors. *Routledge Handbook of US Counterterrorism and Irregular Warfare Operations*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2021. <a href="https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/oa-edit/10.4324/9781003164500/routledge-handbook-counterterrorism-irregular-warfare-operations-michael-sheehan-erich-marquardt-liam-collins">https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/oa-edit/10.4324/9781003164500/routledge-handbook-counterterrorism-irregular-warfare-operations-michael-sheehan-erich-marquardt-liam-collins</a> [accessed 8 October 2021].

The chapters of note are as follows.:

- 2 The ideology behind al-Qaida and the Islamic State 27
- 4 The history of the Islamic State: from Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi 54
- 21 Operation Enduring Freedom–Philippines: lessons in special warfare 280
- 24 Defeating the Islamic State: Special Operations Forces in Syria 323
- Ackerman, Elliot, "The Botched Afghanistan Withdrawal Exposes a Dangerous Fault Line in Our Democracy," *Time* [31 August 2021]. <a href="https://time.com/6093906/us-military-afghanistan-withdrawal/">https://time.com/6093906/us-military-afghanistan-withdrawal/</a> [accessed 1 September 2021].
  - A discussion of the issues raised by LtCol Scheller's YouTube post calling out military leadership.
- Altman, Howard, "'Gray Zone' conflicts far more complex to combat, says Socom chief Votel", *The Tampa Tribune* [28 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.tbo.com/list/military-news/gray-zone-conflicts-far-more-complex-to-combat-says-socom-chief-votel-20151128/">http://www.tbo.com/list/military-news/gray-zone-conflicts-far-more-complex-to-combat-says-socom-chief-votel-20151128/</a> [accessed 30 November 2015].
- Anderson, Gary, "What We Can Learn About 21st Century Wars From The Byzantines," *Small Wars Journal* [1 September 2018]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/what-we-can-learn-about-21st-century-wars-byzantines">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/what-we-can-learn-about-21st-century-wars-byzantines</a> [accessed 3 September 2018].
- Arquilla, John, "Three Ghosts Who Haunt Modern Strategy," *The Small Wars Journal* [8 May 2016]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/three-ghosts-who-haunt-modern-strategy">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/three-ghosts-who-haunt-modern-strategy</a> [accessed 9 May 2016].
- Atlamazoglou, Stavros, "After 7 years, a US-led task force fighting ISIS is getting a new name and taking a new approach to its mission," *Business Insider* [30 November 2021]. <a href="https://www.businessinsider.com/us-special-operations-task-force-fighting-isis-gets-renamed-2021-11">https://www.businessinsider.com/us-special-operations-task-force-fighting-isis-gets-renamed-2021-11</a> [accessed 3 December 2021].
- Bacevich, Andrew J. "In Obsessing Over Trump, the Media Ignore What Matters More: Twenty-Four key security issues," *War is Boring* [8 May 2017]. <a href="http://warisboring.com/in-obsessing-over-trump-the-media-ignores-what-matters-more/">http://warisboring.com/in-obsessing-over-trump-the-media-ignores-what-matters-more/</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
  - 24 excellent topics for discussion by American media on the policies and politics of the US government.
- Bacevich, Andrew J. "A General with a Bias for Action," *Lobe Log* [14 May 2019]. <a href="https://lobelog.com/ageneral-with-a-bias-for-action/#comments">https://lobelog.com/ageneral-with-a-bias-for-action/#comments</a> [accessed 15 May 2019].
- Barno, David and Nora Bensahel, "Three Things the Army Chief of Staff Wants You to Know," War on the Rocks [23 May 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/05/three-things-the-army-chief-of-staff-wants-you-to-know/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/05/three-things-the-army-chief-of-staff-wants-you-to-know/</a> [accessed 24 May 2017].
- Beauchamp, Scott, "When the Enemy Is Everywhere: The Rise and Fall of the 'Kill Box' in US Military Strategy," *Defense One (The Atlantic)* [28 February 2016].
  <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/02/when-enemy-everywhere-rise-and-fall-kill-box-us-military-strategy/126263/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/02/when-enemy-everywhere-rise-and-fall-kill-box-us-military-strategy/126263/</a> [accessed 29 February 2016].
  - Bolton, John Q., "The Price of Professionalization", *Small Wars Journal* [25 December 2015]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-price-of-professionalization">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-price-of-professionalization</a> [accessed 22 January 2016].

- This is a really good article on the relationship between soldier and state and links Roman military professionalism with today's professionalization.
- Bosco, Joseph, "Does 'limited war' mean limited risks for aggressors?" *The Hill* [14 February 2019]. <a href="https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/429949-does-limited-war-mean-limited-risks-for-aggressors">https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/429949-does-limited-war-mean-limited-risks-for-aggressors</a> [accessed 15 February 2019].
- Brimley, Shawn, "Offset Strategies & Warfighting Regimes," *War on the Rocks* [15 October 2014]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2014/10/offset-strategies-warfighting-regimes/">http://warontherocks.com/2014/10/offset-strategies-warfighting-regimes/</a> [accessed 16 March 2016].
- Brimley, Shawn and Loren DeJonge Schulman, "Sustaining the Third Offset Strategy in the Next Administration," War on the Rocks [15 March 2016].

  <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/sustaining-the-third-offset-strategy-in-the-next-administration/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/sustaining-the-third-offset-strategy-in-the-next-administration/</a> [accessed 16 March 2016].
- Canna, Sarah, "Gray Zone Subject Matter Expert Interview with David S. Maxwell (Associate Director of the Center for Security Studies and the Security Studies Program in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University)," Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Interview Transcript of Gray Zone Subject Matter Expert Interview [14 June 2016].
- Carpenter, Ted Galen, "U.S. Credibility Not Seriously Damaged by Afghanistan Failure," *National Interest* [23 August 2021]. <a href="https://nationalinterest.org/blog/skeptics/us-credibility-not-seriously-damaged-afghanistan-failure-192302">https://nationalinterest.org/blog/skeptics/us-credibility-not-seriously-damaged-afghanistan-failure-192302</a> [accessed 4 September 2021].
  - I cannot criticize this article enough. The author is out of touch with respect to how actions in Afghanistan will influence US relations in the years and decades to come.
- Carter, Ashton, Remarks Previewing the FY 2017 Defense Budget to the Economic Club of Washington, Washington DC, 2 February 2016.
- Cavanaugh, ML, "How the U.S. 'Goliath' can win against its 'David' adversaries," *Los Angeles Times* [30 January 2018]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-cavanaugh-tet-strategy-used-today-20180130-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-cavanaugh-tet-strategy-used-today-20180130-story.html</a> [accessed 31 May 2018].
- Cavanaugh, ML, "Star Wars and American Strategic Myths," *Modern Warfare Institute* [30 May 2018]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/star-wars-american-strategic-myths/">https://mwi.usma.edu/star-wars-american-strategic-myths/</a> [accessed 31 May 2018].
- Chesney, Robert, "The Expeditionary Targeting Force in Iraq: Putting the Short-Term Military Detention Model to the Test," *Lawfare* [2 March 2016]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/expeditionary-targeting-force-iraq-putting-short-term-military-detention-model-test">https://www.lawfareblog.com/expeditionary-targeting-force-iraq-putting-short-term-military-detention-model-test</a> [accessed 3 March 2016].
- Ciralsky, Adam, "How Turf Wars Mucked Up America's Exit From Afghanistan," *Vanity Fair* [30 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2021/08/how-turf-wars-mucked-up-americas-exit-from-afghanistan">https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2021/08/how-turf-wars-mucked-up-americas-exit-from-afghanistan</a> [accessed 5 September 2021].
- Clark, Colin, "CJCS Dunford Calls For Strategic Shifts; 'At Peace Or At War Is Insufficient'," *Breaking Defense* [21 September 2016]. <a href="http://breakingdefense.com/2016/09/cjcs-dunford-calls-for-strategic-shifts-at-peace-or-at-war-is-insufficient/">http://breakingdefense.com/2016/09/cjcs-dunford-calls-for-strategic-shifts-at-peace-or-at-war-is-insufficient/</a> [accessed 27 September 2016].
  - The National Military Strategy for 2017 will be classified to withhold information from the 4+1 threats and to address the five domains ("Four plus one" refers to four nation-states Russia, China, Iran, and North Korea plus the enduring but ever-mutating problem of Islamic extremism, once exemplified by al-Qaeda but now embodied by the so-called Islamic State, aka Daesh. The five domains are the land, sea, air, space, and cyberspace). The key point is the quote "Our traditional approach where we are either at peace or at war is insufficient to deal with that dynamic," Dunford said. The current reality is more "an adversarial competition with a military dimension short of armed conflict."
- Clarke, Arthur C. "Superiority," Originally published 1951. "Superiority" was included in Clarke's 1953 anthology Expedition to Earth, the 1981 anthology The 7 Cardinal Virtues of Science Fiction (where it

- represented temperance), and the 2001 anthology The Best Military Science Fiction of the 20th Century. <a href="http://www.mayofamily.com/RLM/txt">http://www.mayofamily.com/RLM/txt</a> Clarke Superiority.html [accessed 16 March 2016].
- ★ Cole, Matthew, "The Crimes of SEAL Team 6," The Intercept [10 January 2017]. https://theintercept.com/2017/01/10/the-crimes-of-seal-team-6/ [accessed 13 January 2017]. This is a controversial article and one that may make readers uncomfortable. In recommending this article I am not stating agreement with its findings or the author's sourcing or arguments. I think that this brings to light critical questions about what sustained and repeated exposure to combat stress and horrific experiences can do to the human spirit in terms of moral behavior. I recommend that one read the book With the Old Breed by E.B. Sledge to understand that the behaviors discussed in this article are neither new for Americans nor as aberrational as some might wish to believe.
  - US Congress. "Renewed Great Power Competition: Implications for Defense—Issues for Congress." Congressional Research Service [5 August 2019]. <a href="https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R43838.pdf">https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R43838.pdf</a> [accessed 16 September 2019].
  - Copp, Tara, "Mattis: Conventional forces will assume more special operations force roles in 2018," *Military Times* [29 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2017/12/29/mattis-conventional-forces-will-assume-more-sf-roles-in-2018/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2017/12/29/mattis-conventional-forces-will-assume-more-sf-roles-in-2018/</a> [accessed 2 January 2018].
  - Cox, Matthew, "US Would Fight Without Air Support for Weeks if War With Russia Began," military.com [26 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.military.com/dodbuzz/2018/03/26/us-would-fight-without-air-support-weeks-if-war-russia-began.html">https://www.military.com/dodbuzz/2018/03/26/us-would-fight-without-air-support-weeks-if-war-russia-began.html</a> [accessed 28 March 2018].
  - Dalton, Melissa G., Daniel R. Mahanty, Jenny McAvoy, Julie Snyder, and Kelsey Hampton, "Reducing the Human Costs of 'By, With, and Through'," *Defense One* [9 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/05/reducing-civilian-casualties-partnered-operations/148074/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/05/reducing-civilian-casualties-partnered-operations/148074/</a> [accessed 10 May 2018].
  - Davenport, Christian, "How the Pentagon is preparing for the coming drone wars," *The Virginian-Pilot* [26 November 2017]. <a href="https://pilotonline.com/news/military/nation/how-the-pentagon-is-preparing-for-the-coming-drone-wars/article\_38c8a954-80e2-5c53-973e-dcdcf48cb210.html">https://pilotonline.com/news/military/nation/how-the-pentagon-is-preparing-for-the-coming-drone-wars/article\_38c8a954-80e2-5c53-973e-dcdcf48cb210.html</a> [accessed 28 November 2017].
  - Davidson, Janine A., Emerson T. Brooking, and Benjamin J. Fernandes, "Mending the Broken Dialogue: Civil-Military Relations and Presidential Decision-Making," Council on Foreign Relations, December 2016.

    <a href="https://www.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2016/11/Discussion Paper Davidson Brooking Fernandes Civil Military OR.pdf">https://www.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2016/11/Discussion Paper Davidson Brooking Fernandes Civil Military OR.pdf</a> [accessed 3 October 2017].
  - Dawdy, Michael J. Governance as a Weapon: Advising the Shadow Government in Unconventional Warfare. *Small Wars Journal* [20 July 2016]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/governance-as-a-weapon-advising-the-shadow-government-in-unconventional-warfare">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/governance-as-a-weapon-advising-the-shadow-government-in-unconventional-warfare</a> [accessed 22 July 2016].
  - Detsch, Jack, "Top US general's retirement marks turning point in Mideast operations," *al-Monitor* [8 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/07/top-general-votel-retirement-turning-point-mideast.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/07/top-general-votel-retirement-turning-point-mideast.html</a> [accessed 9 July 2019].
    - The article includes a discussion on the success of by-with-through with respect to the defeat of ISIS and credits GEN Votel's leadership in bringing this approach to the ISIS fight. I am not sure that I agree with the assessment of either the success of the method as a long-term approach worthy of future emulation or of the direct role of GEN Votel in bringing this approach. It was happening before he took over.
  - Detsch, Jack and Robbie Gramer, "State Department Floats Plans to Reshuffle Counter-Islamic State Envoy Office," Foreign Policy [23 February 2021]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/02/23/islamic-state-envoy-coalition-state-department/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/02/23/islamic-state-envoy-coalition-state-department/</a> [accessed 24 February 2021].

- Dubik, James M. "Winning the War We've Got, Not the One We Want," *Army* [12 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.armymagazine.org/2016/01/12/winning-the-war-weve-got-not-the-one-we-want/gaccessed">http://www.armymagazine.org/2016/01/12/winning-the-war-weve-got-not-the-one-we-want/gaccessed</a> 29 June 2016].
- Dunlap, Charles J. Jr. "Why Declarations of War Matter," *Harvard National Security Journal* [30 August 2016]. <a href="http://harvardnsj.org/2016/08/why-declarations-of-war-matter/">http://harvardnsj.org/2016/08/why-declarations-of-war-matter/</a> [accessed 2 September 2016].
  - The author provides a good and well supported argument for the use of a declaration of war. Great footnotes and references.
- Esch, Mary, "'Commie Cadet' sends vulgar message on his way out of the Army," *Army Times* [19 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/06/19/commie-cadet-sends-vulgar-message-on-his-way-out-of-the-army/">https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/06/19/commie-cadet-sends-vulgar-message-on-his-way-out-of-the-army/</a> [accessed 20 June 2018].
- Echevarria, Antulio J. II, "Reconsidering War's Logic and Grammar," *Infinity Journal*, Issue 2, Spring 2011. <a href="http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Echevarria/LogicAndGrammar.htm">http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Echevarria/LogicAndGrammar.htm</a> [accessed 27 April 2016].
- Fabian, Sandor, "Building and Enabling Urban Resistance Networks In Small Countries A Crucial Role For U.S. Special Forces In Great Power Competition," *Small Wars Journal* [11 April 2021]. <a href="https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/building-and-enabling-urban-resistance-networks-small-countries-crucial-role-us-special">https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/building-and-enabling-urban-resistance-networks-small-countries-crucial-role-us-special</a> [accessed 6 December 2021].
  - This is a fascinating advocacy for resistance as a strategy for war and a way to develop a military.
- ★ Fallows, James, "The Tragedy of the American Military," The Atlantic, January/February 2015. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/01/the-tragedy-of-the-american-military/383516/">https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/01/the-tragedy-of-the-american-military/383516/</a> [accessed 20 November 2017].
  - This is a fantastic discussion on the problems with a professional military and the inattention of the American people.
  - Ferguson, Michael, "The war on military culture," *Washington Examiner* [22 December 2017]. <a href="http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/the-war-on-military-culture/article/2643832">http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/the-war-on-military-culture/article/2643832</a> [accessed 22 December 2017].
  - Freedberg, Sydney J. Jr. "McMaster: Army May Be Outnumbered AND Outgunned In Next War," *Breaking Defense* [6 April 2016]. <a href="http://breakingdefense.com/2016/04/mcmaster-army-may-be-outnumbered-and-outgunned-in-next-war/">http://breakingdefense.com/2016/04/mcmaster-army-may-be-outnumbered-and-outgunned-in-next-war/</a> [accessed 6 April 2016].
- ★ Freedberg, Sydney J. Jr. "Miserable, Disobedient & Victorious: Gen. Milley's Future US Soldier," *Breaking Defense* [5 October 2016]. <a href="http://breakingdefense.com/2016/10/miserable-disobedient-victorious-gen-milleys-future-us-soldier/">http://breakingdefense.com/2016/10/miserable-disobedient-victorious-gen-milleys-future-us-soldier/</a> [accessed 6 October 2016].
  - Report from the US Army Chief of Staff comments at the annual Association of the United States Army convention.
  - Freedberg, Sydney J. Jr. "Skeptics Ask: Can Army Field Armed Robots By 2024?" *Breaking Defense* [30 March 2018]. <a href="https://breakingdefense.com/2018/03/skeptics-ask-can-army-field-armed-robots-by-2024/">https://breakingdefense.com/2018/03/skeptics-ask-can-army-field-armed-robots-by-2024/</a> [accessed 2 April 2018].
  - Freedberg, Sydney J. Jr. "Generals Worry US May Lose In Start Of Next War: Is Multi-Domain The Answer?" *Breaking Defense* [14 May 2018]. <a href="https://breakingdefense.com/2018/05/generals-worry-us-may-lose-in-start-of-next-war-is-multi-domain-the-answer/">https://breakingdefense.com/2018/05/generals-worry-us-may-lose-in-start-of-next-war-is-multi-domain-the-answer/</a> [accessed 15 May 2018].
  - Freedberg, Sydney J. Jr. "US 'Gets Its Ass Handed To It' In Wargames: Here's A \$24 Billion Fix," *Breaking Defense* [7 March 2019]. <a href="https://breakingdefense.com/2019/03/us-gets-its-ass-handed-to-it-in-wargames-heres-a-24-billion-fix/">https://breakingdefense.com/2019/03/us-gets-its-ass-handed-to-it-in-wargames-heres-a-24-billion-fix/</a> [accessed 9 March 2019].
- ★ Freeman, Chas W., Jr. "The End of the American Empire," War on the Rocks [11 April 2016]. http://warontherocks.com/2016/04/the-end-of-the-american-empire/ [accessed 14 April 2016].

This seems to be an intentional polemic. Therefore, it needs to be read in that context and within that context of providing thought-provoking reflection, it is worth reading.

Friedman, Uri, "America Has Come Full Circle in the Middle East," *The Atlantic* [24 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/01/america-intervene-middle-east-iraq/605299/">https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/01/america-intervene-middle-east-iraq/605299/</a> [accessed 27 January 2020].

The author provides a connection with U.S. involvement in the Middle East that most people do not know: the 1958 U.S. action in Lebanon. The main points of the article are:

- U.S. involvement in the Middle East follows a pattern.
- Great power conflict causes a response within the Middle East.
- It is easier to begin an intervention than it is to end one.
- Most U.S. intervention happens without a broader regional appreciation or strategy. The focus tended to be managing specific problems.
- George W. Bush was the exception in that he sought to eliminate challenges rather than managing them.
- Ganor, Boaz, "A New Counter-Terrorism Doctrine or a New President," *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism* Position Paper [16 January 2017]. <a href="https://trailer.web-view.net/Show/0X745AD52CFA0ADEF285054DBDCF3A69B6EBAC323126BF4FC19FA641D7D497414">https://trailer.web-view.net/Show/0X745AD52CFA0ADEF285054DBDCF3A69B6EBAC323126BF4FC19FA641D7D497414</a> 1552835B8FF6C759D.htm [accessed 16 January 2017].
  - Boaz Ganor clearly understand the dynamics of CT, but he does so from an Israeli perspective. In this piece, he both praises Obama's policies and encourages adjustments and changes from them. He explains the two variables of CT strategy: motivation and operational capability.
- Gibney, James, "The UN's Darkest Hour: U.S. disengagement is a major challenge to an institution in near-perpetual crisis." *Bloomberg* [23 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-09-23/the-united-nations-and-u-s-disengagement-under-trump">https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-09-23/the-united-nations-and-u-s-disengagement-under-trump</a> [accessed 24 September 2018].
- Glenn, Russell W. "Meeting Demand: Making Maneuver Relevant to the 21st Century," *Small Wars Journal* [5 July 2017]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/meeting-demand-making-maneuver-relevant-to-the-21st-century">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/meeting-demand-making-maneuver-relevant-to-the-21st-century</a> [accessed 24 October 2017].
- Glenn, Russell W. and Ian M. Sullivan, "From Sacred Cow to Agent of Change: Reconceiving Maneuver in Light of Multi-Domain Battle and Mission Command," *Small Wars Journal* [20 September 2017]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/from-sacred-cow-to-agent-of-change-reconceiving-maneuver-in-light-of-multi-domain-battle-an">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/from-sacred-cow-to-agent-of-change-reconceiving-maneuver-in-light-of-multi-domain-battle-an</a> [accessed 24 October 2017].
- Gould, Joe, "Trump administration: Troops can stay in Iraq, Syria indefinitely," *Defense News* [23 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/congress/2018/02/23/trump-administration-troops-can-stay-in-iraq-syria-indefinitely/">https://www.defensenews.com/congress/2018/02/23/trump-administration-troops-can-stay-in-iraq-syria-indefinitely/</a> [accessed 26 February 2018].
- Hanson, Victor Davis, "The Postwar Order is Over: And not because Trump Wrecked It," *National Review* [29 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/05/post-war-order-over-not-caused-by-trump-foreign-policy/">https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/05/post-war-order-over-not-caused-by-trump-foreign-policy/</a> [accessed 2 June 2018].
- Harris, Bryant, "Congress rebels against Trump's Middle East war secrecy," *al-Monitor* [22 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/05/congress-rebels-trump-middle-east-war-secrecy.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/05/congress-rebels-trump-middle-east-war-secrecy.html</a> [accessed 24 May 2018].
- Harris, Shane and Nancy A. Youssef, "Exclusive: Whistleblowers Warned Top Spy About Skewed ISIS Intel", *The Daily Beast* [15 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/15/exclusive-whistleblowers-warned-top-spy-about-skewed-isis-intel.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/02/15/exclusive-whistleblowers-warned-top-spy-about-skewed-isis-intel.html</a> [accessed 16 February 2016].
- ★ Heftye, Erik, "Multi-Domain Confusion: All Domains Are Not Created Equal," *The Strategy Bridge* [26 May 2018]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/5/26/multi-domain-confusion-all-">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/5/26/multi-domain-confusion-all-</a>

- domains-are-not-created-equal [accessed 31 May 2018].
- The author provides excellent insight for the problems of semantics in trying to communicate intent and effect.
- Houck, Caroline, "Dunford: Six Months From Now, ISIS Will Have 'Less Credibility'," *Defense One* [26 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/09/dunford-six-months-now-isis-will-have-less-credibility/141300/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/09/dunford-six-months-now-isis-will-have-less-credibility/141300/</a> [accessed 27 September 2017].
- Huessy, Peter, "Back to Nuclear Basics: Does Unilateral Restraint Work?" *Real Clear Defense* [13 March 2017].
  - http://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2017/03/13/back to nuclear basics does unilateral restraint work 110957.html [accessed 12 April 2017].
  - This is a good summary of US nuclear investment and current capability.
- Hughes, Patrick M. "On Convergence, Emergence, and Complexity," *Military Review*, pages 42-46 [March-April 2016].
  - http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview\_20160430\_art010.pdf [accessed 18 April 2016].
- Johnson, David, "An Army Trying to Shake Itself from Intellectual Slumber, Part I: Learning from the 1970s," War on the Rocks [2 February 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/army-trying-shake-intellectual-slumber-part-learning-1970s/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/army-trying-shake-intellectual-slumber-part-learning-1970s/</a> [accessed 8 February 2018].
- Judson, Jen, "US Army Putting Finishing Touches on Autonomous Systems Strategy," *Defense News* [17 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/show-daily/ausa-global-force/2016/03/17/army-autonomous-system-strategy/81897736/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/show-daily/ausa-global-force/2016/03/17/army-autonomous-system-strategy/81897736/</a> [accessed 20 March 2016].
- Judson, Jen, "Army chief: Future of US troops in Iraq TBD as ISIS crumbles," *Defense News* [17 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/land/2018/01/17/army-chief-future-of-us-troops-in-iraq-tbd-as-isis-crumbles/">https://www.defensenews.com/land/2018/01/17/army-chief-future-of-us-troops-in-iraq-tbd-as-isis-crumbles/</a> [accessed 18 January 2018].
- Kay, Larry, "Innovation of Military Thought in the Postmodern Warfare Era," *Small Wars Journal* [2 February 2017]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/innovation-of-military-thought-in-the-postmodern-warfare-era">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/innovation-of-military-thought-in-the-postmodern-warfare-era</a> [accessed 6 February 2017].
  - The author makes the following arguments: 1. Contemporary Russian political-military doctrine was on full display in 2016 US elections. 2. Effective disinformation campaign rebuts Clausewitz's trinity by severing the dialectic interrelationship between the government, the people and the military. 3. Postmodern warfare is multi-domain, borderless competition dominated by the ability of state and non-state actors to manipulate information through metanarratives to decisively overwhelm or undermine adversaries, focusing on non-combatants for sources of internal and adversarial political dissidence. 4. The United States military urgently requires an innovation of military thought and a new theory that incorporates the dynamics of the postmodern environment.
- Khan, Azmat, "The Civilian Casualty Files: Hidden Pentagon Records Reveal Patterns of Failure in Deadly Airstrikes," The New York Times [18 December 2021].
  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/18/us/airstrikes-pentagon-records-civilian-deaths.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/12/18/us/airstrikes-pentagon-records-civilian-deaths.html</a> [accessed 20 December 2021].
  - This is an important article. It is a long one of about 10,000 words.
  - Like a related article, also from *The New York Times*, it is infuriating as well as excellent. I give my two points for being infuriating and a third point for why it is excellent. I address them in order of importance.
  - First, this article and others like it express something truly problematic in current conflict Western (and particularly American) media refuse to acknowledge their role in generating, encouraging, directing, and shaping conflict. They like to act as if they are above the fray and somehow free of the responsibilities and ugliness of conflict, but they are, in many ways, more important than any other component of conflict as it

exists as part of twenty-first century narrative war. Political and military leaders often feel propelled toward actions by media coverage of events. For example, Barack Obama would not have fought ISIS as he did without a media drumbeat to do so. The drumbeat for actions usually leads to removal of strictures and controls on those actions and those actions have consequences.

Second, war is hell. I have recently said this in another post, but it is true. WWII is often trumpeted as a *good war* or a noble crusade in part because the media hold up the Nazis as the worst villains ever. In 2014 and continuing to the present, ISIS is typically characterized as worse than Nazis. The media acts ignorant of what was done in fighting the Nazis. We firebombed cities. We indiscriminately killed millions of people. That was done because leaders justified their actions as necessary to defeat this enemy. Those labeling opponents Nazis or anything similar need to be aware of what that meant in the past and to what actions such labels may lead. By definition, in war people die, even innocent people. This is why initiating war must be a controlled and tightly governed affair. It is why the U.S. Congress must be involved because the people, as represented by that body must be in agreement to commit these atrocities in their name. If not, then don't go to war because you cannot wage war cleanly.

Third, the author does well to point out that the U.S. military has a learning problem. It does not seem to be able to adapt from one mistake such that it prevents the conduct of another. Part of the learning problem that the article illuminates is about confirmation bias. The U.S. military (and every other military with which I have worked) doesn't train people to understand the opponent, the partner, or the local populace. Therefore, decisions about insurgent or terrorist behavior should usually be suspect. This isn't a problem of rank of who gets to make the decision as generals aren't much better at understanding the opponent or local culture than are sergeants. Part of the problem with the technology is that it offers a siren song that the work needed to obtain such an understanding isn't necessary since the technology can see everything.

- Klay, Phil, "Two Decades of War Have Eroded the Morale of America's Troops," *The Atlantic* [May 2018 Issue released on 15 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/05/left-behind/556844/">https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/05/left-behind/556844/</a> [accessed 16 April 2018].
- Knaub, Zayn, "Organizational Agility: Winning in Today's Complex Environment," *The Strategy Bridge* [21 April 2017]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/4/21/organizational-agility-winning-intodays-complex-environment">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/4/21/organizational-agility-winning-intodays-complex-environment</a> [accessed 20 April 2018].
- Koven, Barnett S. "Emulating US Counterinsurgency Doctrine: Barriers for Developing Country Forces, Evidence from Peru," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/01402390.2016.1154462 [28 April 2016].. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2016.1154462 [accessed 14 June 2016].
- Kristian, Bonnie, "Trump's dangerous expansion of executive war powers," *Politico* [3 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/agenda/story/2017/04/trumps-dangerous-expansion-of-executive-war-powers-000387">http://www.politico.com/agenda/story/2017/04/trumps-dangerous-expansion-of-executive-war-powers-000387</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
  - The problems raised in this article are accurate and important and should have been raised over and over again since the US withdrawal from Iraq as no other operation received a separate AUMF.
- Lardner, Richard, "US Commander Previews Revised Rebel Training Effort in Syria," *ABC News* [9 March 2016]. <a href="http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/us-commander-backs-revised-train-equip-program-syria-37519773">http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/us-commander-backs-revised-train-equip-program-syria-37519773</a> [accessed 10 March 2016].
  - Brief summary on previous program to train Syrian rebels and debate on future program to do something similar. The implied focus is on technical skills rather than tactical proficiency.
- Lundy, Mike and Rich Creed, "The Return of U.S. Army Field Manual 3-0, Operations," *Military Review*, November-December 2017, 14-21. <a href="http://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/Military-Review/English-Edition-Archives/November-December-2017/The-Return-of-US-Army-Field-Manual-3-0-Operations/">http://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/Military-Review, November-December-2017/The-Return-of-US-Army-Field-Manual-3-0-Operations/</a> [accessed 8 November 2017].
- Lyle, Dave "Sugar," "Fifth Generation Warfare and Other Myths: Clarifying Muddled Thinking in our Current Defense Debates," *Over the Horizon: Multi-Domain Operations & Strategies* [4 December 2017]. https://overthehorizonmdos.com/2017/12/04/fifth-generation-warfare-and-other-myths-

- <u>clarifying-muddled-thinking-in-our-current-defense-debates/</u> [accessed 3 March 2018].
- Macgregor, Douglas, "Testimony to the Air-Land Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee," *U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee* [15 March 2017]. <a href="https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Macgregor\_03-15-17.pdf">https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Macgregor\_03-15-17.pdf</a> [accessed 6 April 2017].
  - This is the traditional argument against the problems regarding the focus on COIN and stability operations.
- Mahmod, Hoshman A. and Arez A. Abdullah, "An Examination of the U.S. Military Intervention Against the Islamic State in Iraq," Koya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (KUJHSS), Volume 4, Issue 1, 2021, 21-27 [30 June 2021].
  - http://scholar.google.com/scholar\_url?url=http://jhss.koyauniversity.org/index.php/jhss/article/download/473/137&hl=en&sa=X&d=5359107850108729812&ei=aQv0YIPGlueHy9YP\_du42AE&scisig=AAGBfm2ixGRr0fZxm6I7rYpWFLX2Kk3ADw&nossl=1&oi=scholaralrt&hist=DaXjDx8AAAAJ:5340344254310740919:AAGBfm0TL-\_Fk8CfKkVtQzD5A-dNEVpo\_Q&html=&folt=rel&fols=[accessed 19 July 2021]
  - This is not very well written and terribly informative from a scholarly perspective, but it is written by a couple of Kurdish scholars and therefore has an interesting perspective.
- Marine Corps Times Staff Report, "This viral video caught a California high school teacher's ugly rant about military recruiters," *Marine Corps Times* [28 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2018/01/28/this-viral-video-caught-a-california-high-school-teachers-ugly-rant-about-military-recruiters/">https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2018/01/28/this-viral-video-caught-a-california-high-school-teachers-ugly-rant-about-military-recruiters/</a> [accessed 14 February 2018].
  - In addition to this report which links to the cellphone video, the file includes a transcript of the comments.
- Matisek, Jahara and Ian Bertram, "The Death of American Conventional Warfare: It's the Political Willpower, Stupid," *The Strategy Bridge* [5 November 2017]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/11/5/the-death-of-american-conventional-warfare-its-the-political-willpower-stupid">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/11/5/the-death-of-american-conventional-warfare-its-the-political-willpower-stupid [accessed 8 November 2017].
- Mattis, James N. Memorandum Designating Information as a Joint Function. Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington DC [15 September 2017].
- Maurer, Kevin, "She Kills People From 7,850 Miles Away," *The Daily Beast* [18 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/18/she-kills-people-from-7-850-miles-away.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/10/18/she-kills-people-from-7-850-miles-away.html</a> [accessed 19 October 2015].
- Maxwell, David S., "Congress Has Embraced Unconventional Warfare: Will the US Military and The Rest of the US Government?", *Small Wars Journal* [29 December 2015].
  - http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/congress-has-embraced-unconventional-warfare-will-the-us-military-and-the-rest-of-the-us-go [accessed 30 December 2015].
  - The article includes links to information on unconventional warfare.
- ★ Maxwell, David, "Lessons from the Philippines: Irregular Warfare in Action," Modern Warfare Institute [7 October 2021]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/lessons-from-the-philippines-irregular-warfare-in-action/">https://mwi.usma.edu/lessons-from-the-philippines-irregular-warfare-in-action/</a> [accessed 8 October 2021].
  - Excellent lessons that include the importance of the individual with proper skills and motivation in addition to a general importance of people and recognition of the importance of the human dimension of war.
- Maze, Rick, "Radical Change is Coming: Gen. Mark A. Milley Not Talking About Just Tinkering Around the Edges," Association of the United States Army website [13 December 2016]. <a href="https://www.ausa.org/articles/radical-change-coming-gen-mark-milley-not-talking-about-just-tinkering-around-edges">https://www.ausa.org/articles/radical-change-coming-gen-mark-milley-not-talking-about-just-tinkering-around-edges</a> [accessed 23 December 2016].
  - Comments from both the Army Chief of Staff and the Secretary of the Army that captures their willingness to relook a lot of ways of doing business. The question in these sorts of articles is always will they actually do

- anything different? Changing the US military bureaucracy is painful and requires diligent and unremitting effort. Very few Chiefs of Staff have the time or the wasta to effect that kind of change.
- McCurley, T. Mark, "I Was a Drone Warrior for 11 Years. I Regret Nothing." *Politico* [18 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/10/drone-pilot-book-213263">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/10/drone-pilot-book-213263</a> [accessed 19 October 2015].
- McLeary, Paul, "The Pentagon's Third Offset May Be Dead, But No One Knows What Comes Next," Foreign Policy [18 December 2017]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/18/the-pentagons-third-offset-may-be-dead-but-no-one-knows-what-comes-next/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/18/the-pentagons-third-offset-may-be-dead-but-no-one-knows-what-comes-next/</a> [accessed 19 December 2017].
- ★ McFate, Sean, "The Hidden Costs of America's Addiction to Mercenaries," *Defense One* [15 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/08/americas-addiction-mercenaries/130731/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/08/americas-addiction-mercenaries/130731/</a> [accessed 16 August 2016].
  - The US does not have more than 4,000 soldiers in Iraq, it really has almost 10,000 soldiers and contractors supporting operations there. The role of contractors on the battlefield plays a profound shaping effect on US policy decisions or so this article argues.
  - Mehta, Aaron, "Why are US drones being based in Greece for the first time?" *Defense News* [23 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/air/2018/05/23/us-drones-are-being-based-in-greece-for-the-first-time-and-that-might-not-sit-well-with-turkey/">https://www.defensenews.com/air/2018/05/23/us-drones-are-being-based-in-greece-for-the-first-time-and-that-might-not-sit-well-with-turkey/</a> [accessed 24 May 2018].
  - Milley, Mark A. "Winning Matters, Especially in a Complex World," *Army Magazine* [5 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.armymagazine.org/2015/10/05/winning-matters/">http://www.armymagazine.org/2015/10/05/winning-matters/</a> [accessed 6 October 2015].
    - This is a great article to express the failure of senior military leaders to understand the concept of winning and the ignorance of these same leaders to recognize that no one knows what this means.
- ★ Milley, Mark A. "Chief of Staff of the Army: Changing Nature of War Won't Change Our Purpose," AUSA Green Book [1 October 2016]. <a href="https://www.ausa.org/articles/chief-staff-army-changing-nature-war-won%E2%80%99t-change-our-purpose">https://www.ausa.org/articles/chief-staff-army-changing-nature-war-won%E2%80%99t-change-our-purpose</a> [accessed 30 September 2016].
  - US Army Chief of Staff provides his vision of the future of war. In this he states that the nature of war does not change though its character does.
  - Milligan, Susan, "After Paris Attacks, Democratic Candidates Blame Bush for ISIS," *US News and World Report* [14 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2015/11/14/after-paris-attacks-democratic-candidates-blame-bush-for-isis">https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2015/11/14/after-paris-attacks-democratic-candidates-blame-bush-for-isis</a> [accessed 4 November 2017].
  - Montgomery, Nancy, "More Iraq and Afghanistan troops survived critical injuries as wars went on," *Stars and Stripes* [28 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/more-iraq-and-afghanistan-troops-survived-critical-injuries-as-wars-went-on-1.574629">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/more-iraq-and-afghanistan-troops-survived-critical-injuries-as-wars-went-on-1.574629</a> [accessed 30 March 2019].
  - Morgan, Wesley, "The not-so-secret history of JSOC", Washington Post [15 December 2015]. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/12/15/the-not-so-secret-history-of-jsoc/ [accessed 16 December 2015].
    - The article includes detailed information into the conduct of the fight led by JSOC to kill and capture those in opposition to the U.S. over the last fifteen years. OThis report focuses on the details of two incidents that fared poorly with respect to final results.
  - Morgan, Wesley, "Pentagon's concealment of total troops in war zones under fire," *Politico* [26 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/story/2017/08/26/mattis-trump-troop-numbers-war-zone-242055">http://www.politico.com/story/2017/08/26/mattis-trump-troop-numbers-war-zone-242055</a> [accessed 28 August 2017].
    - Short, but useful discussion on the issues associated with Force manning Level politization.
  - Morton, Matthew, "Culture and the US Army: Learning from the Past, Looking to the Future", *Parameters* [45 (1), Spring 2015].
    - This is a good discussion on the best ways to inform military education given recent and distant historiography.

- Myers, Meghann, "Milley: Future wars will be long, they'll be fought on the ground, and spec ops won't save us," *Army Times* [27 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2017/07/27/milley-future-wars-will-be-long-theyll-be-fought-on-the-ground-and-spec-ops-wont-save-us/">http://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2017/07/27/milley-future-wars-will-be-long-theyll-be-fought-on-the-ground-and-spec-ops-wont-save-us/</a> [accessed 28 July 2017].
- Osborn, Kris, "The Army's More Lethal M1A2 SEP v4 Abrams Tank Variant Will Start Testing in the 2020s," *Scout* [7 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.scout.com/military/warrior/story/1728632-new-army-m1a2-sepv4-abrams-tank-for-2020s">http://www.scout.com/military/warrior/story/1728632-new-army-m1a2-sepv4-abrams-tank-for-2020s</a> [accessed 8 February 2017].
- Pelleriti, John A., Michael Maloney, David C. Cox, Heather J. Sullivan, J. Eric Piskura, and Montigo J. Hawkins, "The Insufficiency of U.S. Irregular Warfare Doctrine," Nationa; Defense Univeristy Press and Joint Force Quarterly 93 [14 May 2019]. <a href="https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Media/News/News-Article-View/Article/1848028/the-insufficiency-of-us-irregular-warfare-doctrine/">https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Media/News/News-Article-View/Article/1848028/the-insufficiency-of-us-irregular-warfare-doctrine/</a> [accessed 20 May 2019].
- Peters, Heidi M., Moshe Schwartz, and Lawrence Kapp, "Department of Defense Contractor and Troop Levels in Iraq and Afghanistan: 2007-2016," Congressional Research Service [15 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R44116.pdf">http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R44116.pdf</a> [accessed 18 August 2016].
  - The figures seem low for the post 2014 contractor role in Iraq, but this may because the focus of the report is on DoD funded contracts and not DoS and much of the embassy contractor support is DoS.
- ★ Petranick, Michael, "On ISIS: The Reality of the 21st Century Battlefield," Small Wars Journal [18 April 2016]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/on-isis-the-reality-of-the-21st-century-battlefield">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/on-isis-the-reality-of-the-21st-century-battlefield</a> [accessed18 April 2016].
  - The article rambles and loses coherence on multiple occasions. This is clearly intended as a journal length article to capture the changing nature of conflict. The only reason it has a star is because it has some really good footnotes and links.
  - Philipps, Dave, "Special Operations Troops Top Casualty List as U.S. Relies More on Elite Forces," *The New York Times* [4 February 2017]. <a href="https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/02/04/us/navy-seal-william-ryan-owens-dead-yemen.html">https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/02/04/us/navy-seal-william-ryan-owens-dead-yemen.html</a> [accessed 6 February 2017].
    - This article provides important information and commentary on the problem of fighting the current fight with super heroes.
  - Raza, Assad A. and Jerritt A. Lynn, "The Future of Civil Affairs: Creating Regimental Order from Chaos," *Small Wars Journal* [12 October 2018]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/future-civil-affairs-creating-regimental-order-chaos">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/future-civil-affairs-creating-regimental-order-chaos</a> [accessed 15 October 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "Report: AFRICOM looks to cut special ops missions, pull out hundreds of troops from Africa," *Army Times* [2 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/08/02/report-africom-looks-to-cut-special-ops-missions-pull-out-hundreds-of-troops-from-africa/">https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/08/02/report-africom-looks-to-cut-special-ops-missions-pull-out-hundreds-of-troops-from-africa/</a> [accessed 23 August 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "DoD officials: Irregular warfare will no longer suffer a 'boom-bust' cycle in eras of great power competition," *Military Times* [6 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/02/06/dod-officials-irregular-warfare-will-no-longer-suffer-a-boom-bust-cycle-in-eras-of-great-power-competition/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/06/dod-officials-irregular-warfare-will-no-longer-suffer-a-boom-bust-cycle-in-eras-of-great-power-competition/</a> [accessed 7 February 2019].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "H.R. McMaster says the public is fed a 'war-weariness' narrative that hurts US strategy," *Military Times* [8 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/05/08/hr-mcmaster-says-the-public-is-fed-a-war-weariness-narrative-that-hurts-us-strategy/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/05/08/hr-mcmaster-says-the-public-is-fed-a-war-weariness-narrative-that-hurts-us-strategy/</a> [accessed 9 May 2019].
  - Roggio, Bill and Alexandra Gutowski, "2017: A record year for US counterterrorism strikes," *Long War Journal* [3 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/01/2017-a-record-year-for-us-counterterrorism-strikes.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/01/2017-a-record-year-for-us-counterterrorism-strikes.php</a> [accessed 4 January 2018].
  - Seese, Gregory S. "Comprehensive PSYOP Assessment and Evaluation: Measuring Impact," presented to the Special Operations Command-Central Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment Group, 19 February

2016.

2020].

- Seligman, Lara, "U.S. Military Slashes Foreign-Language Training," Foreign Policy [13 May 2019]. https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/13/us-military-slashes-foreign-language-training-pentagon-cuts-trump-border-wall-mexico-pentagon/ [accessed 15 May 2019].
- Shane, Leo III, "Mattis: Expect U.S. troops in Iraq even after ISIS falls," *Military Times* [22 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/mattis-troops-iraq-years-after-isis">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/mattis-troops-iraq-years-after-isis</a> [accessed 24 March 2017].
- ★ Sims, Christopher, "Academics in Foxholes: The Life and Death of the Human Terrain System", Foreign Affairs [4 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2016-02-04/academics-foxholes">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2016-02-04/academics-foxholes</a> [accessed 8 February 2016].
  - Sjursen, Danny, "The Misuse Of American Military Power In The Middle East," *The Huffington Post* [21 February 2017]. <a href="http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/the-misuse-of-american-military-power-in-the-middle-east\_us\_58ac62cde4b0a855d1d9fc02">http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/the-misuse-of-american-military-power-in-the-middle-east\_us\_58ac62cde4b0a855d1d9fc02</a> [accessed 1 March 2017].

    Historical analysis of US involvement in the Middle East. The author makes roughly the same arguments as does Andrew Bacevich in his book *America's War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History*. The book is
  - better.

    Smeltz, Dina and John Cookson, "Americans aren't as eager to retreat from the Middle East as politicians seem to think," *The Hill* [20 February 2020]. <a href="https://thehill.com/opinion/international/483731-americans-arent-as-eager-to-retreat-from-the-middle-east-as-politicians">https://thehill.com/opinion/international/483731-americans-arent-as-eager-to-retreat-from-the-middle-east-as-politicians</a> [accessed 21 February
  - Smith, Josh, "Drones emerge from shadows to become key cog in U.S. war machine," *Reuters* [7 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-drones-insight-idUSKCN0YT0U0">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-drones-insight-idUSKCN0YT0U0</a> [accessed 7 June 2016].
  - South, Todd, "Yemen coast a 'live fire laboratory' for firing lasers," *Marine Corps Times* [8 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2018/03/08/yemen-coast-a-live-fire-laboratory-for-firing-lasers/">https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2018/03/08/yemen-coast-a-live-fire-laboratory-for-firing-lasers/</a> [accessed 9 March 2018].
  - South, Todd, "Return of fires: How the Army is getting back to its big guns as it prepares for the near-peer fight," *Army Times* [27 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/08/27/return-of-fires-how-the-army-is-getting-back-to-its-big-guns-as-it-prepares-for-the-near-peer-fight/">https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/08/27/return-of-fires-how-the-army-is-getting-back-to-its-big-guns-as-it-prepares-for-the-near-peer-fight/</a> [accessed 28 August 2018].
  - South, Todd, "Army's long-awaited Iraq war study finds Iran was the only winner in a conflict that holds many lessons for future wars," *Army Times* [18 January 2019].

    <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/01/18/armys-long-awaited-iraq-war-study-finds-iran-was-the-only-winner-in-a-conflict-that-holds-many-lessons-for-future-wars/">https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/01/18/armys-long-awaited-iraq-war-study-finds-iran-was-the-only-winner-in-a-conflict-that-holds-many-lessons-for-future-wars/</a> [accessed 23 January 2019].
  - Spencer, John, "Why Militaries Must Destroy Cities to Save Them," *Modern War Institute at West Point* [8 November 2018]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/militaries-must-destroy-cities-save/">https://mwi.usma.edu/militaries-must-destroy-cities-save/</a> [accessed 9 November 2018].
  - Spencer, John, "The Eight Rules of Urban Warfare and Why We Must Work to Change Them," *Modern War Institute at West Point* [12 January 2021]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/the-eight-rules-of-urban-warfare-and-why-we-must-work-to-change-them/">https://mwi.usma.edu/the-eight-rules-of-urban-warfare-and-why-we-must-work-to-change-them/</a> [accessed 22 January 2021].
  - Spencer, Larry O. "US Air Force Key to Third Offset Strategy," *Defense News* [7 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/articles/us-air-force-key-to-third-offset-strategy">http://www.defensenews.com/articles/us-air-force-key-to-third-offset-strategy</a> [accessed 14 November 2016].
    - Brief overview of the first and second offset and a warning against the third offset emphasizing solely technological solutions rather than operational ones.

- Stocker, James R. "Trump and Historical Legacies of U.S. Middle East Policy," H-Diplo | ISSF, POLICY Series America and the World—2017 and Beyond, 19 April 2017.

  <a href="http://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/Policy-Roundtable-1-5AE.pdf">http://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/Policy-Roundtable-1-5AE.pdf</a> [accessed 22 April 2017].

  Provides a useful summary of US policy in the Middle East since 1950 or so.
- Symanski, Michael, "War Is Extinct, and We Miss It! Part 1: What Happened to War?", *Cicero Magazine* [17 December 2015]. <a href="http://ciceromagazine.com/opinion/war-is-extinct-and-we-miss-it-part-1-what-happened-to-war/">http://ciceromagazine.com/opinion/war-is-extinct-and-we-miss-it-part-1-what-happened-to-war/</a> [accessed 22 December 2015].
- Symanski, Michael, "War Is Extinct, and We Miss It! Part 2: Why Do We Miss War?", *Cicero Magazine* [22 December 2015]. <a href="http://ciceromagazine.com/opinion/war-is-extinct-and-we-miss-it-part-2-why-dowe-miss-war/">http://ciceromagazine.com/opinion/war-is-extinct-and-we-miss-it-part-2-why-dowe-miss-war/</a> [accessed 22 December 2015].
  - This op-ed series explains the transformation of war in the American culture. He does not in the first two parts express the issues with the all-volunteer force as a part of the problem.
- Thomas, Ted, Wes Farmer, and Derrick Robinette, "The 'Secret Ingredient' in Multi-Domain Battle," Association of the United States Army [11 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.ausa.org/articles/'secret-ingredient'-multi-domain-battle">https://www.ausa.org/articles/'secret-ingredient'-multi-domain-battle</a> [accessed 23 October 2017].
- Thompson, Mark, "Why the U.S. Military Isn't Winning," *Time* [1 October 2015]. http://time.com/4058520/american-military-losing-wars/ [accessed 5 October 2015].
- Toft, Monica Duffy, "The Dangerous Rise of Kinetic Diplomacy," War on the Rocks [14 May 2018]. https://warontherocks.com/2018/05/the-dangerous-rise-of-kinetic-diplomacy/ [accessed 14 May 2018].
- Tomlinson, Lucas, "As ISIS targets disappear in Iraq and Syria, US military shifts focus back to Afghanistan," Fox News [21 May 2018]. <a href="http://www.foxnews.com/world/2018/05/21/as-isis-targets-disappear-in-iraq-and-syria-us-military-shifts-focus-back-to-afghanistan.html">http://www.foxnews.com/world/2018/05/21/as-isis-targets-disappear-in-iraq-and-syria-us-military-shifts-focus-back-to-afghanistan.html</a> [accessed 24 May 2018].
- Trevithick, Joseph, "This small airstrip is the future of America's way of war", *Reuters* [5 January 2016]. <a href="http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2016/01/05/this-small-airstrip-is-the-future-of-americas-way-of-war/">http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2016/01/05/this-small-airstrip-is-the-future-of-americas-way-of-war/</a> [accessed 8 January 2016].
- Tritten, Travis J. "The Air Force wants a cheaper plane to fight terrorists. Will it survive on the battlefield?" *The Washington Examiner* [17 July 2018].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/the-air-force-wants-a-cheaper-plane-to-fight-terrorists-will-it-survive-on-the-battlefield">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/the-air-force-wants-a-cheaper-plane-to-fight-terrorists-will-it-survive-on-the-battlefield</a> [accessed 17 July 2018].
- Tucker, Patrick, "Drone-Helicopter Teams Performing 'Very Well' Against ISIS," *Defense One* [6 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2016/06/drone-helicopter-teaming-performing-very-well-against-isis/128850/">http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2016/06/drone-helicopter-teaming-performing-very-well-against-isis/128850/</a> [accessed 7 June 2016].
- Tucker, Patrick, "'Underground' May Be the U.S. Military's Next Warfighting Domain," *Defense One* [26 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/technology/2018/06/underground-may-be-us-militarys-next-warfighting-domain/149296/">https://www.defenseone.com/technology/2018/06/underground-may-be-us-militarys-next-warfighting-domain/149296/</a> [accessed 27 June 2018].
- Turse, Nick and Sean Naylor, "Revealed: The U.S. military's 36 code-named operations in Africa," *Yahoo News* [17 April 2019]. <a href="https://news.yahoo.com/revealed-the-us-militarys-36-codenamed-operations-in-africa-090000841.html">https://news.yahoo.com/revealed-the-us-militarys-36-codenamed-operations-in-africa-090000841.html</a> [accessed 19 April 2019].
- Ullman, Harlan, "Why America Loses Every War It Starts," *Defense One* [17 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/11/why-america-loses-every-war-it-starts/142646/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/11/why-america-loses-every-war-it-starts/142646/</a> [accessed 20 November 2017].
- U.S. Government. ADRP 3-0 Operations, October 2017. Draft. Washington DC, United States Army.

- U.S. Government. FM 3-0 Operations, October 2017. Draft. Washington DC, United States Army.
- U.S. Government. *Joint Publication 1: Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States,* Washington DC: Headquarters, Joint Staff, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 25 March 2013, Incorporating Change 1, 12 July 2017.
- U.S. Government. *ST 33-01: Military Information Support Operations Process, December 2014*. Fort Bragg: Headquarters, United States Army, John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, 31 December 2014.
- U.S. Government. *Joint Concept for Human Aspects of Military Operations (JC-HAMO)*. Joint Staff, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 19 October 2016. <a href="https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/20161019-Joint-Concept-for-Human-Aspects-of-Military-Operations-Signed-by-VCJCS.pdf">https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/20161019-Joint-Concept-for-Human-Aspects-of-Military-Operations-Signed-by-VCJCS.pdf</a> [accessed 20 December 2018].
- U.S. Government. *Joint Concept for Integrated Campaigning* (Draft Version 0.8) (Draft Working Document//Predecisional). Joint Staff, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 16 June 2017.
- U.S. Government. *Joint Concept for Integrated Campaigning: Analysis of Operational Elements of Design* (Extract). Joint Staff, Joint Chiefs of Staff, April 2016.

  This short slide deck has several spectacular visual representations for challenge in the current environment. It challenges the current phases in terms of length and importance. Additionally, it has a slide providing information on the length of time US forces remain in conflict zones following conflicts.
- U.S. Government. Joint Concept for Operating in the Information Environment (JCOIE) (Draft Version 0.70). Joint Staff, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 10 July 2017.
  - This is a critical document in that it provides an official definition of narrative very similar to my own.
- Watkins, Ali, "Elite terrorist interrogation team withers under Trump," *Politico* [5 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.politico.com/story/2017/12/05/elite-terrorist-interrogation-trump-279930">https://www.politico.com/story/2017/12/05/elite-terrorist-interrogation-trump-279930</a> [accessed 6 December 2017].
- Watkins, Thomas, "US Releases Redacted Drone Strike 'Playbook'" *Agence France Presse* [7 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/08/07/us-releases-redacted-drone-strike-playbook.html">http://www.military.com/daily-news/2016/08/07/us-releases-redacted-drone-strike-playbook.html</a> [accessed 8 August 2016].
- Weisgerber, Marcus, "Can Two Nuclear Powers Fight a Conventional War?" *Defense One* [9 Nomber 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/11/can-two-nuclear-powers-fight-conventional-war/142451/">http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2017/11/can-two-nuclear-powers-fight-conventional-war/142451/</a> [accessed 10 November 2017].
- The White House. National Security Strategy of the United States of America, September 2002. <a href="http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2002.pdf">http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2002.pdf</a> [accessed 21 December 2017].
- The White House. National Security Strategy of the United States of America, March 2006. http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2006.pdf [accessed 21 December 2017].
- The White House. National Security Strategy, May 2010. <a href="http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf">http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf</a> [accessed 21 December 2017].
- The White House. National Security Strategy, February 2015. <a href="http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf">http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf</a> [accessed 21 December 2017].
- The White House. National Security Strategy of the United States of America, December 2017. http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/2017.pdf [accessed 21 December 2017].
- ★ Wolfowitz, Paul, "What Was And What Might Have Been—The Threats And Wars In Afghanistan And Iraq," Strategika: Conflicts of the Past as Lessons for the Present, Issue 76, Hoover Institute [17 February 2022]. <a href="https://www.hoover.org/research/what-was-and-what-might-have-been-threats-and-wars-afghanistan-and-iraq">https://www.hoover.org/research/what-was-and-what-might-have-been-threats-and-wars-afghanistan-and-iraq</a> [accessed 21 February 2022].

I don't care what you think about the author; read this.

Paul Wolfowitz is a polarizing figure. Many people express extremes opinions regarding his statements and discount him as some sort of evil character. I think this is a mistake. I am not a fan of all the decisions he advocated, nor do I like the way that he regularly presents the catastrophes that have come from those recommendations. That said, he is intelligent, and he was in the room when a great many important decisions regarding the GWOT were made, and his recollections are worth serious consideration.

The biggest lesson that comes from this lengthy recollection is that the United States government, regardless of party, does not know how to do strategy. This is not the first time that I have come to realize this sad fact. Reading almost any memoir from GWOT leads to the same realization. The military recommends and the political appointees demand actions without a reasonable appreciation of cause and effect.

Strategy is, in part, about the management of cause and effect. A leader wants a desired effect and those who provide advice should be offering the logic path through which that effect can be accomplished. I know that strategy is much more complicated than cause and effect and is often more of an emergent phenomenon rather than an effect from a specific action. The point is, we don't really grasp the proper manner in which the desired effect happens and that leaves us with recommending actions.

- Work, Robert O. and Shawn Brimley, "20YY: Preparing for War in the Robotic Age," *Center for new American Security* [January 2014]. <a href="http://www.cnas.org/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/CNAS">http://www.cnas.org/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/CNAS</a> 20YY WorkBrimley.pdf [accessed 16 March 2016].
- Wunische, Adam, "America's Military Is Losing Its Counterinsurgency Operations Capabilities: It is better to focus on existential, near-peer threats." *The National Interest* [2 October 2018]. <a href="https://nationalinterest.org/feature/americas-military-losing-its-counterinsurgency-operations-capabilities-32462">https://nationalinterest.org/feature/americas-military-losing-its-counterinsurgency-operations-capabilities-32462</a> [accessed 4 October 2018].
- Wurzman, Rachel, Memorandum with Subject: Seizing Opportunities to Use Biopsychosocial Approaches to Enhance Messaging Efforts, Neuro-cognitive science technical team of Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) [28 April 2016].
- Youssef, Nancy A. "She Spoke Up About Cooked ISIS Intel. They Booted Her—for Cursing." *The Daily Beast* [9 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/09/she-spoke-up-about-cooked-isis-intel-they-booted-her-for-cursing.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/05/09/she-spoke-up-about-cooked-isis-intel-they-booted-her-for-cursing.html</a> [accessed 9 May 2016].
- ★ Zenko, Micah and Amelia Mae Wolf, "Drones Kill More Civilians Than Pilots Do," Foreign Policy [25 April 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/25/drones-kill-more-civilians-than-pilots-do/?wp\_login\_redirect=0">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/25/drones-kill-more-civilians-than-pilots-do/?wp\_login\_redirect=0</a> [accessed 26 April 2016].

### **United States Government Studies**

pdf [accessed 2 February 2019].

- Connable, Ben, Michael J. McNerney, William Marcellino, Aaron Frank, Henry Hargrove, Marek N. Posard, S. Rebecca Zimmerman, Natasha Lander, Jasen J. Castillo, and James Sladden. *Will to Fight: Analyzing, Modeling, and Simulating the Will to Fight of Military Units*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2018. <a href="https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RR2341.html">https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RR2341.html</a> [accessed 20 December 2018].
- Freier, Nathan P. *Outplayed: Regaining Strategic Initiative In The Gray Zone*. Carlyle, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press, June 2016. <a href="https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1325">https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1325</a> [accessed 11 July 2018]. Explanations of the gray zone and its implications to US policy and operations.
- Hooker, R.D. Jr, editor. *Charting a Course: Strategic Choices for a new Administration*. Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, December 2016. <a href="http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/charting-a-course/charting-a-course.pdf">http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/charting-a-course/charting-a-course.pdf</a>?ver=2016-12-12-085603-483 [accessed 4 January 2017].
  - Very useful once around the world for a new administration and as a snapshot in time for the world as perceived by the defense establishment at the end of 2016.
- McNerney, Michael J., Ben Connable, S. Rebecca Zimmerman, Natasha Lander, Marek N. Posard, Jasen J. Castillo, Dan Madden, Ilana Blum, Aaron Frank, Benjamin J. Fernandes, In Hyo Seol, Christopher Paul, and Andrew Parasiliti. *National Will to Fight: Why Some States Keep Fighting and Others Don't*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2018. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RR2477.html [accessed 20 December 2018].
- Moore, David T. Sensemaking: A Structure For An Intelligence Revolution. Washington DC: National Defense Intelligence College, Center for Strategic Intelligence Research [4 April 2011]. http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/dia/ndic moore sensemaking.pdf [accessed 9 July 2018].
- Ochmanek, David, Peter A. Wilson, Brenna Allen, John Speed Meyers, and Carter C. Price. 2017. *U.S. Military Capabilities and Forces for a Dangerous World: Rethinking the U.S. Approach to Force Planning*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

  <a href="https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1700/RR1782/RAND\_RR1782.pdf">https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1700/RR1782/RAND\_RR1782.pdf</a> [accessed 29 June 2018].
- Watts, Stephen, Patrick B. Johnston, Jennifer Kavanagh, Sean M. Zeigler, Bryan Frederick, Trevor Johnston, Karl P. Mueller, Astrid Stuth Cevallos, Nathan Chandler, Meagan L. Smith, Alexander Stephenson, and Julia A. Thompson. *Limited Intervention Evaluating the Effectiveness of Limited Stabilization, Limited Strike, and Containment Operations*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017.

  https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR2000/RR2037/RAND\_RR2037.
- Wood, Dakota L. editor. 2019 Index of U.S. Military Strength. Washington DC: Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy of the Heritage Foundation. 2019 [1 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.heritage.org/sites/default/files/2018-09/2019">https://www.heritage.org/sites/default/files/2018-09/2019</a> IndexOfUSMilitaryStrength WEB.pdf [accessed 4 October 2018].
- Zimmerman, S. Rebecca, Kimberly Jackson, Natasha Lander, Colin Roberts, Dan Madden, Rebeca Orrie. Movement and Maneuver: Culture and the Competition for Influence Among the U.S. Military Services. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2019.

- Security Council, 23 April 2015.
- Brooks, Risa, Jim Golby, and Heidi Urben, "Crisis of Command: America's Broken Civil-Military Relationship Imperils National Security," *Foreign Affairs* [May/June 2021].

https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-04-09/national-security-crisis-command [accessed 21 May 2021].

- I agree and disagree with the content of this article. I don't think that the authors place the blame appropriately where it belongs. They are right in that there is plenty of blame to go around. I believe that the blame belongs predominantly on the civilian leadership in Washington DC.
- Canna, Sarah, editor. Operational Relevance of Behavioral & Social Science to DoD Missions. NSI Team [14 March 2013]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Operational-Relevance-of-Behavioral-Social-Science-to-DoD-Missions.pdf">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Operational-Relevance-of-Behavioral-Social-Science-to-DoD-Missions.pdf</a> [accessed 22 November 2017].
- Canna, Sarah, editor. Humans in the Loop: Validation and Validity Concepts in the Social Sciences in the Context of Applied and Operational Settings. Strategic Multi-layer Assessment Occasional White Paper by NSI Team [26 August 2013]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Humans-in-the-Loop.pdf">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Humans-in-the-Loop.pdf</a> [accessed 22 November 2017].
- Connable, Ben and Michael McNerney, "The Will to Fight and the Fate of Nations," *War on the Rocks* [20 December 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/12/the-will-to-fight-and-the-fate-of-nations/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/12/the-will-to-fight-and-the-fate-of-nations/</a> [accessed 20 December 2018].
- Cordesman, Anthony H. "OCO Spending and the Uncertain Cost of America's Wars," *Center for Strategic & International Studies* [10 May 2016]. <a href="http://csis.org/files/publication/160510">http://csis.org/files/publication/160510</a> OCO US Wars.pdf [accessed 11 May 2016].
  - Great statistics on costs of war.

2019].

Cordesman, Anthony H. "Terrorism: U.S. Strategy and the Trends in Its "Wars" on Terrorism," Revised working draft. *Center for Strategic & International Studies* [14 August 2018]. <a href="https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180814">https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180814</a> Terrorism Survey START.Report.compressed.pdf [accessed 11 March

Great charts showing terrorist related casualties up to 2017.

- Cordesman, Anthony H. "Challenges, Changes and Continuity: The United States and a Fragmented Regional Order," *Center for Strategic & International Studies* [15 April 2019]. <a href="https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/190415">https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/190415</a> Fragmented Regional Order.pdf [accessed 1 May 2019].
- Crawford, Neta C. "United States Budgetary Costs of Post 9/11 Wars Through FY2018: A Summary of the \$5.6 Trillion in Costs for the US Wars in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan, and Post 9/11 Veterans Care and Homeland Security," Watson Institute, International & Public Affairs, Brown University, November 2017.
  - http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2017/Costs%20of%20U.S.%20Post-9\_11%20NC%20Crawford%20FINAL%20.pdf [accessed 8 November 2017].
- Crawford, Neta C. "United States Budgetary Costs of the Post-9/11 Wars Through FY2019: \$5.9 Trillion Spent and Obligated," Watson Institute, International & Public Affairs, Brown University [14 November 2018].
  - https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2018/Crawford Costs%20of%20War %20Estimates%20Through%20FY2019%20.pdf [accessed 15 November 2018].
- Crawford, Neta C. "Human Cost of the Post-9/11 Wars: Lethality and the Need for Transparency,"
  Watson Institute, International & Public Affairs, Brown University [November 2018].
  https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2018/Human%20Costs%2C%20Nov%

- 208%202018%20CoW.pdf [accessed 26 December 2018].
- Deptula, David A. "Revisiting the Roles and Missions of the Armed Forces," Statement Before the Senate Armed Services Committee by the Dean, The Mitchell Institute for Aerospace Studies [5 November 2015].
- Donovan Group, "Competition Short of Armed Conflict "Gray Zone" Annual Watch: 15 January 2017—15 January 2018," United States Special Operations Command [19 January 2018].
- Doran, David R. "Quick Concepts Series: Competition," Future of Great Power Competition and Conflict Series [8 March 2019]. <a href="https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/QC Competition edited final.pdf">https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/QC Competition edited final.pdf</a> [accessed 25 March 2019].
- Global Trends: Paradox of Progress. National Intelligence Council, January 2017. <a href="https://www.dni.gov/files/images/globalTrends/documents/GT-Full-Report.pdf">https://www.dni.gov/files/images/globalTrends/documents/GT-Full-Report.pdf</a> [accessed 10 January 2017].
  - A comprehensive and predictive look at problems and dynamics in the world out to 2035. This is a necessary source for military futures.
- Gompert, David C. and Hans Binnendijk. *The Power to Coerce: Countering Adversaries without Going to War.* Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2016.
  - http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1000/RR1000/RAND\_RR1000.p df [accessed 4 August 2016].
  - The authors address ideas that are between military action and hard power. This is useful in understanding alternatives. It does not have a lot of hard data, though it does provide useful contextual data particularly, the section on why military power is less relevant in the current environment.
- Institute for Economics & Peace. *Global Terrorism Index: 2015: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism.* Sydney: Institute for Economics & Peace, 2015. <a href="http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf">http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf</a> [accessed 30 December 2016].
- ★ Institute for Economics & Peace. Global Terrorism Index: 2016: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism. Sydney: Institute for Economics & Peace, 2016.
  http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf
  [accessed 30 December 2016].
  - These reports are excellent resources for the instances and the impact of terrorism around the world. Each report is for the year previous so the 2016 report gives the information and analysis for events in 2015. The reports are broken down to include the following sections: results, trends, terrorist groups (the most lethal from the year), economic impact of terrorism, correlates & drivers of terrorism, and expert contributors. The index derives the base data from the Global Terrorism Database compiled and maintained by START.
  - International Security Advisory Board, "Report on Status of Forces Agreements," US Department of State International Security Advisory Board, 16 January 2015.
    - https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236456.pdf [accessed 27 June 2017].
  - International Security Advisory Board, "Report on Gray Zone Conflict," US Department of State International Security Advisory Board, 3 January 2017.
    - https://www.state.gov/t/avc/isab/266650.htm [accessed 21 June 2017].
    - Useful document with an official US government definition and discussion on the topic. Important for explaining what it is.
  - Karlin, Mara E. "Before You Help a Fragile State's Military, Ask These Uncomfortable Questions," Defense One [21 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/06/pentagon-fragile-states-military/149180/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/06/pentagon-fragile-states-military/149180/</a> [accessed 25 June 2018].

- Kerbel, Josh, "The Complexity Challenge: The U.S. Government's Struggle to Keep Up with the Times," The National Interest [26 August 2015]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-complexity-challenge-the-us-governments-struggle-keep-13698">http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-complexity-challenge-the-us-governments-struggle-keep-13698</a> [accessed 17 June 2016].
- Koven, Barnett S. "Training Host Nation Forces for Populationcentric Counterinsurgency," *Small Wars Journal* [11 July 2016]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/training-host-nation-forces-for-population-centric-counterinsurgency">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/training-host-nation-forces-for-population-centric-counterinsurgency</a> [accessed 28 July 2016].
- Layton, Peter, "Grand Strategy Alternatives 2019," Invited Perspective Series Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) Future of Global Competition & Conflict Effort [21 March 2019]. <a href="https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Layton-Grand-Strategies IP-Final-21Mar19.pdf">https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Layton-Grand-Strategies IP-Final-21Mar19.pdf</a> [accessed 25 March 2019].
- Manyx, Todd, "SIG Scouting Report for the week of 4 April 2016: Big Data," Strategic Initiatives Group, United States Marines Corps [4 April 2016].
- McElvein, Elizabeth and Anna Newby, "Poll shows American views on Muslims and the Middle East are deeply polarized," *Brookings Institute* [27 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2016/07/27-americans-polarized-middle-east-mcelvein-newby">http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2016/07/27-americans-polarized-middle-east-mcelvein-newby</a> [accessed 28 July 2016].
- Mehta, Aaron, "Here's how much the US has spent fighting terrorism since 9/11," *Defense News* [16 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2018/05/16/heres-how-much-the-us-has-spent-fighting-terrorism-since-911/">https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2018/05/16/heres-how-much-the-us-has-spent-fighting-terrorism-since-911/</a> [accessed 16 May 2018].
- Meredith, Spencer B. III, "Reclaiming Strategic Initiative in the Not-So-Gray Zone: Winning Big Conflicts Inside Small Ones," *Small Wars Journal* [10 April 2017]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/reclaiming-strategic-initiative-in-the-not-so-gray-zone-winning-big-conflicts-inside-small-">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/reclaiming-strategic-initiative-in-the-not-so-gray-zone-winning-big-conflicts-inside-small-</a> [accessed 11 April 2017].
  - SMA is making the Gray Zone less opaque.
- "Minerva Findings: Behind the research," Strategic Multilayer Assessment Presentation to Senate Armed Service Staffers, 29 February 2016.
  - Research on what empowers recruitment to ISIS. Two slides.
- Mironova, Vera, Loubna Mrie, and Sam Whitt. Fight or Flight in Civil War? Evidence from Rebel-Controlled Syria. University of Maryland, January 2014. <a href="https://wmironovdotorg.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/syria">https://wmironovdotorg.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/syria</a> -mironova.pdf [accessed 29 February 2016].
- Mironova, Vera and Sam Whitt. Fight or Flight in Civil War? Evidence from Rebel-Controlled Syria: Supplementary Online Appendix. University of Maryland, January 2014. <a href="https://wmironovdotorg.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/syria\_appendix.pdf">https://wmironovdotorg.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/syria\_appendix.pdf</a> [accessed 29 February 2016].
- Poushter, Jacob and Dorothy Manevich, "Globally, People Point to ISIS and Climate Change as Leading Security Threats: Concern about cyberattacks, world economy also widespread," Pew Research Center, August 2017. <a href="http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/08/01/globally-people-point-to-isis-and-climate-change-as-leading-security-threats/">http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/08/01/globally-people-point-to-isis-and-climate-change-as-leading-security-threats/</a> [accessed 2 August 2017].
- Pratson, Lincoln and Drew Haerer. "MENA Grain-Fuel Vulnerability to a Marine Chokepoint Shutdown." Presented to the Special Operations Command-Central Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment Group, 29 September 2015.
- Prince, Erik, "Time for America to privatize its hybrid wars," *Asia Times* [19 October 2021]. <a href="https://asiatimes.com/2021/10/time-for-america-to-privatize-its-hybrid-wars/">https://asiatimes.com/2021/10/time-for-america-to-privatize-its-hybrid-wars/</a> [accessed 25 October 2021].

I disagree with Erik Prince, but he isn't wrong.

I know that a lot of people like to poke fun at and mock Erik Prince's ideas about the privatization of the American military with respect to the conduct of a variety of missions. I ask those people to hear me out on a couple of points.

One, I disagree with Erik Prince that economic efficiency and effectiveness should determine the way the U.S. goes about the conduct of national security actions. It may be cost-effective to pay private contractors to do advise and assist missions that require decades of commitment. I have worked with some of Erik Prince's folks in Iraq on more than one occasion and in other places in the Middle East as well. They are not the caricatures that Prince's critics paint them to be. They do their jobs well and accomplish their missions. My objection to Erik Prince's ideas is that the U.S. government and U.S. citizens and soldiers should shoulder the burdens of securing the republic because that is the right thing to do. Citizens need to sacrifice and suffer for their country or there won't be a country worth that sacrifice or suffering left.

Two, Erik Prince is correct when he says that there has been no accountability of the failures of the "national security "elites," both uniformed and civilian." This is what should really bother people about this article. The troubling aspects are where Prince is correct: wasteful spending, bad policy, ignorant efforts, misunderstanding the operational environment, and a lack of accountability for any, some, or all of it. I want Erik Prince to be wrong all the way around, but I am starting to lose any semblance of faith that those in authority will face the world as it is and the problems as they are and design systems, educational and training programs, and leader development to mitigate and overcome the problems and failures that Prince is seeking to remedy with his recommendations.

A privatized national security system is bad for a republic. Citizens need to serve, need to study, and need to demand accountability of those who serve and study so that the republic is defended, interests are protected, and influence increased.

Rogers, Emma, "How the U.S. Drone Warfare Program Evolved Over Two Decades," *The Dispatch* [2 November 2021]. <a href="https://thedispatch.com/p/how-the-us-drone-warfare-program">https://thedispatch.com/p/how-the-us-drone-warfare-program</a> [accessed 5 November 2021].

The report includes some good summary information of drone strikes over the course of the war.

- Rymer, Jon T., Steve A. Linick, and Catherine M. Trujillo. *Operation Inherent Resolve: Quarterly Report and Biannual Report to the United States Congress.* Washington, D.C.: Lead Inspector General for Overseas Contingency Operations, 31 May 2015.
- Schmidle, Robert, William Casebeer, Diane DiEuliis, James Giordana, John Shook, Jason Spitaletta, and Nicholas D. Wright, "White Paper on Social and Cognitive Neuroscience Underpinnings of ISIL Behavior and Implications for Strategic Communication, Messaging, and Influence", Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Periodic Publication [May 2015].
  - This white paper provides a succession of chapters designed to lead the reader through a logical series of discussions intended to: (1) describe and define neuro-cognitive mechanisms involved in the type(s) of aggressive narratives and violent behaviors exhibited by ISIL/ISIS; (2) afford an overview of brain structures and function involved in these cognitive and socially-interactive behavioral processes of thought, emotion, decision-making and actions; (3) provide insight to the possible effect(s) of narratives and discourses upon these neuro-cognitive processes; (4) describe ways that religious constructs afford meta-narratives that can be engaged to influence individual and group cognitions and behavioral activity; (5) illustrate how these narratives can be utilized in psychological operations and actions to support terrorist agenda and outcomes; and (6) explain how an understanding of these processes and factors can be important to developing operational techniques, tactics and strategies that are viable and valuable for deterring ISIL/ISIS' rhetoric, recruitment and actions upon the world stage.
- Savage, Charlie and Scott Shane, "U.S. Reveals Death Toll From Airstrikes Outside War Zones," *The New York Times* [1 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/02/world/us-reveals-death-toll-from-airstrikes-outside-of-war-zones.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/02/world/us-reveals-death-toll-from-airstrikes-outside-of-war-zones.html</a> [accessed 7 July 2016].

- Shane, Scott, "Drone Strike Statistics Answer Few Questions, and Raise Many," *The New York Times* [3 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/04/world/middleeast/drone-strike-statistics-answer-few-questions-and-raise-many.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/04/world/middleeast/drone-strike-statistics-answer-few-questions-and-raise-many.html</a> [accessed 7 July 2016].
- Shook, John R. and James Giordano, "Macro-Social Trends and National Defense Scenarios: Forecasting Crises and Forging Responses using Generation Theory in a Bio-psychosocial Framework," Strategic Multilayer Assessment Periodic Publication White Paper [18 September 2017].

  <a href="http://nsiteam.com/macro-social-trends-and-national-defense-scenarios/">http://nsiteam.com/macro-social-trends-and-national-defense-scenarios/</a> [accessed 6 October 2017].
- SMA Support to SOCCENT, "Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Regional Narratives about the Future: Assessing the Impact of The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)", Tampa, Florida [July 2015]. Includes an analysis of narratives and what may happen in the post-ISIS Middle East and North Africa. Good data.
- SMA, "Counter ISIL Messaging: Short Reports from Technical Teams," Washington DC [April 2016].

  The week of 25 April 2016, the Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) program in the Joint Staff—in coordination with USASOC and DHS—held a high-level political-military simulation based on four scenarios.

  The exercise was follow-on to a proof on concept carried out back in December 2015 and has been carefully planned in collaboration with a large community including USASOC, DHS/S&T, DHS/Office of Intelligence and Analysis, TRADOC, academia, and industry. The comments in this document include those most useful for the dissertation study conducted.
- SMA, "Gray Zone Conflicts, Challenges, and Opportunities: Executive Summaries of Team Reports," Washington DC [July 2017].
- SMA, "Integration Report: Gray Zone Conflicts, Challenges, and Opportunities," Washington DC [July 2017].

Note: The Strategic Multilayer Assessment Team is a combination of government and academic experts on the region and the issues. They are responding to questions presented by the CENTCOM commander and senior leaders. This set of responses are each several hundred pages per report.

- Astorino-Courtois, Allison. The Meaning of ISIS Defeat & Shaping Stability: Highlights from CENTCOM Round 1, 2 and 3 Reach-back Reports. Washington DC, March 2017.
- SMA CENTCOM Reach-back Reports, 1 of 9: Messaging. This is Part 1 of a 9 part series of SMA Reach back responses to questions posed by USCENTCOM. Each report contains responses to multiple questions grouped by theme. Washington DC, 13 January 2017.
- SMA CENTCOM Reach-back Reports, 2 of 9: The Fight Against ISIS. This is Part 2 of a 9 part series of SMA Reach back responses to questions posed by USCENTCOM. Each report contains responses to multiple questions grouped by theme. Washington DC, 20 January 2017.
- SMA CENTCOM Reach-back Reports, 3 of 9: Encouraging Regional Stability. This is Part 3 of a 9 part series of SMA Reach back responses to questions posed by USCENTCOM. Each report contains responses to multiple questions grouped by theme. Washington DC, 27 January 2017.
- SMA CENTCOM Reach-back Reports, 4 of 9: Regional Actor Interests and Motivations. This is Part 4 of a 9 part series of SMA Reach back responses to questions posed by USCENTCOM. Each report contains responses to multiple questions grouped by theme. Washington DC, 7 February 2017.
- SMA CENTCOM Reach-back Reports, 6 of 9: ISIL Support and Recruitment. This is Part 6 of a 9 part series of SMA Reach back responses to questions posed by USCENTCOM. Each report contains responses to multiple questions grouped by theme. Washington DC, 10 January 2017.
- SMA CENTCOM Reach-back Reports, 7 of 9: USG Bureaucratic Requirements. This is Part 7 of a 9 part

- series of SMA Reach back responses to questions posed by USCENTCOM. Each report contains responses to multiple questions grouped by theme. Washington DC, 18 January 2017.
- SMA CENTCOM Reach-back Reports, 8 of 9: Post ISIL Governance. This is Part 8 of a 9 part series of SMA Reach back responses to questions posed by USCENTCOM. Each report contains responses to multiple questions grouped by theme. Washington DC, 10 January 2017.
- SMA CENTCOM Reach-back Reports, 9 of 9: Coalition Views. This is Part 9 of a 9 part series of SMA Reach back responses to questions posed by USCENTCOM. Each report contains responses to multiple questions grouped by theme. Washington DC, 7 February 2017.
- SMA Conference, 10th Annual Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) Conference Jointly held with DHS, NCTC, DNI/NIC "From Control to Influence? A View of—and Vision for—the Future, Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) Contract Preparation with NSI, Inc. [25-26 April 2017].
- SMA Reach-back, Response to Questions Regarding Kurdish Referendum on Independence. Washington DC, 21 June 2017.

Executive Summary: President Ma'soud Barzani has been promising a referendum on Kurdish independence since 2014, so we have to ask the question why now? The non-binding referendum, if approved, will not necessarily mean a declaration of independence (Atran, Rasheed, Wahab). Barzani has admitted that the purpose of the referendum was not to declare independence but to gauge the opinions and rights of the Kurds in Iraq (Anonymous 2). But there are several factors potentially driving Barzani's decision to announce a referendum now.

SMA Reach-back, Response to CENTCOM Question (V1): What are USCENTCOM and the global counter-ISIL coalition missing from countermessaging efforts in the information domain? Washington DC, 7 November 2016.

Executive Summary: One way for evaluating CENTCOM and the global counter-ISIL Coalition messaging is to break the idea into its three component parts: the content, the medium (the way the message is transmitted), and the messenger (see Beutel).

SMA Reach-back, Response to CENTCOM Question (V2): What are the key factors that would impact the wave of violent extremism and ideological radicalism that affect the Sunni community? Washington DC, 7 November 2016.

Executive Summary: The Sunni community is not homogenous, and contributors expressed their discomfort making broad generalizations for a number of reasons. Most Sunni Arabs still consider themselves first a citizen of their respective countries with the exception of populations in the midst of conflict like Iraq, Syria, and Yemen (Jebnoun).

Failure of the Social Contract

Failure to Defeat ISIL

Lack of Resolution in Syria

Lack of Unified Sunni Political Voice

Perception of Expanded Shia Influence in Sunni Areas

**Personal Motivations** 

SMA Reach-back, Response to CENTCOM Question (V3): What long-term actions and processes should U.S. government (USG) institutions, the Coalition and the international community examine to position ourselves against a long term ISIL threat? How can the private sector be effectively engaged by government institutions to optimize the effects needed for success? Washington DC, 7 November 2016.

Executive Summary: Expert contributors agree that terrorism will remain a long-standing global threat. In addition, there is emphasis on the leadership of the USG as a whole of nation concept. The military alone cannot position parties against lasting terrorism threat but it certainly can shape and influence them through stability operations and other people centric maneuvering. It must work in close cooperation with other USG colleagues and coalition partners to do this while mitigating not only ISIL global impact, but other people and groups that strive to commit the devastating acts of violence. Further the USG should take deliberate measures to lessen underlying factors that lead parties to terror responses. Some specific ideas from this group of contributors include:

- As war perpetuates and airstrikes continue the USG and its partner's further loose legitimacy.
- Learn to maneuver in the narrative space
- Data is your friend
- Engaging Academia
- Everything is local

SMA Reach-back, Response to CENTCOM Question (V4): What are the most likely post-ISIL Iraq scenarios with regards to Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure, Physical Environment, and Time (PMESII-PT)? Where are the main PMESII-PT friction points, which are most acute, and how are they best exploited to accomplish a stable end state favorable to U.S. and coalition interests? Washington DC, 7 November 2016.

SMA Reach-back, Response to CENTCOM Question (V5): What are the factors that will influence the future of Syria and how can we best affect them? Washington DC, 24 October 2016.

Executive Summary: Experts varied from pessimistic (chronic warfare) to cautiously optimistic regarding their expectations for the future of Syria, yet mentioned many of the same factors that they felt would influence Syria's future path. Most of these key factors – ranging from external geopolitical rivalries to the health and welfare of individual Syrians – were outside what typical military operations might affect. Instead they center on political and humanitarian recovery, healing of social divisions and the solid backing of international actors that agree on what that recovery will entail. The six factors are described below.

External Factor: the use of Iranian, Saudi proxies in Syria

External Factor: the degree of Coalition-non Coalition agreement on the governance and security

conditions of post-war Syria

External Factor: US and Coalition public support for sustained political, security and humanitarian aid for

Syria

Internal Factor: the role of Assad family

Internal Factor: What is done to repair social divisions and sectarianism in Syria

Internal Factor: Demographics and a traumatized population

SMA Reach-back, Response to CENTCOM Question (V6): What are the strategic and operational implications of the Iran nuclear deal on the US-led coalition's ability to prosecute the war against ISIL in Iraq and Syria and to create the conditions for political, humanitarian and security sector stability? Washington DC, 7 November 2016.

Executive Summary: Prior to the signing of the Iran Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) in July 2014, Iran watchers tended to anticipate one of two outcomes. One camp expected a reduction in US-Iran tensions and that the JCPOA might present an opening for improved regional cooperation between the US-led coalition and Iran. The other camp predicted that Iran would become more assertive in wielding its influence in the region once the agreement was reached.

Implications of JCPOA for the Near-term Battle: Marginal

Implications of JCPOA for Post-ISIL Shaping: Considerable Potential

Provoking Friction as a Bargaining Chip

Increased Proxy Funding.

SMA Reach-back, Response to CENTCOM Question (V7): What are the strategic objectives and motivations of indigenous state and non-state partners in the counter-ISIL fight? Washington DC, 7 November 2016.

Executive Summary: The following are high-level results of a study assessing Middle East regional dynamics based on the alignments and conflicts among three critical drivers: actor interests, resources and resolve. Expected outcomes are based on the strategic interests of regional actors.

ISIL will be defeated in Syria and Iraq

Conflict will continue in Syria following ISIL defeat; will escalate significantly with threat of Assad defeat GoI lacks resolve to make concessions to garner support from Sunni Tribes

Saudi Arabia-Iran Proxy funding continues; easily reignites conflict

SMA Reach-back, Special Topic: Mosul Coalition Fragmentation: Causes and Effects, Washington DC, 7 November 2016.

Executive Summary: This paper assesses the potential causes and effects of fragmentation on the Counter-ISIL coalition. This coalition consists of three distinct but interrelated subsets: 1) the CJTF-OIR coalition; 2) the regional coalition, de facto allies of convenience, who may provide any combination of money, forces or proxies; and, 3) the tactical coalition, the plethora of disparate groups fighting on the ground. The study team assessed how a change in either the CJTF-OIR coalition or regional coalition could influence the tactical coalition post Mosul and the subsequent effect of these potential fragmentations on the Gol's ability to control Iraq.

- Smeltz, Dina, Ivo H. Daalder, Karl Friedhoff, Craig Kafura, and Brendan Helm, "Rejecting Retreat:
  Americans Support US Engagement in Global Affairs," Results of the 2019 Chicago Council Survey of
  American Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy by *The Chicago Council on Global Affairs* [6
  September 2019]. <a href="https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/rejecting-retreat">https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/rejecting-retreat</a> [accessed 11
  September 2019].
- South, Todd, "No more Army adviser brigades or amphib ships? This proposed report could radically change how the services fight," *Military Times* [13 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/06/13/no-more-army-adviser-brigades-or-amphib-ships-this-proposed-report-could-radically-change-how-the-services-fight/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/06/13/no-more-army-adviser-brigades-or-amphib-ships-this-proposed-report-could-radically-change-how-the-services-fight/</a> [accessed 14 June 2018].
- Spalding, Robert, "Clash of Strategic Cultures 2019," Invited Perspective Series Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) Future of Global Competition & Conflict Effort [21 March 2019]. <a href="https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Spalding-Clash\_IP-Final-21Mar19.pdf">https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Spalding-Clash\_IP-Final-21Mar19.pdf</a> [accessed 25 March 2019].
- Stohl, Rachel, "Grading Progress on U.S. Drone Policy: Report Card on the Recommendations of the Stimson Task Force on U.S. Drone Policy," Stimson Center [February 2016].

  <a href="http://www.stimson.org/sites/default/files/file-attachments/Grading%20Progress%20on%20U.S.%20Drone%20Policy..pdf">http://www.stimson.org/sites/default/files/file-attachments/Grading%20Progress%20on%20U.S.%20Drone%20Policy..pdf</a> [accessed 12 July 2016].
- Telhami, Shibley, "2008 Annual Arab Public Opinion 2008 Annual Arab Public Opinion Poll," Survey of the Survey of the Anwar AnwarSadat Chair for Peace and Sadat Chair for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland Development at the University of Maryland (with (with Zogby International) [14 April 2012]. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/0414 middle east telhami.pdf">https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/0414 middle east telhami.pdf</a> [accessed 24 December 2017].
- Telhami, Shibley, "American attitudes toward Muslims and Islam," *Brookings Institute* [11 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2016/07/11-muslims-islam-american-attitudes-telhami">http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2016/07/11-muslims-islam-american-attitudes-telhami</a> [accessed 28 July 2016].
- U.S. Army Special Operations Command, "White Paper: Comprehensive deterrence," United States

- Army Special Operations Command, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, 18 October 2015.
- U.S. Army Special Operations Command, "White Paper: Cognitive Maneuver For the Contemporary and Future Strategic Operating Environment," United States Army Special Operations Command, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, 31 May 2016.
- U.S. Army TRADOC G-2, "Red Diamond Threats Newsletter," United States Army TRADOC G-2 Operational Environment Enterprise ACE Threats Integration, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Volume 7, Issue 08, August 2016.
  - The report includes articles on actions in Ukraine and organization and development of Hezbollah.
- U.S. Army TRADOC G-2, "Foreign Military Studies Office OEWATCH Foreign News & Perspectives of the Operational Environment," Foreign Military Studies Office, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Volume 6, Issue 10, October 2016.
  - Good information on the operational environment in the current fight against ISIS around the region. This focuses on tactical and technical details.
- U.S. Department of Defense. Department of Defense Risk Management Guide for Defense Acquisition Programs. Washington DC: Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Systems Engineering, December 2014. <a href="http://acqnotes.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/DoD-Risk-Mgt-Guide-v7-interim-Dec2014.pdf">http://acqnotes.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/DoD-Risk-Mgt-Guide-v7-interim-Dec2014.pdf</a> [accessed 23 July 2018].
- U.S. Department of Defense. Summary of the National Defense Strategy of the United States of America: Sharpening the American Military's Competitive Edge. Washington DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 19 January 2018. <a href="https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf">https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf</a> [accessed 23 February 2018].
- ★ U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Science Board, "Summer Study on Capabilities for Constrained Military Operations," Washington DC: Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics, December 2016.
  - This is an official introduction to MITNS at the highest DoD level so far. It speaks of the Gray Zone, but really as a gray zone within US thinking and capability rather than a gray zone in objective perspectives of conflict.
  - U.S. Department of State. OIG Office of Inspections: Evaluation of Embassy Baghdad's Implementation of Line of Effort 6 in the President's Strategy to Counter ISIL: Exposing ISIL's True Nature. U.S. Department of State Office of the Inspector General, March 2016. <a href="https://oig.state.gov/system/files/isp-i-16-10.pdf">https://oig.state.gov/system/files/isp-i-16-10.pdf</a> [accessed 8 April 2016].

  - U.S. Director of National Intelligence. National Intelligence Strategy of the United States of America 2019. Washington DC: Office of the Director of National Intelligence, 24 January 2019. <a href="https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/congressional-testimonies/item/1947-statement-for-the-record-worldwide-threat-assessment-of-the-us-intelligence-community">https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/congressional-testimonies/item/1947-statement-for-the-record-worldwide-threat-assessment-of-the-us-intelligence-community</a> [accessed 21 August 2019].
  - U.S. Government. *Decade of War, Volume 1: Enduring Lessons from the Past Decade of Operations*. Washington DC: Joint and Coalition Operational Analysis (JCOA), 15 June 2012.

- In this report one of the recurring problems identified was "Battle for the Narrative." In this context narrative is simplified to mean essentially messaging.
- U.S. Government. Summary of Information Regarding U.S. Counterterrorism Strikes Outside Areas of Active Hostilities. Washington DC, 1 July 2016.

  <a href="https://content.govdelivery.com/attachments/USODNI/2016/07/01/file\_attachments/579487/DNI%2BRelease%2Bon%2BCT%2BStrikes%2BOutside%2BAreas%2Bof%2BActive%2BHostilities\_FINAL.PDF">https://content.govdelivery.com/attachments/USODNI/2016/07/01/file\_attachments/579487/DNI%2BRelease%2Bon%2BCT%2BStrikes%2BOutside%2BAreas%2Bof%2BActive%2BHostilities\_FINAL.PDF</a>

  [accessed 7 July 2016].
- U.S. Government Accountability Office, "COUNTERTERRORISM: DOD Should Fully Address Security Assistance Planning Elements in Global Train and Equip Project Proposals," United States Government Accountability Office Report to Congressional Committees [May 2018]. <a href="https://www.gao.gov/assets/700/692152.pdf">https://www.gao.gov/assets/700/692152.pdf</a> [accessed 25 June 2018].
- U.S. Secret Service, "National Threat Assessment Center Mass Attacks in Public Spaces 2018," U.S. Department of Homeland Security [July 2019].
  <a href="https://www.secretservice.gov/data/press/reports/USSS\_FY2019\_MAPS.pdf">https://www.secretservice.gov/data/press/reports/USSS\_FY2019\_MAPS.pdf</a> [accessed 13 August 2019].
- Vine, David, Cala Coffman, Katalina Khoury, Madison Lovasz, Helen Bush, Rachel Leduc, and Jennifer Walkup, "Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States' Post-9/11 Wars," A Costs of War Research Paper from Brown University [8 September 2020].

  <a href="https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Displacement\_Vine%20et%20al\_Costs%20of%20War%202020%2009%2008.pdf">https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Displacement\_Vine%20et%20al\_Costs%20of%20War%202020%2009%2008.pdf</a> [accessed 15 September 2020].
- Wike, Richard, Bruce Stokes, Jacob Poushter, and Janell Fetterolf, "U.S. Image Suffers as Publics Around World Question Trump's Leadership: America still wins praise for its people, culture and civil liberties," Pew Research Center, June, 2017. <a href="http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/tarnished-american-brand/">http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/tarnished-american-brand/</a> [accessed 2 August 2017].
- Weisgerber, Marcus, "Here's How Much of Your Taxes Have Gone To Wars," *Defense One* [27 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/politics/2017/09/taxes-united-states-war-iraq-afghanistan-syria/141337/">http://www.defenseone.com/politics/2017/09/taxes-united-states-war-iraq-afghanistan-syria/141337/</a> [accessed 28 September 2017].
- Williams, Steve and John Watts, "ISIL's Evolved Irregular Threat: Report for the Strategic Multilayer Assessment", Washington DC: Noetic Corporation [November 2015].
  - This report was written as a part of the Joint Staff's Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) office's support to CENTCOM's Special Operations Command (SOCCENT). The SMA SOCCENT effort is a robust, multi-disciplinary approach to understanding the complex challenge posed by the emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL, also referred to as ISIS, IS and Daesh). In particular, this effort seeks to better understand the future implications of ISIL's rise in the future, once the ISIL crisis has been resolved and a degree of stability has been re-established.
- Zwack. Peter, "Russia in Syria," National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS), Washington, DC [27 April 2016].

#### The White House

- Austin, Jon, "'CIA created ISIS', says Julian Assange as Wikileaks releases 500k US cables," Express UK [29 November 2016]. <a href="http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/737430/CIA-ISIS-Wikileaks-Carter-Cables-III-Julian-Assange">http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/737430/CIA-ISIS-Wikileaks-Carter-Cables-III-Julian-Assange</a> [accessed 26 December 2016].
  - Interesting statements by Julian Assange regarding the release of documents dating back to the Carter administration and early activities regarding the Mujahedeen and Operation Cyclone.
- Bacevich, Andrew, "The "Global Order" Myth," ISSF Policy Series: H-Net: Humanities & Social Science Online [13 July 2017]. <a href="http://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/Policy-Roundtable-1-5AS.pdf">http://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/Policy-Roundtable-1-5AS.pdf</a> [accessed 17 July 2017].
  - The author challenges the role of the US in global policy and the role of Donald Trump in seeing and shaping that policy now.
- Brennan, Margaret, "Brett McGurk, top U.S. envoy in ISIS fight, resigns," *CBS News* [22 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.cbsnews.com/news/brett-mcgurk-top-u-s-envoy-in-isis-fight-to-quit/">https://www.cbsnews.com/news/brett-mcgurk-top-u-s-envoy-in-isis-fight-to-quit/</a> [accessed 24 December 2018].
- Carter, Ashton, "Defense Secretary: Turkey's Turmoil Shouldn't Harm Battle Against ISIS," Interview on NPR conducted by Renee Montagne [20 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.npr.org/2016/07/20/486704434/transcript-defense-secretary-carter-on-turkey-isis-and-afghanistan">http://www.npr.org/2016/07/20/486704434/transcript-defense-secretary-carter-on-turkey-isis-and-afghanistan</a> [accessed 22 July 2016].
- Clark, Colin, "National Security Council: Fractured Advice, Conflicting Messages", *Breaking Defense* [14 January 2016]. <a href="http://breakingdefense.com/2016/01/national-security-council-fractured-advice-conflicting-messages/">http://breakingdefense.com/2016/01/national-security-council-fractured-advice-conflicting-messages/</a> [accessed 14 January 2016].
  - Important facts on the size of the NSC and comments about quality and problems with the NSC process.
- ▶ Delman, Edward, "Obama's Record as Commander-in-Chief, By the Numbers," *Defense One* [30 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/03/obamas-record-commander-chief-numbers/127122/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/03/obamas-record-commander-chief-numbers/127122/</a> [accessed 31 March 2016].
  - DeLuce, Dan, "Hagel: The White House Tried to 'Destroy' Me", Foreign Policy [18 December 2015]. https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/18/hagel-the-white-house-tried-to-destroy-me/ [accessed 19 December 2015].
    - An interview with the former Secretary of Defense regarding the events that ultimately led to his resignation and his thoughts on the conduct of the administration with regard to micromanaging foreign policy.
- DeYoung, Karen, "How the Obama White House runs foreign policy", *The Washington Post* [4 August 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-the-obama-white-house-runs-foreign-policy/2015/08/04/2befb960-2fd7-11e5-8353-1215475949f4">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-the-obama-white-house-runs-foreign-policy/2015/08/04/2befb960-2fd7-11e5-8353-1215475949f4</a> story.html?hpid=z1 [accessed 6 August 2015].
  - DeYoung, Karen, "The foggy numbers of Obama's wars and non-wars," *The Washington Post* [23 May 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-foggy-numbers-of-obamas-wars-and-non-wars/2016/05/22/5648b798-1d2f-11e6-b6e0-c53b7ef63b45\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-foggy-numbers-of-obamas-wars-and-non-wars/2016/05/22/5648b798-1d2f-11e6-b6e0-c53b7ef63b45\_story.html</a> [accessed 23 May 2016].
  - Diamond, Larry, "Democracy Demotion: How the Freedom Agenda Fell Apart," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2019, Volume 98, Number 4 [11 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-06-11/democracy-demotion">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-06-11/democracy-demotion</a> [accessed 28 June 2019].
  - Executive Order, "Developing an Integrated Global Engagement Center to Support Government-Wide Counterterrorism Communications Activities Directed Abroad and Revoking Executive Order 13584," The White House Office of the Press Secretary [14 March 2016].
- ★ Goldberg, Jeffrey, "The Obama Doctrine," *The Atlantic* [April 2016].

- http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/ [accessed 11 March 2016].
- Goldsmith, Jack, "Obama Has Officially Adopted Bush's Iraq Doctrine," *Time* [6 April 2016]. <a href="http://time.com/4283865/obama-adopted-bushs-iraq-doctrine/">http://time.com/4283865/obama-adopted-bushs-iraq-doctrine/</a> [accessed 7 April 2016].
- Graham, David A. "What Is Trump's Syria Policy?" *The Atlantic* [11 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/04/what-is-trumps-syria-policy/522669/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/04/what-is-trumps-syria-policy/522669/</a> [accessed 12 April 2017].
  - Person by person explanation of various policy positions within the Trump administration.
- Greenwald, Glenn, "The Deep State Goes to War With President-Elect, Using Unverified Claims, as Democrats Cheer," *The Intercept* [11 January 2017]. <a href="https://theintercept.com/2017/01/11/the-deep-state-goes-to-war-with-president-elect-using-unverified-claims-as-dems-cheer/">https://theintercept.com/2017/01/11/the-deep-state-goes-to-war-with-president-elect-using-unverified-claims-as-dems-cheer/</a> [accessed 13 January 2017].
  - This is a well-written diatribe against the dangers of the military-industrial complex as demonstrated in its opposition to Donald Trump. Written by a Trump opponent.
- Ignatius, David, "Obama's low-key strategy for the Middle East," *The Washington Post* [6 March 2011]. <a href="http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/03/04/AR2011030404614.html">http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/03/04/AR2011030404614.html</a> [accessed 24 April 2018].
- Ignatius, David, "Bob Gates unpacks Obama's foreign policy, and offers advice to the next president," *The Washington Post* [14 April 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/bob-gates-unpacks-obamas-foreign-policy-and-offers-advice-to-the-next-president/2016/04/14/1c4904c8-0275-11e6-9d36-33d198ea26c5\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/bob-gates-unpacks-obamas-foreign-policy-and-offers-advice-to-the-next-president/2016/04/14/1c4904c8-0275-11e6-9d36-33d198ea26c5\_story.html</a> [accessed 15 April 2016].
- "'In Spite of It All, America'," *The New York Times* [11 October 2017].

  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/11/world/europe/germany-united-states-trump-manifesto.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/11/world/europe/germany-united-states-trump-manifesto.html</a> [accessed 12 October 2017].
- Jaffe, Greg, "For a Trump adviser, an odyssey from the fringes of Washington to the center of power," *The Washington Post* [20 February 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/for-a-trump-adviser-an-odyssey-from-the-fringes-of-washington-to-the-center-of-power/2017/02/20/0a326260-f2cb-11e6-b9c9-e83fce42fb61\_story.html">https://www.washington.to-the-center-of-power/2017/02/20/0a326260-f2cb-11e6-b9c9-e83fce42fb61\_story.html</a> [accessed 1 March 2017]. Who is Sebastian Gorka? This article explains the background and career development of this bombastic national security commentator and now White House adviser. This is an interesting piece that brings up significant issues regarding policy and the nature of the fight against ISIS and others.
- Lake, Eli, "Washington Loves General McMaster, But Trump Doesn't," *Bloomberg* [8 May 2017]. https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2017-05-08/washington-loves-general-mcmaster-but-trump-doesn-t [accessed 9 May 2017].
- Lamothe, Dan, "Why former Pentagon chief Chuck Hagel's coming out against the White House matters", Washington Post [19 December 2015]. washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/12/19/why-former-pentagon-chief-chuck-hagels-coming-out-against-the-white-house-matters [accessed 21 December 2015].
  - This article includes a summary of the critical comments made of the Obama White House by former Secretaries of Defense.
- Landler, Mark, "Iran Negotiations Add to Special Envoy's Reputation as 'a Doer'", New York Times [19 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/20/world/middleeast/iran-negotiations-add-to-special-envoys-reputation-as-a-doer.html?">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/20/world/middleeast/iran-negotiations-add-to-special-envoys-reputation-as-a-doer.html?</a> r=1 [accessed 21 January 2016].
  - I saw this guy in action in 2015 in Baghdad. He does not really know the country and region as well as portrayed in the article, but he will stand toe-to-toe with a bully and argue his point.

- McIntyre, Jamie, "Defense Secretary Jim Mattis: In charge, but definitely camera-shy," <a href="http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/defense-secretary-jim-mattis-in-charge-but-definitely-camera-shy/article/2622288">http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/defense-secretary-jim-mattis-in-charge-but-definitely-camera-shy/article/2622288</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
- McMaster, H.R. Remarks by LTG H.R. McMaster at the Munich Security Conference, Munich, Germany. 17 February 2018. <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-ltg-h-r-mcmaster-munich-security-conference/">https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-ltg-h-r-mcmaster-munich-security-conference/</a> [accessed 2 March 2018].
  - "... three priority areas that demand our collective efforts: first, ensuring the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and deterring their use; second, defeating jihadist terrorist organizations; and third, strengthening the international foundations for peace and prosperity."
- Miniter, Richard, "Journalists Beware: Your War On Sebastian Gorka Is Only Hurting You," Forbes [28 February 2017]. <a href="https://www.forbes.com/sites/richardminiter/2017/02/28/journalists-beware-your-jihad-on-sebastian-gorka-is-only-hurting-you/#7a8f7e3c3241">https://www.forbes.com/sites/richardminiter/2017/02/28/journalists-beware-your-jihad-on-sebastian-gorka-is-only-hurting-you/#7a8f7e3c3241</a> [accessed 1 March 2017]. This is something of a response to the Greg Jaffe referenced above.
- Obama, Barack. Remarks by President Obama to the United Nations General Assembly, United Nations Headquarters, New York, New York. 28 September 2015. <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/09/28/remarks-president-obama-united-nations-general-assembly">https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/09/28/remarks-president-obama-united-nations-general-assembly</a> [accessed 27 December 2016].

Two key quotes are:

- "... unless we work together to defeat the ideas that drive different communities in a country like Iraq into conflict, any order that our militaries can impose will be temporary."
- "The strongmen of today become the spark of revolution tomorrow. You can jail your opponents, but you can't imprison ideas. You can try to control access to information, but you cannot turn a lie into truth."
- Obama, Barack. Press Conference by President Obama at the Kaya Palazzo Resort, Antalya, Turkey. 16 November 2015. <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/11/16/press-conference-president-obama-antalya-turkey">https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/11/16/press-conference-president-obama-antalya-turkey</a> [accessed 25 November 2015].
- Obama, Barack. Press Conference by President Obama at the Ritz Carlton Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. 22 November 2015. <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/11/22/remarks-president-obama-press-conference">https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/11/22/remarks-president-obama-press-conference</a> [accessed 25 November 2015].
- Perry, Mark, "Tillerson and Mattis Cleaning Up Kushner's Middle East Mess," *The American Conservative* [27 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/tillerson-and-mattis-cleaning-up-kushners-middle-east-mess/">http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/tillerson-and-mattis-cleaning-up-kushners-middle-east-mess/</a> [accessed 18 April 2018].
- Perry, Mark, "McMaster's Problem Isn't Trump. It's Mattis and Kelly." *Foreign Policy* [7 March 2018]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/07/mcmasters-problem-isnt-trump-its-mattis-and-kelly/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/07/mcmasters-problem-isnt-trump-its-mattis-and-kelly/</a> [accessed 8 March 2018].
- ★ Samuels, David, "The Aspiring Novelist Who Became Obama's Foreign-Policy Guru," New York Times [5 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/08/magazine/the-aspiring-novelist-who-became-obamas-foreign-policy-guru.html?r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/08/magazine/the-aspiring-novelist-who-became-obamas-foreign-policy-guru.html?r=0</a> [accessed 6 May 2016].
  - Schake, Kori, "Dereliction of Duty Reconsidered: The Book that Made the National Security Advisor," War on the Rocks [28 March 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/03/dereliction-of-duty-reconsidered-the-book-the-made-the-national-security-advisor/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/03/dereliction-of-duty-reconsidered-the-book-the-made-the-national-security-advisor/</a> [accessed 29 March 2017]. This is an interesting discussion of H.R. McMaster's book now that he has a position of significance in the White House. The analysis is decent, but it misses the point that he researched and wrote the book when he
  - Shane, Leo III and George R. Altman, "The Obama era is over. Here's how the military rates his legacy," *Military Times* [8 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/obama-legacy-military">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/obama-legacy-military</a>

was a captain. Obviously, it is going to be simplistic at that point in his career.

- [accessed 9 January 2017].
- Poll results of military members regarding President Obama's eight years in office.
- Sjursen, Danny, "Unspoken Legacy: The Perils of Letting Obama Off the Hook for Executive Overreach," War on the Rocks [23 February 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/02/unspoken-legacy-the-perils-of-letting-obama-off-the-hook-for-executive-overreach/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/02/unspoken-legacy-the-perils-of-letting-obama-off-the-hook-for-executive-overreach/</a> [accessed 7 April 2017].
  - An interesting perspective on the problems with the unchecked imperial presidency.
- Stern, Jessica, "Obama and Terrorism: Like it or not, the War Goes on," *Foreign Affairs* [September/October 2015], 62-70.
- Stevenson, Jonathan, "Bannon's Out. But Did H.R. McMaster Win?" *The New York Times* [5 April 2017]. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/05/opinion/did-hr-mcmaster-win.html [accessed 6 April 2017].
- Thrall, Trevor and John Glaser, "Were We Watching the Same Presidency? Obama Was Not A Restrainer," *War on the Rocks* [14 March 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/03/were-wewatching-the-same-presidency-obama-was-not-a-restrainer/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/03/were-wewatching-the-same-presidency-obama-was-not-a-restrainer/</a> [accessed 16 March 2017].
  - This is an interesting article that responds to previously published criticism of President Obama as practicing too much restraint in foreign policy. I do not agree with this article and perspective in tis entirety, but it is thoughtful and thought-provoking.
- Trump, Donald J. President Trump's Speech to the Arab Islamic American Summit, Riyadh, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 21 May 2017. <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/05/21/president-trumps-speech-arab-islamic-american-summit">https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/05/21/president-trumps-speech-arab-islamic-american-summit</a> [accessed 22 May 2017].
  - An important speech on the fight against extremists like those represented in ISIS. The most powerful lines were the president's call to Drive Them Out in reference to extremist thought.
- ★ The White House. Section 1222 Report: Strategy for the Middle East and to Counter Violent Extremism. House Armed Services Committee, 24 March 2016.
  <a href="https://armedservices.house.gov/sites/republicans.armedservices.house.gov/files/wysiwyg\_upload\_ed/Section%201222%20Report.pdf">https://armedservices.house.gov/sites/republicans.armedservices.house.gov/files/wysiwyg\_upload\_ed/Section%201222%20Report.pdf</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
  - The White House. Procedures for Approving Direct Action Against Terrorist Targets Located Outside the United States and Areas of Active Hostilities. Presidential Policy Guidance, 22 May 2013. https://www.aclu.org/other/presidential-policy-guidance [accessed 8 August 2016].
- ★ The White House. Report on the Legal and Policy Frameworks Guiding the United States' Use of Military Force and Related National Security Operations. White House Report, December 2016. <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/documents/Legal Policy Report.pdf">https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/documents/Legal Policy Report.pdf</a> [accessed 6 December 2016].
  - Critical report including lots of primary source documents and explanation of Obama administration conduct of military actions.
  - The White House. Report on the Legal and Policy Frameworks Guiding the United States' Use of Military Force and Related National Security Operations. White House Report, March 2018. <a href="https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/4411804/3-18-War-Powers-Transparency-Report.pdf">https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/4411804/3-18-War-Powers-Transparency-Report.pdf</a>? platform=hootsuite [accessed 20 March 2018].
  - The White House. National Strategy for Counterterrorism of the United States of America. White House Report, October 2018. <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/NSCT.pdf">https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/NSCT.pdf</a> [accessed 22 March 2019].

## **Arab-Israeli Wars**

- Cohen, Raphael S., David E. Johnson, David E. Thaler, Brenna Allen, Elizabeth M. Bartels, James Cahill, . and Shira Efron. *From Cast Lead to Protective Edge: Lessons from Israel's Wars in Gaza*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017.
- Helmer, Daniel Isaac. *Flipside of COIN: Israel's Lebanese Incursion Between 1982-2000.* Combat Studies Institute Press, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 2006.
- Michael, Kobi and Yoel Guzansky. *The Arab World on the Road to State Failure*. Tel Aviv: The Institute for National Security Studies, 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/ArabWorldFailure.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/ArabWorldFailure.pdf</a> [accessed 9 July 2017].
- Shalom, Zaki. *Israel, the United States, and the Struggle over the Settlement Construction Freeze, 2009–2010.* Tel Aviv: The Institute for National Security Studies, June 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/ObamaBookENG.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/ObamaBookENG.pdf</a> [accessed 19 June 2017].
- Agence France-Presse, "Israel says record number of women in army combat units," *al Monitor* [3 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/israel-army-women.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/contents/afp/2017/12/israel-army-women.html</a> [accessed 4 December 2017].
- Agence France-Presse, "Deadly escalation as Israel retaliates over Gaza rockets," *Agence France-Presse* [5 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.afp.com/en/news/15/deadly-escalation-israel-retaliates-over-gaza-rockets-doc-1g68u42">https://www.afp.com/en/news/15/deadly-escalation-israel-retaliates-over-gaza-rockets-doc-1g68u42</a> [accessed 6 May 2019].
- Agence France-Presse, "Palestinians say truce reached with Israel to end deadly escalation," *Agence France-Presse* [6 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.afp.com/en/news/3954/palestinians-say-truce-reached-israel-end-deadly-escalation-doc-1g68u46">https://www.afp.com/en/news/3954/palestinians-say-truce-reached-israel-end-deadly-escalation-doc-1g68u46</a> [accessed 7 May 2019].
- Al Jazeera, "Israeli jets carry out strikes in Gaza," *Al Jazeera* [20 June 2018]. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/rockets-fired-gaza-israel-strikes-hamas-targets-180620065738008.html [accessed 21 June 2018].
- Al Jazeera, "Kushner's Middle East plan not to mention 'two-state' solution," *Al Jazeera* [2 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/kushner-middle-east-plan-mention-state-solution-190503070300927.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/kushner-middle-east-plan-mention-state-solution-190503070300927.html</a> [accessed 2 May 2019].
- al-Mughrabi, Nidal, "Abbas turns screw on Hamas by cutting Gaza's electricity," *Reuters* [27 April 2017]. http://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-gaza-abbas-idUSKBN17T1J0 [accessed 2 May 2017].
- Alsaafin, Linah, "Palestine, Golan Heights take centre stage at Arab League summit," *Al Jazeera* [31 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/palestine-golan-heights-centre-stage-arab-league-summit-190331204307398.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/palestine-golan-heights-centre-stage-arab-league-summit-190331204307398.html</a> [accessed 1 April 2019].
- Associated Press, "New Hamas Chief Makes First Public Appearance in Native Gaza," *Voice of America* [8 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/a/new-hamas-chief-first-public-appearance-native-gaza/3842472.html">http://www.voanews.com/a/new-hamas-chief-first-public-appearance-native-gaza/3842472.html</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
  - Ismail Haniyah is the new, official, leader of Hamas.
- Associated Press, "New Hamas Leader Says It Is Getting Aid Again from Iran," *Voice of America* [28 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/new-hamas-leader-financial-military-aid-iran-against-israel/4004055.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/new-hamas-leader-financial-military-aid-iran-against-israel/4004055.html</a> [accessed 29 August 2017].
- Associated Press, "Israel's prime minister can now declare war," *Defense News* [3 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/05/03/israels-prime-minister-can-now-declare-war/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/05/03/israels-prime-minister-can-now-declare-war/</a> [accessed 4 May 2018].
- Ben-Ephraim, Shaiel, "Domestic interests of Hamas are behind huge death toll in Gaza," Asia Times [17

- May 2018]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/domestic-interests-of-hamas-are-behind-huge-death-toll-in-gaza/">http://www.atimes.com/article/domestic-interests-of-hamas-are-behind-huge-death-toll-in-gaza/</a> [accessed 18 May 2018].
- Ben-Ephraim, Shaiel, "Former Israeli minister arrested for allegedly spying for Iran," *Asia Times* [21 June 2018]. <a href="http://www.atimes.com/article/former-israeli-minister-arrested-for-allegedly-spying-for-iran/">http://www.atimes.com/article/former-israeli-minister-arrested-for-allegedly-spying-for-iran/</a> [accessed 22 June 2018].
- Booth, William, "Netanyahu says a Palestinian gave Hitler the idea for the Holocaust," *The Washington Post* [21 October 2015]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/netanyahu-says-a-palestinian-gave-hitler-the-idea-for-the-holocaust/2015/10/21/0a36d7da-ee8b-4135-9726-968eceda4cc9\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/netanyahu-says-a-palestinian-gave-hitler-the-idea-for-the-holocaust/2015/10/21/0a36d7da-ee8b-4135-9726-968eceda4cc9\_story.html</a> [accessed 22 October 2015].
- Booth, William, "Israel's Netanyahu blames children's shows for Palestinian terror," *The* Washington *Post* [25 January 2016].
  - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/25/watch-o-barbaric-apes-netanyahu-shows-kerry-video-of-palestinian-incitement/ [accessed 26 January 2016].
- Booth, William, "Martyrs? Desperate? Crazy? Palestinians struggle to define Palestinians who attack Israelis," *The Washington Post* [21 February 2016].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/martyrs-desperate-crazy-palestinians-struggle-to-define-palestinians-who-attack-israelis/2016/02/20/13dbf108-a364-11e5-8318-bd8caed8c588\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/martyrs-desperate-crazy-palestinians-struggle-to-define-palestinians-who-attack-israelis/2016/02/20/13dbf108-a364-11e5-8318-bd8caed8c588\_story.html</a> [accessed 22 February 2016].
- Booth, William and Ruth Eglash, "Israelis are calling attacks a 'new kind of Palestinian terrorism'", The Washington Post [25 December 2015].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/israelis-are-calling-attacks-a-new-kind-of-palestinian-terror/2015/12/24/e162e088-0953-4de5-992e-adb2126f1dcc\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/israelis-are-calling-attacks-a-new-kind-of-palestinian-terror/2015/12/24/e162e088-0953-4de5-992e-adb2126f1dcc\_story.html</a> [accessed 28 December 2015].
  - Terrorism is changing as is conflict and Israel is again the laboratory of that conflict. This is a Twitter-style conflict where individuals act individually.
- ★ Booth, William and Ruth Eglash, "The military trial that's tearing Israel apart", The Washington Post [1 November 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-military-trial-thats-tearing-israel-apart/2016/11/01/7f0d203c-9b93-11e6-b552-b1f85e484086\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/the-military-trial-thats-tearing-israel-apart/2016/11/01/7f0d203c-9b93-11e6-b552-b1f85e484086\_story.html</a> [accessed 2 November 2016].
  - An Israeli soldier shot a defenseless Palestinian sand is on trial for manslaughter and the debate is wrenching the ethical fabric of Israel. Does one defend the soldier or concepts of human rights?
  - Browning, Christopher R. "A Lesson for Netanyahu from a Real Holocaust Historian," *Foreign Policy* [22 October 2015]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/10/22/a-lesson-for-netanyahu-from-a-real-holocaust-historian">http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/10/22/a-lesson-for-netanyahu-from-a-real-holocaust-historian</a> [accessed 23 October 2015].
  - Brun, Itai, "Operation Guardian of the Walls: Two Parallel Dimensions and Three Stark Surprises," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 1469 [23 May 2021]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/publication/war-in-two-dimensions/">https://www.inss.org.il/publication/war-in-two-dimensions/</a> [accessed 26 May 2021].
  - Caspit, Ben, "Kerry, the tourist", *Al Monitor* [25 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/11/john-kerry-benjamin-netanyahu-coalition-violence-demolition.html#">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/11/john-kerry-benjamin-netanyahu-coalition-violence-demolition.html#</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
    - This article explains some of the diplomatic struggles resulting from the latest wave of attacks. In describing the attacks the author gets at a recurring theme in the mutation of sub-state and non-state actors the leaderless action.
  - Caspit, Ben, "Is Israel forming an alliance with Egypt and Saudi Arabia?" *Al Monitor* [13 April 2016]. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/04/israel-al-sisi-egypt-saudi-arabia-islands-

- transfer-alliance.html# [accessed 15 April 2016].
- Caspit, Ben, "Has US sacrificed Israel for Syria deal?" *Al Monitor* [14 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/israel-iran-us-russia-syria-lebanon-hezbollah-netanyahu.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/israel-iran-us-russia-syria-lebanon-hezbollah-netanyahu.html</a> [accessed 15 August 2017].
- Caspit, Ben, "How Israel is bringing an end to Hamas' tunnels," *Al Monitor* [11 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/israel-gaza-strip-hamas-tunnels-idf-terror-technology.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/12/israel-gaza-strip-hamas-tunnels-idf-terror-technology.html</a> [accessed 12 December 2017].
- Cohen, Avner, "Israel's Secret Plan to Nuke the Egyptian Desert," *Politico Magazine* [5 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/06/05/israels-secret-plan-to-nuke-the-egyptian-desert-215228">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/06/05/israels-secret-plan-to-nuke-the-egyptian-desert-215228</a> [accessed 6 June 2017].
- Cohen, Raphael S., "Five Lessons from Israel's Wars in Gaza," War on the Rocks [3 August 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/five-lessons-from-israels-wars-in-gaza/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/five-lessons-from-israels-wars-in-gaza/</a> [accessed 3 August 2017].
- Cooper, Tom, "The February 2018 Air War Between Israel, Syria and Iran Was Brief and Violent," War is Boring [26 February 2018]. https://warisboring.com/50408-2/ [accessed 27 February 2018].
- Corn, Geoffrey, "Combined Arms Maneuver Operations and LOAC Implementation: A View from the Golan," *Lawfare* [2 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/combined-arms-maneuver-operations-and-loac-implementation-view-golan">https://www.lawfareblog.com/combined-arms-maneuver-operations-and-loac-implementation-view-golan</a> [accessed 23 October 2017].
- Defense News, "Israel Stands Up New Commando Brigade", *Defense News* [7 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2016/01/07/israel-stands-up-new-commando-brigade/78422902/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/2016/01/07/israel-stands-up-new-commando-brigade/78422902/</a> [accessed 8 January 2016].
- Dekel, Udi, "Hamas's New Statement of Principles: A Political Opportunity for Israel?" *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 928, 14 May 2017. http://www.inss.org.il/uploadlmages/systemFiles/No.%20928%20.pdf [accessed 15 May 2017].
- Dekel, Udi, "Operation Guardian of the Walls: Over, but Not Done With," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, Special Publication [26 May 2021]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/publication/guardian-of-the-walls-continues/?inss">https://www.inss.org.il/publication/guardian-of-the-walls-continues/?inss</a> [accessed 27 May 2021].
- Deutsche Welle, "Palestinians and Arab League warn US not to recognize Jerusalem as Israeli capital," Deutsche Welle [3 December 2017]. http://www.dw.com/en/palestinians-and-arab-league-warn-us-not-to-recognize-jerusalem-as-israeli-capital/a-41631128 [accessed 4 December 2017].
- Deutsche Welle, "Israel responds to Golan Heights attack, hitting 'nearly all' Iranian targets in Syria," Deutsche Welle [10 May 2018]. http://www.dw.com/en/israel-responds-to-golan-heights-attack-hitting-nearly-all-iranian-targets-in-syria/a-43726704 [accessed 10 May 2018].
- Deutsche Welle, "Israeli forces strike Syria air base report," *Deutsche Welle* [2 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/israeli-forces-strike-syria-air-base-report/a-49006578">https://www.dw.com/en/israeli-forces-strike-syria-air-base-report/a-49006578</a> [accessed 4 June 2019].
- Doerfler, Joel, "An answer to the question, 'Why do you care so much about Israel/Palestine?'" Mondoweiss [21 May 2019]. <a href="https://mondoweiss.net/2019/05/answer-question-palestine/">https://mondoweiss.net/2019/05/answer-question-palestine/</a> [accessed 2 June 2019].
- Editorial Board, "At the Boiling Point With Israel," *The New York Times* [6 October 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/07/opinion/a-way-to-keep-the-2-state-option-alive.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/07/opinion/a-way-to-keep-the-2-state-option-alive.html</a> [accessed 7 October 2016].
  - The announcement of more settlement apartments continues to threaten a lasting peace. The board encourages President Obama to either promote a UN resolution that lays out specifics on a peace plan or unilaterally state one.

- Eglash, Ruth, "Israelis call her 'Shirley Temper.' Palestinians call her a hero." *The Washington Post* [19 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/12/19/israelis-call-her-shirley-temper-palestinians-call-her-a-hero/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/12/19/israelis-call-her-shirley-temper-palestinians-call-her-a-hero/</a> [accessed 20 December 2017].
- Einav, Omer, "Beyond the Threats: Nasrallah's Recent Statements," *The Institute for National Security Studies* [28 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/uploadlmages/systemFiles/No.%20809%20-%200mer%20for%20web.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/uploadlmages/systemFiles/No.%20809%20-%200mer%20for%20web.pdf</a> [accessed 28 March 2016].
- Eldar, Shlomi, "Hamas convinced Israel will launch an attack," *al-Monitor* [11 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/israel-palestinians-hamas-gaza-strip-netanyahu-haniyeh.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/08/israel-palestinians-hamas-gaza-strip-netanyahu-haniyeh.html</a> [accessed 14 August 2017].
- Eldar, Shlomi, "Are Hamas drones really a threat to Israel?," *al-Monitor* [17 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/israel-idf-hamas-drones-gaza-war-qassam-missiles-security.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/11/israel-idf-hamas-drones-gaza-war-qassam-missiles-security.html</a> [accessed 20 November 2017].
- Eldar, Shlomi, "Are Israel, Hamas en route to war or an agreement?," *al-Monitor* [9 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/israel-hamas-gaza-war-agreement-escalation-south.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/08/israel-hamas-gaza-war-agreement-escalation-south.html</a> [accessed 11 August 2018].
- Erlanger, Steven, "Who Are the Real Heirs of Zionism?" New York Times [4 February 2016]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/07/opinion/who-are-the-real-heirs-of-zionism.html?ref=opinion& r=1 [accessed 5 February 2016].
- Federman, Josef, "Israeli army: Hamas hackers tried to 'seduce' soldiers," *Fifth Domain* [18 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.fifthdomain.com/international/2020/02/18/israeli-army-hamas-hackers-tried-to-seduce-soldiers/">https://www.fifthdomain.com/international/2020/02/18/israeli-army-hamas-hackers-tried-to-seduce-soldiers/</a> [accessed 20 February 2020].
- Frantzman, Seth J. "Israel rolls out new wartime plan to reform armed forces," *Defense News* [18 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2020/02/18/israel-rolls-out-new-wartime-plan-to-reform-armed-forces/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2020/02/18/israel-rolls-out-new-wartime-plan-to-reform-armed-forces/</a> [accessed 20 February 2020].
- Gaub, Florence, "An Arab NATO in the Making? Middle Eastern Military Cooperation since 2011," Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, September 2016. <a href="http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/download.cfm?q=1329">http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/download.cfm?q=1329</a> [accessed 27 September 2016].
  - Good data of conflict in the Middle East and also the history of and problems with collective security in the region.
- Guzansky, Yoel and Sarah Feuer, "The Abraham Accords at One Year: Achievements, Challenges, and Recommendations for Israel," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, Special Publications [1 November 2021]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/special-publication-011121.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/special-publication-011121.pdf</a> [accessed 3 November 2021].
- Heller, Jeffrey, "Bill to declare Israel a Jewish state back on national agenda," *Reuters* [7 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-lawmaking-idUSKBN1830K0">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-lawmaking-idUSKBN1830K0</a> [accessed 9 May 2017].
- IDF Blog, "IDF Strikes Houses in Gaza Used for Military Purposes," Israel Defense Forces Blog [10 July 2014]. <a href="https://www.idfblog.com/2014/07/10/idf-strikes-houses-gaza-used-military-purposes/">https://www.idfblog.com/2014/07/10/idf-strikes-houses-gaza-used-military-purposes/</a> [accessed 23 October 2017].
- IMPACT-se, "The 2020–21 Palestinian School Curriculum: Grades 1–12 (Selected Examples)," Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education, Ramat Gan, Israel [May 2021]. <a href="https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/PA-Reports\_-Updated-Selected-Examples\_May-2021.pdf">https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/PA-Reports\_-Updated-Selected-Examples\_May-2021.pdf</a> [accessed 21 June 2021].
  - This report includes lots of material quoted from Palestinian textbooks. Great quotes in terms of the violence

- used as part of education and a method to demonize the opponent.
- International Crisis Group, "Averting War in Gaza," *International Crisis Group Middle East Briefing*, Number 60, 20 July 2018. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b060-averting-war-in-gaza.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b060-averting-war-in-gaza.pdf</a> [accessed 23 July 2018].
- Israel Defense Forces, "Deterring Terror: How Israel Confronts the Next Generation of Threats," Israel Defense Forces, English Translation of the Official Strategy of the Israel Defense Forces, Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs Special Report [August 2016]. <a href="https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/IDF%20doctrine%20translation%20-%20web%20final2.pdf">https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/IDF%20doctrine%20translation%20-%20web%20final2.pdf</a> [accessed 24 October 2017].
- Harlap, Shmuel, "What is Victory?" *Institute of National Security Studies*, Special Publications [1 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/special-publication-01052019.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/special-publication-01052019.pdf</a> [accessed 6 May 2019].
- Harlap, Shmuel, "Israel's Goals of War: Victory of Time over Space," Guest Column *Institute of National Security Studies*, Special Publications [30 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Guest-Column-30072019.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Guest-Column-30072019.pdf</a> [accessed 1 August 2019].
- How Israel Confronts the Next Generation of Threats [6 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.law.idf.il/163-7353-en/Patzar.aspx">http://www.law.idf.il/163-7353-en/Patzar.aspx</a> [accessed 23 October 2017].
- Israel Defense Forces Military Advocate General, "Decisions of the IDF MAG Regarding Exceptional Incidents that Allegedly Occurred During Operation 'Protective Edge'- Update No. 4 —" Israel Defense Forces [6 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.law.idf.il/163-7353-en/Patzar.aspx">http://www.law.idf.il/163-7353-en/Patzar.aspx</a> [accessed 23 October 2017].
- Jenkins, Brian, "A Persistent and Resilient Adversary: Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula," *The Cipher Brief* [21 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/agenda-setter/persistent-and-resilient-adversary-al-qaeda-arabian-peninsula-1089?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Defense%20EBB%2008-22-16&utm\_term=Editorial%20-%20Early%20Bird%20Brief">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/agenda-setter/persistent-and-resilient-adversary-al-qaeda-arabian-peninsula-1089?utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Defense%20EBB%2008-22-16&utm\_term=Editorial%20-%20Early%20Bird%20Brief</a> [accessed 22 August 2016]. Includes general and specific information regarding the rise and resiliency of AQAP.
- The Jewish Institute for National Security of America (JINSA), "2014 Gaza War Assessment: The New Face of Conflict," A report by the JINSA-commissioned Gaza Conflict Task Force, March 2015. http://www.jinsa.org/files/2014GazaAssessmentReport.pdf [accessed 23 October 2017].
- Johnson, David E. "Military Capabilities for Hybrid War: Insights from the Israel Defense Forces in Lebanon and Gaza," Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010.

  <a href="http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional\_papers/2010/RAND\_OP285.pdf">http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional\_papers/2010/RAND\_OP285.pdf</a>
  [accessed 6 December 2016].
- Katz, Yaakov, "Facing terror, should Israel 'divorce' the Palestinians?" *The Jerusalem Post* [13 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Editors-Notes-The-West-Bank-generals-speak-574309">https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Editors-Notes-The-West-Bank-generals-speak-574309</a> [accessed 17 December 2018].
- Kershner, Isabel, "Scanning Borders, Israel Surveys New Reality of Tunnels and Terror", *New York Times* 11 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/12/world/middleeast/scanning-borders-israel-surveys-new-reality-of-tunnels-and-terror.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/12/world/middleeast/scanning-borders-israel-surveys-new-reality-of-tunnels-and-terror.html</a>? r=1 [accessed 12 February 2016].
- Khoury, Jack, "ISIS in Sinai Executes Hamas Militant, Accuses Gaza Group of Abandoning Palestinians," Ha'aretz [4 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/palestinians/1.833052">https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/palestinians/1.833052</a> [accessed 4 January 2017].
- Landau, Noa and Aaron Rabinowitz, "U.S. Ambassador to Israel Pictured With Controversial Image of Jerusalem Third Temple Replacing Muslim Mosque," *Ha'aretz* [23 May 2018].

- https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/u-s-ambassador-to-israel-pictured-with-image-of-jerusalem-third-temple-replacing-muslim-mosques-1.6112357 [accessed 24 May 2018].
- Landau, Noa and Hagar Shezaf, "Israeli Intel Minister to Saudi Media: Israel Can Strike Iranian Missile Plants in Lebanon, 'As Is Happening in Syria'," *Ha'aretz* [14 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.828759">https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.828759</a> [accessed 14 December 2017].
- Lazaroff, Tovah, "Israel to EU: Voting to recognize Temple Mount as solely Muslim site akin to ignoring Jesus," *Jerusalem Post* [14 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Politics-And-Diplomacy/Israel-to-EU-Voting-to-recognize-Temple-Mount-as-solely-Muslim-site-akin-to-ignoring-Jesus-460441">http://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Politics-And-Diplomacy/Israel-to-EU-Voting-to-recognize-Temple-Mount-as-solely-Muslim-site-akin-to-ignoring-Jesus-460441</a> [accessed 15 July 2016].
- Lis, Jonathan, "Israeli Plan to Jail Anyone Filming Soldiers in the West Bank Hits Legal Wall," *Ha'aretz* [17 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/israeli-plan-to-jail-anyone-filming-soldiers-hit-legal-wall-1.6179262">https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/israeli-plan-to-jail-anyone-filming-soldiers-hit-legal-wall-1.6179262</a> [accessed 18 June 2018].
- Lowry, Rich, "How Trump Defied the Experts and Forged a Breakthrough in the Middle East," *National Review* [15 September 2020]. <a href="https://www.nationalreview.com/2020/09/how-trump-defied-the-experts-and-forged-a-breakthrough-in-the-middle-east/">https://www.nationalreview.com/2020/09/how-trump-defied-the-experts-and-forged-a-breakthrough-in-the-middle-east/</a> [accessed 16 September 2020].
- Lubell, Maayan, "Israeli military struggles with rising influence of Religious-Zionists," *Reuters* [15 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/israel-military-religion/">http://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/israel-military-religion/</a> [accessed 15 April 2016].
- Michael, Kobi and Yohanan Tzoreff, "The Islamic Jihad and the Israeli Dilemma in the Gaza Strip," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No. 1223, 5 November 2019. https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/No.-1223.pdf [accessed 6 November 2019].
- Mitnick, Joshua, "Israel's conservatives face tough lesson: Trump's policies may not be so different from Obama's approach," *Los Angeles Times* [9 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-israel-right-trump-2017-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-israel-right-trump-2017-story.html</a> [accessed 10 April 2017].
- Najib, Mohammed, "Hamas 'tank' is for training, not combat", *IHS Jane's 360* [7 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.janes.com/article/57815/hamas-tank-is-for-training-not-combat">http://www.janes.com/article/57815/hamas-tank-is-for-training-not-combat</a> [accessed 9 February 2016].
- Natonski, Richard and Geoffrey Corn, "Hamas, ISIS and the Law of Armed Conflict," *Real Clear Defense* [14 August 2017].

  <a href="https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2017/08/14/hamas isis and the law of armed conflict 112037.html">https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2017/08/14/hamas isis and the law of armed conflict 112037.html</a> [accessed 23 October 2017].
- Newton, Creede, "Did Israel Just Start Another War With Hezbollah?", *The Daily Beast* [21 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/21/has-israel-sparked-war-with-hezbollah.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/21/has-israel-sparked-war-with-hezbollah.html</a> [accessed 22 December 2015].
  - The article begins with a story about the attack launched in 1979 by Samir Kuntar and his death on 20 December 2015. This provides some good insight into the discussions of the Arab-Israeli struggles and the specific dynamics between Israel and Southern Lebanon and Hezbollah.
- Next Big Future, "Major oil find on Golan Heights which will never be returned to Syria," *Next Big Future* [17 October 2015]. <a href="http://nextbigfuture.com/2015/10/major-oil-find-on-golan-heights-which.html">http://nextbigfuture.com/2015/10/major-oil-find-on-golan-heights-which.html</a> [accessed 19 October 2015].
- Nir, Ori, "Opinion: Israel's Campaign to Destabilize Jordan," *Haaretz* [10 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-israel-s-campaign-to-destabilize-jordan-1.8232212">https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-israel-s-campaign-to-destabilize-jordan-1.8232212</a> [accessed 11 December 2019].
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Israeli Spy Sats Keep Sharp Eye on Russian Forces in Syria," *Defense News* [22 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/air-space/space/2015/10/22/israeli-">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/air-space/space/2015/10/22/israeli-</a>

- spy-sats-keep-sharp-eye-russian-forces-syria/74389776/ [accessed 23 October 2015].
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Hezbollah's Nasrallah Flags Ability To Deter Israel From Third Lebanon War," *Defense News* [16 February 2016].
  - http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/international/mideast-africa/2016/02/16/hezbollah-hassan-nasrallah-deter-israel-third-lebanon-war/80460992/ [accessed 17 February 2016].
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Top Israeli Commander Endorses Obama Doctrine; Gives Kudos to Moscow," Defense News [18 March 2016]. http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/international/mideast-africa/2016/03/17/top-israeli-commander-endorses-obama-doctrine-gives-kudos-moscow/81938066/ [accessed 20 March 2016].
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Ex-Israeli General: US Aid Harms and Corrupts," *Defense News* [25 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/budget/2016/07/25/israel-general-us-military-aid-idf/87526182/">http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/budget/2016/07/25/israel-general-us-military-aid-idf/87526182/</a> [accessed 26 Jul 2016].
  - The general in the title is Major General Gershon Hacohen.
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Book Review: A Cautionary Tale of the Israel Defense Forces," *Defense News* [12 August 2016].
  - http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/commentary/editorial/2016/08/12/hirsch-defensive-shield-idf-lebanon-israel/88609622/ [accessed 15 August 2016].
  - The book was written by the IDF division commander along the border with Lebanon at the beginning of the  $2^{nd}$  Lebanon War. The book gets at a lot of the peculiarities of the IDF and Israeli society at the time of the war and immediately after.
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "US breaks ground for new permanent base in Israel," *Defense News* [18 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/breaking-news/2017/09/18/us-breaks-ground-for-new-permanent-base-in-israel/">http://www.defensenews.com/breaking-news/2017/09/18/us-breaks-ground-for-new-permanent-base-in-israel/</a> [accessed 19 September 2017].
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Cooperation over competition: Eight nations fly in Israel's largest-ever air drill," *Defense News* [9 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/training-sim/2017/11/09/cooperation-over-competition-eight-nations-fly-in-israels-largest-ever-air-drill/">https://www.defensenews.com/training-sim/2017/11/09/cooperation-over-competition-eight-nations-fly-in-israels-largest-ever-air-drill/ [accessed 10 November 2017].</a>
- Opall-Rome, Barbara, "Declassified: How an Israeli operation derailed Syria's nuclear weapons drive," *Defense News* [20 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/03/20/just-declassified-how-an-israeli-operation-derailed-syrias-nuclear-weapons-drive/">https://www.defensenews.com/global/mideast-africa/2018/03/20/just-declassified-how-an-israeli-operation-derailed-syrias-nuclear-weapons-drive/</a> [accessed 21 March 2018].
- ★ Patrikarakos, David, "Hamas Is Ready for War with Israel," Foreign Policy [7 June 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/07/hamas-is-ready-for-war-with-israel-gaza-strip/?wp\_login\_redirect=0">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/07/hamas-is-ready-for-war-with-israel-gaza-strip/?wp\_login\_redirect=0</a> [accessed 8 June 2016].
  - The fighting in Gaza is not over and according to some in this article may never be. This article provides insight into the challenging narrative competition of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
  - Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, "Interview: Israel Will Seek To 'Destroy' Any Iranian Military Presence In Syria," *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty* [5 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/interview-israel-will-seek-to-destroy-any-iranian-military-presence-in-syria/29473661.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/interview-israel-will-seek-to-destroy-any-iranian-military-presence-in-syria/29473661.html</a> [accessed 6 September 2018].
  - Ravid, Barak, "Abbas: Security Coordination With Israel Preventing 'A Bloody Intifada'," *Haaretz* [31 March 2016].
  - Rohan, Brian, "Hezbollah attacks Israeli troops on Lebanon border", *Associated Press* [4 January 2016]. <a href="http://news.yahoo.com/lebanons-hezbollah-tv-reports-attack-israeli-forces-141756037.html">http://news.yahoo.com/lebanons-hezbollah-tv-reports-attack-israeli-forces-141756037.html</a> [accessed 5 January 2016].

- Explanation of the 4 January 2016 attack on an Israeli patrol outside Sheba' Farms.
- Ross, Dennis, "Distancing From Israel Won't Help U.S. Relationship With Arab States," *Time* [14 October 2015]. <a href="http://time.com/4072475/u-s-israel-relationship/">http://time.com/4072475/u-s-israel-relationship/</a> [accessed 15 October 2015].
- Rubin, Shira, "ISIS of Nazareth: Terror Group Arrives in Jesus's Hometown", *The Daily Beast* [29 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/29/isis-of-nazareth-terror-group-arrives-in-jesus-s-hometown.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/12/29/isis-of-nazareth-terror-group-arrives-in-jesus-s-hometown.html</a> [accessed 29 December 2015].
  - This article is both about ISIS in Israel and the dynamics of Arabs and specifically Arab-Christians living in Israel.
- Rubin, Shira, "Israel struggles to combat homegrown ISIL threat", *USA Today* [11 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/01/11/israel-struggles-combat-homegrown-isil-threat/78621848/">http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/01/11/israel-struggles-combat-homegrown-isil-threat/78621848/</a> [accessed 12 January 2016].
  - Specific numbers of people traveling from Israel to Syria or Iraq to fight.
- Rumley, Grant, "The Doomed Palestinian Reconciliation Plan," *The Atlantic* [17 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/09/palestine-hamas-fatah-mahmoud-abbas-gaza-west-bank/540090/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/09/palestine-hamas-fatah-mahmoud-abbas-gaza-west-bank/540090/</a> [accessed 18 September 2017].
- ★ Sa'ar, Gideon and Ron Tira, "Political and Military Contours of the Next Conflict with Hezbollah," The Institute for National Security Studies, Strategic Assessment, Volume 20, No. 2, July 2017.
  <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/adkan20-2ENG\_4-59-73.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/adkan20-2ENG\_4-59-73.pdf</a> [accessed 31 July 2017].
  - The authors provide useful connections between limited war strategy, maneuver in the narrative space, and the specific challenges of an Israel-Hezbollah war.
  - Samaha, Nour, "Hezbollah's Death Valley," Foreign Policy [3 March 2016]. http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/03/hezbollahs-death-valley/ [accessed 3 March 2016].
  - Schweitzer, Yoram and Aviad Mendelboim, "Is Palestinian Islamic Jihad Trying to Drag the Gaza Strip into a War against Israel?" *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 1185, 4 July 2019. https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/No.-1185.pdf [accessed 4 July 2019].
  - Schweitzer, Yoram, David Siman-Tov, and Kobi Michael, "The Cognitive Campaign in Operation Guardian of the Walls: The Battle over the Narrative," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 1470 [25 May 2021]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/publication/guardian-of-the-walls-narrative/">https://www.inss.org.il/publication/guardian-of-the-walls-narrative/</a> [accessed 26 May 2021].
  - Seftel, Bennett, "Israel's Arab Alliance: A Counter to ISIS and Iran?", *The Cipher* [7 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/israel%E2%80%99s-arab-alliance-counter-isis-and-iran">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/israel%E2%80%99s-arab-alliance-counter-isis-and-iran</a> [accessed 8 February 2016].
  - Sher, Gilead, Liran Ofek, and Ofir Winter, "The Hamas Document of Principles: Can a Leopard Change Its Spots?" The Institute for National Security Studies, Strategic Assessment, Volume 20, No. 2, July 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/adkan20-2ENG\_4-87-100.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/adkan20-2ENG\_4-87-100.pdf</a> [accessed 31 July 2017].
  - Shuker, Pnina, "The Cognitive Campaign: The Second Lebanon War as a Case Study," *Cyber, Intelligence, and Security*, Volume 2, No. 2 [September 2018]. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/pnina.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/pnina.pdf</a> [accessed 26 October 2018].
  - Sneh, Ephraim, "Netanyahu's Dangerous Failure," *Ha'aretz* [29 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.809387">http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.809387</a> [accessed 29 August 2017].
  - Sneh, Ephraim, "Why U.S. Allies In The Middle East Should Be Alarmed By North Korea," *Huffington Post* [30 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/why-us-allies-in-the-middle-east-should-alarmed-by-us-59a6ea61e4b0d81379a81ccd">http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/why-us-allies-in-the-middle-east-should-alarmed-by-us-59a6ea61e4b0d81379a81ccd</a> [accessed 12 September 2017].

- Sneh, Ephraim, "Why Israel needs new regional alliances," *al-Monitor* [24 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/04/israel-us-iran-saudi-arabia-syria-lebanon-hezbollah-petrol.html">https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/04/israel-us-iran-saudi-arabia-syria-lebanon-hezbollah-petrol.html</a> [accessed 27 April 2018].
- Sneh, Ephraim, "Opinion: The Mutual Right of Return," *Ha'aretz* [7 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-the-mutual-right-of-return-1.6060664">https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-the-mutual-right-of-return-1.6060664</a> [accessed 8 May 2018].
- Susser, Asher, "The Civil War in Syria: The View from Israel," Lawfare [17 March 2016].
   <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/civil-war-syria-view-israel">https://www.lawfareblog.com/civil-war-syria-view-israel</a> [accessed 20 March 2016].
   Good numbers on Hezbollah participation in Syria and Israeli interests vis-à-vis the Syrian civil war.
  - Tarnopolsky, Noga, "Israel blows up Gaza tunnel, killing 8 militants, including an Islamic Jihad commander," Los Angeles Times [30 October 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/lafg-israel-gaza-tunnels-20171030-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/lafg-israel-gaza-tunnels-20171030-story.html</a> [accessed 1 November 2017].
  - Taylor, Adam, "Israeli defense minister: If I had to choose between Iran and ISIS, I'd choose ISIS," Washington Post [19 January 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/19/israeli-defense-minister-if-i-had-to-choose-between-iran-and-isis-id-choose-isis/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/19/israeli-defense-minister-if-i-had-to-choose-between-iran-and-isis-id-choose-isis/</a> [accessed 27 June 2016].
  - Tharoor, Ishaan, "The Balfour Declaration still divides the Middle East 100 years later," *The Washington Post* [2 November 2017]. <a href="https://s2.washingtonpost.com/camp-rw/?e=am9obmphbmNhcnlAZ21haWwuY29t&s=59faa5f8fe1ff6361c69ac16">https://s2.washingtonpost.com/camp-rw/?e=am9obmphbmNhcnlAZ21haWwuY29t&s=59faa5f8fe1ff6361c69ac16</a> [accessed 3 November 2017].
  - Thrall, Nathan, "Gaza Protests Mark Shift in Palestinian National Consciousness," *International Crisis Group Commentary / Middle East & North Africa* [2 April 2018].

    <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/israelpalestine/gaza-protests-mark-shift-palestinian-national-consciousness">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/israelpalestine/gaza-protests-mark-shift-palestinian-national-consciousness</a> [accessed 2 April 2018].
  - The Times of Israel, "Minister: Toppling Hamas is an option, Israel closer to it than ever," *The Times of Israel* [12 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.timesofisrael.com/minister-toppling-hamas-is-an-option-israel-closer-to-it-than-ever/">https://www.timesofisrael.com/minister-toppling-hamas-is-an-option-israel-closer-to-it-than-ever/</a> [accessed 13 August 2018].
  - Tira, Ron, "Israel's Second War Doctrine," The Institute for National Security Studies, Strategic Assessment, Volume 19, No. 2, July 2016. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/SystemFiles/INSS.StrAss19.2.July16.11Tira.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/SystemFiles/INSS.StrAss19.2.July16.11Tira.pdf</a> [accessed 5 July 2017].
  - Tzoreff, Yohanan, "The Palestinians at a Crossroads Following the Presentation of the "Deal of the Century"," Institute for National Security Studies, *INSS Insight* No. 1261 [23 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/no.-1261.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/no.-1261.pdf</a> [accessed 23 February 2020].
  - Wainer, David, Jonathan Ferziger, and Ahmed Feteha, "Old Mideast Foes Unite Over Gas Deals and Fighting Militants," *Bloomberg* [11 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-07-10/old-middle-east-foes-unite-over-gas-deals-and-fighting-militants">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-07-10/old-middle-east-foes-unite-over-gas-deals-and-fighting-militants</a> [12 July 2016].
  - Winter, Chase, "Israeli raid in Gaza leaves several dead, including IDF soldier and Hamas commander," Deutsche Welle [11 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/israeli-raid-in-gaza-leaves-several-dead-including-idf-soldier-and-hamas-commander/a-46253537">https://www.dw.com/en/israeli-raid-in-gaza-leaves-several-dead-including-idf-soldier-and-hamas-commander/a-46253537</a> [accessed 12 November 2018].
- ★ Zalzberg, Ofer, "Palestinian Activism Reawakens in Jerusalem after Holy Esplanade Attack," International Crisis Group [19 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/israelpalestine/palestinian-activism-reawakens-jerusalem-after-holy-esplanade-attack">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/israelpalestinian-activism-reawakens-jerusalem-after-holy-esplanade-attack</a> [accessed 19 July 2017].
  - Excellent background on very present problems with the Temple Mount or Haram al-Sharif.

- Zilber, Neri, "Hezbollah Claims a 'Nuclear Option' in Tense Standoff with Israel," *The Daily Beast* [3 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/03/hezbollah-claims-a-nuclear-option-in-tense-standoff-with-israel.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/03/hezbollah-claims-a-nuclear-option-in-tense-standoff-with-israel.html</a> [accessed 6 March 2016].
- ★ Zilber, Neri. How Israel Plays Syria's Civil War. The Daily Beast [2 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/02/how-israel-plays-syria-s-civil-war.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/08/02/how-israel-plays-syria-s-civil-war.html</a>
  [accessed 2 August 2016].

This is one of the best articles explaining Israel's strategic dilemma produced by the Syrian Civil War (2011-present). Though the article does not answer the critical questions, it does raise them and illuminate them: will Israel pick a side, which side, and when?

## **Operation Desert Storm**

- Arango, Tim, "After 25 Years of U.S. Role in Iraq, Scars Are Too Stubborn to Fade", New York Times [16 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/17/world/middleeast/25th-anniversary-of-us-involvement-passes-quietly-for-iraqis-unsure-of-future.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/17/world/middleeast/25th-anniversary-of-us-involvement-passes-quietly-for-iraqis-unsure-of-future.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&r=0</a> [accessed 17 February 2016].
- Lacquement, Richard A. Jr. "The Gulf War 30 Years Later: Successes, Failures, and Blind Spots," *War on the Rocks* [9 September 2020]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2020/09/the-gulf-war-30-years-later-successes-failures-and-blind-spots/">https://warontherocks.com/2020/09/the-gulf-war-30-years-later-successes-failures-and-blind-spots/</a> [accessed 15 September 2020].
- ★ Lissner, Rebecca Friedman, "The Long Shadow of the Gulf War," War on the Rocks [24 February 2016]. http://warontherocks.com/2016/02/the-long-shadow-of-the-gulf-war/ [accessed 25 February 2016].

# **Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan)**

- Amiri, Abid. *The Trillion Dollar War: The U.S. Effort to Rebuild Afghanistan, 1999–2021*. Quantico, Virginia: Marine Corps University Press, 2021. <a href="https://www.usmcu.edu/Portals/218/TheTrillionDollarWar">https://www.usmcu.edu/Portals/218/TheTrillionDollarWar</a> 1.pdf [accessed 5 March 2022].
- Fine, Glenn A. Lead Inspector General. *Operation Inherent Resolve Lead Inspector General Report to the United States Congress, April 1, 2019–June 30, 2019*. Washington DC: United States Government Inspectors General, 2 August 2019. <a href="https://media.defense.gov/2019/Aug/09/2002169448/-1/-1/1/Q3FY2019">https://media.defense.gov/2019/Aug/09/2002169448/-1/-1/Q3FY2019</a> LEADIG OIR REPORT.PDF [accessed 12 August 2019].
- Friedman, Herbert A. *Psychological Operations in Afghanistan*. Online product. Date uncertain, but after September 2017. www.psywarrior.com/Herbafghan.html [accessed 10 April 2018].
- Inspector General of the Australian Defense Force. *Afghanistan Inquiry Report. Commonwealth of Australia* [2020]. <a href="https://afghanistaninquiry.defence.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-11/IGADF-Afghanistan-Inquiry-Public-Release-Version.pdf">https://afghanistaninquiry.defence.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-11/IGADF-Afghanistan-Inquiry-Public-Release-Version.pdf</a> [accessed 2 June 2021].
- Sopko. John F. *Reintegration of Ex-Combatants: Lessons from the U.S. Experience in Afghanistan*. Arlington, VA: Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction [September 2019]. <a href="https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/lessonslearned/SIGAR-19-58-LL.pdf">https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/lessonslearned/SIGAR-19-58-LL.pdf</a> [accessed 23 September 2019].
- Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, Quarterly Report [30 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2020-01-30qr.pdf">https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2020-01-30qr.pdf</a> [accessed 5 February 2020].
- Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, Quarterly Report [30 July 2021]. <a href="https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2021-07-30qr.pdf">https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2021-07-30qr.pdf</a> [accessed 30 July 2021]. Hubris and Mendacity

These are John Sopko's two words for why things went so poorly in Afghanistan. I always recommend reading his own words as captured in his quarterly report to Congress. For those of you without the time for 214 pages, then I recommend a brief summation of his remarks to defense writers captured by Jeff Schogol (<a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/news/afghanistan-reconstruction-failures-special-inspector-general/">https://taskandpurpose.com/news/afghanistan-reconstruction-failures-special-inspector-general/</a>) where the above two word summation is included.

Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, "What We Need to Learn: Lessons from Twenty Years of Afghanistan Reconstruction" [August 2021]. https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/lessonslearned/SIGAR-21-46-LL.pdf [accessed 19 August 2021].

The SIGAR identifies seven key lessons from the twenty years of U.S. operations in Afghanistan.

- 1. Strategy: The U.S. government continuously struggled to develop and implement a coherent strategy for what it hoped to achieve.
- 2. Timelines: The U.S. government consistently underestimated the amount of time required to rebuild Afghanistan, and created unrealistic timelines and expectations that prioritized spending quickly. These choices increased corruption and reduced the effectiveness of programs.
- 3. Sustainability: Many of the institutions and infrastructure projects the United States built were not sustainable.
- 4. Personnel: Counterproductive civilian and military personnel policies and practices thwarted the effort.
- 5. Insecurity: Persistent insecurity severely undermined reconstruction efforts.
- 6. Context: The U.S. government did not understand the Afghan context and therefore failed to tailor its efforts accordingly.
- 7. Monitoring and Evaluation: U.S. government agencies rarely conducted sufficient monitoring and evaluation to understand the impact of their efforts.
- Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, Quarterly Report [30 October 2021]. https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2021-10-30qr.pdf [accessed 15 November 2021].

- U.S. Department of Defense. *Enhancing Security and Stability in Afghanistan*. Report to Congress In Accordance With Section 1225 of the Carl Levin and Howard P. "Buck" McKeon National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015 (P.L. 113-291), as amended. Washington DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, June 2018. <a href="https://media.defense.gov/2018/Jul/03/2001938620/-1/-1/1/1225-REPORT-JUNE-2018-FINAL-UNCLASS-BASE.PDF">https://media.defense.gov/2018/Jul/03/2001938620/-1/-1/1/1225-REPORT-JUNE-2018-FINAL-UNCLASS-BASE.PDF</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].
- ★ Abdul-Ahad, Ghaith, "'Whatever horrors they do, they do in secret': inside the Taliban's return to power," *The Guardian* [17 February 2022].

  <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/news/2022/feb/17/inside-taliban-return-to-power-afghanistan-mazar-i-sherif">https://www.theguardian.com/news/2022/feb/17/inside-taliban-return-to-power-afghanistan-mazar-i-sherif</a> [accessed 21 February 2022].

A powerful read about the manner in which the Taliban gained and are maintaining power. This reminds me a lot of the way that ISIS came to power through engagements that attacked the corruption in the national government and over months and years turned people toward their organization. This is an excellent example of narrative war in progress.

- Abuelgasim, Fay and Kathy Gannon, "Longest US-Taliban peace talks see 'progress,' but agreement on withdrawal timeline still a sticking point," *Military Times* [13 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/13/longest-us-taliban-peace-talks-see-progress-but-agreement-on-withdrawal-timeline-remains-elusive/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/13/longest-us-taliban-peace-talks-see-progress-but-agreement-on-withdrawal-timeline-remains-elusive/</a> [accessed 13 March 2019].
- AFCENT, "Combined Forces Air Component Commander 2014-2021 Airpower Statistics," AFCENT Public Affairs [30 November 2021].

  <a href="https://www.afcent.af.mil/Portals/82/November%20201%20Airpower%20Summary\_FINAL.pdf">https://www.afcent.af.mil/Portals/82/November%20201%20Airpower%20Summary\_FINAL.pdf</a>
  [accessed 9 January 2022].
  - Two slides that include number of sorties and strikes of both Operations Enduring Sentinel and Inherent Resolve.
- Ahmady, Ajmal, "Why Afghanistan Fell: An Insider's Account of What Went Wrong," *Foreign Affairs* [11 October 2021]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2021-10-11/why-afghanistan-fell">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2021-10-11/why-afghanistan-fell</a> [accessed 13 October 2021].
  - I disagree with the pro-Ghani tone of the article, but I think that the author captures some important truths in what he expresses. Point one, Ashraf Ghani was not the far-seeing visionary that he is portrayed as. Point two, the Doha agreement was flawed in its appreciation of Afghanistan and the causes and effects of the fighting there. Point three, U.S. representative to the Doha talks, Zalmay Khalilzad, needs to be held accountable for his flawed advice and actions in the name of the United States of America and every senior leader who allowed him to act on behalf of the U.S. while being an independent citizen also needs to be held accountable.
- ★ Aikins, Matthieu, Christoph Koettl, Evan Hill, and Eric Schmitt, "Times Investigation: In U.S. Drone Strike, Evidence Suggests No ISIS Bomb," *The New York Times* [10 September 2021]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/10/world/asia/us-air-strike-drone-kabul-afghanistan-isis.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/10/world/asia/us-air-strike-drone-kabul-afghanistan-isis.html</a> [accessed 14 September 2021].
  - "It was the last known missile fired by the United States in its 20-year war in Afghanistan, and the military called it a "righteous strike" a drone attack after hours of surveillance on Aug. 29 against a vehicle that American officials thought contained an ISIS bomb and posed an imminent threat to troops at Kabul's airport."
  - Almukhtar, Sarah and Karen Yourish, "14 Years After U.S. Invasion, the Taliban Are Back in Control of Large Parts of Afghanistan," *The New York Times* [16 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/09/29/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-maps.html">http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/09/29/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-maps.html</a> [accessed 16 October 2015].
  - Anderson, Charlie, "How a few good 'Bastards' from the Army National Guard helped secure the Kabul airport," Task & Purpose [15 September 2021]. https://taskandpurpose.com/opinion/afghanistan-

- task-force-bastard/ [accessed 16 September 2021].
- Associated Press, "A timeline of U.S. troop levels in Afghanistan since 2001," Associated Press [6 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.airforcetimes.com/story/military/2016/07/06/timeline-us-troop-levels-afghanistan-since-2001/86755782/">http://www.airforcetimes.com/story/military/2016/07/06/timeline-us-troop-levels-afghanistan-since-2001/86755782/</a> [accessed 7 July 2016].
- Associated Press, "Afghanistan's Taliban announce annual spring offensive," *Military Times* [24 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/25/afghanistans-taliban-announce-annual-spring-offensive/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/25/afghanistans-taliban-announce-annual-spring-offensive/</a> [accessed 26 April 2018].
- Associated Press, "Taliban again reject Afghan offer of peace talks with Kabul," *Military Times* [8 July 2018]. h <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/07/08/taliban-again-reject-afghan-offer-of-peace-talks-with-kabul/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/07/08/taliban-again-reject-afghan-offer-of-peace-talks-with-kabul/</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].
- Atlantic Council, "Experts react: What the fall of Afghanistan means for Europe," *Atlantic Council* [18 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/experts-react-what-the-fall-of-afghanistan-means-for-europe/">https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/experts-react-what-the-fall-of-afghanistan-means-for-europe/</a> [accessed 19 August 2021].
- Ault, Robert T. "Adapting Army Aviation for Irregular Warfare: Developing Leadership and Trust in a COIN Fight," *Small Wars Journal* [25 November 2014]. <a href="https://smallwarsjournal.com/index.php/jrnl/art/adapting-army-aviation-for-irregular-warfare-developing-leadership-and-trust-in-a-coin-figh">https://smallwarsjournal.com/index.php/jrnl/art/adapting-army-aviation-for-irregular-warfare-developing-leadership-and-trust-in-a-coin-figh">https://smallwarsjournal.com/index.php/jrnl/art/adapting-army-aviation-for-irregular-warfare-developing-leadership-and-trust-in-a-coin-figh</a> [accessed 15 February 2019].
  - The article includes a variety of stories on COL Ault's unit's conduct in Afghanistan. One of the stories is about the participants in a village where the leaders were former opponents of the US.
- Bacevich, Andrew, "Yes, the U.S. can leave Afghanistan," *Los Angeles Times* [18 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-1020-bacevich-war-no-choice-20151018-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-1020-bacevich-war-no-choice-20151018-story.html</a> [accessed 20 October 2015].
- Baldor, Lolita C. and Meghan Myers, "Watchdog finds no misconduct in mistaken Afghan airstrike," *Military Times* [3 November 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/breaking-news/2021/11/03/watchdog-finds-no-misconduct-in-mistaken-afghan-airstrike/">https://www.militarytimes.com/breaking-news/2021/11/03/watchdog-finds-no-misconduct-in-mistaken-afghan-airstrike/</a> [accessed 5 November 2021].
  - Report on the official review of the 29 August 2021 strike that killed numerous civilians in Kabul.
- Balsamo, Michael, Mary Clare Jalonick, and Normaan Merchant, "Concerns over US terror threats rising, more troops deployed as Taliban takes over," *Military Times* [15 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2021/08/15/concerns-over-us-terror-threats-rising-more-troops-deployed-as-taliban-takes-over/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2021/08/15/concerns-over-us-terror-threats-rising-more-troops-deployed-as-taliban-takes-over/</a> [accessed 17 August 2021].
- Bapat, Navin and Rebecca Best, "Here's why the Taliban might still want to negotiate with the U.S." *The Washington Post* [11 September 2019].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/09/12/heres-why-taliban-might-still-want-negotiate-with-us/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/09/12/heres-why-taliban-might-still-want-negotiate-with-us/</a> [accessed 15 September 2019].
- BBC, "Afghanistan's ghost soldiers undermined fight against Taliban ex-official," BBC [10 November 2021]. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-59230564 [accessed 15 November 2021].
- Bellinger, John, "The Chilcot Inquiry and the Legal Basis for the Iraq War," *Lawfare* [11 July 2016]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/chilcot-inquiry-and-legal-basis-iraq-war">https://www.lawfareblog.com/chilcot-inquiry-and-legal-basis-iraq-war</a> [accessed 12 July 2016].
- Bender, Bryan, "Blame game begins as Afghanistan situation worsens," *Policy* [13 May 2021]. <a href="https://www.politico.com/news/2021/05/13/blame-game-us-withdrawal-afghanistan-487845">https://www.politico.com/news/2021/05/13/blame-game-us-withdrawal-afghanistan-487845</a> [accessed 21 May 2021].
- Bergen, Peter, "The leader of the anti-Taliban resistance speaks out," *CNN* [1 September 2021]. <a href="https://www.cnn.com/2021/09/01/opinions/leader-anti-taliban-resistance-speaks-bergen/">https://www.cnn.com/2021/09/01/opinions/leader-anti-taliban-resistance-speaks-bergen/</a> [accessed 4 September 2021].

- Bezhan, Erud, "Left Out: Afghanistan Watches Its Own Peace Process From The Sidelines," *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty* [3 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/left-out-afghanistan-watches-its-own-peace-process-from-the-sidelines/29859400.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/left-out-afghanistan-watches-its-own-peace-process-from-the-sidelines/29859400.html</a> [accessed 4 April 2019].
- Blue, Victor J., Thomas Gibbons-Neff, and Safiullah Padshah, "On Patrol: 12 Days With a Taliban Police Unit in Kabul," *The New York Times* [28 January 2022]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/28/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-kabul-shiites.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/28/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-kabul-shiites.html</a> [accessed 4 February 2022].
- Bokhari, Farhan, "US-Taliban ties a way in Afghanistan to keep out IS and boost trade," *Nikkei Asian Review* [1 August 2018]. <a href="https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-Relations/US-Taliban-ties-a-way-in-Afghanistan-to-keep-out-IS-and-boost-trade">https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-Relations/US-Taliban-ties-a-way-in-Afghanistan-to-keep-out-IS-and-boost-trade</a> [accessed 2 August 2018].
- ★ Bolduc, Donald C. "Going Back to the Future: It is Time for Change in Afghanistan," Small Wars Journal [circa 10 May 2018]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/going-back-future-it-time-change-afghanistan">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/going-back-future-it-time-change-afghanistan</a> [accessed 13 May 2018].

This is an excellent review by a legitimate expert.

The author also only addresses the actions rather than the understanding necessary. I would submit that understanding precedes success. If soldiers don't understand the locals, how can they actually influence them?

Regardless of my slight issues, this is well worth the time reading it.

- Bolduc, Donald C. "The Real Reasons We're Losing the Afghanistan War," *The Daily Beast* [22 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-real-reasons-were-losing-the-afghanistan-war">https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-real-reasons-were-losing-the-afghanistan-war</a> [accessed 25 June 2018].
- Bolduc, Donald C. "Opinion: America's three big mistakes in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [22 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/opinion/2019/06/22/opinion-americas-three-big-mistakes-in-afghanistan/">https://www.militarytimes.com/opinion/2019/06/22/opinion-americas-three-big-mistakes-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 24 June 2019].
- Boone, Jon, "How exile changed the Taliban: Decades abroad made the militant group's leaders more worldly, but they may struggle to control their foot soldiers," *Financial Times* [24 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.ft.com/content/2aad0b12-7449-4a79-9706-961098312bcf">https://www.ft.com/content/2aad0b12-7449-4a79-9706-961098312bcf</a> [accessed 6 November 2021].
  - I disagree with the author's thesis that the time in exile has moderated the Taliban.
- ★ Bowden, Mark, "Echoes from a Distant Battlefield," Vanity Fair [11 November 2011]. <a href="https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2011/12/battle-of-wanat-201112">https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2011/12/battle-of-wanat-201112</a> [accessed 16 July 2018].

  A look at the Battle of Wanat from the perspective of the lieutenant, the father, and the battalion commander. Well written and engaging.
  - Bulos, Nabih, "Afghanistan's air force is a rare U.S.-backed success story. It may soon fail," *Los Angeles Times* [20 June 2021]. <a href="https://www.bakersfield.com/ap/national/afghanistans-air-force-is-a-rare-u-s--backed-success-story-it-may-soon/article\_c3baac99-9b18-5d3c-839e-224a1bd76ec6.html">https://www.bakersfield.com/ap/national/afghanistans-air-force-is-a-rare-u-s--backed-success-story-it-may-soon/article\_c3baac99-9b18-5d3c-839e-224a1bd76ec6.html</a> [accessed 22 June 2021].
  - Burns, Robert, "War and waste: Cautionary tales as US ponders Afghan boost," *Military Times* [25 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/war-and-waste-cautionary-tales-as-us-ponders-afghan-boost">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/war-and-waste-cautionary-tales-as-us-ponders-afghan-boost</a> [accessed 26 June 2017].
    - This article provides some important information on the failure of the US effort to build the Afghan National Army and other elements of the counter-terrorism effort.
  - Burns, Robert, "Billions spent on Afghan army ultimately benefitted Taliban," *Military Times* [16 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/afghanistan/2021/08/16/billions-spent-on-afghan-army-ultimately-benefitted-taliban/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/afghanistan/2021/08/16/billions-spent-on-afghan-army-ultimately-benefitted-taliban/</a> [accessed 17 August 2021].

- Calamur, Krishnadev, "Afghanistan Takes a Bloody Path to Pursue Peace," *The Atlantic* [2 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/05/afghanistan-violence/559370/">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/05/afghanistan-violence/559370/</a> [accessed 4 May 2018].
- Calamur, Krishnadev, "'A Sudden Burst of Movement' on the Afghan Peace Process," *Defense One* [26 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/07/sudden-burst-movement-afghan-peace-process/150065/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/07/sudden-burst-movement-afghan-peace-process/150065/</a> [accessed 30 July 2018].
- Calamur, Krishnadev, "No End in Sight," *The Atlantic* [11 September 2018]. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/9-11-us-troops-afghanistan/569803/ [accessed 11 September 2018].
- ★ Cancian, Mark F. "Tell Me How This Ends: Military Advice, Strategic Goals, and the "Forever War" in Afghanistan," Center for Strategic & International Studies [July 2019]. <a href="https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/190708\_Cancian\_Afghanistan\_WEB.pdf">https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/190708\_Cancian\_Afghanistan\_WEB.pdf</a> [accessed 18 July 2019].
  - Really interesting facts and a humorous approach to the serious problem of civil-military strategic planning. The author uses information on Afghanistan to address the larger problem that the US does not know how to plan for, execute, and complete a war successfully. It is long, but it is worth skimming, if not more.
  - Canna, Sarah, editor. Negotiated Settlement in Afghanistan: Elements of a Grand Bargain. Strategic Multi-layer Assessment Periodic Publication by NSI Team [January 2019]. <a href="https://nsiteam.com/negotiated-settlement-in-afghanistan-elements-of-a-grand-bargain/">https://nsiteam.com/negotiated-settlement-in-afghanistan-elements-of-a-grand-bargain/</a> [accessed 11 February 2019].
  - Chayes, Sarah, "The Ides of August," Sarah Chayes Blog [16 August 2021]. https://www.sarahchayes.org/post/the-ides-of-august [accessed 19 August 2021].
  - Clark, James, "This Marine-Made War Documentary Is So Raw The Corps Doesn't Want You To See It," Task & Purpose [5 April 2018]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/marine-afghanistan-documentary-combat-obscura/">https://taskandpurpose.com/marine-afghanistan-documentary-combat-obscura/</a> [accessed 6 April 2018].
  - Clark, James, "The Outpost' is a fitting tribute to the soldiers who fought one of the bloodiest battles of the Afghan War," *Task & Purpose* [30 June 2020]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/entertainment/the-outpost-afghanistan-war-movie-review">https://taskandpurpose.com/entertainment/the-outpost-afghanistan-war-movie-review</a> [accessed 1 July 2020].
  - Constable, Pamela, "Death of Famed Afghan Commander in Taliban Massacre Highlights the Country's Struggles and Fears," *Afghanistan Peace Campaign* originally published in the *Washington Post* [20 June 2021]. <a href="https://afghanistanpeacecampaign.org/2021/06/23/death-of-famed-afghan-commander-in-taliban-massacre-highlights-the-countrys-struggles-and-fears/">https://afghanistanpeacecampaign.org/2021/06/23/death-of-famed-afghan-commander-in-taliban-massacre-highlights-the-countrys-struggles-and-fears/</a> [accessed 14 July 2021].
  - Copp, Tara, "Pentagon: 11,000 US forces are now serving in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [30 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2017/08/30/pentagon-11000-us-forces-are-serving-in-afghanistan/">http://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2017/08/30/pentagon-11000-us-forces-are-serving-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 31 August 2017].
  - Copp, Tara, "ISIS, Taliban claim attack on Kabul airport hours after Mattis makes surprise visit," *Military Times* [27 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/27/isis-taliban-claim-attack-on-kabul-airport-hours-after-mattis-makes-surprise-visit/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/27/isis-taliban-claim-attack-on-kabul-airport-hours-after-mattis-makes-surprise-visit/</a> [accessed 28 September 2017].
  - Copp, Tara, "Why should the US stay in Afghanistan? Here's what the top commander there said." Military Times [30 May 2018]. https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/05/30/why-should-the-us-stay-in-afghanistan-the-commander-of-coalition-forces-offers-his-views-as-he-departs/ [accessed 31 May 2018].
  - Copp, Tara, "Here's the blueprint for Erik Prince's \$5 billion plan to privatize the Afghanistan war."

*Military Times* [5 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/09/05/heres-the-blueprint-for-erik-princes-5-billion-plan-to-privatize-the-afghanistan-war/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/09/05/heres-the-blueprint-for-erik-princes-5-billion-plan-to-privatize-the-afghanistan-war/</a> [accessed 6 September 2018].

Cordesman, Anthony, "Learning from the War: "Who Lost Afghanistan?" versus Learning "Why We Lost"," *Center for Strategic and International Studies* [19 July 2021]. <a href="https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/210719">https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/210719</a> Cordesman Learning War.pdf [accessed 21 July 2021].

I am a fan of Tony Cordesman's work over the decades that I have been reading it. This is not for everyone for three reasons. One, the work is long (63 pages, although there are a lot of graphs). Two, there are a lot of wonkish terms and phrases that might lose many readers. Three, this is an unfinished project that basically lays out what a proper and thoughtful history of the war in Afghanistan needs to include to provide the necessary material for a full and complete understanding of what happened and why.

In both Iraq and Afghanistan there were two wars. In Afghanistan they were a war against al-Qaeda and their "state" sponsored supporters and a counterinsurgency against the Taliban seeking to fight the invader and occupier and regain their position of authority. The US won the first war (as it also did in Iraq), but struggled and lost the second war. Cordesman gives some insight and raises a lot of questions about how that second failure occurred.

Coren, Anna, Sandi Sidhu, and Tim Lister, "Taliban fighters execute 22 Afghan commandos as they try to surrender," CNN [13 July 2021]. <a href="https://www.cnn.com/2021/07/13/asia/afghanistan-taliban-commandos-killed-intl-hnk/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2021/07/13/asia/afghanistan-taliban-commandos-killed-intl-hnk/index.html</a> [accessed 14 July 2021].

I am deeply saddened and angry. I am late to the news, but I was deeply saddened to learn yesterday that a former student of mine from the 2019 US Army CGSC course, Sohrab Azimi, was murdered in Afghanistan on 16 June 2021.

Sohrab was a great student and a powerful combat leader for his country. He was the kind of man Afghanistan needs to hold off Taliban advances. That was his job, in fact, to retake villages and towns that had been attacked or taken by the Taliban. See this article as a fitting expression of his capability (<a href="https://afghanistanpeacecampaign.org/2021/06/23/death-of-famed-afghan-commander-in-taliban-massacre-highlights-the-countrys-struggles-and-fears/">https://afghanistanpeacecampaign.org/2021/06/23/death-of-famed-afghan-commander-in-taliban-massacre-highlights-the-countrys-struggles-and-fears/</a>).

I am angry for reasons that I have expressed many times in this forum - the ignorance of the non-Afghans involved in leading, fighting, and reporting on the war in Afghanistan. It is as if no one understood/understands what Afghanistan was/is and no one understood/understands the purposes for fighting in Afghanistan. I understand that this anger is somewhat misplaced as there are many who do understand and know, but the unfortunate reality is that they are almost never the ones in charge or from whom we hear about the events there (if we hear anything at all).

This article and video capture the nature of the Taliban and just some of the ignorance of reporters in understanding the character of the war there.

- Correll, Diana Stancy, "Taliban reaches agreement with US to block al Qaeda, Islamic State from Afghanistan: Report," Washington Examiner [24 January 2019].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/taliban-reaches-agreement-with-us-to-block-al-qaeda-islamic-state-from-afghanistan-report">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/taliban-reaches-agreement-with-us-to-block-al-qaeda-islamic-state-from-afghanistan-report</a> [accessed 26 January 2019].
- Davis, Daniel L., "It's Time to Ask the Hard Questions on Afghanistan", *National Interest* [3 January 2016]. <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/its-time-ask-the-hard-questions-afghanistan-14788">http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/its-time-ask-the-hard-questions-afghanistan-14788</a> [accessed 4 January 2016].

The op/ed does not offer hard questions, but one question – what will be done with extra troops that isn't being done now. Simple question and it needs to be asked.

Dawn, "'How did IS emerge in Afghanistan under US watch?' asks Hamid Karzai," *Dawn* [8 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.dawn.com/news/1362481/how-did-is-emerge-in-afghanistan-under-us-watch-asks-hamid-karzai">https://www.dawn.com/news/1362481/how-did-is-emerge-in-afghanistan-under-us-watch-asks-hamid-karzai</a> [accessed 9 October 2017].

- deGrandpre, Andrew and Alex Horton, "Here are six costly failures from America's longest war. No. 1: Cashmere goats." *Military Times* [22 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/08/21/goats-camouflage-and-ghost-schools-16-years-of-u-s-taxpayer-waste-in-afghanistan/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/08/21/goats-camouflage-and-ghost-schools-16-years-of-u-s-taxpayer-waste-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 23 August 2017].
- Doherty, Ben, "How the 'good war' went bad: elite soldiers from Australia, UK and US face a reckoning," *The Guardian* [1 June 2021]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2021/jun/02/how-the-good-war-went-bad-elite-soldiers-from-australia-uk-and-us-face-a-reckoning">https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2021/jun/02/how-the-good-war-went-bad-elite-soldiers-from-australia-uk-and-us-face-a-reckoning</a> [accessed 2 June 2021].
  - What will be the accounting from Afghanistan? I expect that most Americans do not want to know about what happened there in any detail. If an investigation begins, there will be little expectation to protect the soldiers or senior leaders implicated in any actions. I get the sense, that people are exhausted by Afghanistan and just want it to go away.
- Dyer, Andrew, "Nation's top Marine invokes World War II when talking Afghanistan time commitment: 'We're still in Germany; we're still in Japan'," *The San Diego Union Tribune* [12 September 2018]. <a href="http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/military/sd-me-marine-commandant20180912-story.html">http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/military/sd-me-marine-commandant20180912-story.html</a> [accessed 13 September 2018].
- Errazzouki, Samia and Lori Hinnant, "Moroccan freed from Guantanamo slams IS, reflects on torture", *The Washington Post* [16 February 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/moroccan-freed-from-guantanamo-slams-is-reflects-on-torture/2016/02/16/7d17e9e8-d4d7-11e5-a65b-587e721fb231\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\_east/moroccan-freed-from-guantanamo-slams-is-reflects-on-torture/2016/02/16/7d17e9e8-d4d7-11e5-a65b-587e721fb231\_story.html</a> [accessed 17 February 2016].
- Faiez, Rahim and Amir Shah, "Double Kabul Suicide Bombing Kills Dozens, Including Journalists," *Military.com* [30 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/04/30/double-kabul-suicide-bombing-kills-dozens-including-journalists.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/04/30/double-kabul-suicide-bombing-kills-dozens-including-journalists.html</a> [accessed 30 April 2018].
- Fajez, Rahim and Cara Anna, "Islamic State claims bombing at Kabul wedding that killed 63," *AP News* [18 August 2019]. <a href="https://apnews.com/b5ceb0cfb33d4d73aaaadf5eee19fe9d">https://apnews.com/b5ceb0cfb33d4d73aaaadf5eee19fe9d</a> [accessed 18 August 2019].
- Faizy, Sultan and Shashank Bengali, "Hope. Concern. Resignation. Afghans have mixed feelings about the possibility of more U.S. troops," *Los Angeles Times* [15 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-afghanistan-us-troops-2017-htmlstory.html">http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-afghanistan-us-troops-2017-htmlstory.html</a> [accessed 16 May 2017].
- Fritz, Ian, "What I Learned While Eavesdropping on the Taliban," *Defense One* (originally published in *The Atlantic*) [21 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2021/08/what-i-learned-while-eavesdropping-taliban/184676/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2021/08/what-i-learned-while-eavesdropping-taliban/184676/</a> [accessed 23 August 2021].
  - The Taliban rarely provide humorous stories, but this article includes a couple. It also explains the persistent will that the Taliban story effectively provided by connecting to the Islamist narrative. Understanding this story-narrative connection and how it provides power is crucial to appreciating narrative war.
- ★ Gall, Carlotta, "Saudis Bankroll Taliban, Even as King Officially Supports Afghan Government," *The New York Times* [6 December 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/06/world/asia/saudi-arabia-afghanistan.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/06/world/asia/saudi-arabia-afghanistan.html</a> [accessed 6 December 2016].
  - Gall always writes brilliantly and this article is worth reading to better understand Afghanistan/Taliban/Kingdom of Saudi Arabia dynamics.
  - Gannon, Kathy, "Taliban official says group spoke with US official," *Military Times* [29 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/07/29/taliban-official-says-group-spoke-with-us-official/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/07/29/taliban-official-says-group-spoke-with-us-official/</a> [accessed 30 July 2018].
- ★ Gannon, Kathy, "After 17 years, many Afghans blame US for unending war," Military Times [14

- November 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/11/14/after-17-years-many-afghans-blame-us-for-unending-war/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/11/14/after-17-years-many-afghans-blame-us-for-unending-war/</a> [accessed 14 November 2018].
- This is a must read article for those who question the importance of narrative. This article expresses what happens when the actions and narrative are not in alignment. We are now the bad guys. Imagine a world where the Taliban is preferred over the US. That is what a bad narrative leads to.
- Gannon, Kathy, "2018 was the deadliest year for Afghan civilians since the UN started keeping track," *Military Times* [24 February 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/02/24/2018-was-the-deadliest-year-for-afghan-civilians-since-the-un-started-keeping-track/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/02/24/2018-was-the-deadliest-year-for-afghan-civilians-since-the-un-started-keeping-track/</a> [accessed 25 February 2019].
- Gannon, Kathy, "Jihad, history link Taliban to al-Qaida in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [17 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/09/17/jihad-history-link-taliban-to-al-qaida-in-afghanistan/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/09/17/jihad-history-link-taliban-to-al-qaida-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 18 September 2019].
- Gannon, Kathy, "Anger grows at civilian deaths by US, Afghan forces," *Military Times* [6 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/06/anger-grows-at-civilian-deaths-by-us-afghan-forces/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/10/06/anger-grows-at-civilian-deaths-by-us-afghan-forces/</a> [accessed 7 October 2019].
- Gannon, Kathy, "Afghanistan's Karzai says American cash fed corruption," *Military Times* [11 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/12/11/afghanistans-karzai-says-american-cash-fed-corruption/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/12/11/afghanistans-karzai-says-american-cash-fed-corruption/</a> [accessed 11 December 2019].
- Gannon, Kathy, "Taliban say they are readying for talks with Kabul leaders," *Military Times* [8 June 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/06/08/taliban-say-they-are-readying-for-talks-with-kabul-leaders/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/06/08/taliban-say-they-are-readying-for-talks-with-kabul-leaders/</a> [accessed 9 June 2020].
- Garland, Chad, "'Serious measures' taken as Taliban attack Farah city in western Afghanistan," *Stars & Stripes* [15 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/serious-measures-taken-astaliban-attack-farah-city-in-western-afghanistan-1.527060">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/serious-measures-taken-astaliban-attack-farah-city-in-western-afghanistan-1.527060</a> [accessed 15 May 2018].
- Ghani, Ashraf, "I Will Negotiate With the Taliban Anywhere," *The New York Times* [27 June 2018]. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/27/opinion/ashraf-ghani-afghanistan-president-peace-talks-taliban-.html [accessed 27 June 2018].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "How Obama's Afghanistan plan is forcing the Army to replace soldiers with contractors," *Washington Post* [1 June 2016].

  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/06/01/how-obamas-afghanistan-plan-is-forcing-the-army-to-replace-soldiers-with-contractors/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/06/01/how-obamas-afghanistan-plan-is-forcing-the-army-to-replace-soldiers-with-contractors/</a> [accessed 2 June 2016].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas, "\$174 Million Afghan Drone Program Is Riddled With Problems, U.S. Report Says," *The New York Times* [16 July 2020]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/world/asia/afghan-drone-program.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/world/asia/afghan-drone-program.html</a> [accessed 21 July 2020].
- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas and Helen Cooper, "Newest U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan Mirrors Past Plans for Retreat," *The New York Times* [28 July 2018].

  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/28/world/asia/trump-afghanistan-strategy-retreat.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/28/world/asia/trump-afghanistan-strategy-retreat.html</a>
  [accessed 30 July 2018].
- ★ Gibbons-Neff, Thomas and Najim Rahim, "Taliban Enter Key Cities in Afghanistan's North After Swift Offensive," The New York Times [20 June 2021].
  https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/20/world/asia/afghanistan-kunduz-taliban.html [accessed 21 June 2021].
  - The story of Afghanistan is a story of maddening ignorance. In *Abandoning Vietnam: How America Left and South Vietnam Lost Its War*, Jim Willbanks argues that one of the reasons that South Vietnam fell was because

the U.S. military and government made the South Vietnamese military look like the U.S. military. By doing that, the South Vietnamese military required the same access to resources as did the U.S. military which were not available in 1974 and 1975. Here we are more than 45 years after the collapse of South Vietnam and 17 years after Willbanks published his book and this one mistake from Vietnam is being played out again as we watch the Afghan National Army struggle against the Taliban.

If this were the only mistake then what is happening in Afghanistan wouldn't be quite so sad. This article fails to identify what most Americans, in general, and most military professionals, more specifically do not know about Afghanistan in 1996: how fast the Taliban captured that country. The Taliban attacked with lightening raids that took villages, towns, and cities faster than their opponents could recover or regroup. It looks like the Taliban have not forgotten their own history – they seem to be trying to experience again the benefits of 25 years ago.

When the Taliban defeated their opponents in the mid-1990s, their opponents often just pulled back to their defensible tribal areas. The Taliban never controlled all of Afghanistan. It is possible that everyone may try to relive some form of that earlier success or failure.

- Gibbons-Neff, Thomas and Taimoor Shah, "An Ancient Hill and Forgotten Dead: Afghanistan's Haunted Outpost," *The New York Times* [31 October 2020].

  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/31/world/asia/afghanistan-haunted-outpost.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/31/world/asia/afghanistan-haunted-outpost.html</a> [accessed 2 November 2020].
- Goodwin, Liz, "A veil of secrecy fuels doubts on Afghan war," *The Boston Globe* [12 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/nation/2018/05/12/decline-afghan-army-was-hidden-pentagon-secrecy/WMfkVlHicQ5gGpnevQRmVl/story.html">https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/nation/2018/05/12/decline-afghan-army-was-hidden-pentagon-secrecy/WMfkVlHicQ5gGpnevQRmVl/story.html</a> [accessed 14 May 2018].
- ★ Gopal, Anand, "The Other Afghan Women: In the countryside, the endless killing of civilians turned women against the occupiers who claimed to be helping them." The New Yorker [6 September 2021]. <a href="https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2021/09/13/the-other-afghan-women">https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2021/09/13/the-other-afghan-women</a> [accessed 11 October 2021].

This is depressing and poignant. It is also long, but I strongly recommend this. This is further support for what I have been writing about narrative war over the past weeks, months, and years. In this article the author Anand Gopal, who also wrote one of the more interesting books on the Afghanistan War, describes the dynamics of the American war in Afghanistan in the countryside and small villages.

Even though this was something that I expected, it was still a shockingly disappointing reminder of how little the Americans understood Afghanistan and its relatively recent history. As you read it you will see the difficulty in what it means to bring stability to an unstable country. Often it means that the occupier seeks to stabilize quickly which means turning to those who produce short term results – often war lords – as was the case in Afghanistan.

Thank you Patricia "Tricia" DeGennaro for bringing this to my attention. I am very grateful to Have read it.

- Gould, Joe, "McCain offers Afghanistan strategy amid Trump's indecision," *Defense News* [10 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/congress/2017/08/10/mccain-offers-afghanistan-strategy-amid-trumps-indecision/">http://www.defensenews.com/congress/2017/08/10/mccain-offers-afghanistan-strategy-amid-trumps-indecision/</a> [accessed 11 August 2017].
- Gould, Joe, "Biden defends Afghanistan pullout as Taliban gains ground," *Military Times* [8 July 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2021/07/08/biden-defends-afghanistan-pullout-as-taliban-gains-ground/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2021/07/08/biden-defends-afghanistan-pullout-as-taliban-gains-ground/</a> [accessed 19 July 2021].
- Grady, John, "Marine Commander in Southwest Afghanistan Strikes Optimistic Tone on Progress in Fight Against Taliban," *US Naval Institute News* [3 April 2018]. <a href="https://news.usni.org/2018/04/03/marine-commander-southwest-afghanistan-strikes-optimistic-tone-fight-taliban">https://news.usni.org/2018/04/03/marine-commander-southwest-afghanistan-strikes-optimistic-tone-fight-taliban</a> [accessed 6 April 2018].
- Grady, John, "Panel: U.S. Began Afghanistan War with Unrealistic Expectations," *US Naval Institute News* [8 July 2021]. <a href="https://news.usni.org/2021/07/08/panel-u-s-began-afghanistan-war-with-unrealistic-expectations">https://news.usni.org/2021/07/08/panel-u-s-began-afghanistan-war-with-unrealistic-expectations</a> [accessed 19 July 2021].

The article includes a link to the CSIS panel discussion on YouTube. <a href="https://youtu.be/m6hyVHxMX3Q">https://youtu.be/m6hyVHxMX3Q</a>. This is a great panel discussion with two legitimate experts including Carter Malkasian.

- Grazier, Dan, "Afghanistan Proved Eisenhower Correct," *POGO* [1 November 2021]. <a href="https://www.pogo.org/analysis/2021/11/afghanistan-proved-eisenhower-correct/?fbclid=lwAR0ugTbRH5u5PftrcUdubBDqHOrCHBH\_b3JlC5wvUHKPbKZsxV4zk4pejFw">https://www.pogo.org/analysis/2021/11/afghanistan-proved-eisenhower-correct/?fbclid=lwAR0ugTbRH5u5PftrcUdubBDqHOrCHBH\_b3JlC5wvUHKPbKZsxV4zk4pejFw</a> [accessed 4 November 2021].
- ★ Greentree, Todd, "What Went Wrong in Afghanistan?" *Parameters* 51, no. 4 (2021): 7-22, <a href="https://press.armywarcollege.edu/parameters/vol51/iss4/3">https://press.armywarcollege.edu/parameters/vol51/iss4/3</a> [17 November 2021].. <a href="https://press.armywarcollege.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3088&context=parameters">https://press.armywarcollege.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3088&context=parameters</a> [accessed 4 December 2021].

A must read for appreciating the war in Afghanistan.

This is a fabulous summary of what happened, what went wrong, why it went wrong, and how it might have gone right. The best single article for appreciating the problems and a better solution. It is a little long for a light read at 15 pages of material, but the content is worth it. The footnotes alone make this article a treasure trove for those who want to learn or teach about the war in Afghanistan.

The author does a brilliant job of identifying how the United States was its own worst enemy in Afghanistan and how that behavior created an accidental war after the collapse of the Taliban.

- Gul, Ayaz, "Afghan War Causes Record Bloodshed Amid US Troop Exit," VOA News [1 July 2021]. https://www.voanews.com/south-central-asia/afghan-war-causes-record-bloodshed-amid-us-troop-exit [accessed 19 July 2021].
- Hamid, Tamim, "Fight Will Continue Alongside Peace Efforts: Miller," *Tolo News* [7 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/war-will-continue-alongside-peace-efforts-miller">https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/war-will-continue-alongside-peace-efforts-miller</a> [accessed 10 April 2019].
- Hannun, Marya, "Journalism as jihad in Afghanistan," *Columbia Journalism Review* [14 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.cjr.org/analysis/journalism-as-jihad-in-afghanistan.php">https://www.cjr.org/analysis/journalism-as-jihad-in-afghanistan.php</a> [accessed 8 October 2018].
- Hashimi, Zakeria, "Afghan forces search for Taliban fighters after major attack," *Yahoo* [10 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.yahoo.com/news/us-launches-airstrikes-taliban-attack-afghan-city-063037016.html">https://www.yahoo.com/news/us-launches-airstrikes-taliban-attack-afghan-city-063037016.html</a> [accessed 11 August 2018].
- Hasrat-Nazimi, Waslat, "Did Afghan minerals change Trump's mind about Afghanistan?" *Deutsche Welle* [29 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/did-afghan-minerals-change-trumps-mind-about-afghanistan/a-40281449">http://www.dw.com/en/did-afghan-minerals-change-trumps-mind-about-afghanistan/a-40281449</a> [accessed 30 August 2017].
- Holbrook, David, "Pashto War Poetry," Unpublished Paper for Seminar on the Language, Culture and History of Afghanistan, Center for Afghanistan Studies, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 11 September 2009.
  - I worked with David in Iraq in 2010-2011 and he is a thoughtful and very well prepared regional specialist. This is a paper in support of academic work for the human terrain system program.
- ★ International Crisis Group, "How Islamist Militants Elsewhere View the Taliban's Victory in Afghanistan," International Crisis Group [27 October 2021]. <a href="https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/afghanistan-360-27x21.pdf">https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/afghanistan-360-27x21.pdf</a> [accessed 3 November 2021].
  - This is a fabulous summary of Islamist militant groups as they are at the end of 2021. It also provides wonderful insights about the intra-Islamist struggles and differences. This is a great single article to read to appreciate that there is no Islamist monolith. Each group has its own interests that are driven by interpretive, regional, cultural, and historical factors. Appreciating the variations in the Islamist world requires an appreciation of those differences. This article provides an excellent starting point for such understanding.
  - Jain, Rupam, "U.N. says scores killed during Afghanistan voter registration drive," *Reuters* [10 May 2018]. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-election-report/u-n-says-scores-killed-

- during-afghanistan-voter-registration-drive-idUSKBN1IB2GA [accessed 11 May 2018].
- Jason, Mike, "What We Got Wrong in Afghanistan," *The Atlantic* [12 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/08/how-america-failed-afghanistan/619740/">https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/08/how-america-failed-afghanistan/619740/</a> [accessed 17 August 2021].
- Jennings, Nathan, "Is America Winning to Lose in Afghanistan?" *Real Clear Defense* [27 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2018/03/27/is america winning to lose in afghanista">https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2018/03/27/is america winning to lose in afghanista n 113247.html</a> [accessed 28 March 2018].
- ★ Jensen, Benjamin, "How the Taliban did it: Inside the 'operational art' of its military victory," *Atlantic Council* [15 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/how-the-taliban-did-it-inside-the-operational-art-of-its-military-victory/">https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/how-the-taliban-did-it-inside-the-operational-art-of-its-military-victory/</a> [accessed 4 September 2021].
  - "The second article investigates the operational art (author's term) employed by the Taliban to converge four main lines of effort to collapse the ANA and defeat the Afghan government. He does a good job of concisely explaining how they prepared the theater, achieved physical and phycological dislocation in-depth, and employed narrative warfare to enable rapid offensive military operations. And yes, his use of operational art loosely falls within the Joint and Army definition (my opinion)." Quoted from email of Nathan Jennings.
  - Jones, Seth G. "Why the Taliban Isn't Winning in Afghanistan," Foreign Affairs [3 January 2018]. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2018-01-03/why-taliban-isnt-winning-afghanistan [accessed 18 February 2018].
- ★ Joscelyn, Thomas, "Losing a War," The Weekly Standard [27 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.weeklystandard.com/thomas-joscelyn/losing-a-war">https://www.weeklystandard.com/thomas-joscelyn/losing-a-war</a> [accessed 30 August 2018].

  This is an excellent summary of the failed policy moves by successive administrations with respect to the now seventeen year old war in Afghanistan. The information in the article displays a significant amount of ignorance both of the nature of the opponent and of our own policy objectives. The US government does not seem to know what it wants in Afghanistan nor with whom they need to work to get that unknown thing.
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "The Afghanistan War Is Over. We Lost." *The Weekly Standard* [18 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.weeklystandard.com/thomas-joscelyn/the-afghanistan-war-is-over-we-lost">https://www.weeklystandard.com/thomas-joscelyn/the-afghanistan-war-is-over-we-lost</a> [accessed 19 October 2018].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Taliban assaults 'anti-Islamic' NGO in Kabul, citing its promotion of 'western culture'," *Long War Journal* [8 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/taliban-assaults-anti-islamic-ngo-in-kabul-citing-its-promotion-of-western-culture.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/taliban-assaults-anti-islamic-ngo-in-kabul-citing-its-promotion-of-western-culture.php</a> [accessed 9 May 2019].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas, "Al Qaeda video emphasizes unity with Taliban's Islamic emirate," *Long War Journal* [11 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/al-qaeda-video-emphasizes-unity-with-talibans-islamic-emirate.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/al-qaeda-video-emphasizes-unity-with-talibans-islamic-emirate.php</a> [accessed 13 May 2019].
  - Joscelyn, Thomas and Bill Roggio, "Why the Taliban should be required to renounce al Qaeda in any deal with US," Long War Journal [19 March 2019].

    <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/03/why-the-taliban-should-be-required-to-renounce-al-qaeda-in-any-deal-with-us.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/03/why-the-taliban-should-be-required-to-renounce-al-qaeda-in-any-deal-with-us.php</a> [accessed 21 March 2019].
  - Judson, Jen, "SIGAR: 'High-Risk List' Shows Continued Erosion in Afghanistan Reconstruction," *Defense News* [11 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.defensenews.com/articles/us-navy-surface-forces-urged-to-become-more-aggressive">http://www.defensenews.com/articles/us-navy-surface-forces-urged-to-become-more-aggressive</a> [accessed 12 January 2017].
    - Afghanistan is getting worse. It is probably worse in January 2017 than any time since January 2002. This article provides a summation of the problems from the SIGAR.
  - Kaplan, Robert D. "Time to Get Out of Afghanistan," *The New York Times* [1 January 2019]. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/01/opinion/afghanistan-war-american-troops-withdraw.html [accessed 2 January 2019].

- Keller, Jared, "Taliban Fighters Massacre Scores Of Afghanistan Security Forces Again," *Task* & *Purpose* [10 September 2018]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/taliban-massacre-afghanistan-security-forces/">https://taskandpurpose.com/taliban-massacre-afghanistan-security-forces/</a> [accessed 11 September 2018].
- Keller, Jared, "The US still doesn't know how many Afghan security forces actually exist, surprising no one," *Task & Purpose* [3 August 2020]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/news/afghanistan-troop-levels-sigar-report">https://taskandpurpose.com/news/afghanistan-troop-levels-sigar-report</a> [accessed 4 August 2020].
- Keller, Jared, "Insider attacks against US troops in Afghanistan have dropped to a historic low. Here's why," *Task & Purpose* [2 February 2021]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/analysis/insider-attacks-afghanistan-2020/">https://taskandpurpose.com/analysis/insider-attacks-afghanistan-2020/</a> [accessed 3 February 2021].
- Keller, Jared, "Here's all the US military equipment that likely ended up in Taliban hands: A windfall for the Taliban." *Task & Purpose* [18 August 2021]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/news/taliban-weapons-afghanistan/">https://taskandpurpose.com/news/taliban-weapons-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 19 August 2021].
- Khattak, Daud, "Anxious Times In Pakistan's Pagan Valley," *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty* [14 April 2019]. https://www.rferl.org/a/pakistans-pagan-valley/29867489.html [accessed 15 April 2019].
- Kheel, Rebecca, "Five things to know about emerging US, Taliban peace deal," *The Hill* [23 February 2020]. <a href="https://thehill.com/policy/defense/484149-five-things-to-know-about-emerging-us-taliban-peace-deal">https://thehill.com/policy/defense/484149-five-things-to-know-about-emerging-us-taliban-peace-deal</a> [accessed 24 February 2020].
- Kube, Courtney, "Taliban cooperation included protecting Americans from possible terror attack at airport," NBC News [31 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/taliban-cooperation-included-protecting-americans-possible-terror-attack-airport-n1278166">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/taliban-cooperation-included-protecting-americans-possible-terror-attack-airport-n1278166</a> [accessed 1 September 2021].
  - This is a sad example of the normalization of the Taliban as they are portrayed as something like a good guy.
- Kudo, Timothy, "Blame the Generals for Our Defeat in Afghanistan," *The new Republic* [12 July 2021]. <a href="https://newrepublic.com/article/162955/afghanistan-war-generals-failed-america">https://newrepublic.com/article/162955/afghanistan-war-generals-failed-america</a> [accessed 17 August 2021].
- Kugelman, Michael, "Why Did Washington Wait So Long To Take Its Drone War To Baluchistan?" War on the Rocks [7 June 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/why-did-washington-wait-so-long-to-take-its-drone-war-to-baluchistan/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/why-did-washington-wait-so-long-to-take-its-drone-war-to-baluchistan/</a> [accessed 7 June 2016].
- Lamb, Christina, "Chronicle of a Defeat Foretold: Why America Failed in Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2021 [22 June 2021]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2021-06-22/chronicle-defeat-foretold">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2021-06-22/chronicle-defeat-foretold</a> [accessed 30 June 2021].
  - I am excited to read this book. I am a big fan of Carter Malkasian's work and highly recommend it. This review/discussion of the book is a good preview of what one can expect. If you have read War Comes to Garmser (as you should) then the tone and direction of the material will not come as a surprise.
  - I disagree with this author's criticism of Malakasian's emphasis on religion as a motivation. I have encountered this attitude multiple times in my academic and government work. People who are less or non-religious fail to grasp the powerful and sometimes all-encompassing shaping motivation provided by religion. Malkasian lived and worked in Afghanistan and he did so in a district center away from Kabul. I give him the nod in expressing the 'on the ground' perspective of the war.
  - Of course, the book will be a Greek tragedy as the story of Afghanistan is one of hubristic ignorance, but I have already said enough on that topic.
- Lamothe, Dan, "Trump's military cuts in Afghanistan highlight an array of divisions in a 19-year-old conflict," *The Washington Post* [18 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2020/11/18/trumps-military-cuts-afghanistan-highlight-an-array-divisions-19-year-old-conflict/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2020/11/18/trumps-military-cuts-afghanistan-highlight-an-array-divisions-19-year-old-conflict/</a> [accessed 20 November 2020].

- Lamothe, Dan, "Declassified Afghanistan reports back U.S. commanders who said Biden team was indecisive during crisis," *The Washington Post* [12 February 2022]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/02/12/afghanistan-evacuation-after-action-reports/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/02/12/afghanistan-evacuation-after-action-reports/</a> [accessed 16 February 2022].
- Lamothe, Dan and Alex Horton, "Documents reveal U.S. military's frustration with White House, diplomats over Afghanistan evacuation," *The Washington Post* [8 February 2022]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/02/08/afghanistan-evacuation-investigation/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/02/08/afghanistan-evacuation-investigation/</a> [accessed 16 February 2022].
  - I am uncertain in why this article was published. It defends the military position that they gave Pres Biden and his administration recommendations that they refused to accept.
- Lamothe, Dan and Missy Ryan, "On Sept. 11, the U.S. military wrestles with wars that won't go away," *The Washington Post* [11 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2019/09/11/sept-us-military-wrestles-with-wars-that-wont-go-away/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2019/09/11/sept-us-military-wrestles-with-wars-that-wont-go-away/</a> [accessed 15 September 2019].
- Landler, Mark, "The Obama Era: Part 3, The "Good War": The Afghan War and the Evolution of Obama," *The New York Times* [1 January 2017]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/01/world/asia/obama-afghanistan-war.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/01/world/asia/obama-afghanistan-war.html</a> [accessed 4 January 2017].
  - This is an interesting article explaining the changing of the president with respect to Afghanistan and broader policy issues over time. The main points are questioning the efficacy of military action without a policy and without a reliable partner.
- Landon, Douglas, "CIA's Former Counterterrorism Chief for the Region: Afghanistan, Not An Intelligence Failure Something Much Worse," *Just Security* [18 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.justsecurity.org/77801/cias-former-counterterrorism-chief-for-the-region-afghanistan-not-an-intelligence-failure-something-much-worse/">https://www.justsecurity.org/77801/cias-former-counterterrorism-chief-for-the-region-afghanistan-not-an-intelligence-failure-something-much-worse/</a> [accessed 22 September 2021].
- Lawrence, J.P. "Business in discarded US military goods is booming as Kandahar base empties out," *Stars & Stripes* [1 November 2020]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/business-in-discarded-us-military-goods-is-booming-as-kandahar-base-empties-out-1.650666">https://www.stripes.com/news/business-in-discarded-us-military-goods-is-booming-as-kandahar-base-empties-out-1.650666</a> [accessed 2 November 2020].
- Lee, Matthew, Kathy Gannon, and Howard Altman, "All US troops to leave Afghanistan in 14 months if Taliban meets commitments of peace deal," *Military Times* [29 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/02/29/all-us-troops-to-leave-afghanistan-in-14-months-if-taliban-meets-commitments-of-peace-deal-signed-today/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/02/29/all-us-troops-to-leave-afghanistan-in-14-months-if-taliban-meets-commitments-of-peace-deal-signed-today/</a> [accessed 2 March 2020].
- Lee, Wayne E., David L. Preston, Anthony E. Carlson, and David Silbey, "Book excerpt: 'The Other Face of Battle: America's Forgotten Wars and the Experience of Combat'," *Military Times* [8 June 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/opinion/commentary/2021/06/08/book-excerpt-the-other-face-of-battle-americas-forgotten-wars-and-the-experience-of-combat/">https://www.militarytimes.com/opinion/commentary/2021/06/08/book-excerpt-the-other-face-of-battle-americas-forgotten-wars-and-the-experience-of-combat/</a> [accessed 19 July 2021]. Detailed information on the Battle of Makuan on 15 September 2010.
- Lillis, Katie Bo, "Escape from Kabul: Inside the volunteer effort by US troops to rescue their families from Afghanistan," *CNN* [21 October 2021]. <a href="https://www.cnn.com/2021/10/20/politics/escape-afghanistan-private-efforts-military-service-family-members/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2021/10/20/politics/escape-afghanistan-private-efforts-military-service-family-members/index.html</a> [accessed 31 October 2021].
- Linehan, Adam, "Medal Of Honor Recipient Clint Romesha On Why Soldiers Go To War," *Task & Purpose* [13 April 2016]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/leadership/medal-honor-recipient-clinton-romesha-soldiers-go-war">https://taskandpurpose.com/leadership/medal-honor-recipient-clinton-romesha-soldiers-go-war</a> [accessed 1 July 2020].
- Lobe, Jim, "Three major networks devoted a full five minutes to Afghanistan in 2020," *Responsible Statecraft* [20 August 2021]. https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/08/20/three-major-networks-

<u>devoted-a-full-five-minutes-to-afghanistan-in-2020/</u> [accessed 25 August 2021].

Critical point. When no one is watching then no one cares and anything can happen.

This is a sad point about modern American connections to military intervention. We teach military officers that the all-volunteer force was a good thing for the US Army. That was true, in a way. I have come to believe that it was bad for the country. Effectively, the US military is like the local fire department. No one thinks about it unless their neighbor's house is on fire. No one cares if the fire department is properly trained or equipped. That is because everyone assumes that that is what their taxes are for.

The US military has become a global fire department. Since that means that it fights fires distant from US shores then most US citizens don't care. It doesn't affect them. Their sons and daughters are not at risk. Effectively, the military is becoming a family business with multiple generations serving and more couples where both spouses are in uniform.

This isn't good for the republic. The citizenry needs to have skin in the game or they won't care what is done in their name thousands of miles from their homes. And, why should they. I don't ask the city council about the fire department.

- Losey, Stephen, "Afghanistan: The War That Made War Normal," *Military.com* [23 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/2021/08/23/afghanistan-war-made-war-normal.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/2021/08/23/afghanistan-war-made-war-normal.html</a> [accessed 24 August 2021].
  - Interesting observations about the normalization of war and the impact on soldiers and on special operations forces.
- MacDonald, Myra, "Why Did It All Go So Wrong? An Arab Veteran of the Anti-Soviet Jihad Speaks," *War on the Rocks* [4 March 2019]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2019/03/why-did-it-all-go-so-wrong-an-arab-veteran-of-the-anti-soviet-jihad-speaks">https://warontherocks.com/2019/03/why-did-it-all-go-so-wrong-an-arab-veteran-of-the-anti-soviet-jihad-speaks</a>/ [accessed 11 March 2019].
- Malkasian, Carter. 2020. "How the Good War Went Bad: America's Slow-Motion Failure in Afghanistan." Foreign Affairs, March/April 2020. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2020-02-10/how-good-war-went-bad">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2020-02-10/how-good-war-went-bad</a> [accessed 12 February 2020].
- Mansfield, David, "Bombing Heroin Labs in Afghanistan: The Latest Act in the Theatre of Counternarcotics," The London School of Economics and Political Science International Drug Policy Unit [January 2018]. <a href="http://www.lse.ac.uk/united-states/Assets/Documents/Heroin-Labs-in-Afghanistan-Mansfield.pdf">http://www.lse.ac.uk/united-states/Assets/Documents/Heroin-Labs-in-Afghanistan-Mansfield.pdf</a> [accessed 28 April 2018].
- Mashal, Mujib, "Why the Taliban's Assault on Ghazni Matters," *The New York Times* [13 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/13/world/asia/why-the-talibans-assault-on-ghazni-matters-for-afghanistan-and-the-us.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/13/world/asia/why-the-talibans-assault-on-ghazni-matters-for-afghanistan-and-the-us.html</a> [accessed 16 August 2018].
- Mashal, Mujib and Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "How a Taliban Assassin Got Close Enough to Kill a General," The New York Times [2 November 2018]. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/02/world/asia/taliban-attack-raziq-alliance.html [accessed 5
  - This has a great line about being better to kill the one Afghan general than 500 Americans.

November 2018].

- Mashal, Mujib, Eric Schmitt, Najim Rahim, and Rukmini Callimachi, "Afghan Contractor Handed Out Russian Cash to Kill Americans, Officials Say," *The New York Times* [1 July 2020]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/01/world/asia/afghan-russia-bounty-middleman.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/01/world/asia/afghan-russia-bounty-middleman.html</a> [accessed 2 July 2020].
- Matisek, Jahara, "Requiem for the Afghan "Fabergé Egg" Army: Why Did It Crack So Quickly?" *Modern War Institute* [28 October 2021]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/requiem-for-the-afghan-faberge-egg-army-why-did-it-crack-so-quickly/">https://mwi.usma.edu/requiem-for-the-afghan-faberge-egg-army-why-did-it-crack-so-quickly/</a> [accessed 6 December 2021].
- McChrystal, Stanley A. "COMISAF's Initial Assessment," Headquarters, International Security Assistance Force, Kabul, Afghanistan [30 August 2009]. http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-

- <u>srv/politics/documents/Assessment\_Redacted\_092109.pdf?sid=ST2009092003140</u> [accessed 12 May 2016].
- McInnis, Kathleen J. and Andrew Feickert, "Additional Troops for Afghanistan? Considerations for Congress," Congressional Research Service [19 May 2017].
  - Good summation of problems and issues associated with US military involvement in Afghanistan.
- McIntyre, Jamie, "Why victory isn't the goal in Afghanistan," *Washington Examiner* [13 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/why-victory-isnt-the-goal-in-afghanistan">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/why-victory-isnt-the-goal-in-afghanistan</a> [accessed 13 November 2018].
- McKay, Hollie, "Exclusive: Embedded with the Last Afghan Special Forces Team in Mazar-I-Sharif," *Coffee or Die* [22 August 2021]. <a href="https://coffeeordie.com/afghan-special-forces-mazar/">https://coffeeordie.com/afghan-special-forces-mazar/</a> [accessed 25 August 2021].
- Meyers, Josh, "The secret story of how America lost the drug war with the Taliban," *Politico* [8 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/08/obama-afghanistan-drug-war-taliban-616316">https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/08/obama-afghanistan-drug-war-taliban-616316</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].
- Miakhel, Shahmahmood, "The Importance of Tribal Structures and Pakhtunwali in Afghanistan; Their role in security and governance," Yahoo.com [Unknown].

  <a href="http://pashtoonkhwa.com/files/articles/Miakhel%20-%20Importance%20of%20Tribal%20Structures%20in%20Afghanistan.pdf">http://pashtoonkhwa.com/files/articles/Miakhel%20-%20Importance%20of%20Tribal%20Structures%20in%20Afghanistan.pdf</a> [accessed 2 December 2018].
- Miklaucic, Michael, "Letting go with a win and moving on from Afghanistan," *The Hill* [20 July 2021]. <a href="https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/563291-letting-go-with-a-win-and-moving-on-from-afghanistan">https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/563291-letting-go-with-a-win-and-moving-on-from-afghanistan</a> [accessed 21 July 2021].

I strongly disagree with this author's recommendation and interpretation of the war; however, I have met and spoken with enough military and government personnel who agree with this interpretation of events to recognize that it has some value. For me, the value comes from recognizing the argument and more clearly seeing where and why I disagree.

Every year I ask my students to evaluate past US wars on whether or not they were a win or a loss and then to assess to what degree the war was one or the other. This is a wonderful exercise in communicating the "Princess Bride" problem that exists in the US military with the use of the word win: "I do not think it means what you think it means." For the most part, the officers may agree on whether or not we won WWII, but they don't agree on the degree to which that war was a win. This will certainly be a future blog post, but the point for now is that the word win has lost almost all meaning and this article expresses why this is true.

If winning is the accomplishment of objectives that you determine then this can and often does lead to a sort of circular logic. We set objectives that we could achieve, we achieved them, and therefore we won. By such logic, we won in Vietnam because we won every battle (I recognize that this is disputed) and one could go on to define every military engagement as a win by such a perspective. I will save for the blog post my definition of winning, but here I want to express that it must have an objective meaning or it will become meaningless, like so many other words in the present environment and that would be a tragedy.

- Milburn, Andrew, "Opinion: Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin must resign," *Task & Purpose* [13 October 2021]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/opinion/defense-secretary-lloyd-austin-must-resign/">https://taskandpurpose.com/opinion/defense-secretary-lloyd-austin-must-resign/</a> [accessed 13 October 2021].
  - I don't know how true this is but based on personal experience with former General Austin I am inclined to believe it and I love the criticism.
- Moore, Jack, "U.S. Military in Afghanistan Says Sorry For Offensive Leaflets With Dog Insult To Muslims," Newsweek [6 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.newsweek.com/us-military-afghanistan-says-sorry-offensive-leaflets-dog-insult-muslims-659982">http://www.newsweek.com/us-military-afghanistan-says-sorry-offensive-leaflets-dog-insult-muslims-659982</a> [accessed 11 September 2017].

- Myers, Meghann, "Green Berets who liberated Afghanistan from the Taliban tell their stories in new documentary," *Army Times* [22 March 2017]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/articles/green-berets-who-liberated-afghanistan-from-the-taliban-tell-their-stories-in-new-documentary">https://www.armytimes.com/articles/green-berets-who-liberated-afghanistan-from-the-taliban-tell-their-stories-in-new-documentary</a> [accessed 24 March 2017].
- Myers, Meghann, "Trump says he has a plan to win the Afghanistan war in 10 days," *Military Times* [22 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/07/22/trump-says-he-has-a-plan-to-win-the-afghanistan-war-in-10-days/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/07/22/trump-says-he-has-a-plan-to-win-the-afghanistan-war-in-10-days/</a> [accessed 23 July 2019].
- Myers, Meghann and Robert Burns, "'It was a mistake.' CENTCOM admits Aug. 29 drone strike killed civilians, not ISIS," *Military Times* [17 September 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/breaking-news/2021/09/17/pentagon-reverses-itself-calls-deadly-kabul-strike-an-error/">https://www.militarytimes.com/breaking-news/2021/09/17/pentagon-reverses-itself-calls-deadly-kabul-strike-an-error/</a> [accessed 22 September 2021].
- Myers, Meghann, Robert Burns, Matthew Lee, and Ellen Knickmeyer, "About 8,000 US troops are deploying to secure evacuations from Kabul," *Military Times* [12 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2021/08/12/about-8000-us-troops-are-deploying-to-secure-evacuations-from-kabul/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2021/08/12/about-8000-us-troops-are-deploying-to-secure-evacuations-from-kabul/</a> [accessed 23 August 2021].
- Nabi, Zuhal, "The Effective Factors of Economic Underdevelopment in Afghanistan," *Afghanistan Center at Kabul University* [20 October 2019]. <a href="https://acku.edu.af/2019/10/20/the-effective-factors-of-economic-underdevelopment-in-afghanistan/">https://acku.edu.af/2019/10/20/the-effective-factors-of-economic-underdevelopment-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 5 March 2022].
- Nordland, Rod and Jawad Sukhanyar, "U.S.-Backed Effort to Fight Afghan Corruption Is a Near-Total Failure, Audit Finds," *The New York Times* [27 September 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/28/world/asia/afghanistan-corruption-financial-disclosure.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/28/world/asia/afghanistan-corruption-financial-disclosure.html</a> [accessed 28 September 2016].
- Nordland, Rod and David Zucchino, "As U.S. Nears a Pullout Deal, Afghan Army Is on the Defensive," *The New York Times* [12 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/12/world/asia/afghanistan-army-taliban.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/12/world/asia/afghanistan-army-taliban.html</a> [accessed 13 August 2019].
- ★ Nossiter, Adam, "The Taliban Think They Have Already Won, Peace Deal or Not," The New York Times [30 March 2021]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/30/world/asia/taliban-victory-afghanistan.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/30/world/asia/taliban-victory-afghanistan.html</a> [accessed 31 March 2021].
  - Discouraging, but not unexpected. The number one question all Americans involved with national security should be asking themselves is why after nearly 20 years of fighting is the Taliban close to being the dominant power in Afghanistan. How is this possible?
  - As a supporting work to answer this question, I recommend Carter Malkasian's book, War Comes to Garmser. This book does the best job of explaining why the Taliban were effective in governing Afghanistan and why the governments that have ruled the country since 2002 have not been effective. I recommend it to my students every year as a must-read book.
  - The US military never understood Afghanistan and I would argue that we never tried to at an institutional level. One of the things that makes teaching at the Command and General Staff College useful is that it represents where the army's institutional mind is focused. At no time, over the last 20 years, has there been a mandatory block of instruction in this institution on Afghanistan: its history, people, culture, etc. If we are going to invade a country, I would recommend that we ought to focus our institutional mind on understanding that country.
  - O'Connor, Tom, "U.S. Military Base Attacked By Suicide Bombing in Afghanistan After Soldiers Insult Muslims With Leaflets," *Newsweek* [6 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.newsweek.com/us-military-base-attack-suicide-bomb-afghanistan-offend-muslims-660496">http://www.newsweek.com/us-military-base-attack-suicide-bomb-afghanistan-offend-muslims-660496</a> [accessed 11 September 2017].
  - O'Donnell, Lynne, "Taliban Map Out Future Vision for Afghanistan," *Foreign Policy* [8 June 2021]. https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/06/08/taliban-future-afghanistan-war-zabiullah-mujahid-interview/

[accessed 9 June 2021].

O'Donnell, Lynne, "The Taliban Are Winning the War of Words in Afghanistan," Foreign Policy [21 June 2021]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/06/21/taliban-afghanistan-war-propaganda/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/06/21/taliban-afghanistan-war-propaganda/</a> [accessed 26 June 2021].

The title is inaccurate, but the article contains a critical quote.

"If we were looking at a breakdown of the war, it is 75 percent narrative and 25 percent actual conflict," a senior Afghan security official said, speaking on condition of anonymity. "Their narrative is 'we have defeated the superpower,' and that is attractive to some young people."

- O'Donnell, Lynne, "What a Taliban Government Will Look Like," *Foreign Policy* [23 August 2021]. https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/08/23/taliban-government-afghanistan/ [accessed 25 August 2021].
- ★ Osman, Borhan, "A Negotiated End to the Afghan Conflict: The Taliban's Perspective," United States Institute of Peace [18 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.usip.org/publications/2018/06/negotiated-end-afghan-conflict">https://www.usip.org/publications/2018/06/negotiated-end-afghan-conflict</a> [accessed 12 July 2018].
  - Information on the thinking of average foot soldiers in the Taliban.
- Osman, Borhan and Anand Gopal, "Taliban Views on a Future State," New York University Center on International Cooperation [July 2016].
  <a href="https://cic.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/taliban\_future\_state\_final.pdf">https://cic.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/taliban\_future\_state\_final.pdf</a> [accessed 12 July 2018].
  Information on the thinking of Taliban senior leaders.
  - Panda, Ankit, "4 Questions After the Drone Strike That Killed Mullah Mansour," *The Diplomat* [23 May 2016]. <a href="http://thediplomat.com/2016/05/4-questions-after-the-drone-strike-that-killed-mullah-mansour/">http://thediplomat.com/2016/05/4-questions-after-the-drone-strike-that-killed-mullah-mansour/</a> [accessed 23 May 2016].
  - Parwani, Soraya, "Is Water Scarcity a Bigger Threat Than the Taliban in Afghanistan?" *The Diplomat* [10 October 2018]. <a href="https://thediplomat.com/2018/10/is-water-scarcity-a-bigger-threat-than-the-taliban-in-afghanistan/">https://thediplomat.com/2018/10/is-water-scarcity-a-bigger-threat-than-the-taliban-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 13 October 2018].
  - Penley, Taylor, "US Special Forces Vets Go Rogue in Middle of Night, Rescue Afghan Allies That Biden Won't," *The Western Journal* [27 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.westernjournal.com/us-special-forces-vets-go-rogue-middle-night-rescue-afghan-allies-biden-wont/">https://www.westernjournal.com/us-special-forces-vets-go-rogue-middle-night-rescue-afghan-allies-biden-wont/</a> [accessed 4 September 2021].

    One story of the Pineapple Express crew in rescuing people in Afghanistan.
  - Peterson, Nolan, "Afghanistan: What We Left Behind," *Coffee or Die* [19 December 2021]. <a href="https://coffeeordie.com/afghanistan-what-we-left-behind/">https://coffeeordie.com/afghanistan-what-we-left-behind/</a> [accessed 19 December 2021].

This is a wonderfully poetic discussion of the consequences of Afghanistan on those who did the fighting. The information isn't as valuable as are the stories of what happened to individuals and how those same individuals and others are coping.

Warning, it is rather long, but i believe it is worth the read.

I am not an Afghanistan veteran; my time was all elsewhere in the Middle East. I can only imagine that this might be useful in helping those who are veterans approach closure in their personal journey. Thank you Nolan Peterson for writing this.

- Peterson, Scott, "Afghanistan: How the Taliban won over northern ethnic minorities," *Christian Science Monitor* [20 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2021/0820/Afghanistan-How-the-Taliban-won-over-northern-ethnic-minorities">https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2021/0820/Afghanistan-How-the-Taliban-won-over-northern-ethnic-minorities</a> [accessed 5 September 2021].
- Prince, Erik, "Erik Prince: Contractors, Not Troops, Will Save Afghanistan," *The New York Times* [30 August 2017]. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/30/opinion/erik-prince-contractors-afghanistan.html [accessed 31 August 2017].
- ★ Prince, Erik, "The Push to Privatize the Afghan War," The Cipher Brief [21 August 2018].

https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/private-sector/the-push-to-privatize-the-afghan-war [accessed 23 August 2018].

I am not a fan of privatizing war for ethical reasons, however, I believe that Mr. Prince's arguments about the inflexible nature of government militaries and the poor training for those who conduct advise and assist missions are ones to ponder.

- Putz, Catherine, "UN Report: Taliban Maintains Ties to Al-Qaeda," *The Diplomat* [2 June 2020]. <a href="https://thediplomat.com/2020/06/un-report-taliban-maintains-ties-to-al-qaida/">https://thediplomat.com/2020/06/un-report-taliban-maintains-ties-to-al-qaida/</a> [accessed 3 June 2020].
- Qazi, Shereena, "Mullah Omar and the art of hiding in plain sight," *Al Jazeera* [21 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/mullah-omar-art-hiding-plain-sight-qa-190319095313414.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/mullah-omar-art-hiding-plain-sight-qa-190319095313414.html</a> [accessed 22 March 2019].
- Qazizai, Fazelminallah, "The Drone Unit that Helped the Taliban Win the War," Newlines Mag [15 September 2021]. <a href="https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/the-drone-unit-that-helped-the-taliban-win-the-war/">https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/the-drone-unit-that-helped-the-taliban-win-the-war/</a> [accessed 16 September 2021].

An interesting twist on how the Taliban won. This challenges the notion of the Taliban as stone age warriors which was always inaccurate. Note that ISIS was probably the most adept social media opponent that the U.S. has yet fought, and they laid claim to seventh century interpretations of sharia. It shouldn't surprise anyone that the Taliban will use and have used the most advanced equipment that they can access.

The Taliban, al-Qaeda, and ISIS are not the Amish. They have no problems with modern technology in ANY form. It should not surprise any reader of this that now and in the future any group that seeks to return to earlier interpretations of an ideology will not be limited to the technology of that same earlier period. That will hold true whether those ideologies are secular communism or religious Islamism.

Also, do not accept an argument that this was a one trick pony for success. The Taliban didn't win because they used a drone or many drones any more than ISIS was successful because they used Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. The drone was one tool in a larger toolbox. What is notable is that this is the first article of which I am aware to explain the use of this tool.

- Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, "Bomb Kills At Least 11 In Western Afghanistan," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* [31 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/roadside-bomb-kills-at-least-11-in-western-afghanistan/29400553.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/roadside-bomb-kills-at-least-11-in-western-afghanistan/29400553.html</a> [accessed 2 August 2018].
- Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, "U.S. General: Current Conditions 'Don't Merit' Troop Withdrawal From Afghanistan," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* [7 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/u-s-general-current-conditions-don-t-merit-troop-withdrawal-from-afghanistan/29809449.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/u-s-general-current-conditions-don-t-merit-troop-withdrawal-from-afghanistan/29809449.html</a> [accessed 9 March 2019].
- Rafi Sheikh, Salman, "Taliban ripping apart on regional and ethnic lines," *Asia Times* [6 September 2021]. <a href="https://asiatimes.com/2021/09/taliban-ripping-apart-on-regional-and-ethnic-lines/">https://asiatimes.com/2021/09/taliban-ripping-apart-on-regional-and-ethnic-lines/</a> [accessed 22 September 2021].
- ★ Raghavan, Sudarsan, "'Everyone here hated the Americans': Rural Afghans live with the Taliban and a painful U.S. legacy," *The Washington Post* [5 October 2021]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\_pacific/afghanistan-village-us-taliban/2021/10/04/e531303c-214a-11ec-a8d9-0827a2a4b915\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\_pacific/afghanistan-village-us-taliban/2021/10/04/e531303c-214a-11ec-a8d9-0827a2a4b915\_story.html</a> [accessed 6 October 2021].

This is a compelling refutation of the concept that the U.S. was universally loved by the average Afghan. I have written and spoken a great deal about narrative war and in that type of conflict the goal of an opposing actor is to increase the dissonance between the American story and the societal narrative. This article provides excellent support for the notion that the U.S. did a lot to generate its own dissonance and that the Taliban needed to only act upon that dissonance and then interpose its story between the American story and the Afghan people's narrative. This is what the Taliban did. Afghanistan is as powerful an example of successful

- narrative war as there has yet been. I thought that ISIS was the best example, but I was wrong. It is important to acknowledge that these are things said after the Taliban are in control. Not everything should be taken as 100% honest and valid. That said, there is certainly truth in what is being said. How much, is the question.
- Rezaee, Storay Karimi Jalil, "Afghanistan highway blast kills at least 35 on bus, wounds 27," *Reuters* [31 July 2019]. <a href="https://af.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idAFKCN1UQ0JD">https://af.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idAFKCN1UQ0JD</a> [accessed 1 August 2019].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "How the US dropped more munitions in Afghanistan this year than it has since the height of the war," *Military Times* [26 April 2018].

  <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/26/how-the-us-dropped-more-munitions-in-afghanistan-this-year-than-it-has-since-the-height-of-the-war/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/04/26/how-the-us-dropped-more-munitions-in-afghanistan-this-year-than-it-has-since-the-height-of-the-war/</a> [accessed 27 April 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "As the Afghan air force's strike assets grow, so too do civilian casualties," *Air Force Times* [6 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/08/06/as-the-afghan-air-forces-strike-assets-grow-so-too-do-civilian-casualties/">https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/08/06/as-the-afghan-air-forces-strike-assets-grow-so-too-do-civilian-casualties/</a> [accessed 7 August 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "SIGAR: Drug lab bombing was a dead end, and most metrics for success or failure in Afghanistan are 'classified or nonexistent'," *Military Times* [24 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/04/24/sigar-drug-lab-bombing-was-a-dead-end-and-most-metrics-for-success-or-failure-in-afghanistan-are-classified-or-nonexistent/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/04/24/sigar-drug-lab-bombing-was-a-dead-end-and-most-metrics-for-success-or-failure-in-afghanistan-are-classified-or-nonexistent/"
  [accessed 1 May 2019].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "Ghazni City update: Here's what Green Berets, 1st SFAB and Apaches are doing to help," *Military Times* [6 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/08/14/ghazni-city-update-heres-what-green-berets-1st-sfab-and-apaches-are-doing-to-help/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-air-force/2018/08/14/ghazni-city-update-heres-what-green-berets-1st-sfab-and-apaches-are-doing-to-help/</a> [accessed 15 August 2018].
- Rempfer, Kyle, "The Taliban's leader lived in walking distance of this US forward operating base, new book alleges," *Military Times* [11 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/03/11/the-talibans-leader-lived-in-walking-distance-of-this-us-forward-operating-base/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/03/11/the-talibans-leader-lived-in-walking-distance-of-this-us-forward-operating-base/</a> [accessed 12 March 2019].
  - Great example of the fact that the US does not know what it is doing, where it should be looking, or how it needs to win.
  - Retter, Emily, "Ex-Para's horror as Taliban slaughter 7,000 people in Afghanistan's Helmand province," *Mirror* [7 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/ex-paras-horror-taliban-slaughter-7711216">http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/ex-paras-horror-taliban-slaughter-7711216</a> [accessed 8 April 2016].
  - Reuters, "In Parched Afghanistan, Drought Sharpens Water Dispute with Iran," *Voice of America News* [17 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/afghan-iran-water/4485805.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/afghan-iran-water/4485805.html</a> [accessed 17 July 2018].
  - Reuters, "Taliban claim bomb attack on Afghan police; 14 killed, 145 hurt," *Reuters* [7 August 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-blast/taliban-claim-bomb-attack-on-police-in-afghanistan-nearly-100-wounded-idUSKCN1UXODF">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-blast/taliban-claim-bomb-attack-on-police-in-afghanistan-nearly-100-wounded-idUSKCN1UXODF</a> [accessed 7 August 2019].
  - Reuters, "27 local peace activists abducted in western Afghanistan," *Reuters* [25 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanitan-kidnapping/27-local-peace-activists-abducted-in-western-afghanistan-idUSKBN1YT0FB">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanitan-kidnapping/27-local-peace-activists-abducted-in-western-afghanistan-idUSKBN1YT0FB</a> [accessed 27 December 2019].
  - Roggio, Bill, "Jihad during Ramadan is 'obligatory,' Taliban spokesman says," *Long War Journal* [30 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/jihad-during-ramadan-is-obligatory-taliban-spokesman-says.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/jihad-during-ramadan-is-obligatory-taliban-spokesman-says.php</a> [accessed 31 May 2017].
  - Roggio, Bill, "Taliban overruns Afghan district, kills governor," *Long War Journal* [12 April 2018]. https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/04/taliban-overruns-afghan-district-kills-

- governor.php [accessed 13 April 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Taliban forces hundreds of schools in Kunduz to close," *Long War Journal* [19 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/04/taliban-forces-hundreds-of-schools-in-kunduz-to-close.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/04/taliban-forces-hundreds-of-schools-in-kunduz-to-close.php</a> [accessed 20 April 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Mattis claims Taliban 'cannot win at the ballot box'," *Long War Journal* [1 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/mattis-claims-taliban-cannot-win-at-the-ballot-box.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/mattis-claims-taliban-cannot-win-at-the-ballot-box.php</a> [accessed 2 May 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Taliban claims it seizes 2 Afghan districts," Long War Journal [16 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/taliban-claims-it-seizes-2-afghan-districts.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/taliban-claims-it-seizes-2-afghan-districts.php</a> [accessed 17 May 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "US military kills 'dual-hatted' AQIS leader in eastern Afghanistan," *Long War Journal* [16 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/us-military-kills-dual-hatted-aqis-leader-in-eastern-afghanistan.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/us-military-kills-dual-hatted-aqis-leader-in-eastern-afghanistan.php</a> [accessed 17 May 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Afghan military identifies 7 provincial capitals 'under pressure'," Long War Journal [17 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/afghan-military-identifies-7-provincial-capitals-under-pressure.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/afghan-military-identifies-7-provincial-capitals-under-pressure.php</a> [accessed 18 May 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Taliban overruns second district in Ghazni," *Long War Journal* [20 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/taliban-overruns-second-district-in-ghazni.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/taliban-overruns-second-district-in-ghazni.php</a> [accessed 21 May 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Taliban captures more than 70 Afghan police in attack near the capital," *Long War Journal* [24 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/06/taliban-captures-more-than-70-afghan-police-in-attack-near-the-capital.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/06/taliban-captures-more-than-70-afghan-police-in-attack-near-the-capital.php</a> [accessed 25 June 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Taliban: We're 'another name of the Afghan nation'," *Long War Journal* [26 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/06/taliban-were-another-name-of-the-afghan-nation.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/06/taliban-were-another-name-of-the-afghan-nation.php</a> [accessed 29 June 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Analysis: Pentagon continues to underestimate al Qaeda, downplay ties to Taliban," *Long War Journal* [5 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/07/analysis-pentagon-continues-to-underestimate-al-qaeda-downplay-ties-to-taliban.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/07/analysis-pentagon-continues-to-underestimate-al-qaeda-downplay-ties-to-taliban.php</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].
  - Bill Roggio reminds us that we do not really understand the al-Qaeda-Taliban arrangement and cooperation. If, after seventeen years of fighting, we do not understand this, what makes us think that we understand the attachment and attraction for ISIS and other groups?
  - This article is in response to the June 2018 DoD report titled Enhancing Security and Stability in Afghanistan.
- Roggio, Bill, "Taliban overruns 2 districts in eastern Afghanistan," *Long War Journal* [24 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/07/taliban-overruns-2-districts-in-eastern-afghanistan.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/07/taliban-overruns-2-districts-in-eastern-afghanistan.php</a> [accessed 25 July 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Taliban says Islamic State has been 'completely defeated' in Jawzjan," *Long War Journal* [1 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/taliban-says-islamic-state-is-completely-defeated-in-jawzjan.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/taliban-says-islamic-state-is-completely-defeated-in-jawzjan.php</a> [accessed 2 August 2018].
- Roggio, Bill, "Afghan forces target al Qaeda commanders in Helmand and Nangarhar," *Long War Journal* [7 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/afghan-forces-target-al-qaeda-commanders-in-helmand-and-nangarhar.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/afghan-forces-target-al-qaeda-commanders-in-helmand-and-nangarhar.php</a> [accessed 11 August 2018].
  - Great comments on this report by one of the true subject matter experts.
- Roggio, Bill, "Taliban routs Afghan Commandos while overrunning remote district in Ghazni," *Long War Journal* [12 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/taliban-routs-afghan-commandos-while-overrunning-remote-district-in-ghazni.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/taliban-routs-afghan-commandos-while-overrunning-remote-district-in-ghazni.php</a> [accessed 13 August 2018].

- ★ Roggio, Bill, "Analysis: Gen. Nicholson says US strategy in Afghanistan 'is working,' despite the facts," Long War Journal [23 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/analysis-gen-nicholson-says-us-strategy-in-afghanistan-is-working-despite-the-facts.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/analysis-gen-nicholson-says-us-strategy-in-afghanistan-is-working-despite-the-facts.php</a> [accessed 24 August 2018].
  - Bill Roggio is one of the best-informed reporters and commentators on the Global War on Terrorism. This piece is another example of his command of the facts. He challenges statements made by the commander of Operation Resolute Support's briefing of 22 August 2018. It is unclear whether or not the military is providing an open and honest assessment or displaying a positive can-do attitude for public consumption.
  - Roggio, Bill, "Scores of Taliban recruits train at Abu Ubaidah bin Jarrah Training Camp," *Long War Journal* [11 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/10/scores-of-taliban-recruits-train-at-abu-ubaidah-bin-jarrah-training-camp.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/10/scores-of-taliban-recruits-train-at-abu-ubaidah-bin-jarrah-training-camp.php</a> [accessed 13 October 2018].
  - Roggio, Bill, "General Raziq's assassin trained at a Taliban camp," *Long War Journal* [21 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/10/general-raziqs-assassin-trained-at-a-taliban-camp.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/10/general-raziqs-assassin-trained-at-a-taliban-camp.php</a> [accessed 22 October 2018].
  - Roggio, Bill, "US military continues to spin a Taliban victory against Islamic State as its own," *Long War Journal* [2 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/us-military-continues-to-spin-a-taliban-victory-against-islamic-state-as-its-own.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/us-military-continues-to-spin-a-taliban-victory-against-islamic-state-as-its-own.php</a> [accessed 5 November 2018].
  - Roggio, Bill, "At Moscow conference, Taliban refers to itself as the "Islamic Emirate" 61 times," *Long War Journal* [9 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/at-moscow-conference-taliban-refers-to-itself-as-the-islamic-emirate-61-times.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/at-moscow-conference-taliban-refers-to-itself-as-the-islamic-emirate-61-times.php</a> [accessed 12 November 2018].
  - Roggio, Bill, "Taliban calls Afghan government "impotent," says negotiating with it is "a waste of time"," Long War Journal [28 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/taliban-calls-afghan-government-impotent-says-negotiating-with-it-is-a-waste-of-time.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/11/taliban-calls-afghan-government-impotent-says-negotiating-with-it-is-a-waste-of-time.php</a> [accessed 29 November 2018].
  - Roggio, Bill, "Taliban promotes training camp for 'Commando Mujahidin'," *Long War Journal* [22 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/01/taliban-promotes-training-camp-for-commando-mujahidin.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/01/taliban-promotes-training-camp-for-commando-mujahidin.php</a> [accessed 26 January 2019].
  - Roggio, Bill, "Taliban announces 'Al-Fath Jihadi Operations' for 2019," *Long War Journal* [12 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/taliban-announces-al-fath-jihadi-operations-for-2019.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/04/taliban-announces-al-fath-jihadi-operations-for-2019.php</a> [accessed 15 April 2019].
  - Roggio, Bill, "Taliban squeezes Afghan government by seizing key border towns," *Long War Journal* [9 July 2021]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2021/07/taliban-squeezes-afghan-government-by-seizing-key-border-towns.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2021/07/taliban-squeezes-afghan-government-by-seizing-key-border-towns.php</a> [accessed 19 July 2021].
    - This is the post-Biden pullout statistics.
  - Roggio, Bill and Alexandra Gutowski, "LWJ Map Assessment: Taliban controls or contests 45% of Afghan districts," *Long War Journal* [26 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/lwj-map-assessment-taliban-controls-or-contests-45-of-afghan-districts.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/lwj-map-assessment-taliban-controls-or-contests-45-of-afghan-districts.php</a> [accessed 27 September 2017].
  - Roggio, Bill and Alexandra Gutowski, "Afghan mission releases district-level assessments," *Long War Journal* [13 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/04/afghan-district-assessments.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/04/afghan-district-assessments.php</a> [accessed 17 April 2018].
  - Rogin, Josh, "Pakistan wants to be treated like an ally, not a scapegoat," *The Washington Post* [25 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/08/25/pakistan-wants-be-treated-like-an-ally-not-scapegoat/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/08/25/pakistan-wants-be-treated-like-an-ally-not-scapegoat/</a> [accessed 25 August 2021].
- ★ Rosenberg, Matthew and Joseph Goldstein, "U.S. Role in Afghanistan Turns to Combat Again, With a

- Tragic Error," *New York Times* [8 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/09/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-kunduz-doctors-without-borders-airstrike.html?r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/09/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-kunduz-doctors-without-borders-airstrike.html?r=0</a> [accessed 9 May 2016].
- ★ Rubin, Barnett, "The Once and Future Defeat in Afghanistan," War on the Rocks [1 November 2021]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/the-once-and-future-defeat-in-afghanistan/">https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/the-once-and-future-defeat-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 4 November 2021].

I recommend the article even if I don't like its tone very much. My dislike is derived in part, because the author was a key government person who doesn't accept responsibility for any of the problems with U.S. policy and actions in Afghanistan. That said, the article provides some depressing insight into the decisions made during the U.S. involvement. Most of this insight is also provided in other articles and books, but because the author has firsthand knowledge of conversations, he offers some significant corroboration to the assertions made in the other articles.

- Rubin, Michael, "Don't blame Afghanistan for blowing whistle on Zalmay Khalilzad," *Washington Examiner* [15 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/dont-blame-afghanistan-for-blowing-whistle-on-zalmay-khalilzad">https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/dont-blame-afghanistan-for-blowing-whistle-on-zalmay-khalilzad</a> [accessed 18 March 2019].
- Ryan, Missy, "In Afghanistan, U.S. military sprints to prove it can reverse insurgent tide," *The Washington Post* [30 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-afghanistan-us-military-sprints-to-prove-it-can-reverse-insurgent-tide/2018/03/30/aebb5718-2f0d-11e8-8688-e053ba58f1e4">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-afghanistan-us-military-sprints-to-prove-it-can-reverse-insurgent-tide/2018/03/30/aebb5718-2f0d-11e8-8688-e053ba58f1e4</a> story.html [accessed 2 April 2018].
- Ryan, Missy, "For most of Afghanistan war, U.S. 'never really fought to win,' Trump declares," *The Washington Post* [18 March 2020]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/for-most-of-afghanistan-war-america-never-really-fought-to-win-trump-declares/2020/05/18/9ab85afa-992c-11ea-b60c-3be060a4f8e1\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/for-most-of-afghanistan-war-america-never-really-fought-to-win-trump-declares/2020/05/18/9ab85afa-992c-11ea-b60c-3be060a4f8e1\_story.html</a> [accessed 20 May 2020].

It is unfortunate how politicized everything is. The idea that the US military has not been fighting to win for some time in Afghanistan shouldn't be a political statement. It is true.

It is also unfortunately necessary for me to say that this assertion is not intended to denigrate the personal and familial sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of military and contractor personnel.

What does it take to fight to win? It means that the organization is willing to do what it takes to win. That may mean changing how it rotates units or how it partners or how it does any of the hundreds or thousands of tasks essential to modern conflict. For example, the US military never seriously contemplated leaving units in theater until winning was accomplished.

Think about how much adaptation would have happened if that was the decision. Junior leaders would have found a way. That is part of what it means to fight to win.

Conflict is not a rotational business. It is a business of adaptation. That adaptation comes from friction between opposing parties.

★ Sadat, Sami, "I Commanded Afghan Troops This Year. We Were Betrayed." *The New York Times* [25 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/25/opinion/afghanistan-taliban-army.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/25/opinion/afghanistan-taliban-army.html</a> [accessed 4 September 2021].

Simply stated, this is the best explanation of what happened to the Afghan National Army. It is a little late to the discussion and many of you may have already seen or read it. If you have, read it again. This is profound.

What many don't seem to understand is the meaning of a tipping point with respect to human will or commitment. Human beings will do and endure incredible things. I tell my students that there is no environment that a human cannot endure. We regularly underestimate human resilience. However, one must understand that human resilience is directly connected to necessity. If it isn't a requirement then humans won't endure as much as we expect. Under an environment of suffering by choice it becomes an exercise in understanding what will break human resolve.

I have previously and will again recommend Jim Willbanks' book, Abandoning Vietnam, as an analog for what

- we have witnessed over the last twelve to eighteen months in Afghanistan. The contention made by Willbanks was that the U.S. failed South Vietnam by negotiating a deal that involved the withdrawal of U.S. forces without a similar withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces from South Vietnam. Secondly, the U.S. made the mistake of making the South Vietnamese military look like the U.S. military which meant that it needed to be logistically supported like the U.S. military which South Vietnam was not independently capable of doing. Both of these problems were also present in Afghanistan. An additional point that comes out in this opinion piece is the emphasis on the importance of U.S. contractors for the success of the Afghan National Army. There were 5 to 7 times as many U.S. contractors in Afghanistan as there were combat forces at the end and those contractors were 5 to 7 times more important for the Afghan National Army to fight independent of U.S. combat power, but without U.S. combat power those contractors could not and would not remain.
- Salama, Vivian, "Internal State Department Cable Warned of Kabul Collapse," *The Wall Street Journal* [19 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.wsj.com/articles/confidential-state-department-cable-in-july-warned-of-afghanistans-collapse-11629406993">https://www.wsj.com/articles/confidential-state-department-cable-in-july-warned-of-afghanistans-collapse-11629406993</a> [accessed 22 September 2021].
- Schmitt, Eric, "Hunting Taliban and Islamic State Fighters, From 20,000 Feet," *The New York Times* [11 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/11/world/asia/taliban-isis-afghanistan-drugs-b52s.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/11/world/asia/taliban-isis-afghanistan-drugs-b52s.html</a> [accessed 12 December 2017].
- Schnell, Mychael, "Americans evenly divided on whether Afghanistan War was a mistake: Gallup," *The Hill* [26 July 2021]. <a href="https://thehill.com/policy/defense/564890-americans-evenly-divided-on-whether-afghanistan-war-was-a-mistake-gallup">https://thehill.com/policy/defense/564890-americans-evenly-divided-on-whether-afghanistan-war-was-a-mistake-gallup</a> [accessed 23 August 2021]. Simple poll data as a comparison from 2021 and 2014.
- Schogol, Jeff, "The Pentagon Is Shifting US Combat Power From Iraq to Afghanistan Again," *Task and Purpose* [5 February 2018]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/us-combat-power-iraq-afghanistan/">https://taskandpurpose.com/us-combat-power-iraq-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 8 February 2018].
- Schogol, Jeff, "The predictable collapse of the Afghan Air Force is happening in real time," *Task and Purpose* [28 July 2021]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/analysis/afghan-air-force-collapse/">https://taskandpurpose.com/analysis/afghan-air-force-collapse/</a> [accessed 30 July 2021].
- Schogol, Jeff, "Everything America did wrong in Afghanistan, according to the top US government watchdog," *Task and Purpose* [29 July 2021]. <a href="https://taskandpurpose.com/news/afghanistan-reconstruction-failures-special-inspector-general/">https://taskandpurpose.com/news/afghanistan-reconstruction-failures-special-inspector-general/</a> [accessed 30 July 2021].
- Sedensky, Matt, "In Taliban's 7-day march to power, a stunning string of wins," *Military Times* [18 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/afghanistan/2021/08/18/in-talibans-7-day-march-to-power-a-stunning-string-of-wins/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/afghanistan/2021/08/18/in-talibans-7-day-march-to-power-a-stunning-string-of-wins/</a> [accessed 18 August 2021].
- ★ Sediqi, Abdul Qadir and Rupam Jain, "Taliban fighters double as reporters to wage Afghan digital war,"

  \*\*Reuters\*\* [10 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/al-qaeda-video-emphasizes-unity-with-talibans-islamic-emirate.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/al-qaeda-video-emphasizes-unity-with-talibans-islamic-emirate.php</a> [accessed 13 May 2019].
  - This is an interesting explanation of the Taliban media effort.
  - Seerat, Rustam Ali, "Sectarian War Is Looming Over Afghanistan," *The Diplomat* [9 August 2017]. <a href="http://thediplomat.com/2017/08/sectarian-war-is-looming-over-afghanistan/">http://thediplomat.com/2017/08/sectarian-war-is-looming-over-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 11 August 2017].
  - Seldin, Jeff, "US General: IS Losing Its Grip in Afghanistan," *Voice of America* [14 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.voanews.com/content/islamic-state-losing-grip-afghanistan-us-general-says/3286077.html">http://www.voanews.com/content/islamic-state-losing-grip-afghanistan-us-general-says/3286077.html</a> [accessed 15 April 2016].
  - Seligman, Lara, "One Year On, Little to Show for Trump's Afghanistan Strategy," *Foreign Policy* [23 August 2018]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/23/one-year-on-little-to-show-for-trumps-afghanistan-strategy/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/23/one-year-on-little-to-show-for-trumps-afghanistan-strategy/</a> [accessed 24 August 2018].

★ Shah, Aqil, "How Will the Taliban Deal With Other Islamic Extremist Groups?" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace [31 August 2021]. <a href="https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/08/31/how-will-taliban-deal-with-other-islamic-extremist-groups-pub-85239">https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/08/31/how-will-taliban-deal-with-other-islamic-extremist-groups-pub-85239</a> [accessed 4 September 2021].

This is the best summary of the "extremist" players in Afghanistan so far.

I would refer everyone to the battle for Stalingrad in WWII as a possible useful comparison. When reserves showed up, the Soviets opted to attack the surrounding German units rather than the Germans in Stalingrad. The idea being to separate the German Sixth Army from any possible relief.

With extremist groups, they likewise attack those most closely sharing their ideology to create separation between themselves and their ultimate opponents. In this case, the Taliban want to present the West with the option of either supporting it or supporting ISIS knowing that the West will choose the Taliban given those options.

ISIS, on the other hand, wants to attack and discredit anyone else's bone fides as purely Islam and by so doing offer fighters and the population a choice between Islam and corruption.

This brief article lays out well the available options over which this ideological competition exists. Thank you Paul Cobaugh for sharing it.

- Shaheed, Anisa, "IEC Sets October 20 As Election Date," *TOLO News* [1 April 2018]. https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/iec-sets-october-20-election-date [accessed 2 April 2018].
- Shane, Leo III, "Despite 17 years of war, next US commander in Afghanistan sees progress," *Military Times* [19 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2018/06/19/despite-17-years-of-war-next-us-commander-in-afghanistan-sees-progress/faccessed">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2018/06/19/despite-17-years-of-war-next-us-commander-in-afghanistan-sees-progress/faccessed</a> 20 June 2018].
- Shane, Leo III, "Veterans, military families want out of Afghanistan: poll," *Military Times* [24 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/04/24/veterans-military-families-want-out-of-afghanistan-poll/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/04/24/veterans-military-families-want-out-of-afghanistan-poll/</a> [accessed 1 May 2019].
- Sharfat, Sharifullah and Abubakr Siddique, "In Remote Afghan Corner, Besieged Afghan Troops Cry For Help," *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty* [6 August 2019]. <a href="https://gandhara.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-remote-afghan-corner-besieged-afghan-troops-cry-for-help/30095461.html">https://gandhara.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-remote-afghan-corner-besieged-afghan-troops-cry-for-help/30095461.html</a> [accessed 7 August 2019].
- Simkins, J.D. "'Combat Obscura' is a brutally honest look at the blurred morality of the war in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [15 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/off-duty/military-culture/2019/03/15/combat-obscura-is-a-brutally-honest-look-at-the-blurred-morality-of-the-war-in-afghanistan/">https://www.militarytimes.com/off-duty/military-culture/2019/03/15/combat-obscura-is-a-brutally-honest-look-at-the-blurred-morality-of-the-war-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 18 March 2019].
- Sirat, Siyar, "Afghanistan's War Is Unrestricted: Ghani," TOLO News [22 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/afghanistan's-war-unrestricted-ghani">https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/afghanistan's-war-unrestricted-ghani</a> [accessed 23 September 2018].
- Sisk, Richard, "US Troops Want to Keep Deploying to Afghanistan, Enlisted Leaders Say," *Military.com* [29 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.military.com/daily-news/2019/07/29/us-troops-want-keep-deploying-afghanistan-enlisted-leaders-say.html">https://www.military.com/daily-news/2019/07/29/us-troops-want-keep-deploying-afghanistan-enlisted-leaders-say.html</a> [accessed 30 July 2019].
- Sjursen, Danny, "#Reflections on War: The Day bin Laden Died," *The Strategy Bridge* [22 March 2017]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/3/22/reflections-on-war-the-day-bin-laden-died?utm\_source=The+Bridge&utm\_campaign=ee2e1ed165-RSS\_EMAIL\_CAMPAIGN&utm\_medium=email&utm\_term=0\_bcf191ca0f-ee2e1ed165-302365677 [accessed 31 March 2017].
- Skovlund, Marty Jr. "The Valley Boys: How a Lone Special Forces Team is Fighting ISIS in Remote Mountains of Afghanistan," *Black Rifle Coffee Company* [July 2018].

- https://www.blackriflecoffee.com/blogs/coffee-or-die-magazine/the-valley-boys-the-special-forces-team-holding-the-line-against-isis-k [accessed 3 July 2018].
- Smith, Jeff M. "The Haqqani Network: The New Kingmakers in Kabul," War on the Rocks [12 November 2021]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/the-haqqani-network-afghanistans-new-power-players/">https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/the-haqqani-network-afghanistans-new-power-players/</a> [accessed 15 November 2021].
- Snow, Shawn, "CENTCOM commander supports troop increase in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [9 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/syria-votel-afghanistan-troops">http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/syria-votel-afghanistan-troops</a> [accessed 10 March 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "Taliban mimic American commandos in latest propaganda video," *Military Times* [1 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/01/taliban-mimic-american-commandos-in-latest-propaganda-video/">http://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/09/01/taliban-mimic-american-commandos-in-latest-propaganda-video/</a> [accessed 5 September 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "Opium production up 87 percent in Afghanistan," *Military Times* [16 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/15/opium-production-up-87-percent-in-afghanistan/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/11/15/opium-production-up-87-percent-in-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 16 November 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "US and Afghan forces kill senior Taliban and al-Qaida commanders," *Military Times* [5 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/05/us-and-afghan-forces-kill-senior-taliban-and-al-qaida-commanders/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/12/05/us-and-afghan-forces-kill-senior-taliban-and-al-qaida-commanders/</a> [accessed 6 December 2017].
- Snow, Shawn, "Major al-Qaida leader killed in joint US-Afghan raid," *Military Times* [8 October 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/newsletters/daily-news-roundup/2019/10/08/major-al-qaida-leader-killed-in-joint-us-afghan-raid/">https://www.militarytimes.com/newsletters/daily-news-roundup/2019/10/08/major-al-qaida-leader-killed-in-joint-us-afghan-raid/</a> [accessed 11 October 2019].
- Snow, Shawn, "ISIS is taking a beating in Afghanistan setting the stage for potential US troop withdrawal," *Military Times* [4 December 2019].

  <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/12/04/isis-is-taking-a-beating-in-afghanistan-setting-the-stage-for-us-troop-withdrawal/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/12/04/isis-is-taking-a-beating-in-afghanistan-setting-the-stage-for-us-troop-withdrawal/</a> [accessed 5 December 2019].
- Snow, Shawn, "The US is bombing the hell out of the Taliban as munitions dropped reaches nearly 10-year high," *Military Times* [27 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/01/27/the-us-is-bombing-the-hell-out-of-the-taliban-as-munitions-dropped-reaches-nearly-10-year-high/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/01/27/the-us-is-bombing-the-hell-out-of-the-taliban-as-munitions-dropped-reaches-nearly-10-year-high/</a> [accessed 28 January 2020].
- Snow, Shawn, "Afghan casualties and attrition are outpacing recruitment and retention," *Military Times* [3 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/02/03/afghan-casualties-and-attrition-are-outpacing-recruitment-and-retention/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2020/02/03/afghan-casualties-and-attrition-are-outpacing-recruitment-and-retention/</a> [accessed 5 February 2020].
- South, Todd, "10 years after Wanat: Army leaders should look to this battle to prepare for brutal fights in the future," *Army Times* [13 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/07/13/10-years-after-wanat-army-leaders-should-look-to-this-battle-to-prepare-for-brutal-fights-in-the-future-2/">https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/07/13/10-years-after-wanat-army-leaders-should-look-to-this-battle-to-prepare-for-brutal-fights-in-the-future-2/</a> [accessed 16 July 2018].
- Speckhard, Anne, "Will Family Held Hostage by the Taliban Ever Recover?" *The Daily Beast* [18 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/will-family-held-hostage-by-the-taliban-ever-recover">https://www.thedailybeast.com/will-family-held-hostage-by-the-taliban-ever-recover</a> [accessed 23 October 2017].
- Speckhard, Anne, "Joshua Boyle Charged with Assault: Was he Reenacting the Traumas of Taliban Captivity?" *The Daily Beast* [3 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/joshua-boyle-charged-with-assault-was-he-reenacting-the-traumas-of-taliban-captivity">https://www.thedailybeast.com/joshua-boyle-charged-with-assault-was-he-reenacting-the-traumas-of-taliban-captivity</a> [accessed 9 January 2018].
- Stavridis, James, "Baby Powder Is the Secret Weapon in the Afghanistan War," *Bloomberg* [21 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-06-21/baby-powder-can-end-the-war-in-afghaistan">https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-06-21/baby-powder-can-end-the-war-in-afghaistan</a> [accessed 25 June 2018].
- Swan, Jonathan and Zachary Basu, "Episode 9: Trump's war with his generals," Axios [16 May 2021].

- https://www.axios.com/off-the-rails-trump-military-withdraw-afghanistan-5717012a-d55d-4819-a79f-805d5eb3c6e2.html [accessed 21 May 2021].
- The article is part of a series that discusses the final months of the Trump presidency following the election and leading to the inauguration. The focus of this episode is on Trump's desire to withdraw the US military from multiple locations globally and the efforts exerted by senior military and civilian members of the Department of Defense to prevent that effort.
- Tharoor, Ishaan, "Afghanistan's rapid collapse is part of a long, slow U.S. defeat," *The Washington Post* [12 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/08/12/afghanistan-taliban-biden-moment/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/08/12/afghanistan-taliban-biden-moment/</a> [accessed 19 August 2021].
- Thomas, Clayton, "Afghanistan: Background and U.S. Policy: In Brief," *Congressional Research Service* [updated 1 November 2018]. <a href="https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45122">https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45122</a> [accessed 12 November 2018].
- Thomas, Clayton, "U.S. Military Withdrawal and Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: Frequently Asked Questions," *Congressional Research Service* [updated 17 September 2021].
- Thomas, Clayton, Rhoda Margesson, and Edward J. Collins-Chase, "Afghanistan: Humanitarian Crisis, Economic Collapse, and U.S. Sanctions," *Congressional Research Service* [9 February 2022]. <a href="https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF12039">https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF12039</a> [accessed 5 March 2022].
- United States Government, Defense Intelligence Agency. Annual Threat Assessment: Statement Before the Senate Armed Services Committee, United States Senate, 16 February 2016.
  - This assessment gives an interesting take on the events in Iraq following the US withdrawal from the country.
- United States Government. Warlord, Inc.: Extortion and Corruption Along the U.S. Supply Chain in Afghanistan. Report of the Majority Staff Rep. John F. Tierney, Chair, Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs Committee on Oversight and Government Reform U.S. House of Representatives, June 2010. <a href="http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs/pdf/HNT\_Report.pdf">http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs/pdf/HNT\_Report.pdf</a> [accessed 16 August 2016].
- United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Committee Study of the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program. Washington DC: United States Senate, 13 December 2012. Declassified on 3 December 2014.
- Walsh, Joe, "Most Americans Now Think U.S. Should've Kept Some Troops In Afghanistan Despite Previously Backing War's End," Forbes [6 October 2021]. <a href="https://www.forbes.com/sites/joewalsh/2021/10/06/most-americans-now-think-us-shouldve-kept-some-troops-in-afghanistan---despite-previously-backing-wars-end/">https://www.forbes.com/sites/joewalsh/2021/10/06/most-americans-now-think-us-shouldve-kept-some-troops-in-afghanistan---despite-previously-backing-wars-end/</a> [accessed 8 October 2021]. This is not stunning, but it is sad, and it communicates what was possible with actual leadership from political and military leaders vis-à-vis the American people.
- Walt, Stephen M. "It Still Doesn't Get Worse Than Afghanistan," *Foreign Policy* [9 July 2018]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/09/it-still-doesnt-get-worse-than-afghanistan/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/09/it-still-doesnt-get-worse-than-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 19 July 2018].
- ★ Walt, Stephen M. "How Not to Leave Afghanistan," Foreign Policy [23 February 2021]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/02/23/how-not-to-leave-afghanistan/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/02/23/how-not-to-leave-afghanistan/</a> [accessed 24 February 2021].
  The United States Institute for Peace Afghanistan Study Group released its recent Congressionally mandated report on what to do about Afghanistan with respect to a looming 1 May 2021 departure date. The report is interesting for the obvious recommendations beginning with having a strategy. Stephen Walt writes an excellent summation of the problems with the report. There are no recommendations from Walt to fix the report. His primary recommendation is to leave Afghanistan. Given the realities of twenty years of failure and continued American institutional ignorance with respect to the complexities of Afghanistan, I agree.
  - Web, James R. "As US military sticks to airport, British and French forces are rescuing their citizens in

Kabul: reports," Military Times [19 August 2021].

https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/afghanistan/2021/08/19/as-us-military-sticks-to-airport-british-and-french-forces-are-rescuing-their-citizens-in-kabul-reports/ [accessed 20 August 2021].

In narrative war we have seen things turn very rapidly. It is the nature of narrative war that once the conditions are set then it is possible for a weak power to suddenly be on top as we saw in 2014 in Syria and Iraq and in 1996 and 2021 in Afghanistan. This article expresses perceptions that can cause such a flip in relationships. I will address more about Afghanistan as an example of narrative war in action in an upcoming blog post, but for now I ask that you consider this as a critical moment in the story that is being created — American incompetence.

For those who have said that we need to avoid rapid judgments, I agree with you. My point isn't to say that the sky is falling, but to say that this is how the sky falls and that we have to be very careful to keep the sky from actually falling.

I hope that that made sense.

- Wellman, Phillip, "Coalition partners in Afghanistan got years of free lunches because of military mix-up, IG says," *Stars and Stripes* [27 June 2020]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/coalition-partners-in-afghanistan-got-years-of-free-lunches-because-of-military-mix-up-ig-says-1.635422">https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/coalition-partners-in-afghanistan-got-years-of-free-lunches-because-of-military-mix-up-ig-says-1.635422</a> [accessed 30 June 2020].
- Wellman, Phillip, "DOD doesn't know if Afghan drone program was worth \$174 million in US taxpayers' money, report says," *Stars and Stripes* [17 July 2020]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/news/dod-doesn-t-know-if-afghan-drone-program-was-worth-174-million-in-us-taxpayers-money-report-says-1.637894">https://www.stripes.com/news/dod-doesn-t-know-if-afghan-drone-program-was-worth-174-million-in-us-taxpayers-money-report-says-1.637894</a> [accessed 21 July 2020].
- ★ Whitlock, Craig, "At War with the Truth: U.S. officials constantly said they were making progress. They were not, and they knew it." The Washington Post [9 December 2019].
  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/investigations/afghanistan-papers/afghanistan-war-confidential-documents/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/investigations/afghanistan-papers/afghanistan-war-confidential-documents/</a> [accessed 9 December 2019].

You need to read this. This is a long article with more than 6,000 words. The subtitle is not shocking. Almost everyone I know with any knowledge of Afghanistan knew that the rosy assessments and predictions were completely fabricated. The notion that this is another *Pentagon Papers* is absolute garbage. There is nothing new here, however, this is a solid summary of the falsehoods and misperceptions about what was (and is) happening in Afghanistan.

I suggest that this article is as much an indictment of the Congress and the media as it is of the military senior leadership. This does indict the military senior civilians and generals, but where were those responsible for oversight and where were the reporters? Why didn't they go to Afghanistan, see for themselves, and ask hard questions?

I fear that this article exposes the fundamental flaw of an all-volunteer military. The nation leaves it to "the professionals" to deal with the problem and no one else bothers. No one else is qualified to question "the professionals" and "the professionals" are not really qualified to build a nation they don't understand. Before we can fix Afghanistan, we need to fix this problem.

- Williams, Brad D. "Afghanistan's Precarious Networks: Will The Taliban, Once Again, Go Dark?" *Breaking Defense* [24 August 2021]. <a href="https://breakingdefense.com/2021/08/afghanistans-precarious-networks-will-the-taliban-once-again-go-dark/">https://breakingdefense.com/2021/08/afghanistans-precarious-networks-will-the-taliban-once-again-go-dark/</a> [accessed 25 August 2021].
- Wise, Justin, "Blackwater founder makes new pitch for mercenaries to take over Afghan war," *The Hill* [12 July 2018]. <a href="http://thehill.com/policy/defense/396714-blackwater-founder-proposes-mercenary-takeover-in-afghanistan-amidst-mueller-probe">http://thehill.com/policy/defense/396714-blackwater-founder-proposes-mercenary-takeover-in-afghanistan-amidst-mueller-probe</a> [accessed 13 July 2018].

Erik Prince also made a video on YouTube making his pitch: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjhPSaqBj1c">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjhPSaqBj1c</a>, "The Way Forward in Afghanistan."

- Wright, Jack, Jack Newman, Rachel Sharp, and Chris Eberhart, "Victorious Taliban commander claims he 'spent eight years in Guantanamo Bay' in triumphant speech from Kabul palace as Islamists seize Afghanistan while thousands fight to flee country in chaotic scenes at airport," *Daily Mail* [15 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9896007/Taliban-commander-gives-press-conference-INSIDE-Kabuls-Presidential-Palace.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9896007/Taliban-commander-gives-press-conference-INSIDE-Kabuls-Presidential-Palace.html</a> [accessed 17 August 2021].

  Great photos and discussion on the collapse of the Afghan National Government.
- Zahid, Noor, "Clashes Between IS, Taliban Displace Hundreds in Eastern Afghanistan," *Voice of America* [26 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/afghanistan-nangarhar-province-taliban-islamic-state-clashes/4137455.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/afghanistan-nangarhar-province-taliban-islamic-state-clashes/4137455.html</a> [accessed 28 November 2017].
- Ziezulewicz, Geoff, "Afghan troops beat up contractors, stole equipment: report," *Military Times* [20 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-navy/2019/03/20/afghan-troops-beat-up-contractors-stole-equipment-report/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-navy/2019/03/20/afghan-troops-beat-up-contractors-stole-equipment-report/</a> [accessed 21 March 2019].
- Zucchino, David, "Fears Rise About Safety of Afghan Airport as U.S. Warns Americans to Stay Away," *The New York Times* [21 August 2021]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/21/world/asia/Afghanistan-Kabul-airport-evacuations.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/21/world/asia/Afghanistan-Kabul-airport-evacuations.html</a> [accessed 25 August 2021].

## **Operation Iraqi Freedom**

Helfont, Samuel. *Compulsion in Religion: Saddam Hussein, Islam, and the Roots of Insurgencies in Iraq.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

An excellent source for insight into Iraq pre-2003. Saddam Hussein ruled Iraq by controlling the narrative space. Specifically, he controlled religious instruction and discourse through decades of manipulation, coercion, and intimidation. Failure to understand the effort required to control the religious landscape ensured ignorant decisions by occupying powers. It is also fair to suggest that even if US administrators had understood, the very fabric of the US civil-religious discourse would have prevented any American-led occupation from controlling the explosion of religious sectarianism with the necessary force.

Hooker, Richard D. Jr. and Joseph J. Collins, editors. 2015. Lessons Encountered: Learning from the Long War. Washington DC: National Defense University Press, September 2015. <a href="https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/lessons-encountered/lessons-encountered/lessons-encountered/pdf">https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/lessons-encountered/lessons-encountered/lessons-encountered/lessons-encountered/pdf</a> [accessed 10 January 2020].

Ackerman, Elliott, "A Battle in Falluja, Revisited: Official documents can never tell us the whole story of war." *The New York Times* [25 May 2019].

https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/25/opinion/memorial-day-falluja.html [accessed 28 May 2019].

★ Antoon, Sinan, "Living With Death in Baghdad," The New York Times [20 July 2016].

http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/21/opinion/living-with-death-in-baghdad.html? r=1&utm\_source=Sailthru&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=Defense%20EBB% 2007-21-16&utm\_term=Editorial%20-%20Early%20Bird%20Brief [accessed 21 July 2016].

This is a passionate discussion of the tragedy that is modern Iraq. All those who advocate intervention in another country should read this or material like this before they continue such advocacy.

- Associated Press, "10 Years on, Iraq Scarred From Attack on Shiite Shrine," *New York Times* [21 February 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2016/02/21/world/middleeast/ap-ml-iraq-samarra-anniversary.html?r=0&r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2016/02/21/world/middleeast/ap-ml-iraq-samarra-anniversary.html?r=0&r=0</a> [accessed 22 February 2016].
- Beinart, Peter, "The Surge Fallacy", *The Atlantic* [September 2015]. http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/09/the-surge-fallacy/399344/ [accessed 24 November 2015].
- Brill, Michael P. "Setting the Records Straight in Iraq," War on the Rocks [17 July 2020]. https://warontherocks.com/2020/07/setting-the-records-straight-in-iraq/ [accessed 21 July 2020].
- Crowley, Michael, "Who Lost Iraq? Did George W. Bush create the Islamic State? Did Barack Obama? We asked the insiders to tell us who's to blame." *Politico Magazine* [July/August 2015]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/06/iraq-roundtable-george-w-bush-barack-obama-119221#.VZFRI">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/06/iraq-roundtable-george-w-bush-barack-obama-119221#.VZFRI</a> IVhHx [accessed 30 June 2015].
  - Crawford, Neta C. "The Iraq War has cost the US nearly \$2 trillion," *Military Times* [6 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/opinion/commentary/2020/02/06/the-iraq-war-has-cost-the-us-nearly-2-trillion/">https://www.militarytimes.com/opinion/commentary/2020/02/06/the-iraq-war-has-cost-the-us-nearly-2-trillion/</a> [accessed 6 February 2020].
  - DeAtkine, Norvell B. "Vietnam to Iraq America's Lessons Never Learned," *Lima Charlie World* [7 March 2019]. https://limacharlienews.com/foreign-policy/vietnam-to-iraq/ [accessed 9 March 2019].
- ★ Dettmer, Jamie and Jacob Siegel, "What Saddam Gave ISIS", The Daily Beast [21 April 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/04/21/what-saddam-gave-isis.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/04/21/what-saddam-gave-isis.html</a> [accessed 25 April 2015].
  - Dubik, James M., "A Lesson of the Iraq War and the Surge", *Army* [12 November 2015]. http://www.armymagazine.org/2015/11/12/a-lesson-of-the-iraq-war-and-the-surge/ [accessed 24

- November 2015].
- Exum, Andrew, "What Were We Doing In Iraq Anyway?" *Defense One* [20 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/03/what-were-we-doing-iraq-anyway/146813/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/03/what-were-we-doing-iraq-anyway/146813/</a> [accessed 21 March 2018].
- Eyre, Dana. Re-Inventing Iraq: Understanding Iraqi Society and Coalition Democratization Efforts. United States Institute of Peace, 17 July 2006.
- Fallows, James, "The Iraq War and the Inevitability of Ignorance," *Defense One* [20 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/03/iraq-war-and-inevitability-ignorance/146794/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/03/iraq-war-and-inevitability-ignorance/146794/</a> [accessed 21 March 2018].
- Filkins, Dexter, "The Fall of the Warrior King", *New York Times* [23 October 2005]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/23/magazine/the-fall-of-the-warrior-king.html?\_r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/23/magazine/the-fall-of-the-warrior-king.html?\_r=0</a> [accessed 1 January 2016].
  - An interesting think piece and good reporting that can lead a reader to consider the responsibility of actions in war and the gradations of behaviors regardless of severity, but including issues of life and death. Who is to blame the midlevel commander or the senior leader?
  - This is the story of Nate Sassaman and the murder of two Iraqi young men.
- Finer, Jon, "The Last War—and the Next? Learning the Wrong Lessons From Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* [28 May 2019]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2019-05-28/last-war-and-next">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2019-05-28/last-war-and-next</a> [accessed 31 May 2019].
- Fontenot, Gregory, E.J. Degen, and David Tohn. On Point: The United States Army in Operation Iraqi Freedom. Fort Leavenworth: US Army Command and General Staff College Press, 2004.
- ★ Gerth, Jeff and Joby Warrick, "Promises unfulfilled: How a State Department plan to stabilize Iraq broke apart," *The Washington Post* [15 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/promises-unfulfilled-how-a-state-department-plan-to-stabilize-iraq-broke-apart/2016/08/15/82e2324e-5a8c-11e6-831d-0324760ca856\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/promises-unfulfilled-how-a-state-department-plan-to-stabilize-iraq-broke-apart/2016/08/15/82e2324e-5a8c-11e6-831d-0324760ca856\_story.html</a> [accessed 16 August 2016].
  - As one who went through these times in Baghdad and watched the process develop this article captures some of the truths of the decisions and actions taken. It completely misses the lack of energy on the part of the administration to actually influence the Iraqi government. It also fails to address the institutional weakness of the department of State regarding planning which was, in part, a reason for the escalated cost estimates.
  - Glenn, Russell W. "LTG MacFarland: Insights on Illusions of Victory and Iraq," Parameters 48(1) Spring 2018, 15-24.
    - http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/issues/Spring 2018/5 Glenn Inter viewWithLTGMacFarland.pdf [accessed 26 June 2018].
  - Gordon, Michael R. "U.S. Conferred With Iran Before Iraq Invasion, Book Says," *New York Times* [6 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/07/world/middleeast/us-conferred-with-iran-before-iraq-invasion-book-says.html?r=0& r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/07/world/middleeast/us-conferred-with-iran-before-iraq-invasion-book-says.html?r=0& r=0</a> [7 March 2016].
  - Hamilton, Eric, "Iraq Report: March 2003 March 2008: The Fight for Mosul," *The Institute for the Study of War* [ND]. <a href="https://call2.army.mil/toc.aspx?document=17572">https://call2.army.mil/toc.aspx?document=17572</a> [accessed 27 March 2018].
  - Harp, Seth, "Abandoned in Iraq: Inside Two Soldiers' Harrowing Escape," *Rolling Stone* [29 August 2016]. <a href="http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/abandoned-in-iraq-inside-us-soldiers-harrowing-ambush-w436245">http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/abandoned-in-iraq-inside-us-soldiers-harrowing-ambush-w436245</a> [accessed 31 August 2016].
    - Gritty story of two soldiers left by their convoy and their personal firefight to return to safety. This has little strategic value, but it does address personal and ethical dilemmas in war and particularly in Iraq in 2004.
  - Hartung, William D. "Iraq: Weighing the costs of war," The Hill [13 March 2018].

- http://thehill.com/opinion/international/378209-iraq-weighing-the-costs-of-war [accessed 14 March 2018].
- ★ Helfont, Samuel and Michael Brill, "Saddam's ISIS? The Terrorist Group's Real Origin Story," Foreign Affairs [12 January 2016]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2016-01-12/saddams-isis">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2016-01-12/saddams-isis</a> [accessed 2 June 2016].
  - Another article explaining the role of the Saddam Hussein legacy for ISIS. In this case the authors explain why ISIS is not Saddam's fault nor a result of supposed Islamist policies of his regime. The article is informative though it doesn't live up to the claim of its sub-title.
- Hendawi, Hamza and Qasim Abdul-Zahra, "IS top command dominated by ex-officers in Saddam's army", Associated Press [8 August 2015].
  <a href="http://bigstory.ap.org/urn:publicid:ap.org:75a48c16404c4418938b5f5170140dd4">http://bigstory.ap.org/urn:publicid:ap.org:75a48c16404c4418938b5f5170140dd4</a> [accessed 10 August 2015].
  - Knights, Michael, "The JRTN Movement and Iraq's Next Insurgency," CTC Sentinel, July 2011, Volume 4, Issue 7, pages 1-6. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/CTCSentinel-Vol4Iss71.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/CTCSentinel-Vol4Iss71.pdf</a> [accessed 11 June 2020].
  - Lasseter, Tom, "Sides blur for U.S. troops trying to secure Samarra," *Houston Chronicle, Knight Ridder Tribune news* [19 February 2006]. <a href="http://www.chron.com/news/article/Sides-blur-for-U-S-troops-trying-to-secure-1525566.php">http://www.chron.com/news/article/Sides-blur-for-U-S-troops-trying-to-secure-1525566.php</a> [accessed 30 November 2016].
    - This is a short article with a fascinating discussion on simple acts of frustrated soldiers that damage narratives and harm the relationships and impede the path to peace.
  - Lundberg, Kirsten, "The Accidental Statesman: General Petraeus and the City of Mosul, Iraq", Kennedy School of Government Case Program C1S-06-1834.0Q, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2006.
  - Malkasian, Carter, "Signaling resolve, democratization, and the first battle of Fallujah," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Volume 29, 2006, Issue 3, 423-452 [16 August 2006]. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390600765843">https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390600765843</a> [accessed 11 April 2019].
- ★ Malkasian, Carter, "Anbar's Illusions: The Failure of Iraq's Success Story," Foreign Affairs [24 June 2017]. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2017-06-24/anbars-illusions [accessed 26 June 2017].
  - The best summary of the Awakening or the results of The Surge that one can read in seven pages. The author has some conclusions with respect to the value of committing forces and resources to counter-insurgency that I do not agree with, however, this is a must read article.
  - McCary, John A. "The Anbar Awakening: An Alliance of Incentives," *The Washington Quarterly,* 32:1, 43-59 [January 2009].
  - Oliphant, Baxter, "The Iraq War continues to divide the U.S. public, 15 years after it began," *Pew Research* [19 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/03/19/iraq-war-continues-to-divide-u-s-public-15-years-after-it-began/">http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/03/19/iraq-war-continues-to-divide-u-s-public-15-years-after-it-began/</a> [accessed 20 March 2018].
    - The final topline is available at this location. This provides excellent coverage over time of US perspectives on the Iraq War. <a href="http://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/12/2018/03/16161318/03-19-18\_Iraq\_topline\_for\_release.pdf">http://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/12/2018/03/16161318/03-19-18\_Iraq\_topline\_for\_release.pdf</a> [accessed 20 March 2018].
  - Rempfer, Kyle, "Keep those Iraq War notes handy: Small wars, not great power battles, still the most likely future fight," *Military Times* [10 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/04/10/keep-those-iraq-war-notes-handy-small-wars-not-great-power-battles-still-the-most-likely-future-fight/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2019/04/10/keep-those-iraq-war-notes-handy-small-wars-not-great-power-battles-still-the-most-likely-future-fight/</a> [accessed 11 April 2019].
  - Ryan, Missy and Steven Mufson, "How Exxon, under Rex Tillerson, won Iraqi oil fields and nearly lost

- Iraq," *The Washington Post* [9 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-exxon-under-rex-tillerson-won-iraqi-oil-fields-and-nearly-lost-iraq/2017/01/09/5f6efa28-d40c-11e6-9cb0-54ab630851e8">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-exxon-under-rex-tillerson-won-iraqi-oil-fields-and-nearly-lost-iraq/2017/01/09/5f6efa28-d40c-11e6-9cb0-54ab630851e8</a> story.html [accessed 10 January 2017].
- The authors argue that actions taken by ExxonMobil in 2011 to gain oil concessions in Kurdistan weakened the central government in Baghdad. My opinion is that the US policies of that period were misguided and that ExxonMobile could be accused of making bad geologic decisions, but not bad geopolitical ones.
- Schogol, Jeff, "The Pentagon says Iran killed 603 US troops during the Iraq War," *Task and Purpose* [3 April 2019]. https://taskandpurpose.com/iran-killed-us-troops [accessed 4 April 2019].
- Scott, Andrea, "The second battle of Fallujah: 15 years later," *Marine Corps Times* [27 November 2019]. <a href="https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2019/11/28/the-second-battle-of-fallujah-15-years-later/">https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2019/11/28/the-second-battle-of-fallujah-15-years-later/</a> [accessed 2 December 2019].
- Shultz, Richard. 2012. "Organizational learning and the Marine Corps: The counterinsurgency campaign in Iraq. CIWAG case study series 2011-2012," ed. Marc Genest and Andrea Dew. Newport, RI: US Naval War College, Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups.
- Sky, Emma, "How Obama Abandoned Iraq: Why the rise of ISIS and the fall of Iraq weren't inevitable", Slate [accessed 17 April 2015].
  <a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/news">http://www.slate.com/articles/news</a> and politics/foreigners/2015/04/emma sky on america s f ailure in iraq the rise of isis and the fall of iraq.single.html [21 April 2015].
  - Snow, Shawn, "'Hero of Nasiriyah' set to retire after 30 years of service to the Corps," Marine Corps Times [29 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2018/06/29/hero-of-nasiriyah-set-to-retire-after-thirty-years-of-service-to-the-corps/">https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2018/06/29/hero-of-nasiriyah-set-to-retire-after-thirty-years-of-service-to-the-corps/</a> [accessed 2 July 2018].
  - Sobchak, Frank, "The US Army Is Trying to Bury the Lessons of the Iraq War," *Defense One* [8 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/03/us-army-trying-bury-lessons-iraq-war/155403/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/03/us-army-trying-bury-lessons-iraq-war/155403/</a> [accessed 11 March 2019].
  - Sobchak, Frank and Bradley Bowman, "What the Iraq War tells us about Iran," *The Hill* [5 May 2019]. <a href="https://thehill.com/opinion/international/442175-what-the-iraq-war-tells-us-about-iran">https://thehill.com/opinion/international/442175-what-the-iraq-war-tells-us-about-iran</a> [accessed 9 May 2019].
  - South, Todd, "Army's detailed Iraq war study remains unpublished years after completion," *Army Times* [25 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/10/25/armys-detailed-iraq-war-study-remains-unpublished-years-after-completion/">https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2018/10/25/armys-detailed-iraq-war-study-remains-unpublished-years-after-completion/</a> [accessed 26 October 2018].
  - South, Todd, "Trial: At each Iraq bomb blast site, a trail of evidence leads to Iran," *Military Times* [5 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/12/05/trial-at-each-iraq-bomb-blast-site-a-trail-of-evidence-leads-to-iran/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/12/05/trial-at-each-iraq-bomb-blast-site-a-trail-of-evidence-leads-to-iran/</a> [accessed 6 December 2018].
  - Spencer, John, "The Most Effective Weapon on the Modern Battlefield is Concrete," Modern War Institute, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY, 14 November 2016. <a href="http://mwi.usma.edu/effective-weapon-modern-battlefield-concrete/">http://mwi.usma.edu/effective-weapon-modern-battlefield-concrete/</a> [accessed 16 November 2016].
    - Simple truths about the use of concrete in the conduct of modern warfare. N many ways the author described siege warfare in the context of walls of contravallation.
  - Spencer, John, "Stealing the Enemy's Urban Advantage: The Battle of Sadr City," Modern War Institute, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY, 31 January 2019. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/stealing-enemys-urban-advantage-battle-sadr-city/">https://mwi.usma.edu/stealing-enemys-urban-advantage-battle-sadr-city/</a> [accessed 2 February 2019].
  - Spencer, John, "Gangs of Baghdad," Modern War Institute, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY, 21 January 2020. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/gangs-of-baghdad/">https://mwi.usma.edu/gangs-of-baghdad/</a> [accessed 22 January 2020].
- ★ Steed, Brian L., "The 2008 Battle of Sadr City: Lessons and Application", March 2015.

- US Army Center of Military History. War in the Persian Gulf: Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, August 1990–March 1991. Washington, DC: US Army Center of Military History, 2010. <a href="http://www.history.army.mil/html/books/070/70-117-1/index.html">http://www.history.army.mil/html/books/070/70-117-1/index.html</a> (accessed 8 March 2016).
- von Hein, Matthias, "The Iraq War: In the beginning was the lie," *Deutsche Welle* [9 April 2018]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/the-iraq-war-in-the-beginning-was-the-lie/a-43301338">http://www.dw.com/en/the-iraq-war-in-the-beginning-was-the-lie/a-43301338</a> [accessed 10 April 2018].
- Walcott, John, "What Donald Rumsfeld Knew We Didn't Know About Iraq", *Politico* [24 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/01/iraq-war-wmds-donald-rumsfeld-new-report-213530">http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/01/iraq-war-wmds-donald-rumsfeld-new-report-213530</a> [accessed 25 January 2016].

## Islam

- ★ Robinson, Heather M., Ben Connable, David E. Thaler, and Ali G. Scotten. Sectarianism in the Middle East: Implications for the United States. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2018. <a href="https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1600/RR1681/RAND\_RR1681">https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\_reports/RR1600/RR1681/RAND\_RR1681</a>. pdf [accessed 3 September 2018].
  - An excellent resource for understanding the meaning and background of Islamic sectarianism.
  - Upal, Muhammad Afzal and Carole M. Cusack, editors. *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2021. https://brill.com/view/title/57054 [accessed 19 July 2021].
  - Brunner, Richard. Islamic Ecumenism in the 20th Century: The Azhar and Shiism between Rapprochement and Restraint. Translated by Joseph Greenman. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2004. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/657016/Islamic ecumenism in the 20th century the Azhar and Shiism between rapprochement and restraint">https://www.academia.edu/657016/Islamic ecumenism in the 20th century the Azhar and Shiism between rapprochement and restraint [accessed 8 July 2017].</a>
  - Cole, Juan, "The Qur'an and the Modern Self: A Heterotopia," *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, Volume 85, No. 3, 557-572 [Fall 2018]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/38034697/">https://www.academia.edu/38034697/</a> The Quran and the Modern Self A Heterotopia [accessed 21 October 2020].
  - Cole, Juan, "Infidel or Paganus? The Polysemy of kafara in the Quran," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 140, 3, 615-635 [2020].

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/44151347/Infidel">https://www.academia.edu/44151347/Infidel</a> or Paganus The Polysemy of kafara in the Quran [accessed 21 October 2020].
  - Cole, Juan, "On how there are no "Infidels" in the Qur'an, and how Christians and Jews are never Called That," *Informed Content* [1 October 2020]. <a href="https://www.juancole.com/2020/10/infidels-christians-called.html">https://www.juancole.com/2020/10/infidels-christians-called.html</a> [accessed 21 October 2020].
  - Gerakan Pemuda Ansor, "Gerakan Pemuda Ansor Declaration on Humanitarian Islam: Towards the Recontextualization of Islamic Teachings, for the Sake of World Peace and Harmony Between Civilizations," Jakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Gerakan Pemuda Ansor [23 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2017/Gerakan-Pemuda-Ansor Declaration-on-Humanitarian-Islam.pdf">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2017/Gerakan-Pemuda-Ansor Declaration-on-Humanitarian-Islam.pdf</a> [accessed 25 October 2017].
  - Gerakan Pemuda Ansor, "Nahdlatul Ulama General Secretary's "Message to Europe" Helped Shape Public Discourse Amid the Heat of Germany's 2017 National Election Campaign," Email Message from solutions@libforall.org [24 October 2017].
  - Gerakan Pemuda Ansor, "Nahdlatul Ulama Targets the Weaponization of Religion for Political Purposes," Munas Alim Ulama Konbes Nahdlatul Ulama [4 December 2017].

    <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2017/2017">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/political-communiques/2017/2017</a> 11 25 NU-National-Assembly-and-Conference.pdf [accessed 4 December 2017].
  - Gesink, Indira Falk, ""Chaos on the Earth": Subjective Truths versus Communal Unity in Islamic Law and the Rise of Militant Islam," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 108, No. 3 (June 2003), pp. 710-733. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/529594">http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/529594</a> [accessed 25 September 2014].
    - The article explains the transformation of *taqlid* and *ijtihad* and how Islamic revivalists and reformers in the later Nineteenth Century argued that it was necessary to open *ijtihad* to all Muslims in fact, it was incumbent on Muslims to practice such. This understand, so the argument goes, gave rise to militant Islamists who then defined the faith based on their more recent interpretations of the relevancy of previously

interpreted texts.

- Hadith. *Sahih Bukhari*. English translation from <a href="http://spokaneislamiccenter.org/sic/wpcontent/uploads/Hadith-Sahih-Bukhari.pdf">http://spokaneislamiccenter.org/sic/wpcontent/uploads/Hadith-Sahih-Bukhari.pdf</a> [accessed 14 October 2017].
- Hadith. *Sahih Muslim*. English translation from <a href="https://www.shareislam.com/order/books/SahihMuslim.pdf">https://www.shareislam.com/order/books/SahihMuslim.pdf</a> [accessed 14 October 2017].
- ibn Kathir, Abu Fida' Ismail. *Book of the End: Great Trials and Tribulations* an excerpt from *The Beginning and the End*. Translated by Faisal Shafiq. Riyadh: Darussalam Publishers and Distributers. https://www.kalamullah.com/Books/Book%20Of%20The%20End.pdf [accessed 4 April 2017].
- ibn Kathir, Abu Fida' Ismail. *Dajjal, The False Messiah* an excerpt from *The Beginning and the End*.

  Translated by Abu Muhammed Isaam Ibn Mar'ie. New Delhi: Idara Isha'at-e-diniyat (P) Ltd., 2008.

  <a href="https://www.kalamullah.com/Books/Dajjal-the-False-Messiah-by-Imam-Ibn-Kathir.pdf">https://www.kalamullah.com/Books/Dajjal-the-False-Messiah-by-Imam-Ibn-Kathir.pdf</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
- Schleifer, Abdallah, ed., "The Muslim 500: The World's 500 Most Influential Muslims, 2016", The Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre, Amman Jordan [1 October 2015].
  <a href="http://themuslim500.com/downloads/151001-TheMuslim500-2016v009(23%7C48)-Web-Low.pdf">http://themuslim500.com/downloads/151001-TheMuslim500-2016v009(23%7C48)-Web-Low.pdf</a> [accessed 5 January 2016].
  - This is a Fortune 500-like record of those deemed to be the most influential leaders in the Muslim world. The provides a great single-source document of current leaders.

## **Islamist Ideology**

- al-Bishr, Mohammed, editor. 2008. Religious Police in Saudi Arabia. Islam Future.
  - https://web.archive.org/web/20131203054305if\_/http://islamfuture.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/religious-police-in-saudi-arabia.pdf [accessed 17 January 2020].
- Altuna Galán, Sergio, "Made-to-measure Qur'anic quotations: the incomplete verses of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb," Elcano Royal Institute [20 June 2019].
  - https://www.academia.edu/39643720/Made-to-
  - measure Quranic quotations the incomplete verses of al-
  - Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb?email work card=view-paper [accessed 8 May 2020].
  - This article includes some excellent data on the use and accuracy of Quranic verses and hadith in AQIM material.
- ibn Taymiyyah, Taqī ad-Dīn Aḥmad. *Book of Faith*. Translated by Salman Hassan Al-Ani and Shadia Ahmad Tel. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2009.
  - https://www.kalamullah.com/Books/Kitab%20Al-Iman.pdf [accessed 4 April 2017].
- ibn Taymiyyah, Taqī ad-Dīn Aḥmad. *Book of Emaan: The Basis, Reality, and Invalidation of Eemaan.*Translated by Dr. Mohammed Naim Yasin. London: Al-Firdous Ltd.

  https://islamfuture.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/hook of emaan according to the classical work
  - https://islamfuture.files.wordpress.com/2010/02/book-of-emaan-according-to-the-classical-works-of-ibn-taymiyah.pdf [accessed 4 April 2017].
- ibn Taymiyyah, Taqī ad-Dīn Aḥmad. "The Religious and Moral Doctrine of Jihad" an excerpt from *Governance According to Allah's Law in Reforming the Ruler and his Flock*. Translated and edited. Birmingham: Maktabah al Ansar Publications, 2001.
  - http://ia800204.us.archive.org/16/items/IslamicBooksByIbnTaymiyyahMaqdisiAndAbdullahAzzam/moral doctrine of Jihad.pdf [accessed 4 April 2017].
- ibn Taymiyyah, Taqī ad-Dīn Aḥmad. "Why Did The Imams Differ?" an excerpt from *Removing the Harms* from the Noble Imaans. Translated and edited.
  - http://ia800204.us.archive.org/16/items/IslamicBooksByIbnTaymiyyahMaqdisiAndAbdullahAzzam/ Why Did The Imams Differ Ibn Taymiyyah.pdf [accessed 4 April 2017].
- al-Hakaymah, Muhammad Khalil. *The Myth of Delusion: Exposing the American Intelligence*. al-Maqreze Center Site <a href="www.almaqreze.com">www.almaqreze.com</a> [August 2006]. <a href="https://www.foxnews.com/projects/pdf/myth-of-delusion.pdf">https://www.foxnews.com/projects/pdf/myth-of-delusion.pdf</a> [accessed 22 January 2021].
- al-Maqdisi, Abu Muhammad Asim. *Millat Ibrahim (The Religion of Ibrahim) and the Calling of Prophets* and Messengers and the Methods of the Transgressing Rulers in Dissolving it and Turning the Callers away from it. Second Edition. At-Tibyan Publications, 1984.
  - http://ia800204.us.archive.org/16/items/IslamicBooksByIbnTaymiyyahMaqdisiAndAbdullahAzzam/Millat Ibrahim Al-Maqdese.pdf [accessed 4 April 2017].
- al-Suri, Abu Musab (born Mustafa bin Abd al-Qadir Setmariam Nasar). *The Global Islamic Resistance Call*. Translated sections 5-7. Internet publication, first appearance December 2004 or January 2005. <a href="https://ia800304.us.archive.org/27/items/TheGlobalIslamicResistanceCall/The Global Islamic Resistance Call">https://ia800304.us.archive.org/27/items/TheGlobalIslamicResistanceCall/The Global Islamic Resistance Call</a> Chapter 8 sections 5 to 7 LIST OF TARGETS.pdf [accessed 4 April 2017].
- ★ Naji, Abu Bakr. The Management of Savagery: The Most Critical Stage Through Which the Umma Will Pass. Cambridge, Massachusetts: John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, 23 May 2006. <a href="https://www.narrativespace.net/uploads/1/1/7/9/117904861/management of savagery.pdf">https://www.narrativespace.net/uploads/1/1/7/9/117904861/management of savagery.pdf</a>
  [accessed 11 June 2019].
  - This is the referenced source for the method of operation used by the Islamic State and al-Qaeda in how they perceive violence as a means to an end.

- Phillips, Trevor, John Jenkins, and Dr Martyn Frampton. *On Islamophobia: The Problem of Definition*. London: Policy Exchange, 2019. <a href="https://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2019/Policy-Exchange\_On-Islamophobia">https://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2019/Policy-Exchange\_On-Islamophobia</a> The-Problem-of-Definition 05-2019.pdf [accessed 31 May 2019].
- Qutb, Sayyid ash-Shaheed. *In the Shade of the Quran*. 1951-1965. 18 volumes. Downloaded from <a href="https://www.kalamullah.com/shade-of-the-quran.html">https://www.kalamullah.com/shade-of-the-quran.html</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
- Zarabozo, Jamal al-Din M. *The Life, Teachings and Influence of Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhaab*. International Islamic Publishing House, 2010. <a href="https://www.kalamullah.com/Books/lifeofabdul-wahhaab.pdf">https://www.kalamullah.com/Books/lifeofabdul-wahhaab.pdf</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
- Zürcher, Erik-Jan, editor. Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad on the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany". Lucis Series 'Debates on Islam and Society' Leiden University Press, 2016.
- Azzam, Abdullah, "Defense of the Muslim Lands: The First Obligation after Iman", Translated by Brothers in Ribatt [1979]. https://archive.org/details/Defense\_of\_the\_Muslim\_Lands [accessed 24 November 2015].
  - This is the fatwa given by Abdullah Azzam after the introduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan in 1979 arguing in favor of jihad as an obligatory responsibility for all Muslims.
  - Bazzi, Mohamad, "The three powerful scholars fueling Islamic State's hate," *Reuters* [29 March 2016]. <a href="http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2016/03/29/the-three-powerful-scholars-fueling-islamic-states-hate/">http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2016/03/29/the-three-powerful-scholars-fueling-islamic-states-hate/</a> [accessed 20 April 2016].
- ★ Crooke, Alastair, "The ISIS' 'Management of Savagery' in Iraq," The World Post [June 30, 2014, updated August 30, 2014]. <a href="http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alastair-crooke/iraq-isis-alqaeda\_b\_5542575.html">http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alastair-crooke/iraq-isis-alqaeda\_b\_5542575.html</a> [accessed 17 April 2015].
  - do Céu Pinto Arena, Maria, "A Tale of Two Jihads: Comparing ISIS and al-Qaeda's Origins, Discourse, Aims and Strategy," academia.edu [January 2016].

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/32951938/">https://www.academia.edu/32951938/</a> A Tale of Two Jihads Comparing ISIS and al Qaeda s

    Origins Discourse Aims and Strategy Maria do C%C3%A9u Pinto Arena [accessed 13 February 2021].
  - Edmunds, Donna Rachel, "Wear a Headscarf Or Be Raped, Swedish Women Warned," *Breitbart* [14 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/07/14/wear-headscarf-or-be-raped-swedish-women-warned/">http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/07/14/wear-headscarf-or-be-raped-swedish-women-warned/</a> [accessed 15 July 2016].
  - Euhus, Brandon T. "The Modern Salafi Warrior: Inviting and Striving towards a Nostalgic Future." Thesis for Master of Military Arts and Sciences, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 2017.
  - Gonzalez-Perez, Margaret, "The False Islamization of Female Suicide Bombers," *Gender Issues* (20 April 2011), Volume 28, Issue 1-2, 50-65. <a href="https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12147-011-9097-0">https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12147-011-9097-0</a> [accessed 27 June 2017].
    - The article has several historical and religious errors, however, it does include some good source recommendations.
  - Gorka, Sebastian, "Strategic Jihadist Texts", Threat Knowledge Group.

    This is a brief reference of some of seven of the most influential jihadi texts as recommended reading.
  - Hagler, Aaron M. ""The America That I Have Seen": The Effect of Sayyid Quţb's Colorado Sojourn on the Political Islamist Worldview," ACM/ Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Teacher/Scholar Fellow, Department of History, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, IA [No Date].
    - https://www.academia.edu/6541413/ The America That I Have Seen The Effect of Sayyid Qut

- bs Colorado Sojourn on the Political Islamist Worldview [accessed 31 March 2020].
- Hagler, Aaron M. "Repurposed Narratives: The Battle of Şiffin and the Historical Memory of the Umayyad Dynasty," Mathal/Mashal: Vol. 3: Iss. 1, Article 1 [18 April 2013].

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/3323847/Repurposed Narratives The Battle of Siffin and the Historical Memory of the Umayyad Dynasty?swp=rr-rw-wc-6541413">https://www.academia.edu/3323847/Repurposed Narratives The Battle of Siffin and the Historical Memory of the Umayyad Dynasty?swp=rr-rw-wc-6541413</a> [accessed 31 March 2020].
- ★ Hamming, Tore, "Al-Hazimiyya: the ideological conflict destroying the Islamic State from within," International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague, ICCT Research Paper [May 2021]. https://icct.nl/app/uploads/2021/05/Al-Hazimiyya-islamic-state-ideological-conflict.pdf [accessed 13 May 2021].
  - I know that this article is a little deep in terms of the specifics of Islamic exegesis; however, the scholarly work is excellent, and it presents something that isn't specific to a particular faith how groups become more extreme over time. Hamming explains the growing influence of more extreme thinkers within ISIS and how the targeted killings of senior ISIS officials facilitated that growing extremism. Though I don't have a recommendation here and now, I think this point is well worth ponderous thought.
  - Hume, David, "Management of Savagery Think Defence", Think Defence.UK [16 March 2015]. <a href="http://counterjihadreport.com/the-management-of-savagery/">http://counterjihadreport.com/the-management-of-savagery/</a> [accessed 19 January 2016]. Really good and brief assessment of the Management of Savagery from a UK military perspective. This has value in that the graphics and ideas frame the problem in a comprehensible military doctrine format.
- Hussain, Ghaffar, "A Brief History of Islamism," Quilliam [January 2010]. <a href="http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/publications/free/brief-history-of-islamism.pdf">http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/publications/free/brief-history-of-islamism.pdf</a> [accessed 6 November 2015].
  - Hussein, Tom, "An Interview with Umm Mohammed: The Wife of Bin laden's Spiritual Mentor Abdullah Azzam," MENA etc (originally published on 30 April 2006 in *al-Sharq al-Awsat*) [10 May 2018]. <a href="http://www.tamhussein.co.uk/2018/05/source-material-an-interview-with-umm-mohammed-the-wife-of-bin-ladens-spiritual-mentor-abdullah-azzam/">http://www.tamhussein.co.uk/2018/05/source-material-an-interview-with-umm-mohammed-the-wife-of-bin-ladens-spiritual-mentor-abdullah-azzam/</a> [accessed 13 May 2018].
  - Jones, Blake W. James, ""How Does a Born-Again Christian Deal with a Born-Again Moslem?" The Religious Dimension of the Iranian Hostage Crisis", Diplomatic History 15, no. 1 (January 1991): 423-451.
    - This presents some critical facts in understanding the ignorance of US leadership regarding the Islamic world with direct connections to the American hostage crisis.
  - katholisch.de, "Identify Problems Clearly: Volker Resing on the Current Debate about Islam," katholisch.de, Katholische Kirche in Deutschland 22 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2017/katholisch.de">http://www.baytarrahmah.org/media/2017/katholisch.de</a> Identify-Problems-Clearly 08-22-17.pdf [accessed 18 September 2017].
  - Khomeini, Ruhollah, "We Shall Confront the World with Our Ideology," speech given 21 March 1980, Middle East Research and Information Project, volume 10, May/June 1980.

    <a href="http://www.merip.org/mer/mer88/khomeini-we-shall-confront-world-our-ideology">http://www.merip.org/mer/mer88/khomeini-we-shall-confront-world-our-ideology</a> [accessed 15 January 2018].
- ★ Lambert, Stephen P. Y: The Sources of Revolutionary Conduct. Washington, DC: Joint Military Intelligence College. April 2005. <a href="http://www.higginsctc.org/terrorism/sources\_islamic.pdf">http://www.higginsctc.org/terrorism/sources\_islamic.pdf</a> [accessed 29 June 2016].
  - Interesting points. The best part is a list of Islamist and Salafist thinkers that trace back beyond Ibn Tamiyya. It includes: Ibn Salamah (1032), Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi (1064), Qadi Musa Iyadh (1149), Nawawi (1277), the monumental Ibn Taymiyyah (1328), Ibn al-Qayyim (1350) Ibn Kathir (1373), Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1792), and more recently Sayyid Qutb, and Abul A'la Mawdudi.
  - Lo, Mbaye Bashir, "The West's Freedom Problem and the Root of Islamic Militancy," Small Wars Journal

- [10 February 2016]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-west%E2%80%99s-freedom-problem-and-the-root-of-islamic-militancy">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-west%E2%80%99s-freedom-problem-and-the-root-of-islamic-militancy</a> [accessed 30 June 2016].
- Millerd, Phillip and Michael Watkins. "The Factors that Divide an Ethnoreligious Homogeneous Group," Capstone Research Article for Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 17 April 2015.

  Useful summary of definitions of nationalism.
- Mutahhari, Murtadha, "Jihad the Holy War of Islam and its Legitimacy in the Quran," al-Islam, Ahlul Bayt Digital Islamic Library Project, 1985. <a href="https://www.al-islam.org/printpdf/book/export/html/17807">https://www.al-islam.org/printpdf/book/export/html/17807</a> [accessed 13 February 2017].
  - Delivered to me by a CGSC student from Azerbaijan. He is a devote Shia and believed that this book explained jihad well from the Shia perspective. This is a production of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
- Nasr, Vali, "The War for Islam", Foreign Policy [22 January 2016]. http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/22/the-war-for-islam-sunni-shiite-iraq-syria/ [accessed 25 January 2015].
  - The author makes the argument that this war is neither interminable nor is it unfathomable. The roots may be deep, but they are comprehensible and comprehension should be sought.
- Nawaz, Maajid and Sam Harris, "We Need to Talk About Islam's Jihadism Problem", The Daily Beast [15 September 2015]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/09/15/we-need-to-talk-about-islam-s-jihad-problem.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/09/15/we-need-to-talk-about-islam-s-jihad-problem.html</a> [accessed 15 September 2015].
- ★ Nomani, Asra Q., "How the Saudis Churn Out 'Jihad Inc." The Daily Beast [5 January 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/05/how-the-saudis-churn-out-jihad-inc.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/01/05/how-the-saudis-churn-out-jihad-inc.html</a> [5 January 2016].
  - Interesting perspective of the role of radicalization of women.
- ★ Olidort, Jacob, "The Right Question about the Islamic State's Ideology", War on the Rocks [24 December 2015]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/12/the-right-question-about-the-islamic-states-ideology/">http://warontherocks.com/2015/12/the-right-question-about-the-islamic-states-ideology/</a> [accessed 5 January 2016].
  - The author includes some really good questions regarding the nature of ISIS. This includes a great discussion on salafism and its relationship to ISIS and their behavior.
  - Polk, William R., "Sayyid Qutub's Fundamentalism and Abu Bakr Naji's Jihadism: Appendix to Understanding Syria", *Middle East Policy Council* [3 December 2013]. <a href="http://www.mepc.org/articles-commentary/commentary/sayyid-qutubs-fundamentalism-and-abu-bakr-najis-jihadism">http://www.mepc.org/articles-commentary/commentary/sayyid-qutubs-fundamentalism-and-abu-bakr-najis-jihadism</a> [accessed 18 January 2016].
    - Very good article for summarizing major theoretical precepts.
  - Puri, Luv, "The Past and Future of Deobandi Islam," *CTC Sentinel*, November 2009, Volume 2, Issue 11, pages 19-22. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/CTCSentinel-Vol2Iss11-12-art6.pdf">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/CTCSentinel-Vol2Iss11-12-art6.pdf</a> [accessed 30 March 2017].
  - Qadhi, Yasir, "On Salafi Islam," *Muslim Matters* [22 April 2014]. <a href="https://muslimmatters.org/wp-content/uploads/On-Salafi-Islam\_Dr.-Yasir-Qadhi.pdf">https://muslimmatters.org/wp-content/uploads/On-Salafi-Islam\_Dr.-Yasir-Qadhi.pdf</a> [accessed 5 December 2017].
- ★ Qutb, Sayyid ash-Shaheed, "The America I Have Seen": In the Scale of Human Values (1951). Kashf ul Shubuhat Publications.
  - http://ia600403.us.archive.org/11/items/IslamicBooksByIbnTaymiyyahMaqdisiAndAbdullahAzzam/The America I have seen Sayyid Qutb.pdf [accessed 8 March 2016].
  - Schitrit, Daria, Einav Yogev, and Yoram Schweitzer, "Suicide Attacks in 2015", *The Institute for National Security Studies* [26 January 2016].
    - http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20789%20-
    - <u>%20Daria,%20Einav,%20and%20Yoram%20for%20web278300049.pdf</u> [accessed 27 January 2016].

- General statistics on suicide terrorist attacks in 2015.
- ★ Shankar, Abha, "The Saudi-Iran Rivalry and Sectarian Strife in South Asia," *The Diplomat* [6 October 2016]. <a href="http://thediplomat.com/2016/10/the-saudi-iran-rivalry-and-sectarian-strife-in-south-asia/">http://thediplomat.com/2016/10/the-saudi-iran-rivalry-and-sectarian-strife-in-south-asia/</a> [accessed 7 October 2016].
  - Important information on the soft power war being waged by both Saudi Arabia and Iran. This demonstrates their conduct of maneuver in the narrative space.
  - Tapson, Mark, "The Management of Savagery", *Frontpage* [26 October 2014]. <a href="http://counterjihadreport.com/the-management-of-savagery/">http://counterjihadreport.com/the-management-of-savagery/</a> [accessed 19 January 2016].
  - Tomlinson, Chris, "Young Muslims Threaten Nudist Bathers With 'Extermination'," *Breitbart* [26 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/07/26/young-muslims-threaten-nudist-bathers/">http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/07/26/young-muslims-threaten-nudist-bathers/</a> [accessed 27 July 2016].
  - Tønnessen, Truls, "The group that wanted to be a state: the 'rebel governance' of the Islamic state," chapter 4 in *Islamists and the Politics of the Arab Uprisings: Governance, Pluralisation and Contention*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 2018.
    - https://www.academia.edu/38061701/The group that wanted to be a state the rebel governance of the Islamic state [accessed 19 July 2021].
    - This has some excellent material on the origins of ISIS in the al-Zarqawi era.
  - Varadarajan, Tunku, "Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Islam's Most Eloquent Apostate," *The Wall Street Journal* [7 April 2017]. <a href="https://www.wsj.com/articles/ayaanhirsialiislamsmosteloquentapostate1491590469">https://www.wsj.com/articles/ayaanhirsialiislamsmosteloquentapostate1491590469</a> [accessed 5 July 2017].
    - This is a good article expressing the challenges associated with Dawa and the meaning of these terms as understood by different groups.
  - von Hein, Matthias, "Saudi Arabia exports extremism to many countries including Germany, study says," *Deutsche Welle* [9 July 2017]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/saudi-arabia-exports-extremism-to-many-countries-including-germany-study-says/a-39618920">http://www.dw.com/en/saudi-arabia-exports-extremism-to-many-countries-including-germany-study-says/a-39618920</a> [accessed 11 July 2017].
- Wagemakers, Joas, "Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi: A Counter-Terrorism Asset?" CTC Sentinel, May 2008, volume 1, Issue 6. <a href="https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Vol1Iss6-Art3.pdf">https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Vol1Iss6-Art3.pdf</a> [accessed 4 April 2017].
  - Excellent summary of the teaching and influence of al-Maqdisi.
  - Wagemakers, Joas, "A Purist Jihadi-Salafi: The Ideology of Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi," British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 36, No. 2 (August 2009), pp. 281-297.
    - http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.umkc.edu/stable/pdf/40593257.pdf [accessed 4 April 2017].
    - This is a fantastic article for understanding not just al-Maqdisi, but also the complexity of the salafist camp. Simple divisions cannot fully comprehend the various points of potential and real fracture.
  - Wiktorowicz, Quintan, "Anatomy of the Salafi Movement," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Volume 29, Issue 3, 207-239 [1 May 2006]. <a href="http://pc8ga3qq6a.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx\_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx\_enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-">http://pc8ga3qq6a.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx\_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx\_enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-</a>
    - 8&rfr\_id=info%3Asid%2Fsummon.serialssolutions.com&rft\_val\_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Ajournal&rft.genre=article&rft.atitle=Anatomy+of+the+Salafi+Movement&rft.jtitle=Studies+in+Conflict+%26+Terrorism&rft.au=Wiktorowicz%2C+Quintan&rft.date=2006-05-01&rft.issn=1057-610X&rft.eissn=1521-
  - Williams, Jennifer, "The Saudi Arabia problem: why a country at war with jihadists also fuels them", Vox

[1 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.vox.com/2015/12/1/9821466/saudi-problem-isis">http://www.vox.com/2015/12/1/9821466/saudi-problem-isis</a> [accessed 2 December 2015].

This article includes some history on Wahhabism and on the connection between the Saudi ruling family and the Wahhabi clerics. It doesn't give the full or correct story and therefore leads toward interpretations that are not complete.

Wright, Robin, et al. "The Jihadi Threat: ISIS, al-Qaeda, and Beyond," United States Institute of Peace, December 2016/January 2017. <a href="http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/The-Jihadi-Threat-ISIS-Al-Qaeda-and-Beyond.pdf">http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/The-Jihadi-Threat-ISIS-Al-Qaeda-and-Beyond.pdf</a> [accessed 22 February 2017].

A great summary of where the jihadi threat came from and where it has gone and where it may be going. For the size of the document, this is a must read for understanding the present and possible futures of ISIS and al-Qaeda.

## **Violent Extremist Ideologies**

- Azinović, Vlado, ed. Between Salvation and Terror: Radicalization and the Foreign Fighter Phenomenon in the Western Balkans. Sarajevo: The Atlantic Initiative, 2017.

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/36005598/The Foreign Fighter Phenomenon in Kosovo Covering a Blind Spot">https://www.academia.edu/36005598/The Foreign Fighter Phenomenon in Kosovo Covering a Blind Spot [accessed 13 February 2021].</a>
- Meleagrou-Hitchens, Alexander, Seamus Hughes, and Bennett Clifford. *The Travelers: American Jihadists in Syria and Iraq*. The George Washington University Program on Extremism, February 2018. <a href="https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/extremism.gwu.edu/files/TravelersAmericanJihadistsinSyriaandIraq.pdf">https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/extremism.gwu.edu/files/TravelersAmericanJihadistsinSyriaandIraq.pdf</a> [accessed 27 February 2018].
- Pandalai, Shruti, editor. 2019. *Combatting Terrorism: Evolving Asian Perspectives*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press LLP. <a href="https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book">https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book</a> combating-terrorism.pdf [accessed 18 January 2020].
- Vidino, Lorenzo, Francesco Marone, and Eva Entenmann. Fear Thy Neighbor Radicalization and Jihadist Attacks in the West. Milan: Ledizioni LediPublishing, 2017.
  <a href="https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/extremism.gwu.edu/files/FearThyNeighbor%20RadicalizationandJihadistAttacksintheWest.pdf">https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/extremism.gwu.edu/files/FearThyNeighbor%20RadicalizationandJihadistAttacksintheWest.pdf</a> [accessed 10 July 2017].
  - This book length project (over 100 pages) provides significant information on the attacks that have occurred in Europe and North America perpetrated by Islamic extremists. The document includes good background and statistical information on the variety of attacks from June 2014 to June 2017.
  - Ackerman, Gary A. ""Designing Danger": Complex Engineering by Violent Non-State Actors: Introduction to the Special Issue," *Journal of Strategic Security*, Article 3 of Volume 9, Number 1 Designing Danger: Complex Engineering by Violent Non-State Actors [14 March 2016].

    <a href="http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1502&context=jss">http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1502&context=jss</a> [accessed 18 April 2016].
  - Alvaredo, Facundo and Thomas Piketty, "Measuring Top Incomes and Inequality in the Middle East: Data Limitations and Illustration with the Case of Egypt", *Economic Research Forum* (Working Paper No. 8320, May 2014. <a href="http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/files/AlvaredoPiketty2014ERF.pdf">http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/files/AlvaredoPiketty2014ERF.pdf</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
    - Piketty is known for his advocacy for economic solutions to problems with extremism. Here are some quotes from the abstract. "We come with two main conclusions. First, data sources at the national level are insufficient to derive reliable estimates of top income shares in a country like Egypt (or in other Middle East countries). One would need reliable fiscal sources in order to make a precise comparison with other emerging or developed countries.... Next, and irrespective of these uncertainties on within-country inequalities, there is no doubt that income inequality is extremely large at the level of the Middle East taken as whole simply because regional inequality in per capita GNP is particularly large.... Popular discontent might reflect the fact that perceptions about inequality and the (un)fairness of the distribution are determined by regional (and/or global) inequality, and not only on national inequality."
  - American University School of Public Affairs, "Foreign Fighter Returnees: An Indefinite Threat?" American University School of Public Affairs [28 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.american.edu/spa/news/malet-foreign-fighters.cfm">https://www.american.edu/spa/news/malet-foreign-fighters.cfm</a> [accessed 11 October 2018].
  - Argentino, Marc-André, Shiraz Maher, and Charlie Winter, "Violent Extremist Innovation: A Cross-Ideological Analysis," *International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation*, King's College, London [December 2021]. <a href="https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/ICSR-Report-Violent-Extremist-Innovation-A-Cross%E2%80%91Ideological-Analysis.pdf">https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/ICSR-Report-Violent-Extremist-Innovation-A-Cross%E2%80%91Ideological-Analysis.pdf</a> [accessed 24 February 2022].
  - Asal, Victor, R. Karl Rethemeyer, and Joseph Young: An Analysis of Violent Nonstate Actor Organizational

Lethality and Network Co-Evolution in the Middle East and North Africa. College Park, MD: START, 2016.

The executive summary includes the following findings:

- VNSAs are more likely to kill many civilians in one year when they control territory and when governments use violence, or what we call a stick strategy, against them;
- VNSAs are most likely to kill many civilians in one year when governments use a mixed strategy that is, a
  combination of violence (stick) and negotiation (what we term a carrot strategy) as opposed to either
  stick or carrot alone;
- VNSAs are most likely to inflict more than 100 battle deaths in one year when they control territory, are highly connected to other VNSAs, and are large (though there is a strong relationship between size and controlling territory);
- VNSAs are less likely to inflict more than 100 battle deaths in one year when they have a formal political party.
- VNSAs that are socially isolated that is, have no alliance connections tend to be less lethal and tend to stay relatively less lethal;
- Social isolation is a relatively stable state; however, there are factors that help to drive organization
  alliance formation like shared location, ideology, and preference for closed relationship a friend of
  friend tends also to be a friend;
- Once an organization generates alliance connections, a feedback loop drives lethality up;
- Maintaining organizational isolation appears to be a useful strategy for dampening organizational lethality from the abstract. "We come with two main conclusions.

Reviewing these findings which are derived from statistically available information from 1998-2012 one can see why a group like ISIS would be expected to be violent and even excessively so.

- Atran, Scott, Robert Axelrod, Richard Davis, and Baruch Fischhoff, "Challenges in researching terrorism from the field: Research must focus on how youth are engaged," *Science*, Vol. 355, Issue 6323, 352-354 [27 Jan 2017]. <a href="http://science.sciencemag.org/content/355/6323/352/tab-pdf">http://science.sciencemag.org/content/355/6323/352/tab-pdf</a> [accessed 1 February 2017].
- Benmelech, Efraim and Esteban F. Kor. What Explains the Flow of Foreign Fighters to ISIS? National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA, April 2016. <a href="http://www.nber.org/papers/w22190">http://www.nber.org/papers/w22190</a> [accessed 11 August 2016].
  - Quoted from Abstract: This paper provides the first systematic analysis of the link between economic, political, and social conditions and the global phenomenon of ISIS foreign fighters. We find that poor economic conditions do not drive participation in ISIS... Other factors that explain the number of ISIS foreign fighters are the size of a country's Muslim population and its ethnic homogeneity... [O]ur results suggest that the flow of foreign fighters to ISIS is driven not by economic or political conditions but rather by ideology and the difficulty of assimilation into homogeneous Western countries.
- Bjelopera, Jerome P. "Domestic Terrorism: An Overview," Congressional Research Service [21 August 2017]. <a href="https://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/R44921.pdf">https://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/R44921.pdf</a> [accessed 2 July 2018].
  - In tended as a primer on the topic of domestic terrorism which, by the author's explanation, is not terrorist acts motivated by foreign sources. Excellent material in the discussion on the topic.
- Blair, Christopher, Erica Chenoweth, Michael C. Horowitz, Evan Perkoski, and Philip B. K. Potter, "The Death and Life of Terrorist Networks: How Alliances Help Militants Survive," *Foreign Affairs* [5 October 2020]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2020-10-05/death-and-life-terrorist-networks">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2020-10-05/death-and-life-terrorist-networks</a> [accessed 21 October 2020].
- Braniff, William. Testimony before the House Armed Services Committee Hearing "What is the State of Islamic Extremism: Key Trends, Challenges and Implications for U.S. Policy," 13 February 2015.

  William Braniff is the Executive Director for the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses

to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland. In this testimony he speaks of the changes from his

- previous testimony 53 weeks earlier. This testimony includes some good charts and statistical data. He makes statements as he does in the "Two Caliphates" document referenced above. He is wrong in his use of the term attrition with respect to strategy. He need to adopt Delbruck's use of the term exhaustion to be more accurate.
- Celso, Anthony, "The Radicalization of Sunni Jihadist Groups and Their Development of a Total War Doctrine," Journal of Liberal Arts and Humanities (JLAH), Issue: Vol. 1; No. 1 January 2020, 1-19. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/41804617/THE">https://www.academia.edu/41804617/THE</a> RADICALIZATION OF SUNNI JIHADIST GROUPS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT OF A TOTAL WAR DOCTRINE [accessed 11 June 2020].
  - Strongly recommend reading this. I am very impressed with the comprehensive nature of this discussion on the evolution of thought amongst current extremist groups. This is being added to my list of must reads as it is that useful.
  - Clarke, Colin P. "How Terrorist Groups Learn: Implications for al-Qaeda," *Foreign Policy Research Institute* [13 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.fpri.org/article/2019/03/how-terrorist-groups-learn-implications-for-al-qaeda/">https://www.fpri.org/article/2019/03/how-terrorist-groups-learn-implications-for-al-qaeda/</a> [accessed 14 March 2019].
    - Simple, but useful discussion of how terrorist groups learn.
  - Cragin, R. Kim, "Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model for Non-Radicalization, Terrorism and Political Violence, 26:2, 337-353, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2012.714820.
- ★ Crowell, Mandy, "What Went Wrong With France's Deradicalization Program?" *Defense One* [29 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/09/what-went-wrong-frances-deradicalization-program/141356/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/09/what-went-wrong-frances-deradicalization-program/141356/</a> [accessed 2 October 2017].
  - Can a secular nation "deradicalize" those who have committed themselves to a path of religious extremism? This article looks at a French attempt to accomplish such an effort. The program ended, but the report suggests there may have been progress. One of the primary characters in this narrative "deprogrammed" himself while in prison and reading material from the *Enlightenment*. The questions raised by this article are serious and need consideration and deep thought.
  - Darden, Jessica Trisko and Izabela Steflja, "When Women Commit War Crimes," *War on the Rocks* [28 October 2020]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2020/10/when-women-commit-war-crimes/">https://warontherocks.com/2020/10/when-women-commit-war-crimes/</a> [accessed 24 November 2020].
  - De Dreu, Carsten K. W. and Mariska E. Kret, "Oxytocin Conditions Intergroup Relations Through Upregulated In-Group Empathy, Cooperation, Conformity, and Defense," *Biological Psychiatry*, 2015, 79, 165-173. <a href="http://www.mariskakret.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/De-Dreu-Kret-Manuscript.pdf">http://www.mariskakret.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/De-Dreu-Kret-Manuscript.pdf</a> [accessed 30 July 2020].
    - Oxytocin provides added benefit to in-group behavior.
  - Fernholz, Tim, "It's not the poverty in the Middle East that's driving terrorism—it's the politics", *Quartz* [30 November 2015]. <a href="http://qz.com/561848/its-not-the-poverty-in-the-middle-east-thats-driving-terrorism-its-the-politics/">http://qz.com/561848/its-not-the-poverty-in-the-middle-east-thats-driving-terrorism-its-the-politics/</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
    - This is an interesting discussion and refutation of a standard line that poverty is linked to extremist violence. The statistical proof is all in opposition.
  - Florida, Richard, "Why So Many Foreign Fighters Flock to ISIS," *Defense One* [10 August 2016]. <a href="http://qz.com/561848/its-not-the-poverty-in-the-middle-east-thats-driving-terrorism-its-the-politics/">http://qz.com/561848/its-not-the-poverty-in-the-middle-east-thats-driving-terrorism-its-the-politics/</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
    - This is a summary and discussion of the Benmelech and Kor paper identified above.
  - Fainberg, Alisa and Eitan Azani, "Central Asia Jihadism: Home and Abroad," *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism*, Herzliya, Israel [October 2017]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/35271970/Central">https://www.academia.edu/35271970/Central</a> Asia Jihadism Home and Abroad [accessed 15 December 2019].

- ★ Gall, Carlotta, "How Kosovo Was Turned Into Fertile Ground for ISIS," *New York Times* [21 May 2016]. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/22/world/europe/how-the-saudis-turned-kosovo-into-fertile-ground-for-isis.html? r=1 [accessed 23 May 2016].
  - Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed, Jason Fritz, Bridget Moreng, and Nathaniel Barr, "The War between the Islamic State and al-Qaeda: Strategic Dimensions of a Patricidal Conflict," Valens Global: International Strategies & Security, SMA Support to SOCCENT [September 2015].
- ★ Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed, Colin P. Clarke, and Matt Shear, "Terrorists and Technological Innovation," Lawfare [2 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/terrorists-and-technological-innovation">https://www.lawfareblog.com/terrorists-and-technological-innovation</a> [accessed 19 February 2020].
  - This is an excellent article that highlights the methods used by non-state actors to implement new technologies into their operational approach.
  - Gilliam, Joshua. "Why They Hate Us: An Examination of al-wala' wa-l-bara' in Salafi-Jihadist Ideology." *Military Review* online edition, February 2018. <a href="https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/Army-Press-Online-Journal/documents/Gilliam-Hate-v2.pdf">https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/Army-Press-Online-Journal/documents/Gilliam-Hate-v2.pdf</a> [accessed 20 January 2019].
  - Glazzard, Andrew, Sasha Jesperson, Thomas Maguire, and Emily Winterbotham, "Islamist Violent Extremism: A New Form of Conflict or Business as Usual?" Stability: International Journal of Security & Development, 6(1): 13, pp. 1–19 [28 September 2017]. DOI:https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.503 [accessed 21 October 2020].
  - The Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, "The nexus of conflict and illicit drug trafficking: Syria and the Wider Region," Geneva: Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime [November 2016]. <a href="http://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/global-initiative-the-nexus-of-conflict-and-illicit-drug-trafficking-syria-and-the-wider-region-november-2016">http://globalinitiative-net/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/global-initiative-the-nexus-of-conflict-and-illicit-drug-trafficking-syria-and-the-wider-region-november-2016</a> low.pdf [accessed 19 June 2018].
- Habeck, Mary R., Ph.D., "Jihadist Strategies in the War on Terrorism," Heritage Lectures: Published by the Heritage Foundation, no. 855 [8 November 2015].
   <a href="http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/jihadist-strategies-in-the-war-on-terrorism">http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/jihadist-strategies-in-the-war-on-terrorism</a> [accessed 21 March 2016].
  - Hale, Virginia, "Study: Muslim Parents Would Keep Quiet About Jihadi Children," *Breitbart* [11 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/07/11/muslim-parents-jihadi-children/">http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/07/11/muslim-parents-jihadi-children/</a> [accessed 11 July 2016].
    - Interesting information on the concern regarding the problems facing those who fight violent extremism. This challenges the notion of responsibility versus persecution.
  - Hamming, Tore Refslund, "Jihadi Competition and Political Preferences," Perspectives on Terrorism, Volume 11, Issue 6, December 2017, 63-88.

    <a href="http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/657/pdf">http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/657/pdf</a> [accessed 27 April 2018].
  - Hassan, "The twisted book club: how terrorist groups like ISIS use reading lists to teach their ideology," *The National* [16 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/comment/the-twisted-book-club-how-terrorist-groups-like-isis-use-reading-lists-to-teach-their-ideology-1.7309330">https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/comment/the-twisted-book-club-how-terrorist-groups-like-isis-use-reading-lists-to-teach-their-ideology-1.7309330</a> [accessed 24 May 2018].
  - Hassan, "Stuck Fighting the Last War," *The Atlantic* [11 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/09/stuck-fighting-the-last-war/569713/">https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/09/stuck-fighting-the-last-war/569713/</a> [accessed 12 September 2018].
  - Hauch, Lars, "Interview with an Iranian fighter in Hayat Tahrir al-Sham," *Long War Journal* [18 September 2018]. https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/interview-with-an-iranian-

- fighter-in-hayat-tahrir-al-sham.php [accessed 19 September 2018].
- Hegghammer, Thomas, "Global Jihadism after the Iraq War," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Winter, 2006), pp. 11-32. <a href="http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.umkc.edu/stable/4330214">http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.umkc.edu/stable/4330214</a> [accessed 6 April 2017].
- Hegghammer, Thomas, "Why Terrorists Weep: The Socio-Cultural Practices of Jihadi Militants," Paul Wilkinson Memorial Lecture, University of St. Andrews [16 April 2015].

  <a href="http://hegghammer.com/files/Hegghammer-wilkinson\_Memorial\_Lecture.pdf">http://hegghammer.com/files/Hegghammer-wilkinson\_Memorial\_Lecture.pdf</a> [accessed 5 July 2018].
- Hegghammer, Thomas, "The Last Jihadi Superstar," War on the Rocks [30 October 2020]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2020/10/the-last-jihadi-superstar/">https://warontherocks.com/2020/10/the-last-jihadi-superstar/</a> [accessed 2 November 2020].
  This is an excellent book review of Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens' Incitement: Anwar al-Awlaki's Western Jihad. It is also a good overview of the significance of the American jihadist Anwar al-Awlaki. Well worth the read.
- ★ Heller, Sam, "Ahrar al-Sham's Revisionist Jihadism," War on the Rocks [30 September 2015]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/09/ahrar-al-shams-revisionist-jihadism/">http://warontherocks.com/2015/09/ahrar-al-shams-revisionist-jihadism/</a> [accessed 6 October 2015].
  - This is an excellent discussion on the roots of jihad for this group and it includes a fantastic definition on victory: "Victory is the people's adoption and embrace of the elite's message," he wrote. "At that point, neither the East nor the West will be able to extinguish the Islamic character of the revolution, and both the elite and the people will be victorious, God willing."
  - Hudson, Valeria M. and Hilary Matfess, "In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage between Brideprice and Violent Conflict," *International Security*, volume 42, number 1, 7-40 [Summer 2017]. doi:10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00289.
  - ICT, "Modus Operandi of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula," *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism*, Herzliya, Israel [14 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.ict.org.il/UserFiles/JWMG-Ins-Modus-Operandi-AQAP-Mar-16.pdf">http://www.ict.org.il/UserFiles/JWMG-Ins-Modus-Operandi-AQAP-Mar-16.pdf</a> [accessed 20 March 2016].
    - Information on the training manual and videos for AQAP. This is a summary of tactical and operational doctrine.
  - ICT, "Recent Jihadi Discourse Pertaining to Aviation Threats" International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [12 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.ict.org.il/Article/1508/Recent-Jihadi-Discourse-Pertaining-to-Aviation?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=JWMG">http://www.ict.org.il/Article/1508/Recent-Jihadi-Discourse-Pertaining-to-Aviation?utm\_source=activetrail&utm\_medium=email&utm\_campaign=JWMG</a> [accessed 6 August 2016].
- ★ Ingram, Haroro J. "Deciphering the Siren Call of Militant Islamist Propaganda: Meaning, Credibility & Behavioural Change," The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism [30 September 2016]. <a href="https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/ICCT-Ingram-Deciphering-the-Siren-Call-of-Militant-Islamist-Propaganda-September 2016.pdf">https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/ICCT-Ingram-Deciphering-the-Siren-Call-of-Militant-Islamist-Propaganda-September 2016.pdf</a> [accessed 12 October 2016].
  - Excellent source of resources for understanding maneuver in the narrative space. The author does not use the terminology of MITNS, but he speaks about the same principles and techniques.
- ★ Ingram, Haroro J. "A "Linkage-Based" Approach to Combating Militant Islamist Propaganda: A Two-Tiered Framework for Practitioners," The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism [November 2016]. <a href="https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/ICCT-Ingram-A-Linkage-Based-Approach-Nov2016.pdf">https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/ICCT-Ingram-A-Linkage-Based-Approach-Nov2016.pdf</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
  - Great description of the linkage-based approach and an explanation of the process from opposition to fighting.
- ★ International Crisis Group, "Exploiting Disorder: al-Qaeda and the Islamic State," *International Crisis Group* [14 March 2016]. http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/global/exploiting-disorder-al-

- gaeda-and-the-islamic-state.aspx [accessed 18 March 2016].
- Explanation of four waves of jihadism since the early 1990s. Support to the argument that ISIS is not the primary threat to any belligerent country.
- Jones, Robert, "Winning the Ideological Battle for the Support of the Populace (Understanding the Role of Ideology in Insurgency)," Small Wars Journal [13 April 2008]. http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/46-jones.pdf [accessed 6 April 2016].
- ★ Jones, Seth G., Charles Vallee, Danika Newlee, Nicholas Harrington, Clayton Sharb, and Hannah Byrne, "The Evolution of the Salafi-Jihadist Threat Current and Future Challenges from the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and Other Groups," Center for Strategic and International Studies Transnational Threats Project [November 2018]. <a href="https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/Jones">https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/Jones</a> EvolvingTerroristThreat FULL WEB.pdf [accessed 2 December 2018].
  - An excellent discussion on the development of salafi-jihadi groups from 1980 to 2018. The report is full of critical information. One bit of disturbing data is that the estimate of fighters in 2018 is 270% higher than 2001. A lot more is in here and it is worth reading to get to it.
  - Kaplan, Eben. "Tracking Down Terrorist Financing." Council on Foreign Relations, 4 April 2006. http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-financing/tracking-down-terrorist-financing/p10356 [accessed 6 March 2017].
    - A brief primer on the ways and methods used by terrorist groups to finance their operations.
  - Keatinge, Tom, "Finances of jihad: How extremist groups raise money," *BBC News* [12 December 2017]. <a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-30393832">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-30393832</a> [accessed 6 March 2017].
    - An updated primer on terrorist financing that includes ISIS activities and behaviors.
  - Kenney, Michael, "Al-Muhajiroun May be Appalling, but it is Not a Conveyor Belt to Terrorism," *Political Violence at a Glance* [5 October 2018]. <a href="https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2018/10/05/al-muhajiroun-may-be-appalling-but-it-is-not-a-conveyor-belt-to-terrorism/">https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2018/10/05/al-muhajiroun-may-be-appalling-but-it-is-not-a-conveyor-belt-to-terrorism/</a> [accessed 10 October 2018].
- Khalil, Lydia, "Behind the Veil: Women in Jihad after the Caliphate," Lowy Institute [25 June 2019]. http://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/behind-veil-women-jihad-after-caliphate [accessed 29 June 2019].
  - Worth your time. This is a fascinating article on the changing role of women in the concept of modern jihad. About 9,000 words.
  - Khataw, Farwah, "Tracing the causes of sectarian conflict in Iraq and Syria (updated)." Masters of Science in International Relations Thesis for Graduate School at the University of Edinburgh [Unknown].
    - https://www.academia.edu/36621027/Tracing the causes of sectarian conflict in Iraq and Syria updated ?email work card=title [accessed 16 December 2019].
  - Kolva, Dan, "Ready, Fire, Aim: The Importance of Strategic Objectives in Countering Violent Non-State Actors," *Small Wars Journal* [22 May 2016]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/ready-fire-aim-the-importance-of-strategic-objectives-in-countering-violent-non-state-actor#\_ednref1">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/ready-fire-aim-the-importance-of-strategic-objectives-in-countering-violent-non-state-actor#\_ednref1</a> [accessed 23 May 2016].
- Koppell, Carla, "To Fight Extremism, The World Needs to Learn How to Talk to Women", Foreign Policy [12 August 2015]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/12/to-fight-extremism-the-world-needs-to-learn-how-to-talk-to-women-+-haram-isis/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/12/to-fight-extremism-the-world-needs-to-learn-how-to-talk-to-women-+-haram-isis/</a> [accessed 14 August 2015].
  - Krueger, Alan, "What Makes a Terrorist" *American Enterprise Institute* [7 November 2007]. <a href="http://www.aei.org/publication/what-makes-a-terrorist/">http://www.aei.org/publication/what-makes-a-terrorist/</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
    - This is a more concise version of his journal article published in 2003. Terrorists are motivated by a complex collection of reasons, but poverty is not primarily one of them.

- Krueger, Alan B. and Jitka Maleckova. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" Journal of Economic Perspectives (Volume 17, Number 4), Fall 2003, Pages 119 –144. <a href="http://www.uvm.edu/~wgibson/PDF/kruger\_mal.pdf">http://www.uvm.edu/~wgibson/PDF/kruger\_mal.pdf</a> [accessed 1 December 2015].
  - The primary argument is that terrorists are not primarily motivated by financial disadvantages.
- Lalwani, Nikita and Sam Winter-Levy, "Here's why terrorist suicide attacks are increasing: They attract rewards from ISIS and al-Qaeda," *The Washington Post* [16 August 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/08/16/heres-why-terrorist-suicide-attacks-are-increasing-they-get-attention-and-money-from-isis-and-al-qaeda/?utm\_campaign=Defense%20EBB%208-17-16&utm\_medium=email&utm\_source=Sailthru [accessed 17 August 2016].
  - The main source of the information is an article in the Journal of Peace Research that discusses trends in terrorism and reasons particularly for suicide terrorism. Simple theory. Still accurate. The research is available through this site: <a href="http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/early/2016/01/13/0022343315618001.abstract">http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/early/2016/01/13/0022343315618001.abstract</a>.
- Lerner, Davide, "It's Not Islam That Drives Young Europeans to Jihad, France's Top Terrorism Expert Explains," *Ha'aretz* [4 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/1.791954">http://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/1.791954</a> [accessed 11 June 2017].
- Lerner, Davide, "London Gave Shelter to Radical Islam and Now It's Paying the Price, French Terrorism Expert Says," *Ha'aretz* [10 June 2017]. <a href="http://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/1.794803">http://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/1.794803</a> [accessed 11 June 2017].
  - These two articles really need to be read in tandem. They provide an excellent commentary on the problems with counter-terrorism both experts and radically different interpretations of motivations for the fighter. How can a lay reader have any hope of understanding or even winning the fight against terrorism with this sort of difference of opinion.
- Lia, Brynjar. "Jihadism in the Arab World after 2011: Explaining its Expansion," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, Winter 2016, 74-91.

  <a href="https://www.academia.edu/30230029/Jihadism">https://www.academia.edu/30230029/Jihadism</a> in the Arab World after 2011 Explaining Its Expansion [accessed 13 February 2021].
- Lister, Charles, "US Officials Just Mislabeled a Syrian Terror Group as al Qaeda. Worse, They're Missing a Far Bigger Threat," *Defense One* [1 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/06/us-officials-just-mislabeled-syrian-group-al-qaeda-worse-theyre-missing-far-bigger-threat/148656/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/06/us-officials-just-mislabeled-syrian-group-al-qaeda-worse-theyre-missing-far-bigger-threat/148656/</a> [accessed 7 June 2018].
- Malet, David and Rachel Hayes, "Foreign Fighter Returnees: An Indefinite Threat?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* [27 July 2018]. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1497987">https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1497987</a> [accessed 23 October 2018].
- Martini, Jeffrey, Heather Williams, and William Young, "The Future of Sectarian Relations in the Middle East," RAND Corporation Perspectives, 2017.

  <a href="http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE200/PE242/RAND\_PE242.pdf">http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE200/PE242/RAND\_PE242.pdf</a>
  [accessed 24 July 2017].
- McCants, William and Christopher Meserole, "The French connection: Explaining Sunni militancy around the world," Originally Published in Foreign Affairs. Brookings [25 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2016/03/25-french-connection-sunni-militancy-mccants-meserole">http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2016/03/25-french-connection-sunni-militancy-mccants-meserole</a> [accessed 14 June 2016].
  - This short article provides a profound point linking language/culture along with urbanization and unemployment in terms of generating foreign fighters. This is controversial, but the truths associated with this are worth considering. These thoughts do not address so-called lone wolf attacks in the U.S. as many of the participants are not unemployed.
- ★ McColloh, Ian A. "Strain Theory as a Driver of Violent Extremism," Unpublished Manuscript [2014].

- McNiel, Charles M. "The Killing of Anwar al-Awlaki: How the United States Lost a Crucial Battle in the War of Ideas." A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty of the Air Command and Staff College and Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, March 2016. https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/1031332.pdf [accessed 20 December 2018].
- ★ Mendelsohn, Barak, "Bound To Fail: Transnational Jihadism and the Aggregation Problem," War on the Rocks [28 August 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/08/bound-to-fail-transnational-jihadism-and-the-aggregation-problem/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/08/bound-to-fail-transnational-jihadism-and-the-aggregation-problem/</a> [accessed 30 August 2018].
  - The problem with jihadist organizations is their inability to generate actionable authority and power over a geographic area sufficient to govern. An associated problem is that these same groups cannot generate sufficient support within the broader community to effectively govern once they control the land. This article explains these problems clearly and concisely as well as providing an excellent summary of the evolution of the associated jihadist ideology.
- ★ Meserole, Christopher, "The French Connection, Part II: Radicalization, Laïcité, and the Islamic Veil," Religional [25 April 2016]. <a href="https://religional.org/2016/04/25/french-connection-part-ii-radicalization-laicite-and-the-islamic-veil">https://religional.org/2016/04/25/french-connection-part-ii-radicalization-laicite-and-the-islamic-veil</a> [accessed 14 June 2016].
  - This article needs to be read along with "The French connection: Explaining Sunni militancy around the world" as this article explains the research and thinking supporting the earlier article. The findings explain that some of the driving reasons for radicalization are legal efforts and national debates that force Muslims to decide between being Western and being Muslim. In the specific cases of the article these are legal debates around the hijab (head scarf) and niqab (veil). The combination that seems to be the most dangerous are the debates on secularism and veil banning in essence if people are **forced** to choose between their God and being secular then the choice of God may be violent.
  - Metz, Steven, "Not Your Grandfather's Counterinsurgency: The United States Must Prepare for Radically New Forms of Nonstate Violence," *Modern War Institute* [28 July 2021]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/not-your-grandfathers-counterinsurgency-the-united-states-must-prepare-for-radically-new-forms-of-nonstate-violence/">https://mwi.usma.edu/not-your-grandfathers-counterinsurgency-the-united-states-must-prepare-for-radically-new-forms-of-nonstate-violence/</a> [accessed 18 August 2021].
  - Mölder, Holger, 2019, "The Islamic State, Clash of Civilizations and Their Impact on the Development of Contemporary International Relations," in: Sazonov, V.; Mölder, H;. Espak, P. (Ed.). Cultural Crossroads in the Middle East: The Historical, Cultural and Political Legacy of Intercultural Dialogue and Conflict from the Ancient Near East to the Present Day (314–345). Tartu: University of Tartu Press. (Studia Orientalia Tartuensia, Series Nova; VIII).

    <a href="https://www.academia.edu/41144289/The Islamic State Clash of Civilizations and Their Impact on the Development of Contemporary International Relations?email work card=abstract-read-more">tead-more</a> [accessed 23 June 2020].
  - Morton, Joseph, "UNO is part of efforts to counter violent extremist groups' social media propaganda," *Omaha.com* [14 June 2016]. <a href="http://www.omaha.com/news/politics/uno-is-part-of-efforts-to-counter-violent-extremist-groups/article\_2e333a3e-d5fb-5926-8d1e-791684e30b07.html">http://www.omaha.com/news/politics/uno-is-part-of-efforts-to-counter-violent-extremist-groups/article\_2e333a3e-d5fb-5926-8d1e-791684e30b07.html</a> [accessed 15 June 2016].
  - Munasinghe, Sandun, Rachael Garner, Jean Heery, Gavin James, and Daniel Rey, "Global Extremism Monitor: Islamist Violence after ISIS," *Tony Blair Institute for Global Change* [15 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/42050975/Global Extremism Monitor Islamist Violence after ISIS">https://www.academia.edu/42050975/Global Extremism Monitor Islamist Violence after ISIS [accessed 28 October 2020].</a>
  - Munir, Muhammad and Muhammad Shafiq, "Global Threat: A Comparative Analysis of Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State (IS)," Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) Journal, XVI, no. 2, 1-16 [Summer 2016]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/32387350/Global Threat A Comparative Analysis of Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State IS">https://www.academia.edu/32387350/Global Threat A Comparative Analysis of Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State IS</a> [accessed 6 September 2019].
  - Özkaya, Eylem and Berk Akgül, ""Light Years Ahead": Differences And Similarities Between Al-Qaeda And

- Islamic State's Approach To The Global Jihad," *Review of International Law & Politics*, Vol 12, No 2, pp. 41-74, 2016.
- https://www.academia.edu/30771233/ Light Years Ahead Differences And Similarities Between Al-Qaeda And Islamic States Approach To The Global Jihad [accessed 29 December 2019].
- Owen, John M. IV, "From Calvin to the Caliphate: What Europe's Wars of Religion Tell Us About the Modern Middle East." Foreign Affairs (May/June 2015 issue).
  <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/2015-04-20/calvin-caliphate">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/2015-04-20/calvin-caliphate</a> [6 November 2015].
  - Petrich, Katharine, "Al-Shabaab's Mata Hari Network," *War on the Rocks* [14 August 2018]. https://warontherocks.com/2018/08/al-shabaabs-mata-hari-network/ [accessed 14 August 2018].
- Quantum, "The White Papers: Understanding Jihadists in their Own Words", Volume 2, Quantum [March 2015]. <a href="https://now.mmedia.me/Pages/ImageStreamer/param/DocId">https://now.mmedia.me/Pages/ImageStreamer/param/DocId</a> 3f9f8a57-06ab-4909-afbc-2db99976bafe/white-paper-2--.pdf [accessed 14 March 2016].
  Great information on the process of radicalization.
  - Reese, Alex, "The Country Club Jihad: A Study of North American Radicalization", *Small Wars Journal* [24 January 2016]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-country-club-jihad-a-study-of-north-american-radicalization">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-country-club-jihad-a-study-of-north-american-radicalization</a> [accessed 25 January 2016].
- ★ Robinson, Glenn E. "The Four Waves of Global Jihad, 1979-2017," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, Fall 2017, 70-88. <a href="http://mepc.org/journal/four-waves-global-jihad-1979-2017">http://mepc.org/journal/four-waves-global-jihad-1979-2017</a> [accessed 7 September 2017].
  - This is an excellent summary of the transformation of jihadist thought over the last forty years. A must read to understand both how things developed over time and how it may continue to look in the near future.
  - Schweitzer, Yoram, Aviad Mendelboim, and Adi Gozlan. "Suicide Attacks in 2018: Fewer Attacks and Victims in Fewer Countries," INSS Insight No. 1126, January 7, 2019. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/publication/suicide-attacks-2018-fewer-attacks-victims-fewer-countries/">http://www.inss.org.il/publication/suicide-attacks-2018-fewer-attacks-victims-fewer-countries/</a> [accessed 20 January 2019].
  - Schweitzer, Yoram, Aviad Mendelboim, and Dana Ayalon, "Suicide Bombings Worldwide in 2019: Signs of Decline following the Military Defeat of the Islamic State," Institute for National Security Studies, *INSS Insight* No. 1244 [2 January 2020]. <a href="https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/No.-1244.pdf">https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/No.-1244.pdf</a> [accessed 3 January 2020].
  - Seese, Gregory S. Behavior Focused Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism: Targeting Active Support Networks. United States Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, July 2017. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/s/840f3b7208/behavior-focused-countering-violent-extremism-and-terrorism-targeting-active-support-networks?source=created\_email">https://www.academia.edu/s/840f3b7208/behavior-focused-countering-violent-extremism-and-terrorism-targeting-active-support-networks?source=created\_email</a> [accessed 26 November 2017].
  - Seftel, Bennett, "Hawala Networks: The Paperless Trail of Terrorist Transactions," *The Cipher Brief* [16 March 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/hawala-networks-paperless-trail-terrorist-transactions-1089">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/hawala-networks-paperless-trail-terrorist-transactions-1089</a> [accessed 16 March 2017].

    Brief explanation of hawala networks.
  - Seftel, Bennett, "Dark Money: How Militants Exploit Hawala to Fund Terror," *The Cipher Brief* [8 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/terrorists-exploit-hawala-networks-move-money-undetected">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/terrorists-exploit-hawala-networks-move-money-undetected</a> [accessed 10 February 2018].
  - Simkins, J.D. "Jihadists go green: Islamic extremist group al-Shabab bans plastic bags," *Military Times* [3 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/07/03/jihadists-go-green-islamic-extremist-group-al-shabab-bans-plastic-bags/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2018/07/03/jihadists-go-green-islamic-extremist-group-al-shabab-bans-plastic-bags/</a> [accessed 5 July 2018].

- Sokoloff, Jose Miguel, "Ad campaigns to demobilize FARC guerrillas," Presented to the Special Operations Command-Central Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment Group, 3 February 2016.
- Speckhard, Anne, "Another face of Abu Qatada: Speaking on the Principle of Terrorism," ICSVE Research Reports [14 February 2018]. <a href="http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/another-face-of-abu-qatada-speaking-on-the-principle-of-terrorism/">http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/another-face-of-abu-qatada-speaking-on-the-principle-of-terrorism/</a> [accessed 14 February 2018].
  - Notes and quotes from the second and third interviews with Abu Qatada. Includes important understandings on his thoughts regarding attacks against civilians and why he and others are disinclined to speak out against such attacks.
- Speckhard, Anne, "Psycho-social and Islamic Challenge Approaches to in-Prison Treatment of Militant Jihadis," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism [12 February 2020]. <a href="https://www.icsve.org/psycho-social-and-islamic-challenge-approaches-to-in-prison-treatment-of-militant-jihadis/">https://www.icsve.org/psycho-social-and-islamic-challenge-approaches-to-in-prison-treatment-of-militant-jihadis/</a> [accessed 23 February 2020].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Winning against al-Qaeda and ISIS: The Case for Combining Deradicalization with Disengagement Approaches in Prison and Community Programs Addressing Former and Current Members of Militant Jihadi Groups," prepublication copy of chapter for the Routledge Handbook on Deradicalization, International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism [27 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.academia.edu/34693437/Winning\_against\_al-Qaeda\_and\_ISIS\_The\_Case\_for\_Combining\_Deradicalization\_with\_Disengagement\_Approaches\_in\_Prison\_and\_Community\_Programs\_Addressing\_Former\_and\_Current\_Members\_of\_Militant\_Jihadi\_Groups?auto=download\_[accessed 2 October 2017].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Speaking to Abu Qatada about Donald Trump's Presidency and the Future of the Middle East," ICSVE Research Reports [12 February 2018].

  <a href="http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/talking-to-abu-qatada-about-donald-trumps-presidency-and-the-future-of-the-middle-east/">http://www.icsve.org/research-reports/talking-to-abu-qatada-about-donald-trumps-presidency-and-the-future-of-the-middle-east/</a> [accessed 14 February 2018].
  - Notes and quotes from the first and second interviews with Abu Qatada. Includes observations on the future condition of the Middle East and the role of the American government. These interviews were separated over almost a year.
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "PERSPECTIVE: Challenges in Creating, Deploying Counter-Narratives to Deter Would-be Terrorists," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [27 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-challenges-in-creating-deploying-counter-narratives-to-deter-would-beterrorists/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-challenges-in-creating-deploying-counter-narratives-to-deter-would-beterrorists/</a> [accessed 6 December 2018].
- Speckhard, Anne and Ardian Shajkovci, "Prison: Militant Jihadist Recruiting Grounds or Refuge for Rehabilitation?" Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [11 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/prison-militant-jihadist-recruiting-grounds-or-refuge-for-rehabilitation/#">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/prison-militant-jihadist-recruiting-grounds-or-refuge-for-rehabilitation/#</a> [accessed 18 December 2018]. A great discussion of the problem with the prison system in encouraging extremism.
- Speckhard, Anne, Ardian Shajkovci, and Chinara Esengul, "Analysis of the Drivers of Radicalization and Violent Extremism in Kyrgyzstan, including the Roles of Kyrgyz Women in Supporting, Joining, Intervening in, and Preventing Violent Extremism in Kyrgyzstan," ICSVE Research Reports [4 August 2017].
  - https://www.academia.edu/34134448/Analysis of the Drivers of Radicalization and Violent Extremism in Kyrgyzstan including the Roles of Kyrgyz Women in Supporting Joining Intervening in and Preventing Violent Extremism in Kyrgyzstan [accessed 7 August 2017].
- Standish, Reid, "'Our Future Will Be Violent Extremism': Kazakhstan Central Asia's most stable state is waking up to the fact that Islamic extremism has planted its roots and is here to stay." Foreign

- *Policy* [1 August 2017]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/08/01/central-asia-kazakhstan-eurasia-terrorism-extremism-isis-al-qaeda/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/08/01/central-asia-kazakhstan-eurasia-terrorism-extremism-isis-al-qaeda/</a> [accessed 2 August 2017].
- ★ Tankel, Stephen, R. Kim Cragin, Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, and Joshua Geltzer, "Policy Roundtable: What Is the Future of the Jihadist Movement?" Texas National Security Review [20 March 2018].
  https://tnsr.org/roundtable/policy-roundtable-future-jihadist-movement/ [accessed 23 March 2018].
  - The four-part discussion of where jihadism goes in the future is worth reading, if for no other reason than the endnotes alone. The thoughts are also worth considering as some legitimate experts address where the ISIS/al-Qaeda nexus of non-state powers rests currently and what the future trajectory of these organizations seems to be. The single most important point for me was the emphasis on just how messed up the global geopolitical environment is. So long as that remains true, then there will be places for these violent non-state groups to exist and operate.
  - Tankersley, Jim, "This might be the most controversial theory for what's behind the rise of ISIS", Washington Post [30 November 2015].
    - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2015/11/30/why-inequality-is-to-blame-for-the-rise-of-the-islamic-state/ [accessed 1 December 2015].
    - The author has a bold headline, but this is an argument based off western notions of what inspires people to action. As a result the originator of the theory, Thomas Piketty, misses the mark. The complete theory is explained in an edition of *Le Monde*, but I don't read French.
  - Tinnes, Judith, "A Resources List for Terrorism Research: Journals, Websites, Bibliographies (2018 Edition)," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, volume 12 issue 4 [August 2018]. <a href="https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/issue-4/08---tinnes-resources-link-toevoegen.pdf">https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/issue-4/08---tinnes-resources-link-toevoegen.pdf</a> {accessed 12 September 2018].
  - Turner, Kathleen, "Femme Fatale: The Rise of Female Suicide Bombers", War on the Rocks [14 December 2015]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/12/femme-fatale-the-rise-of-female-suicide-bombers/">http://warontherocks.com/2015/12/femme-fatale-the-rise-of-female-suicide-bombers/</a> [accessed 15 December 2015].
    - Some good data on the increase in female suicide bombers. The opening anecdote is about a female suicide bomber who killed her children in her detonation.
  - Von Kumberg, Krystel, "The False Genealogy of Terrorism: How Islamic Extremists and Their Critics Misconstrue the Roots of Jihadist Ideology," *Georgetown Security Studies Review* [19 October 2018]. <a href="http://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/2018/10/19/the-false-genealogy-of-terrorism-how-islamic-extremists-and-their-critics-misconstrue-the-roots-of-jihadist-ideology/">http://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/2018/10/19/the-false-genealogy-of-terrorism-how-islamic-extremists-and-their-critics-misconstrue-the-roots-of-jihadist-ideology/</a> [accessed 26 October 2018].
    - I think the author needs to make a deeper point. Of course, radicals misquote previous scholars. Of course, radicals do not know their own history or intellectual history. That does not change the reality that they are cherry picking support from historic figures with global resonance.
    - The value in a proper understanding is true. The author states that the better we know the source material the more effectively we can create a counter-narrative. Though, I disagree with the term "counter-narrative," I believe that with information and knowledge comes better decision making.
  - Walter, Barbara F. "Why moderate Muslims come to support extremist groups," *The Washington Post* [29 November 2018]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/11/29/who-supports-extremist-groups-in-a-civil-war-there-are-practical-considerations/?utm\_term=.b81530408065">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/11/29/who-supports-extremist-groups-in-a-civil-war-there-are-practical-considerations/?utm\_term=.b81530408065</a> [accessed 18 February 2018].
  - Walter, Barbara F. "The Jihadist Threat Won't End With ISIS' Defeat," *Foreign Affairs* [22 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2017-12-22/jihadist-threat-wont-end-isis-defeat">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2017-12-22/jihadist-threat-wont-end-isis-defeat</a> [accessed 18 February 2018].
- ★ Watts, Clint, "Beyond Syria and Iraq, the Islamic State's HR Files Illuminate Dangerous Trends," War on

- the Rocks [1 June 2016]. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/beyond-syria-and-iraq-the-islamic-states-hr-files-illuminate-dangerous-trends/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/beyond-syria-and-iraq-the-islamic-states-hr-files-illuminate-dangerous-trends/</a> [accessed 14 June 2016].
- Great information on foreign fighter recruitment and flow to various groups over more than a decade of statistical data.
- Weimann, Gabriel, "Terrorist Migration to the Dark Web," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, volume 10, issue 3, 40-44 [June 2016]. <a href="https://www.jstor.org/stable/26297596?seq=1#metadata\_info\_tab\_contents">https://www.jstor.org/stable/26297596?seq=1#metadata\_info\_tab\_contents</a> [accessed 21 August 2019].
- Winter, Charlie, "Researching Jihadist Propaganda: Access, Interpretation, and Trauma," in the Researching Violent Extremism Series of *Resolve Network Publication* [13 May 2019]. <a href="https://resolvenet.org/system/files/2019-05/RSVE\_RVESeries\_ResearchingJihadistPropaganda\_CWinter\_May2019.pdf">https://resolvenet.org/system/files/2019-05/RSVE\_RVESeries\_ResearchingJihadistPropaganda\_CWinter\_May2019.pdf</a> [accessed 20 May 2019].
- ★ Wright, Lawrence, "The Master Plan: For the new theorists of jihad, Al Qaeda is just the beginning," The New Yorker [11 September 2006]. <a href="http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2006/09/11/the-master-plan">http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2006/09/11/the-master-plan</a> [accessed 6 November 2015].
- ★ Yayla, Ahmet, "PERSPECTIVE: A Holistic Approach to Countering Foreign Fighter Terrorist Threats in the Long Run," Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US [27 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-a-holistic-approach-to-preventing-and-countering-foreign-fighter-terrorist-threats-in-the-long-run/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-a-holistic-approach-to-preventing-and-countering-foreign-fighter-terrorist-threats-in-the-long-run/</a> [accessed 29 October 2018].
  - Former ISIS and al-Qaeda fighters pose a security threat because most people are recruited by friends and family. Excellent explanation on the recruiting process and the means and methods for developing violent cells even after returning from a conflict area.
- ★ Zimmerman, Katherine, "America's Real Enemy: The Salafi-Jihadi Movement," Critical Threats: American Enterprise Institute [July 2017]. <a href="https://www.criticalthreats.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Zimmerman\_Americas-Real-Enemy-The-Salafi-Jihadi-Movement.pdf">https://www.criticalthreats.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Zimmerman\_Americas-Real-Enemy-The-Salafi-Jihadi-Movement.pdf</a> [accessed 18 October 2018].
  - This is an excellent summary of the origins, development, and transmogrification of the Salafi-Jihadi movement. Though I do not agree with all of the conclusions, I believe this provides a critical tool for understanding how we got to where we are.

### Al-Qaeda

- Cigar, Norman. *Tribal Militias: An Effective Tool to Counter Al-Qaida and Its Affiliates?* Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, November 2014. https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a611496.pdf [accessed 26 December 2018].
- Zelin, Aaron Y., editor. How al-Qaeda Survived Drones, Uprisings, and the Islamic State: The Nature of the Current Threat. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, June 2017. <a href="http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus153-Zelin.pdf">http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus153-Zelin.pdf</a> [accessed 2 July 2018].
- Abu Basir, "Letters from Abu Basir to Emir of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb," Associated Press. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/images/al-qaida-papers-how-to-run-a-state.pdf">http://www.longwarjournal.org/images/al-qaida-papers-how-to-run-a-state.pdf</a> [accessed 6 March 2017].
  - Associated Press description: Upon learning that al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb had succeeded in seizing Mali's northern half in the spring of 2012, Al-Qaida's No. 2 based in Yemen penned two letters offering advice to his fellow jihadists from his own experience trying to govern a slice of southern Yemen. Nasser al-Wahishi, who previously served as Osama bin Laden's personal secretary, urges his colleagues in Mali to focus on day-to-day amenities, like providing electricity and running water to the areas under their control, in an effort to win local support. The letters are dated May 21 and Aug. 6, 2012. They were found in the Ministry of Finance's Tax Building in Timbuktu, alongside a 17-page case study on how to apply Shariah in Yemen's Abyan and Shabwa provinces, written by al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula.
- The Associated Press, "Al-Qaida chief in 9/11 speech calls for attacks on West," *Military Times* [11 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/09/11/al-qaida-chief-in-911-speech-calls-for-attacks-on-west/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/09/11/al-qaida-chief-in-911-speech-calls-for-attacks-on-west/</a> [accessed 15 September 2019].
- Barakat, Matthew, "The only person convicted in Sept. 11 attacks now says he renounces terrorism, Osama bin Laden," *Military Times* [20 May 2020]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/05/20/the-only-person-convicted-in-sept-11-attacks-now-says-he-renounces-terrorism-osama-bin-laden/">https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/05/20/the-only-person-convicted-in-sept-11-attacks-now-says-he-renounces-terrorism-osama-bin-laden/</a> [accessed 21 May 2020].
- Barnes, Julian E., Adam Goldman, and Eric Schmitt, "Hamza bin Laden, Son of Qaeda Founder, Is Dead," *The New York Times* [31 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/31/us/politics/hamza-bin-laden-al-qaeda.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/31/us/politics/hamza-bin-laden-al-qaeda.html</a> [accessed 1 August 2019].
- Bayindir, Turgay, translated by, "The story of al Qaeda militant Abdul Hadi al Iraqi, a Kurd from Mosul," *Rusen Cakir* [25 November 2014]. <a href="http://en.rusencakir.com/The-story-of-al-Qaeda-militant-Abdul-Hadi-al-Iraqi-a-Kurd-from-Mosul/2998">http://en.rusencakir.com/The-story-of-al-Qaeda-militant-Abdul-Hadi-al-Iraqi-a-Kurd-from-Mosul/2998</a> [accessed 2 December 2016].
  - More direct to the source than the Brian Fishman article below, however, this doesn't have the same level of links to primary source documentation.
- ★ Blanche, Ed, "Al-Qaeda 2.0 emerges from power struggles," The Arab Weekly [1 July 2018]. <a href="https://thearabweekly.com/al-qaeda-20-emerges-power-struggles">https://thearabweekly.com/al-qaeda-20-emerges-power-struggles</a> [accessed 2 July 2018]. Great read on the stability and threat represented by the current version of al-Qaeda.
- ★ Byman, Daniel, "Judging Al Qaeda's Record, Part I: Is the Organization in Decline?" Lawfare [27 June 2017]. <a href="https://lawfareblog.com/judging-al-qaedas-record-part-i-organization-decline">https://lawfareblog.com/judging-al-qaedas-record-part-i-organization-decline</a> [accessed 29 June 2017].
- ★ Byman, Daniel, "Judging Al Qaeda's Record, Part II: Is the Organization in Decline?" *Lawfare* [28 June 2017]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/judging-al-qaedas-record-part-ii-why-has-al-qaeda-declined">https://www.lawfareblog.com/judging-al-qaedas-record-part-ii-why-has-al-qaeda-declined</a> [accessed 29 June 2017].
  - This two part set of articles is a useful explanation of the successes or failures of al-Qaeda. Worth reading by those who think that everything is bad news.
  - Chulov, Martin, "My son, Osama: the al-Qaida leader's mother speaks for the first time," The Guardian

- [2 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/03/osama-bin-laden-mother-speaks-out-family-interview">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/03/osama-bin-laden-mother-speaks-out-family-interview</a> [accessed 4 August 2018].
- Clark, Edmund and Crofton Black, "The appearance of disappearance: the CIA's secret black sites," FT Magazine [17 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/90796270-ebc3-11e5-888e-2eadd5fbc4a4.html">http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/90796270-ebc3-11e5-888e-2eadd5fbc4a4.html</a> [accessed 20 March 2016].
- Dearden, Lizzie, "Al-Qaeda could be preparing to launch own 'Islamic State' in Syria after exploiting world's focus on Isis," *Independent* [5 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/al-qaeda-could-be-preparing-to-launch-own-islamic-state-in-syria-after-exploiting-worlds-focus-on-a7015461.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/al-qaeda-could-be-preparing-to-launch-own-islamic-state-in-syria-after-exploiting-worlds-focus-on-a7015461.html</a> [accessed 6 May 2016].
- ★ Fishman, Brian, "The Man Who Could Have Stopped the Islamic State," Foreign Policy [23 November 2016]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/11/23/the-man-who-could-have-stopped-the-islamic-state/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/11/23/the-man-who-could-have-stopped-the-islamic-state/</a> [accessed 27 November 2016].
  - This is a great article. Not because the article has information on a story about how an al-Qaeda operative might have been able to stop the growth of the Islamic States, but because of the hyperlinks to all sorts of critical primary source material from a variety of sources.
  - Gambrell, Jon, "Born into al-Qaida: Hamza bin Laden's rise to prominence," *Military Times* [17 March 2019]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/17/born-into-al-qaida-hamza-bin-ladens-rise-to-prominence/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2019/03/17/born-into-al-qaida-hamza-bin-ladens-rise-to-prominence/</a> [accessed 18 March 2019].
  - Gannon, Kathy, "Doctor who aided hunt for Osama bin Laden languishes in Pakistan jail," *Military Times* [23 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/01/23/doctor-who-aided-hunt-for-osama-bin-laden-languishes-in-pakistan-jail/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2018/01/23/doctor-who-aided-hunt-for-osama-bin-laden-languishes-in-pakistan-jail/</a> [accessed 23 January 2018].
  - Gasper, Phil, "Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden and the CIA," *socialistworker.org* [11 November 2014]. http://socialistworker.org/2014/11/11/osama-bin-laden-and-the-cia [accessed 4 May 2016].
  - Gohel, Sajjan M. "Deciphering Ayman Al-Zawahiri and Al-Qaeda's Strategic and Ideological Imperatives," Perspectives on Terrorism, Research Notes, Volume 11, Issue 1, February 2017.
    - Extremely important in understanding where Zawahiri has taken or is trying to take al-Qaeda since the death of bin Laden.
  - Haaretz, "U.S. Drone Reportedly Nearly Killed the Head of Al-Qaida in January," *Haaretz* [21 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.haaretz.com/us-news/1.784911">http://www.haaretz.com/us-news/1.784911</a> [accessed 22 April 2017].
  - Hegghammer, Thomas, "AL-QAIDA STATEMENTS 2003-2004 A compilation of translated texts by Usama bin Ladin and Ayman al-Zawahiri," Report for Forsvarets Forskningsinstitutt, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, Kjeller, Norway [24 June 2005]. <a href="https://www.ffi.no/no/Rapporter/05-01428.pdf">https://www.ffi.no/no/Rapporter/05-01428.pdf</a> [accessed 6 April 2017].
    - Great source document for translated direct quotes from al-Qaeda leadership. Hegghammer is one of the best published specialists in jihadi literature and his work is consistently worth referencing.
- ★ Hersh, Seymour M., "The Killing of Osama Bin Laden", London Review of Books [37, no.10][21 May 2015]. <a href="http://www.lrb.co.uk/v37/n10/seymour-m-hersh/the-killing-of-osama-bin-laden">http://www.lrb.co.uk/v37/n10/seymour-m-hersh/the-killing-of-osama-bin-laden</a> [accessed 21 May 2015].
- ★ Hamming, Tore Refslund, "With Islamic State in Decline, What's Al-Qaeda's Next Move?" War on the Rocks [27 April 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/04/with-islamic-state-in-decline-whats-al-qaedas-next-move/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/04/with-islamic-state-in-decline-whats-al-qaedas-next-move/</a> [accessed 27 April 2018].
  - The commentary provides insight into al-Qaeda behavior over the past five years with respect to attacks in the West, or lack thereof. The links from the article to other sources are excellent.
  - ICT Jihadi Monitoring Group, "Hamza bin Osama bin Laden Leader of Al-Qaeda's New Generation?,"
    International Institute for Counter-Terrorism [15 May 2017]
    <a href="https://www.ict.org.il/Article/2001/hamza-bin-osama-bin-laden-leader-of-al-qaedas-new-generation?utm">https://www.ict.org.il/Article/2001/hamza-bin-osama-bin-laden-leader-of-al-qaedas-new-generation?utm</a> source=activetrail&utm medium=email&utm campaign=Database# atscid=1 351

- 0 60266626 13353906 0 Twtxwwwxdchscccsp [accessed 6 June 2017].
- Details on the biography of Osama bin Laden's son who may become the heir apparent for Ayman Zawahiri.
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Al Qaeda appears 'moderate' compared to Islamic State, veteran jihadist says," *The Long War Journal* [25 October 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/al-qaeda-appears-moderate-compared-to-islamic-state-veteran-jihadist-says.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/al-qaeda-appears-moderate-compared-to-islamic-state-veteran-jihadist-says.php</a> [accessed 26 October 2015].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Al Qaeda chief calls for jihadist unity to 'liberate Jerusalem'," *The Long War Journal* [2 November 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/11/al-qaedas-chief-calls-for-unity-to-liberate-jerusalem.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/11/al-qaedas-chief-calls-for-unity-to-liberate-jerusalem.php</a> [accessed 3 November 2015].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Ex-Guantanamo detainee now an al Qaeda leader in Yemen," *The Long War Journal* [9 December 2015]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/12/ex-guantanamo-detainee-now-an-al-qaeda-leader-in-yemen.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/12/ex-guantanamo-detainee-now-an-al-qaeda-leader-in-yemen.php</a> [accessed 10 December 2015].
  - Simple example of the failure and problems with Guantanamo and the idea of releasing and/or rehabilitating committed jihadists.
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Ayman al Zawahiri discusses al Qaeda's goal of building an Islamic emirate in Syria," *The Long War Journal* [8 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/ayman-al-zawahiri-discusses-al-qaedas-goal-of-building-an-islamic-emirate-in-syria.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/ayman-al-zawahiri-discusses-al-qaedas-goal-of-building-an-islamic-emirate-in-syria.php</a> [accessed 9 May 2016].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Ayman al Zawahiri warns against 'nationalist' agenda in Syria," *The Long War Journal* [23 April 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/04/ayman-al-zawahiri-warns-against-nationalist-agenda-in-syria.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/04/ayman-al-zawahiri-warns-against-nationalist-agenda-in-syria.php</a> [accessed 24 April 2017].
  - A reminder of the globalist nature of al-Qaeda and other like-minded organizations.
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Hamza bin Laden offers 'advice for martyrdom seekers in the West'," *The Long War Journal* [13 May 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/hamza-bin-laden-offers-advice-for-martyrdom-seekers-in-the-west.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/05/hamza-bin-laden-offers-advice-for-martyrdom-seekers-in-the-west.php</a> [accessed 15 May 2017].
  - This article includes five objectives for al-Qaeda.
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "AQAP publishes guide for derailing trains in the US, Europe," *The Long War Journal* [13 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/08/aqap-publishes-guide-for-derailing-trains-in-the-us-europe.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/08/aqap-publishes-guide-for-derailing-trains-in-the-us-europe.php</a> [accessed 15 August 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Hamza bin Laden stresses the importance of jihad in Syria," *The Long War Journal* [14 September 2017]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/hamza-bin-laden-stresses-the-importance-of-jihad-in-syria.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/09/hamza-bin-laden-stresses-the-importance-of-jihad-in-syria.php</a> [accessed 15 September 2017].
  - The article includes useful quotes with respect to narrative terminology as bin Laden refers to the US and Russia as modern-day Pharaohs.
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Hamza bin Laden lionizes his father and incites 'rebellion' in new audio message," The Long War Journal [7 November 2017].
  - https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/hamza-bin-laden-lionizes-his-father-and-incites-rebellion-in-new-audio-message.php [accessed 15 November 2017].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Analysis: Ayman al Zawahiri calls for 'unity' in Syria amid leadership crisis," *The Long War Journal* [2 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/analysis-ayman-al-zawahiri-calls-for-unity-in-syria-amid-leadership-crisis.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/12/analysis-ayman-al-zawahiri-calls-for-unity-in-syria-amid-leadership-crisis.php</a> [accessed 4 December 2017].
- ★ Joscelyn, Thomas, "Former Guantanamo detainee warns against spilling secrets," *The Long War Journal* [19 January 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/analysis-shabaab-advertises-its-al-qaeda-allegiance.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/05/analysis-shabaab-advertises-its-al-qaeda-allegiance.php</a> [accessed 13 May 2018].
  - Great analysis. Important distinction between the baya given to the Taliban and al-Zawahiri and the ones given to ISIS.

- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Analysis: Shabaab advertises its al Qaeda allegiance," *The Long War Journal* [13 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/01/former-guantanamo-detainee-warns-against-spilling-secrets-in-aqap-video.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/01/former-guantanamo-detainee-warns-against-spilling-secrets-in-aqap-video.php</a> [accessed 22 January 2018].
  - Important supporting source for the discussion on narrative deadspace.
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "UN: Iran-based leaders 'have grown more prominent' in al Qaeda's global network," *The Long War Journal* [14 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/un-iran-based-leaders-have-grown-more-prominent-in-al-qaedas-global-network.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/08/un-iran-based-leaders-have-grown-more-prominent-in-al-qaedas-global-network.php</a> [accessed 15 August 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Al Qaeda leader: America is the main enemy in a 'single war with different fronts'," The Long War Journal [11 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/al-qaeda-leader-america-is-the-main-enemy-in-a-single-war-with-different-fronts.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/al-qaeda-leader-america-is-the-main-enemy-in-a-single-war-with-different-fronts.php</a> [accessed 12 September 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Al Qaeda is very much alive, and widely misunderstood," *The Long War Journal* [11 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/al-qaeda-is-very-much-alive-and-widely-misunderstood.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/al-qaeda-is-very-much-alive-and-widely-misunderstood.php</a> [accessed 12 September 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "State Department: Iran allows al Qaeda to operate its 'core facilitation pipeline'," The Long War Journal [19 September 2018].

  <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/state-department-iran-allows-al-qaeda-to-operate-its-core-facilitation-pipeline.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/09/state-department-iran-allows-al-qaeda-to-operate-its-core-facilitation-pipeline.php</a> [accessed 21 September 2018].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Al Qaeda-linked operations room calls for another mediation effort in Syria," *The Long War Journal* [8 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/01/al-qaeda-linked-operations-room-calls-for-another-mediation-effort.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/01/al-qaeda-linked-operations-room-calls-for-another-mediation-effort.php</a> [accessed 12 January 2019].
- Joscelyn, Thomas, "Analysis: Al Qaeda eulogizes Zakir Musa, as his successor is named," *The Long War Journal* [7 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/06/analysis-al-qaeda-eulogizes-zakir-musa-as-his-successor-is-named.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/06/analysis-al-qaeda-eulogizes-zakir-musa-as-his-successor-is-named.php</a> [accessed 11 June 2019].
- Joscelyn, Thomas and David Daoud, "Al Qaeda defector discusses group's secrets in Islamic State magazine," *The Long War Journal* [3 May 2016]. <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/al-qaeda-defector-discusses-groups-secrets-in-islamic-state-magazine.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/05/al-qaeda-defector-discusses-groups-secrets-in-islamic-state-magazine.php</a> [accessed 4 May 2016].
- ★ Joscelyn, Thomas and Bill Roggio, "Analysis: CIA releases massive trove of Osama bin Laden's files," The Long War Journal [1 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/analysis-cia-releases-massive-trove-of-osama-bin-ladens-files.php">https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/analysis-cia-releases-massive-trove-of-osama-bin-ladens-files.php</a> [accessed 2 November 2017].
  This is a brief summary and highlights of the release of the documents captured during the Abbottabad raid of 2011. Nearly 470,000 documents are released and they include video, audio, photos, and text files. This is the fourth release of the documents. The statement from the CIA can be found at <a href="https://www.cia.gov/news-information/press-releases-statements/2017-press-releases-statements/cia-releases-additional-files-recovered-in-ubl-compound-raid.html">https://www.cia.gov/news-information/press-releases-statements/2017-press-releases-statements/cia-releases-additional-files-recovered-in-ubl-compound-raid.html</a>.
  - Kheel, Rebecca, "Al Qaeda leader threatens Russia: 'Kill their people'," *The Hill* [13 October 2015]. <a href="http://thehill.com/business-a-lobbying/256751-russian-intervention-in-syria-bring-al-qaeda-threat">http://thehill.com/business-a-lobbying/256751-russian-intervention-in-syria-bring-al-qaeda-threat</a> [accessed 14 October 2015].
  - Lahoud, Nelly, Stuart Caudill, Liam Collins, Gabriel Koehler-Derrick, Don Rassler, and Muhammad al`Ubaydi, "Letters from Abbottabad: Bin Ladin Sidelined?" *Harmony Program: The Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point* [3 May 2012].

    <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2012/05/CTC\_LtrsFromAbottabad\_WEB\_v2.pdf">https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2012/05/CTC\_LtrsFromAbottabad\_WEB\_v2.pdf</a> [accessed 25
    October 2018].

- ★ Levy, Adrian and Cathy Scott-Clark, "Al-Qaeda Has Rebuilt Itself—With Iran's Help," *Defense One* [13 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/11/al-qaeda-has-rebuilt-itself-irans-help/142484/">http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/11/al-qaeda-has-rebuilt-itself-irans-help/142484/</a> [accessed 15 November 2017].
  - This is a short and yet excellent discussion on some of the connections between Iran and al-Qaeda. This is also one of the first references I have seen to the author of *The Management of Savagery*, Abu Musab al-Suri, as a real person.
  - Makuch, Ben and Mack Lamoureux, "Neo-Nazis Are Glorifying Osama Bin Laden," *Vice* [17 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.vice.com/en\_us/article/8xynq4/online-neo-nazis-are-increasingly-embracing-terror-tactics">https://www.vice.com/en\_us/article/8xynq4/online-neo-nazis-are-increasingly-embracing-terror-tactics</a> [accessed 23 September 2019].
- ★ Mendelsohn, Barak and Colin Clarke, "Al-Qaeda Is Being Hollowed to Its Core," War on the Rocks [24 February 2021]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2021/02/al-qaeda-is-being-hollowed-to-its-core/">https://warontherocks.com/2021/02/al-qaeda-is-being-hollowed-to-its-core/</a> [accessed 25 February 2021].
  - This is an excellent summary of the current state of al-Qaeda. Only a couple of years ago many people were saying that al-Qaeda was stronger than ISIS and that it had gained 'market share' of a sort as the anti-ISIS coalition successfully engaged ISIS. Both organizations have suffered serious setbacks. The question is, where does al-Qaeda go from here. The article doesn't address this question fully, but that isn't a hit on the article. It is this question that we need to consider.
  - Miller, Greg and Julie Tate, "Osama bin Laden warned against almost every aspect of Islamic State playbook," *The Washington Post* [1 March 2016]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-secret-will-bin-laden-wanted-hisfortune-to-keep-funding-war-on-west/2016/03/01/b3a03d6c-dfa4-11e5-846c-10191d1fc4ec\_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-secret-will-bin-laden-wanted-hisfortune-to-keep-funding-war-on-west/2016/03/01/b3a03d6c-dfa4-11e5-846c-10191d1fc4ec\_story.html</a> [accessed 2 March 2016].
  - Mroue, Bassem and Qassim Abdul-Zahra, "Al-Qaida set to gain as Islamic State group disintegrates," *Military Times* [18 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/18/al-qaida-set-to-gain-as-islamic-state-group-disintegrates/">https://www.militarytimes.com/flashpoints/2017/10/18/al-qaida-set-to-gain-as-islamic-state-group-disintegrates/</a> [accessed 19 October 2017].
  - Obaji, Philip Jr. "Watch for More Attacks by al Qaeda's Shock Troops in Africa," *The Daily Beast* [4 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/04/watch-for-more-attacks-by-al-qaeda-s-shock-troops-in-africa.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/04/04/watch-for-more-attacks-by-al-qaeda-s-shock-troops-in-africa.html</a> [accessed 4 April 2016].
  - Porter, Geoff, "AQIM Ten Years On," *The Cipher Brief* [12 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/africa/aqim-ten-years-1089">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/africa/aqim-ten-years-1089</a> [accessed 12 January 2017]. Brief history of the rise, split, and adaptation of AQIM over the last ten years.
  - Reuters, "Bin Laden's son threatens revenge for father's assassination: monitor," *Reuters* [11 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-security-qaeda-idUSKCN0ZQ0AA">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-security-qaeda-idUSKCN0ZQ0AA</a> [accessed 11 July 2016].
  - Roggio, Bill and Thomas Joscelyn, "Osama Bin Laden's Files: Al Qaeda relocated operatives out of northern Pakistan," *The Long War Journal* [1 March 2016].

    <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/03/osama-bin-ladens-files-al-qaeda-relocated-from-waziristan-to-afghanistan-and-elsewhere-in-pakistan.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/03/osama-bin-ladens-files-al-qaeda-relocated-from-waziristan-to-afghanistan-and-elsewhere-in-pakistan.php</a> [accessed 2 March 2016].
  - Roggio, Bill and Thomas Joscelyn, "Osama Bin Laden's Files: AQAP emir foreshadowed 2011 takeover of southern Yemen," *The Long War Journal* [2 March 2016].

    <a href="http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/03/osama-bin-laden-documents-aqap-emir-outlined-strengths-prior-to-2011-takeover-of-southern-yemen.php">http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/03/osama-bin-laden-documents-aqap-emir-outlined-strengths-prior-to-2011-takeover-of-southern-yemen.php</a> [accessed 3 March 2016].
  - Sanders, Lewis IV, "With 'Islamic State' in tatters, al-Qaida renews call for jihad," *Deutsche Welle* [16 May 2018]. <a href="http://www.dw.com/en/with-islamic-state-in-tatters-al-qaida-renews-call-for-jihad/a-43806864">http://www.dw.com/en/with-islamic-state-in-tatters-al-qaida-renews-call-for-jihad/a-43806864</a> [accessed 17 May 2018].
  - Schmitt, Eric, "Al Qaeda Turns to Syria, With a Plan to Challenge ISIS," The New York Times [15 May

- 2016]. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/16/world/middleeast/al-qaeda-turns-to-syria-with-a-plan-to-challenge-isis.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/16/world/middleeast/al-qaeda-turns-to-syria-with-a-plan-to-challenge-isis.html</a> [accessed 16 May 2016].
- Schmitt, Eric, "Al Qaeda Feels Losses in Syria and Afghanistan but Stays Resilient," *The New York Times* [27 October 2020]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/27/world/middleeast/al-qaeda-afghanistan-syria-somalia.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/27/world/middleeast/al-qaeda-afghanistan-syria-somalia.html</a> [accessed 28 October 2020].
- Schweitzer, Yoram, "What Remains of al-Qaeda's Ambitious Vision for Syria?" *The Institute for National Security Studies* [5 March 2019]. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/publication/remains-al-qaedas-ambitious-vision-syria/">http://www.inss.org.il/publication/remains-al-qaedas-ambitious-vision-syria/</a> [accessed 6 March 2019].
- Seftel, Bennett, "Al Qaeda Growing Stronger By the Minute," *The Cipher Brief* [7 October 2016]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/al-qaeda-growing-stronger-minute-1089">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/middle-east/al-qaeda-growing-stronger-minute-1089</a> [accessed 7 October 2016].
- Seftel, Bennett, "Al Qaeda Thrives Across Weak West African States," *The Cipher Brief* [14 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/africa/al-qaeda-thrives-across-weak-west-african-states">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/africa/al-qaeda-thrives-across-weak-west-african-states</a> [accessed 15 September 2017].
- ★ Soufan, Ali, "Al Qaeda is Stronger Now Than When Bin Laden Was Killed," *The Daily Beast* [6 May 2017]. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/05/07/al-qaeda-is-stronger-now-than-when-bin-laden-was-killed [accessed 9 May 2017].
  - Very short article, but it raises critical points about maneuver in the narrative space and how some groups conduct that maneuver different than others. This also presents risks associated with narrative deadspace when we overly focus on a single opponent.
- ★ Soufan, Ali, "Al-Qa`ida's Soon-To-Be Third Emir? A Profile of Saif al-`Adl," CTC Sentinel, February 2021, Volume 14, Issue 2, 1-21. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/al-qaidas-soon-to-be-third-emir-a-profile-of-saif-al-adl/">https://ctc.usma.edu/al-qaidas-soon-to-be-third-emir-a-profile-of-saif-al-adl/</a> [accessed 3 November 2021].
  - This is a fantastic article giving significant details on the origins of al-Qaeda and the decisions associated with specific attacks against the US and its interests. Of particular interest is information on al-Qaeda contributions to Blackhawk Down in 1993.
  - Several great quotes about the perception of the US and its soldiers which are excellent in terms of understanding narrative war.
  - Stewart, Phil, "U.S. weighs more robust presence in Yemen for al Qaeda fight," *Reuters* [15 July 2016]. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-yemen-military-idUSKCN0ZV0EV">http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-yemen-military-idUSKCN0ZV0EV</a> [accessed 15 July 2016].
  - Syeed, Nafeesa and Caroline Alexander, "Bin Laden Sent Videotapes. Islamic State Runs a 24/7 News Agency," *Bloomberg Business* [23 March 2016]. <a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-03-23/bin-laden-sent-videotapes-islamic-state-runs-a-24-7-news-agency">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-03-23/bin-laden-sent-videotapes-islamic-state-runs-a-24-7-news-agency</a> [accessed 24 March 2016].
  - Taylor, Christian, "Op-ed: Al-Qaida is stronger today than it was on 9/11," *Navy Times* [2 July 2019]. <a href="https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2019/07/02/op-ed-al-qaida-is-stronger-today-than-it-was-on-911/">https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2019/07/02/op-ed-al-qaida-is-stronger-today-than-it-was-on-911/</a> [accessed 3 July 2019].
  - Tharoor, Ishaan, "Pakistani leaders knew Osama bin Laden was in Pakistan, says former defense minister," *The Washington Post* [14 October 2015].

    <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/10/14/pakistani-leaders-knew-osama-bin-laden-was-in-pakistan-says-former-defense-minister/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/10/14/pakistani-leaders-knew-osama-bin-laden-was-in-pakistan-says-former-defense-minister/</a> [accessed 15 October 2015].
- ★ Tiersky, Ronald, "ISIS's Deadliest Weapon Is the Idea of Heaven," Real Clear World [19 September 2016].
  http://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2016/09/19/isiss\_deadliest\_weapon\_is\_the\_idea\_of\_heaven\_112051.html [accessed 20 September 2016].
  - This is an interesting piece that explains the powerful connection between a belief in martyrdom and near-instant salvation and suicide ideology.

- The Times of India, "Osama Warned against declaring an Islamic State too soon," *Times of India* [3 March 2016]. <a href="http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/us/Osama-warned-against-declaring-an-Islamic-State-too-soon/articleshow/51240604.cms">http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/us/Osama-warned-against-declaring-an-Islamic-State-too-soon/articleshow/51240604.cms</a> [accessed 6 March 2016].
- Voice of America News, "Bin Laden's Son Calls on Followers to Rise in Rebellion," VOA News [7 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.voanews.com/a/bin-laden-son-calls-on-followers-rise-in-rebellion/4105230.html">https://www.voanews.com/a/bin-laden-son-calls-on-followers-rise-in-rebellion/4105230.html</a> [accessed 8 November 2017].
- Webber, Lucas, "Al-Qaeda Media: JNIM's Leader Celebrates Jihadi Successes in Afghanistan and the Sahel, Calls for Violence Against America, France, Israel, and Russia," *Lucas Webber Substack* [11 August 2021]. <a href="https://lucaswebber.substack.com/p/al-qaeda-media-jnims-leader-celebrates">https://lucaswebber.substack.com/p/al-qaeda-media-jnims-leader-celebrates</a> [accessed 21 August 2021].
- ★ Wright, Lawrence, "The Rebellion Within: An Al Qaeda mastermind questions terrorism." *The New Yorker* [23 May 2008]. <a href="https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2008/06/02/the-rebellion-within">https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2008/06/02/the-rebellion-within</a> [accessed 18 November 2019].
  - This article provides insight into the internal jihadist debates. In this case, specifically, the internal al-Qaeda debates about the justification to do violence.

# **Cross-Cultural Competence**

- Cahoone, Lawrence E. 2005. *Cultural Revolutions: Reason versus Culture in Philosophy, Politics, and Jihad.* University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Atran, Scott. "The Devoted Actor: Unconditional Commitment and Intractable Conflict Across Cultures." *Current Anthropology* Volume 57, Supplement 13, June 2016.

  <a href="https://www.libraryofsocialscience.com/assets/pdf/685495.pdf">https://www.libraryofsocialscience.com/assets/pdf/685495.pdf</a> [accessed 13 May 2018].
- McCloskey, Michael J., Kyle J. Behymer, Elizabeth Lerner Papautsky, Karol G. Ross, and Allison Abbe, "A Developmental Model of Cross-Cultural Competence at the Tactical Level", Technical Report 1278, Arlington, Virginia: United States Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, November 2010.
- ★ Turcan, Metin. 'Between heaven and earth: Field observations relating to counterinsurgency in tribalized rural Muslim environments', *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 2: 2, 11 November 2009, 86 111. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17467580903395045 [accessed 16 August 2016].
  - This is an excellent discussion on the role of the tribe within tribal societies. This is a must-read for individuals working with such societies and in support of understanding the management of violence potential.
  - Sisco, James and Ajit Maan, "Women are more than victims, so it is time focus security strategies on them," *Foreign Policy* [14 May 2015]. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/05/14/women-are-more-than-victims-so-it-is-time-focus-security-strategies-on-them/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/05/14/women-are-more-than-victims-so-it-is-time-focus-security-strategies-on-them/</a> [accessed 5 March 2018].
  - Speckhard, Anne, "When Religion and Culture Kill: COVID-19 in the Somali Diaspora Communities in Sweden," *Government Technology & Services Coalition's Homeland Security Today.US* [3 April 2020]. <a href="https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/when-religion-and-culture-kill-covid-19-in-the-somali-diaspora-communities-in-sweden/">https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/when-religion-and-culture-kill-covid-19-in-the-somali-diaspora-communities-in-sweden/</a> [accessed 6 May 2020].

# **Revolutionary Warfare**

- Birtle, Andrew J. *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1860-1941.*Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2004.
- Birtle, Andrew J. *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine 1942-1976.*Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2006.
- Connable, Ben and Martin C. Libicki. *How Insurgencies End*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2010. Major Findings include: Modern insurgencies last approximately ten years, and the government's chances of winning may increase slightly over time. Withdrawal of state sponsorship cripples an insurgency and typically leads to its defeat. Inconsistent or impartial support to either side generally presages defeat. Anocracies (pseudo democracies) do not often succeed against insurgencies and are rarely successful in fully democratizing.
- Cragin, Kim, Peter Chalk, Sara A. Daly, and Brian A. Jackson. Sharing the Dragon's Teeth: Terrorist Groups and the Exchange of New Technologies. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2007. https://rkimcragin.files.wordpress.com/2016/11/rand\_mg485.pdf [accessed 9 November 2017].
- Jackson, Brian A., John C. Baker, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, John Parachini, and Horacio R. Trujillo. Aptitude for Destruction, Volume 1: Organizational Learning in Terrorist Groups and Its Implications for Combating Terrorism. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 11 April 2005. <a href="https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND\_MG331.pdf">https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND\_MG331.pdf</a> [accessed 9 November 2017].
- Jackson, Brian A., John C. Baker, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, John Parachini, and Horacio R. Trujillo. Aptitude for Destruction, Volume 2: Case Studies of Organizational Learning in Five Terrorist Groups. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 11 April 2005. <a href="https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND\_MG332.pdf">https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND\_MG332.pdf</a> [accessed 9 November 2017].
- Millen, Raymond A. 2020. Death by a Thousand Cuts: Weakening an Insurgency through a National Reconciliation Program Three Case Studies: Malaya, Vietnam, and Iraq. Carlisle, PA: US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute. May 2020. pksoi.armywarcollege.edu/default/assets/File/Papers/Death%20by%20a%20thousand%20cuts.pdf [accessed 11 June 2020].
- Trinquier, Roger. Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency. Translated by Daniel Lee.
  Originally published London: Pall Mall Press, 1964. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Combat Studies
  Institute Press, January 1985.
  <a href="http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/cgsc/carl/download/csipubs/ModernWarfare.pdf">http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/cgsc/carl/download/csipubs/ModernWarfare.pdf</a> [accessed 21 July 2017].
- Atherton, Kelsey, "Five questions on autonomous weapons and the future of war," *C4ISRNet* [30 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/04/30/five-questions-on-autonomous-weapons-and-the-future-of-war/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/04/30/five-questions-on-autonomous-weapons-and-the-future-of-war/</a> [accessed 1 May 2018].
- Bauer, Meredith Rutland, "Is the US military prepared for cyberattacks on satellites?" *Fifth Domain* [14 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.fifthdomain.com/dod/2017/11/14/is-the-us-military-prepared-for-cyberattacks-on-satellites/">https://www.fifthdomain.com/dod/2017/11/14/is-the-us-military-prepared-for-cyberattacks-on-satellites/</a> [accessed 15 November 2017].
- ★ Castro, Fidel, "The Second Declaration of Havana," Document presented to the Cuban people on 4 February 1962. <a href="http://www.walterlippmann.com/fc-02-04-1962.pdf">http://www.walterlippmann.com/fc-02-04-1962.pdf</a> [accessed 10 April 2016].
  - Celso, Anthony N. "Boko Haram and the Islamic State: Fifth Wave Islamist terror groups," Department of Security Studies, Angelo State University [unknown].

    https://www.academia.edu/10341570/Boko Haram and the Islamic State Fifth Wave Islamist t

- error groups [accessed 14 October 2019].
- Davis, Anthony, "A vision for war without end in Myanmar," *Asia Times* [30 May 2018]. http://www.atimes.com/article/a-vision-for-war-without-end-in-myanmar/ [accessed 31 May 2018].
- Earnhardt, Rebecca, Gary Ackerman, James Halverson, Helena Craig and Steve Hoodjer. "Terrorist Technology Transfer Project Report: Report to the Chemical and Biological Division of the Science and Technology Directorate and the Office of Intelligence and Analysis." Final Report. College Park, MD: START, 31 August 2017.
- Fox, Amos C. "In Pursuit of a General Theory of Proxy Warfare," Land Warfare Paper 123 by the Institute of Land Warfare at the Association of the United States Army [February 2019]. <a href="https://www.ausa.org/sites/default/files/publications/LWP-123-In-Pursuit-of-a-General-Theory-of-Proxy-Warfare.pdf">https://www.ausa.org/sites/default/files/publications/LWP-123-In-Pursuit-of-a-General-Theory-of-Proxy-Warfare.pdf</a> [accessed 14 October 2019].
- ★ Guevara, Che, "Guerilla Warfare: A Method," *The Che Reader*, Ocean Press, 2005. Originally written September 1963. <a href="https://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1963/09/guerrilla-warfare.htm">https://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1963/09/guerrilla-warfare.htm</a> [accessed 7 April 2016].
  - Johnson, David E. "The Challenges of the "Now" and Their Implications for the U.S. Army," *RAND Corporation Perspective* [2016].
  - Johnson, David E. "The Challenges of the "Now" and What They Mean for America's Land Forces," *RAND Corporation Arroyo Center Presentation* [January 2016].
  - Kaplan, Jeffrey, "Terrorism's Fifth Wave: A Theory, a Conundrum and a Dilemma," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, North America, 2, November 2010. http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/26/html [accessed 5 September
    - http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/26/html [accessed 5 September 2017].
  - Lyon, Rod and Stephanie Huang, "Fifth wave terrorism: have predictions jumped the gun?" Australian Strategic Policy Institute: *The Strategist* [27 July 2015]. <a href="https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/fifth-wave-terrorism-have-predictions-jumped-the-gun/">https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/fifth-wave-terrorism-have-predictions-jumped-the-gun/</a> [accessed 5 September 2017].
  - Marsh, Ned B. "Tickling the Dragon's Tail: The Destabilizing Effects of an Irregular Warfare Critical Mass," Joint Special Operations University Report 19-3 [September 2019]. https://jsou.libguides.com/ld.php?content\_id=50491805 [accessed 14 October 2019].
  - Rapoport, David C. "Terrorism and Weapons of the Apocalypse," *National Security Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (summer 1999): 49-69.
    - https://www.researchgate.net/publication/242769630\_Terrorism\_and\_Weapons\_of\_the\_Apocalyp se [accessed 5 September 2017].
- ★ Rapoport, David C. "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy, ed. Audrey Cronin and J. Ludes. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Univ. Press, 2004, 46-73. <a href="http://international.ucla.edu/media/files/Rapoport-Four-Waves-of-Modern-Terrorism.pdf">http://international.ucla.edu/media/files/Rapoport-Four-Waves-of-Modern-Terrorism.pdf</a> [accessed 5 September 2017].
- ★ Scharre, Paul, "We're Losing Our Chance to Regulate Killer Robots," Defense One [14 November 2017]. http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2017/11/were-losing-our-chance-regulate-killer-robots/142517/ [accessed 15 November 2017].
  - Robots killing humans should be avoided. One can make both a utilitarian and ethical argument for this statement. I would suggest that if a society believes that a given conflict is not worth risking the lives of their sons and daughters then that conflict should not be waged. War is being made too easy and with too few consequences for technologically advanced countries. War or conflict should cause deep and difficult conversations. The state sponsored taking of human life must force painful reflection and legal and moral judgments. Otherwise we will become like the Skynet security system in the Terminator movie franchise a killing machine fulfilling basic logic calculations and exacting the coldly analyzed and reasoned solutions.
  - Ucko, David, "Cruel to be Kind: Authoritarian Counterinsurgency and the Winning of Hearts and Minds," Lawfare [22 May 2016]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/cruel-be-kind-authoritarian-">https://www.lawfareblog.com/cruel-be-kind-authoritarian-</a>

counterinsurgency-and-winning-hearts-and-minds [accessed 23 May 2016].

Wilson, Craig D. "Dirty Fighting: How to Counter Total Warfare Mentality." Thesis for Master of Military Arts and Sciences, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 2015.

Ziegler, Paige, "Learning From The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam," *The Strategy Bridge* [13 April 2017]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/4/13/learning-from-the-liberation-tigers-of-tamil-eelam">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/4/13/learning-from-the-liberation-tigers-of-tamil-eelam</a> [accessed 20 April 2017].

A good summary of the fight in Sri Lanka.

### **Evolution of Conflict**

Science Fiction Prototypes

Johnson, Brian David. 2018. Dark Hammer. Army Cyber Institute at West Point.

https://threatcasting.asu.edu/sites/default/files/2019-11/Dark-Hammer v2 low-res.pdf [accessed 15 July 2020].

★ 2020. Invisible Force: Information Warfare and the Future of Conflict. Army Cyber Institute at West Point. <a href="https://threatcasting.asu.edu/sites/default/files/2020-06/Invisible\_Force\_%5BWEB%5D\_0.pdf">https://threatcasting.asu.edu/sites/default/files/2020-06/Invisible\_Force\_%5BWEB%5D\_0.pdf</a> [accessed 15 July 2020].

This is an excellent source that is packed with useful understanding on what I call narrative war. Read it; or, at least look at the wonderful artwork and scan the information packed in both the graphic novel and the accompanying essays. This graphic novel and accompanying information papers about the "future" of warfare in a fictional foreign country does a good job of describing the environment of information warfare taking place in the American newscape today. This is 71 pages, but a lot of that goes by quickly as it includes graphic novel pages as well as information essays.

- Dalton, Melissa, Kathleen H. Hicks, Megan Donahoe, Lindsey Sheppard, Alice Hunt Friend, Michael Matlaga, Joseph Federici, Matthew Conklin, and Joseph Kiernan. 2019. *By Other Means Part II: Adapting to Compete in The Gray Zone*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies. August 2019.
- Diehl, Paul F. and Gary Goertz. War and Peace in International Rivalry. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 22 October 2001. <a href="https://www.press.umich.edu/pdf/0472111272.pdf">https://www.press.umich.edu/pdf/0472111272.pdf</a> [accessed 12 February 2019].
- Ligon, Gina and Robert Jones, editors. *The Age of Disruption: How Power Shifts Create More Conflict*. A Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) Periodic Publication [5 September 2019]. <a href="https://nsiteam.com/the-age-of-disruption-how-power-shifts-create-more-conflict/">https://nsiteam.com/the-age-of-disruption-how-power-shifts-create-more-conflict/</a> [accessed 23 September 2019].
- Walsh, James Igoe and Marcus Schulzke. *Drones and Support for the Use of Force*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2018.

https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/25935/1004146.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y [accessed 22 January 2021].

The gist is that most people don't really think about using drones, but if they are asked, they are more inclined to support a use of force that doesn't actually risk anyone on our side.

- Adelberg, Michael A. "What's Old is New Kennan, Putin, and the Russian Competitive Viewpoint," Strategic Studies Institute: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 30 November 2015. <a href="http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/index.cfm/articles/Whats-old-is-new/2015/11/30">http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/index.cfm/articles/Whats-old-is-new/2015/11/30</a> [accessed 14 April 2016].
- Antebi, Liran and Udi Dekel, "The New United States Policy against the Islamic State: Ramifications for Asymmetric Warfare," *The Institute for National Security Studies*, INSS Insight No 942, 20 June 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/No.-942-1.pdf">http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/No.-942-1.pdf</a> [accessed 21 June 2017]. Does the US change in rules of engagement open a window for Israel to also loosen rules of engagement in a future war?
- Arradon, Isabelle, "A Hidden Face of War," *International Crisis Group* [7 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/hidden-face-war">https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/hidden-face-war</a> [accessed 8 March 2018].

Atherton, Kelsey, "Ukraine is already on a second iteration of combat-ready war robots," C4ISR Net [6

- February 2018]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/02/06/ukraine-is-already-on-a-second-iteration-of-combat-ready-war-robots/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/02/06/ukraine-is-already-on-a-second-iteration-of-combat-ready-war-robots/</a> [accessed 8 February 2018].
- Atherton, Kelsey, "Understanding the players, tactics for a possible war in space," *C4ISR Net* [17 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/c2-comms/satellites/2018/04/17/understanding-the-players-tactics-for-a-possible-war-in-space/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/c2-comms/satellites/2018/04/17/understanding-the-players-tactics-for-a-possible-war-in-space/</a> [accessed 18 April 2018].
- Atherton, Kelsey, "The 5 hard truths of drone warfare," *C4ISR Net* [2 August 2018]. https://www.c4isrnet.com/unmanned/2018/08/02/oxford-report-warns-of-limitations-of-remotewarfare/ [accessed 3 August 2018].
- Bazin, Aaron, Montgomery Erfourth, Robert Jones, and Ryan Oliver, "Harnessing David and Goliath: Orthodoxy, Asymmetry, and Competition," United States Special Operations Command, 2019. Draft Version.
- ★ Berzins, Janis, "The New Generation of Russian Warfare," Aspen Institute, Prague [March 2014]. <a href="http://www.aspeninstitute.cz/en/article/3-2014-the-new-generation-of-russian-warfare/">http://www.aspeninstitute.cz/en/article/3-2014-the-new-generation-of-russian-warfare/</a> [accessed 4 August 2016].
  - A short article that explains a schematic way the Russians are conducting warfare. This is a brief overview of how Russia is seeking to change the conflict game.
  - Bracken, Paul, "Blackmail Under a Nuclear Umbrella," War on the Rocks [7 February 2017]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/02/blackmail-under-a-nuclear-umbrella/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/02/blackmail-under-a-nuclear-umbrella/</a> [accessed 7 February 2017].
  - Brooks, Max, "The Coming Robot War And It's Not With Robots," *Modern War Institute* [26 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.modernwarinstitute.org/coming-robot-war-not-robots/">http://www.modernwarinstitute.org/coming-robot-war-not-robots/</a> [accessed 27 April 2016].
  - Brose, Christian, "The New Revolution in Military Affairs," *Foreign Affairs* [May/June 2019, online 16 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-04-16/new-revolution-military-affairs">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-04-16/new-revolution-military-affairs</a> [accessed 2 May 2019].
    - The most interesting point in the article is the statement that future warfare will include a return to mass because of the proliferation of autonomous systems on the future battlefield.
- ★ Brown, Zachery Tyson, "Unmasking War's Changing Character," Modern Warfare Institute [12 March 2019]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/unmasking-wars-changing-character/">https://mwi.usma.edu/unmasking-wars-changing-character/</a> [accessed 15 March 2019]. Please read this. Most articles discussing the changing nature of war focus on cyberspace or on globalization. This article combines multiple profound societal changes that include globalization and cyberspace and Moore's Law (the author doesn't directly reference this, but it is present in the logic) to get to a synthesis of transformation that does approximate what has been and is being seen on present battlefields.
  - Brun, Itai, "'While You're Busy Making Other Plans' The 'Other RMA'," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 33: 4, 535-565 [20 August 2010]. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2010.489708">http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2010.489708</a> [accessed 20 August 2010].
    - This is based on a presentation that I observed on a couple of times when I served in Israel. BG Brun was then the head of the DADO Center which was an IDF-civilian think tank, of sorts.
  - Bueno De Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith, "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace," The American Political Science Review; Dec 1999; 93, 4; 791-807.
  - Chapa, Joe, "The Sunset of the Predator: Reflections on the End of an Era," *War on the Rocks* [9 March 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/the-sunset-of-the-predator-reflections-on-the-end-of-an-era/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/03/the-sunset-of-the-predator-reflections-on-the-end-of-an-era/</a> [accessed 9 March 2018].
  - Cirillo, Pasquale and Nassim Nicholas Taleb, "On the statistical properties and tail risk of violent conflicts," Physica A: Statistical Mechanics and its Applications, Volume 452, 15 January 2016, pages

- 29-45. <a href="http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0378437116000923">http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0378437116000923</a> [accessed 13 April 2016].
- Clark, Colin, "The War Algorithm: The Pentagon's Bet On The Future Of War," *Breaking Defense* [31 May 2017]. <a href="http://breakingdefense.com/2017/05/the-war-algorithm-the-pentagons-bet-on-the-future-of-war/">http://breakingdefense.com/2017/05/the-war-algorithm-the-pentagons-bet-on-the-future-of-war/</a> [accessed 5 June 2017].
- Cole, Matthew, "The Complete Mercenary: How Erik Prince Used the Rise of Trump to Make an Improbable Comeback," *The Intercept* [3 May 2019]. <a href="https://theintercept.com/2019/05/03/erik-prince-trump-uae-project-veritas/">https://theintercept.com/2019/05/03/erik-prince-trump-uae-project-veritas/</a> [accessed 6 May 2019].
- Connable, Ben, Jason H. Campbell, and Dan Madden, "Stretching and Exploiting Thresholds for High-Order War: How Russia, China, and Iran Are Eroding American Influence Using Time-Tested Measures Short of War," RAND Corporation [2016]. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RR1003.html [accessed 16 September 2019].
- ★ Cruickshank, Paul, "A View from the CT Foxhole: Patrick Skinner, Police Officer in Savannah, Georgia, and Former CIA Case Officer in Afghanistan and Iraq," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point CTCSentinal, November 2018, Volume 11, Issue 10. <a href="https://ctc.usma.edu/view-ct-foxhole-patrick-skinner-police-officer-savannah-georgia-former-cia-case-officer-afghanistan-Iraq/">https://ctc.usma.edu/view-ct-foxhole-patrick-skinner-police-officer-savannah-georgia-former-cia-case-officer-afghanistan-Iraq/</a> [accessed 12 November 2018].
  - Great read! He explains the true approach to influencing people. Real influence happens over hundreds and thousands of interactions and not through grand gestures. Well articulated and well-worth your time in reading and reflection.
  - Fish, Lauren, "What the Interwar Years Say About the US Army's Newest Force Concept," *Defense One* [14 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/06/what-interwar-years-tell-us-army-about-its-newest-force-concept/149022/">https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2018/06/what-interwar-years-tell-us-army-about-its-newest-force-concept/149022/</a> [accessed 18 June 2018].
  - Flintoft, Caroline, "Misery as Strategy: The Human Cost of Conflict," *International Crisis Group* [31 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/misery-strategy-human-cost-conflict">https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/misery-strategy-human-cost-conflict</a> [accessed 31 May 2018].
  - Freedberg, Sydney, Jr. "War Without Fear: DepSecDef Work On How AI Changes Conflict," *Breaking Defense* [31 May 2017]. <a href="http://breakingdefense.com/2017/05/killer-robots-arent-the-problem-its-unpredictable-ai/">http://breakingdefense.com/2017/05/killer-robots-arent-the-problem-its-unpredictable-ai/</a> [accessed 5 June 2017].
  - Freedberg, Sydney, Jr. "Artificial Stupidity: When Artificial Intelligence + Human = Disaster," *Breaking Defense* [2 June 2017]. <a href="http://breakingdefense.com/2017/06/artificial-stupidity-when-artificial-intel-human-disaster/">http://breakingdefense.com/2017/06/artificial-stupidity-when-artificial-intel-human-disaster/</a> [accessed 5 June 2017].
    - This is a great series on understanding the implications of the Third Offset.
- ★ Freedberg, Sydney, Jr. "Why A 'Human In The Loop' Can't Control AI: Richard Danzig," *Breaking Defense* [1 June 2018]. <a href="https://breakingdefense.com/2018/06/why-a-human-in-the-loop-cant-control-ai-richard-danzig/">https://breakingdefense.com/2018/06/why-a-human-in-the-loop-cant-control-ai-richard-danzig/</a> [accessed 4 June 2018].
  - The challenge of functioning with an AI on a complex battlefield is expressed well in this article. AI is more than killer robots. The idea of a human in the loop only matters if the human knows what the AI knows and can make an informed decision.
- ★ Fryer-Biggs, Zachary, "Coming Soon to a Battlefield: Robots That Can Kill," The Atlantic [3 September 2019]. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2019/09/killer-robots-and-new-era-machine-driven-warfare/597130/">https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2019/09/killer-robots-and-new-era-machine-driven-warfare/597130/</a> [accessed 9 September 2019].
  - This is an excellent article. I want to go on record as being opposed to the development of Skynet (in any form) and the furthering of AI for the purpose of discriminating to kill human beings through autonomous systems. The most concerning language used in this article and others is the language of inevitability or of it being out of our control. No one wants to see the road they are walking. Rather, they focus solely on the

- technology on which they are working. This lack of holistic responsibility is what will lead to the immorality of creating robots that kill human beings. If a conflict is not worth the loss of an American life then the conflict isn't worth being fought. The potential for loss of life is what should make conflict rare and deeply considered. I hope to write more on this topic as it is an issue about which I have deep concern.
- Gobry, Pascal-Emmanuel, "The myth of America's invincible military," *The Week* [11 January 2017]. <a href="http://theweek.com/articles/672266/myth-americas-invincible-military">http://theweek.com/articles/672266/myth-americas-invincible-military</a> [accessed 12 January 2017]. Brief comparison of the US military invincibility to that of France before WWII. The prediction is that, like France, opponents of the US are seeking asymmetric opportunities to overthrow US capabilities.
- Graham, David A. "Are Mercenaries Really a Cheaper Way of War?" *Defense One* [9 August 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/politics/2017/08/are-mercenaries-really-cheaper-way-war/140137/">http://www.defenseone.com/politics/2017/08/are-mercenaries-really-cheaper-way-war/140137/</a> [accessed 10 August 2017].
- Grier, Peter, "The First Offset," *Air Force Magazine* [June 2016]. <a href="http://www.airforcemag.com/MagazineArchive/Magazine%20Documents/2016/June%202016/06166ffset.pdf">http://www.airforcemag.com/MagazineArchive/Magazine%20Documents/2016/June%202016/06166ffset.pdf</a> [accessed 4 August 2016].
- Hecht, Eado, "Limited or Total: Beyond Discrete Sets of Intensity," *The Strategy Bridge* [10 January 2017]. <a href="http://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/1/10/limited-or-total-beyond-discrete-sets-of-intensity">http://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/1/10/limited-or-total-beyond-discrete-sets-of-intensity</a> [accessed 17 January 2017].
- Horton, Alex and Aaron Gregg, "Use of military contractors shrouds true costs of war. Washington wants it that way, study says." *The Washington Post* [30 June 2020]. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2020/06/30/military-contractor-study/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2020/06/30/military-contractor-study/</a> [accessed 1 July 2020].
- Institute for Economics & Peace. Global Peace Index 2018: Measuring Peace in a Complex World, Sydney, June 2018. <a href="http://visionofhumanity.org/reports">http://visionofhumanity.org/reports</a> [accessed 2 July 2018].
- Jennings, Nathan, Amos Fox, and Adam Taliaferro, "The Us Army is Wrong on Future War," *Modern Warfare Institute* [18 December 2018]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/us-army-wrong-future-war/">https://mwi.usma.edu/us-army-wrong-future-war/</a> [accessed 14 March 2019].
  - This is an interesting discussion on where 3-0 has gotten things wrong. I will rarely say this, but check out the comments at the linked site as there are some well-done counterpoints.
- Kallenborn, Zachary, "The Era of the Drone Swarm is Coming, and We Need to be Ready for It," *Modern Warfare Institute at West Point* [25 October 2018]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/era-drone-swarm-coming-need-ready/">https://mwi.usma.edu/era-drone-swarm-coming-need-ready/</a> [accessed 30 October 2018].
- Keener, Craig S. "An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Iroquois Assault Tactics Used against Fortified Settlements of the Northeast in the Seventeenth Century," *Ethnohistory*, Volume 46, Number 4, Fall 1999. http://muse.jhu.edu/article/11612 [accessed 26 July 2017].
- Kessel, Jonah M. "Killer Robots Aren't Regulated. Yet. "Killing in the Age of Algorithms" is a New York Times documentary examining the future of artificial intelligence and warfare." The New York Times [13 December 2019]. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/13/technology/autonomous-weapons-video.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/13/technology/autonomous-weapons-video.html</a> [accessed 21 December 2019].
  - Watch the video and read the article. This is an interesting and enjoyable presentation of what I consider to be the most important long-term ethical and moral problem for military leaders worldwide. Robots on the battlefield. In a drive for efficiency in warfare a natural drive for all combatants it makes sense to bring greater automation to the battlefield. The inevitable end to such efforts is something none of us really want Skynet. The problem is that such results are seemingly so far away that almost everyone in charge of these design efforts continues down the course without sufficient concern.
  - Klein, Gary M. "Cognitive Training to Achieve Overmatch in the #FutureOfWar," *The Strategy Bridge* [24 March 2015]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2015/11/21/cognitive-training-to-achieve-">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2015/11/21/cognitive-training-to-achieve-</a>

- overmatch-in-the-futureofwar [accessed 29 July 2020].
- Knowles, Emily and Abigail Watson, "Remote Warfare: Lessons learned from contemporary theatres," Oxford Research Group, Remote Warfare Programme [June 2018].
  - https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=4026f48e-df60-458b-a318-2a3eb4522ae7 [accessed 3 August 2018].
- Kricheli, Ilana, Yotam Rosner, Aviad Mendelboim, and Yoram Schweitzer, "Suicide Bombings in 2016: The Highest Number of Fatalities," The Institute for National Security Studies Insight No. 887, January 5, 2017. <a href="http://www.inss.org.il/uploadlmages/systemFiles/No.%20887%20-%20Terrorism%202016%20report">http://www.inss.org.il/uploadlmages/systemFiles/No.%20887%20-%20Terrorism%202016%20report</a> website.pdf [accessed 5 January 2017].
  - Good statistics in the report on suicide terrorist attacks in 2016. The numbers and the brief analysis are useful.
- LaFree, Gary, Min Xie, and Aila M. Matanock, "The Contagious Diffusion of World-Wide Terrorism," National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), University of Maryland and University of California Berkley [March 2016].
  - The conclusions of the study are not, in themselves earth-shaking. What this does provide is a sense in the change of terrorism in terms of diffusion and concentration over time. This may be reflective of al-Qaeda like
- Luttwak, Edward, "Give War a Chance," Foreign Affairs; Jul/Aug 1999; 78, 4. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1999-07-01/give-war-chance [accessed 3 March 2017].
  - The author argues that war serves a critical function in terms of allowing people to progress beyond war to lasting peace. Prematurely or foolishly forcing wars to unnatural conclusions runs the risk of freezing conflict in a perpetual state.
- Manea, Octavian. Reflections on the Continuities in War and Warfare. *Small War Journal*, 29 March 2014. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/reflections-on-the-continuities-in-war-and-warfare">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/reflections-on-the-continuities-in-war-and-warfare</a> [accessed 9 August 2016].
- Maoz, Zeev and Bruce Russett, "Normative and structural causes of democratic peace, 1946-1986," The American Political Science Review; Sep 1993; 87, 3; 624-638.
  - One of the first academic attempts to explain the theory that democracies do not go to war with each other.
- Maxey, Levi, "Starvation Serves as a Weapon for Dictators and Terrorists," *The Cipher Brief* [6 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/tech/starvation-serves-weapon-dictators-terrorists">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/tech/starvation-serves-weapon-dictators-terrorists</a> [accessed 6 September 2017].
- Michelson, Brian M. "Blitzkrieg Redux: The Coming Warbot Revolution," *The Strategy Bridge* [28 February 2017]. <a href="http://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/2/28/blitzkrieg-redux-the-coming-warbot-revolution">http://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/2/28/blitzkrieg-redux-the-coming-warbot-revolution</a> [accessed 1 March 2017].
  - A frightening article advocating for Skynet-capable robots to be the primary killers in the war to come.
- Michelson, Brian M. "Warbot Ethics: A Framework for Autonomy and Accountability," *The Strategy Bridge* [18 May 2017]. <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/5/18/warbot-ethics-a-framework-for-autonomy-and-accountability">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/5/18/warbot-ethics-a-framework-for-autonomy-and-accountability</a> [accessed 24 May 2017].
- Moghadam, Assaf and Michel Wyss, "Five Myths about Sponsor-Proxy Relationships," *Lawfare* [16 December 2018]. <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/five-myths-about-sponsor-proxy-relationships">https://www.lawfareblog.com/five-myths-about-sponsor-proxy-relationships</a> [accessed 19 December 2018].
- Muggah, Robert and John P. Sullivan, "The Coming Crime Wars," *Foreign Policy* [21 September 2018]. https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/21/the-coming-crime-wars/ [accessed 24 September 2018].
- Munich Security Report 2017: Post-Truth, Post-West, Post-Order? Munich, Germany: Munich Security Conference Foundation, January 2017. <a href="https://www.securityconference.de/en/discussion/munich-security-report/munich-security-report-2017/">https://www.securityconference.de/en/discussion/munich-security-report-2017/</a> [accessed 16 February 2017].

- This is a great summary of international relations neo-liberalism from a European perspective. The graphics alone are worth the read. The introduction is essential to understanding how Donald Trump is viewed from Europe.
- North, Douglass C., John Joseph Wallis, Steven B. Webb, and Barry R. Weingast, "Limited Access Orders in the Developing World: A New Approach to the Problems of Development," The World Bank Independent Evaluation Group, Country Relations Division, Policy Research Working Paper 4359, September 2007.
  - http://econweb.umd.edu/~wallis/MyPapers/Limted Access Orders in the Developing WorldWPS 4359.pdf [accessed 15 June 2016].
  - Essential theory in understanding not just economic development, but also conflict resolution. Conflict resolution involves the control of violence and this theory explains the role that violence management has in limited access orders which are the majority of nations around the world and every nation in which US military forces deploy.
  - Ortal, Eran, "An End to Repression A Sixth Era for Ground Warfare," *The Dado Center Journal for Operational* Art, Volume 6, Force Design, Part A, Dado Center for Interdisciplinary Military Studies, January 2016, 135-170.
  - Pavlik, Melissa, "A Great and Sudden Change: The Global Political Violence Landscape Before and After the Covid-19 Pandemic," Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project [4 August 2020]. <a href="https://acleddata.com/2020/08/04/a-great-and-sudden-change-the-global-political-violence-landscape-before-and-after-the-covid-19-pandemic/">https://acleddata.com/2020/08/04/a-great-and-sudden-change-the-global-political-violence-landscape-before-and-after-the-covid-19-pandemic/</a> [accessed 14 August 2020].
  - Peck, Michael, "Forget Russia: Is Finland the Hybrid Warfare Champion?" *The National Interest* [27 October 2018]. <a href="https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/forget-russia-finland-hybrid-warfare-champion-34362">https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/forget-russia-finland-hybrid-warfare-champion-34362</a> [accessed 29 October 2018].
  - Peltier, Heidi. "The Growth of the "Camo Economy" and the Commercialization of the Post-9/11 Wars," A Costs of War Research Paper from Brown University [30 June 2020]. <a href="https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Peltier%202020%20-%20Growth%20of%20Camo%20Economy%20-%20June%2030%202020%20-%20FINAL.pdf">https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Peltier%202020%20-%20FINAL.pdf</a>
    - This is an important source of data on contractor costs with respect to casualties and money for GWOT.
  - Petraeus, David, "Cyber Changed War, But The Causes And Conduct Of Conflict Remain Human," Huffington Post [29 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/david-petraeus-cyber-war\_us\_58da8731e4b0286e65b5f70e">http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/david-petraeus-cyber-war\_us\_58da8731e4b0286e65b5f70e</a> [accessed 30 March 2017].
    - Is warfare always the same or does it fundamentally change when technology changes? Petraeus makes the argument that war is still and will always be fundamentally the same.
  - Petraeus, David. Testimony before the House Armed Services Committee Hearing "The State of the World," 1 February 2017. <a href="http://docs.house.gov/meetings/AS/AS00/20170201/105509/HHRG-115-AS00-Wstate-PetraeusD-20170201.pdf">http://docs.house.gov/meetings/AS/AS00/20170201/105509/HHRG-115-AS00-Wstate-PetraeusD-20170201.pdf</a> [accessed 1 February 2017].
    - This testimony represents one of the best arguments for the world order as a created entity that needs to be led and maintained by key powers. Specifically, in the opinion of retired General Petraeus, the US.
  - Phillips, Gary E. "Soldier 2040," The Army Press [31 August 2016].

[accessed 1 July 2020].

- http://armypress.dodlive.mil/files/2016/08/16-4F-Phillips-31Aug16.pdf [accessed 15 January 2017].
- This is a short fictional account of the future of warfare through the description of a tactical engagement. The line that matters most is "The 2040 soldier will still be required to use the tools of fire and maneuver to bend adversaries to their will. This is a constant of combat from the first fight of Neanderthal tribes to the 2040 battle at the squad level." I disagree that the battlefield of 2040 will be about fire and maneuver.
- Phillips, Gary E. "Cyber Specialists and Future Force Structure: "Jemes" & "Soldier 2040,"" Small Wars

- *Journal* [31 August 2016]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/cyber-specialists-and-future-force-structure-%E2%80%9Cjemes%E2%80%9D-%E2%80%9Csoldier-2040%E2%80%9D">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/cyber-specialists-and-future-force-structure-%E2%80%9Cjemes%E2%80%9D-%E2%80%9Csoldier-2040%E2%80%9D</a> [accessed 15 January 2017].
- This is an extension of the Soldier 2040 article and includes all of the Soldier 2040 discussion. The most important line is "The need for personnel in the Army grows and shrinks; the need for firepower never shrinks." I disagree with this statement as well unless one reassess the definition of the word firepower. If this solely means kinetic firepower then it may be wrong.
- Price, Bryan C. "Terrorism as Cancer: How to Combat an Incurable Disease," *Terrorism and Political Violence* [9 June 2017]. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1330200">http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1330200</a> [accessed 14 July 2017]. Terrorism as cancer is an interesting approach, but the article does not really give a great deal more than that. The first couple of pages provide a useful discussion of the evolution of counterterrorism doctrine. The best discussion is that on palliative care and this gets close to the emphasis on healing wounds rather than on simply creating them.
- Richardson, Erik, "Beyond Ender: Amplified Intelligence and the Age of the School Wars," Strategic Study India Blogspot [23 October 2016]. <a href="http://strategicstudyindia.blogspot.com/2016/10/beyond-ender-amplified-intelligence-and.html">http://strategicstudyindia.blogspot.com/2016/10/beyond-ender-amplified-intelligence-and.html</a> [accessed 15 January 2017].
  - Short article outlining the way that human development and training can move beyond where AI can achieve any time in the near future.
- Robbins, Gary, "As Afghanistan war nears end, details emerge on how Predator drone revolutionized warfare," *Stars and Stripes* [20 June 2021]. <a href="https://www.stripes.com/theaters/middle\_east/2021-06-20/As-Afghanistan-war-nears-end-details-emerge-on-how-Predator-drone-revolutionized-warfare-1747852.html">https://www.stripes.com/theaters/middle\_east/2021-06-20/As-Afghanistan-war-nears-end-details-emerge-on-how-Predator-drone-revolutionized-warfare-1747852.html</a> [accessed 21 June 2021].
- Rosato, Sebastian, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," The American Political Science Review; Nov 2003; 97, 4; 585-602.
  - I like this article though I expect many will question the author's argument against the weight of other authors involved in the debate.
- Rosen, Stephen Peter, "Future Fights: Planning for the Next War," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2018 Issue [4 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2018-02-13/future-fights">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2018-02-13/future-fights</a> [accessed 5 March 2018].
- ★ Rosen, Elizabeth, "The Vietnam War, as Seen by the Victors," The Atlantic [16 April 2015]. http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/04/the-vietnam-war-as-seen-by-the-north-vietnamese/390627/ [accessed 2 May 2016].
  - Runkle, Benjamin, "Preparing for Warfare's Subterranean Future," *War on the Rocks* [16 April 2015]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2015/04/preparing-for-warfares-subterranean-future/">https://warontherocks.com/2015/04/preparing-for-warfares-subterranean-future/</a> [accessed 23 September 2018].
  - Sampaio, Antonio, "The New Frontlines Are in the Slums: The Middle East's wars are turning cities into Stalingrads," *Foreign Policy* [3 July 2018]. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/03/the-new-frontlines-are-in-the-slums/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/03/the-new-frontlines-are-in-the-slums/</a> [accessed 5 July 2018].
  - Schuety, Clayton and Lucas Will, "An Air Force 'Way of Swarm': Using Wargaming and Artificial Intelligence to Train Drones," *War on the Rocks* [21 September 2018]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/an-air-force-way-of-swarm-using-wargaming-and-artificial-intelligence-to-train-drones/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/an-air-force-way-of-swarm-using-wargaming-and-artificial-intelligence-to-train-drones/</a> [accessed 24 September 2018].
  - Shlapak, David A. and Michael W. Johnson, "Outnumbered, Outranged, and Outgunned: How Russia Defeats NATO," War on the Rocks [21 April 2016].

    <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/04/outnumbered-outranged-and-outgunned-how-russia-defeats-nato/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/04/outnumbered-outranged-and-outgunned-how-russia-defeats-nato/</a> [accessed 25 April 2016].

- Spencer, John, "How drone swarms could change urban warfare [Commentary]," *C4ISRNet* [11 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.c4isrnet.com/opinion/the-compass/net-defense-blogs/2017/12/11/how-drone-swarms-could-change-urban-warfare-commentary/">https://www.c4isrnet.com/opinion/the-compass/net-defense-blogs/2017/12/11/how-drone-swarms-could-change-urban-warfare-commentary/</a> [ accessed 12 December 2017].
- Stalinsky, Steven and R. Sosnow, "A Decade Of Jihadi Organizations' Use Of Drones From Early Experiments By Hizbullah, Hamas, And Al-Qaeda To Emerging National Security Crisis For The West As ISIS Launches First Attack Drones," *MEMRI* Inquiry and Analysis Series No. 1300 [21 February 2017]. <a href="https://www.memri.org/reports/decade-jihadi-organizations-use-drones---early-experiments-hizbullah-hamas-and-al-gaeda">https://www.memri.org/reports/decade-jihadi-organizations-use-drones---early-experiments-hizbullah-hamas-and-al-gaeda</a> [accessed 18 February 2019].
- Stevenson, John A. "Space Deterrence: The Vulnerability-Credibility Tradeoff in Space Domain Deterrence Stability," NSI Concept Paper prepared for Strategic Multi-Layer (SMA) Contested Space Operations [April 2018]. <a href="http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Space\_CP2">http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Space\_CP2</a> Detterence finalv4.pdf [accessed 18 April 2018].
- Stoker, Donald and Craig Whiteside, "Blurred Lines: Gray-Zone Conflict and Hybrid War Two Failures of American Strategic Thinking," *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 73: No. 1, Article 4, Winter 2020. <a href="https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol73/iss1/4">https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol73/iss1/4</a> [accessed 2 February 2020].
- Sullivan, Ian M., John C. Bauer, Eric L. Berry and Luke Shabro, "Understanding Tomorrow Begins Today: The Operational Environment Through 2035," US Army TRADOC Mad Scientist Program [20 June 2017]. <a href="https://community.apan.org/wg/tradoc-g2/mad-scientist/b/weblog/posts/understanding-tomorrow-begins-today-the-operational-environment-through-2035">https://community.apan.org/wg/tradoc-g2/mad-scientist/b/weblog/posts/understanding-tomorrow-begins-today-the-operational-environment-through-2035</a> [accessed 21 June 2017].

  From the executive summary: "The Operational Environment (OE) is a combination of conditions and variables that impact a commander's decision-making and his/her ability to employ capabilities. The OEs of today and the future will be marked by instability. The combination of this instability with the dizzying advances being made in technology and the increased velocity of human interaction means that the OE will present an array of threats that will be lethal and multi-domain (land, sea, air, space, and cyber)."
- Sullivan, John P. "SWJ Book Review *Underground Warfare*," *Small Wars Journal* [20 September 2018]. <a href="http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/swj-book-review-underground-warfare">http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/swj-book-review-underground-warfare</a> [accessed 23 September 2018].
  - Excellent citations to support the book review and further understanding of the general topic area.
- Surkov, Vladislav (published under the pseudonym Natan Dubovitsky), "Without Sky," first published as an annex to the magazine Russian Pioneer, No 46 (May 2014).

  <a href="http://www.bewilderingstories.com/issue582/without\_sky.html">http://www.bewilderingstories.com/issue582/without\_sky.html</a> [accessed 2 December 2016].

  A short and powerful science fiction story with a critical quote: "The simple-hearted commanders of the past strove for victory. Now they did not act so stupidly. That is, some, of course, still clung to the old habits and tried to exhume from the archives old slogans of the type: victory will be ours. It worked in some places, but basically, war was now understood as a process, more exactly, part of a process, its acute phase, but maybe not the most important."
- Ting, Eric, "UC Berkeley professor's eerie lethal drone video goes viral," *SF Gate* [18 November 2017]. <a href="http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/UC-Berkeley-killer-robots-artificial-intelligence-12368152.php">http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/UC-Berkeley-killer-robots-artificial-intelligence-12368152.php</a> [accessed 19 November 2017].
- Tucker, Patrick, "The Next Big War Will Turn on AI, Says US Secret-Weapons Czar," *Defense One* [28 March 2017]. <a href="http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2017/03/next-big-war-will-turn-ai-says-pentagons-secret-weapons-czar/136537/">http://www.defenseone.com/technology/2017/03/next-big-war-will-turn-ai-says-pentagons-secret-weapons-czar/136537/</a> [accessed 30 March 2017].
  - This is a report on a speech given to the Air Force Association by William Roper, the DoD head of the Strategic Capabilities Office. This provides some legitimately interesting views of the future of war. It is a high-technology and driven by big data. Unfortunately, this seems a lot like pre-Skynet.

- U.S. Army TRADOC G-2, "The Operational Environment and the Changing Character of Future Warfare," United States Army TRADOC G-2 Operational Environment Enterprise, Washington D.C. [20 July 2017]. <a href="https://community.apan.org/wg/tradoc-g2/m/mediagallery/200219">https://community.apan.org/wg/tradoc-g2/m/mediagallery/200219</a> [accessed 24 March 2018].
- van der Dennen, Johan M. G. "On war: concepts, definitions, research data: a short literature survey and bibliography." UNESCO Yearbook of Peace and Conflict Studies 1980. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.
- Webb, Don, "Review Article of John Dominic Crossan, God & Empire," *Bewildering Stories*, Issue 754 [19 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.bewilderingstories.com/issue754/god\_empire\_rev.html">http://www.bewilderingstories.com/issue754/god\_empire\_rev.html</a> [accessed 18 June 2018].
  - "Crossan takes direct aim at apocalyptic eschatologists. "Since the Age of Enlightenment has been replaced by the Age of Entertainment, the future clash [will] not be between science and religion but between both of them and fantasy" (p. 197). In other words, popular fantasy creates a fake reality and, in some quarters, suicidal delusion (pp. 199-201)."
- Wharton, Terron. "Through the Looking Glass: The Reflectionism Theory of International Relations." InterAgency Journal 7, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 5-22. Accessed August 23, 2016. http://thesimonscenter.org/iaj-7-2-summer-2016/.
  - Quoted from the conclusion: The purpose of this article was to answer two questions: Why do States use Realist methods for Liberal aims? Subsequently, if Reflectionism answers question one, then how does conflict initiate, develop, and terminate in a Reflectionist world? I believe that Reflectionism provides a new, compelling construct for international politics, and that the RCM describes with relative accuracy the cycle of conflict.
- Williams, Brad D. "Emerging 'hyperwar' signals 'Al-fueled, machine-waged' future of conflict," *The Fifth Domain* [8 August 2017]. <a href="https://www.fifthdomain.com/dod/2017/08/07/emerging-hyperwar-signals-ai-fueled-machine-waged-future-of-conflict/">https://www.fifthdomain.com/dod/2017/08/07/emerging-hyperwar-signals-ai-fueled-machine-waged-future-of-conflict/</a> [accessed 10 August 2017].
  - The article references another article and interview. Essentially in the other material the basic point is that technology will shrink the OODA loop to the point of inconsequence. Humans will not be able to keep up with the machine decision making.
- Wise, Doug, "Future Warfare Will Not Allow Meaningful Human Control," *The Cipher Brief* [15 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/tech/future-warfare-will-not-allow-meaningful-human-control-1092">https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/tech/future-warfare-will-not-allow-meaningful-human-control-1092</a> [accessed 17 January 2017].
  - This is a short op-ed kind of piece. The most important point is that made in the headline too fast for human intervention. He does not sound remorseful regarding the long-term implications of the problem Skynet, for instance
- Zimmerman, Nils, "The economics of peace (and war)," *Deutsche Welle* [24 October 2017]. http://www.dw.com/en/the-economics-of-peace-and-war/a-41093149 [accessed 25 October 2017].

### **Historical Context**

- Lacey, James G., ed. *Enduring Strategic Rivalries*. Alexandria, VA: Institute for Defense Analysis, August 2014.
- Lee, Wayne E. *Barbarians and Brothers: Anglo-American Warfare, 1500-1865*. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Darden, Jessica Trisko, "How women wage war a short history of IS brides, Nazi guards and FARC insurgents," *The Conversation* [8 March 2019]. <a href="https://theconversation.com/how-women-wage-war-a-short-history-of-is-brides-nazi-guards-and-farc-insurgents-113011">https://theconversation.com/how-women-wage-war-a-short-history-of-is-brides-nazi-guards-and-farc-insurgents-113011</a> [accessed 21 March 2019].
- Fandy, Mamoun, "Tribe Vs. Islam: The Post-Colonial Arab State and the Democratic Imperative," *Middle East Policy Council*, volume III, June 1994, number 2. <a href="https://www.mepc.org/node/4949">https://www.mepc.org/node/4949</a> [accessed 2 July 2018].
- ★ Garfinkle, Adam, "The Fall of Empires and the Formation of the Modern Middle East," Foreign Policy Research Institute [12 February 2016]. http://www.fpri.org/article/2016/04/fall-empires-formation-modern-middle-east/ [accessed 18 April 2016].
- ★ Kaplan, Robert D. "How Islam Created Europe," The Atlantic [May 2016]. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/05/how-islam-created-europe/476388/">http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/05/how-islam-created-europe/476388/</a>
  [accessed 19 April 2016].
  - Marlantes, Karl, "Vietnam: The War That Killed Trust," *The New York Times* [7 January 2017]. <a href="https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/01/07/opinion/sunday/vietnam-the-war-that-killed-trust.html">https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/01/07/opinion/sunday/vietnam-the-war-that-killed-trust.html</a> [accessed 13 January 2017].
    - This is an interesting discussion on the role and nature of trust within American society and how Vietnam influenced that trust. Most of this is based off personal experience of the author.
  - Mead, Walter Russell, "The Jacksonian Revolt: American Populism and the Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs* [20 January 2017]. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-01-20/jacksonian-revolt?cid=%3Fcid%3Demc-paywall\_free-the\_jacksonian\_revolt-013017">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-01-20/jacksonian\_revolt?cid=%3Fcid%3Demc-paywall\_free-the\_jacksonian\_revolt-013017</a> [accessed 1 February 2017].
  - Shurkin, Michael, "The French Way of War," *Politico Magazine* [17 November 2015]. <a href="https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/11/the-french-way-of-war-213372">https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/11/the-french-way-of-war-213372</a> [accessed 3 April 2018].
    - I didn't read this when first published, but I find the perspective and observations worth considering.
  - Shurkin, Michael, "Modern War for Romantics: Ferdinand Foch and the Principles of War," War on the Rocks [8 July 2020]. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2020/07/modern-war-for-romantics-ferdinand-foch-and-the-principles-of-war/">https://warontherocks.com/2020/07/modern-war-for-romantics-ferdinand-foch-and-the-principles-of-war/</a> [accessed 9 July 2020].
  - Spencer, John, "The Destructive Age of Urban Warfare; Or, How to Kill A City and How to Protect It," Modern Warfare Institute [28 March 2019]. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/destructive-age-urban-warfare-kill-city-protect/">https://mwi.usma.edu/destructive-age-urban-warfare-kill-city-protect/</a> [accessed 2 April 2019].
  - Takeyh, Ray. "What really Happened in Iran: The CIA, the Ouster of Mosaddeq, and the Restoration of the Shah." Foreign Affairs 93, no. 4 (Jul, 2014): 2-12, <a href="https://lumen.cgsccarl.com/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1541490751?accountid=28992">https://lumen.cgsccarl.com/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1541490751?accountid=28992</a> (accessed 27 June 2016).
  - Waters, Florence, "Germany's grand First World War jihad experiment," *The Daily Telegraph* [10 August 2014]. <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/museums/11022199/Germanys-Grand-WW1-Jihad-Experiment.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/museums/11022199/Germanys-Grand-WW1-Jihad-Experiment.html</a> [accessed 22 April 2017].
    - A good explanation of one component of the German effort to promote jihad during WWI.

### Videos (some audio)

- Al Jazeera, "ISIL: Target Russia Featured Documentary," *Al Jazeera* (English) [27 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3HDytlHGHpY">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3HDytlHGHpY</a> [accessed 5 June 2017].
  - Video is 47:15. Includes excellent observations of the organization and conduct of operations by ISIS aligned fighters in Afghanistan. The entire focus of the production is understanding the Russian focus of ISIS in Afghanistan. Claims to be the first filmed interview with ISIS female fighters.
- al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad, ""You were free"- Nasheed from Islamic State's Ajnad Media," Aymenn Jawad Al-Tamimi's Blog on Pundicity [10 March 2018]. <a href="http://www.aymennjawad.org/2018/03/youwere-free-nasheed-from-islamic-state-ajnad">http://www.aymennjawad.org/2018/03/youwere-free-nasheed-from-islamic-state-ajnad</a> [accessed 19 April 2018].
- Associated Press, "Drone Video Shows Devastation in Raqqa," Associated Press [19 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qJDu7cKFA6M">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qJDu7cKFA6M</a> [accessed 12 December 2017].
  - Video is 1:00. This presents video footage without sound of Raqaa.
- Associated Press, "Drone footage shows extent of Mosul destruction," *Associated Press* [10 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QneVmfFlt8Q">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QneVmfFlt8Q</a> [accessed 12 December 2017]. Video is 1:05. This presents video footage without sound of Mosul.
- Baddorf, Zack, "Today is the Female Slave Market Day in ad-Dawlah," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [25 May 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XoYzcnyqtuo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XoYzcnyqtuo</a> [accessed 27 May 2017].
  - Video is 2:25. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector who was moved to reject the group through the selling of Muslim women as sex slaves. The audio is Arabic with English subtitles.
- ★ Carter, Ash interview by David Gergen, "Defeating ISIS: Inside the Campaign Against a Brutal Enemy," Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School [26 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=reWy40U1WIQ&t=2889s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=reWy40U1WIQ&t=2889s</a> [accessed 31 October 2017]. This interview should be linked to the special report titled "A Lasting Defeat: The Campaign to Destroy ISIS" at <a href="https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/Lasting%20Defeat%20-%20final\_0.pdf">https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/Lasting%20Defeat%20-%20final\_0.pdf</a>. This video is more than an hour long with the main interview beginning after twenty minutes.
  - CENTCOM, "March 29th, West Mosul, Iraq," *CENTCOM Public Affairs* [29 March 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7038I42IF2A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7038I42IF2A</a> [accessed 24 April 2017].
    - Video is 2:20. CENTCOM video showing civilians being moved into a building with the alleged intent of drawing a coalition strike and blaming the coalition for civilian casualties.
  - CNN, "Battling 'crusaders': ISIS turns to glossy magazine for propaganda," *CNN News* [17 September 2014]. <a href="http://edition.cnn.com/2014/09/17/world/meast/isis-magazine/index.html">http://edition.cnn.com/2014/09/17/world/meast/isis-magazine/index.html</a> [accessed 25 March 2017].
    - Video is 1:51. This provides a simple and short explanation of Dabiq magazine and some of the primary topics of discussion in the magazine.
  - CNN, "Did intel community warn Obama on ISIS?" CNN News [29 September 2014]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eih479218ME">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eih479218ME</a> [accessed 25 March 2017].
    - Video is 5:31. Did the president know about ISIS as a powerful player and when did he know. This is not an important video, but it has historic value in explaining the sequence of information regarding ISIS.
  - D'Agata, Charlie, "ISIS mounts bloody last stand in Mosul," *CBS Evening News* [23 June 2017]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2Qnvow5FiY [accessed 28 December 2017].
    - Video is 2:04. Great imagery and useful commentary on the destruction of Mosul.
  - Damon, Arwa, "CNN Inside Raqqa, former ISIS stronghold," *CNN News* [19 October 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B9vb3ICV7Qc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B9vb3ICV7Qc</a> [accessed 1 November 2017].

- Video is 2:40. The reporter speaks the entire time which weakens the power of the images. Despite this, this video still provides some of the best images of the destruction associated with the defeat of ISIS in Raqqa.
- Fox, Amaryllis, "Former Undercover CIA Officer Talks War And Peace," *Al Jazeera* [13 June 2016]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7WEd34oW9BI&t=13s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7WEd34oW9BI&t=13s</a> [accessed 24 March 2017]. At 3:02 in length, this is short and to the point. Everybody thinks they are the good guy. Powerful and
- ★ Frontline, "Confronting ISIS," 12 October 2016 [originally aired 11 October 2016].
  <a href="http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/confronting-isis/">http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/confronting-isis/</a> [accessed 12 October 2016].

Frontline videos are generally excellent in understanding issues in the Middle East. This video represents the best video representation of the fight against ISIS from 2014 to present. This offers a regional approach though the perspective is from the US and includes numerous interview excerpts from senior US government officials.

Frontline, "Battle for Iraq and Hunting ISIS" 31 January 2017.

http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/battle-for-iraq/ and http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/hunting-isis/ [accessed 25 March 2017].

Website Description: Reporter Ghaith Abdul-Ahad goes inside the battle against ISIS for control of the city of Mosul. FRONTLINE follows an elite special operations unit at the center of the fight against ISIS in Iraq.

Frontline, "Iraq Uncovered," 21 March 2017. <a href="http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/iraq-uncovered/">http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/iraq-uncovered/</a> [accessed 25 March 2017].

Website Description: FRONTLINE investigates allegations of abuse of Sunni Muslim civilians by powerful Shia militias.

The reporter is Ramita Navai.

poignant.

★ Future of Life Institute, "Slaughterbots," Future of Life Institute [12 November 2017]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9CO6M2HsoIA&t= [accessed 19 November 2017].

This is a dramatized video that demonstrates the dangers of drone warfare taken to an extreme of artificial intelligence combined with miniaturization. This portrays a presentation of the capability followed by dramatized news coverage of the miniature drone attacks with intent to control political voting and governed by information collected through social media. The message is powerful and important. Video is 7:47.

Fuuse Films, "Jihad," 14 August 2017. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_usgevtEppg">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_usgevtEppg</a> [accessed 13 April 2017].

This is a report on Jihad based on interviews with British participants in the jihad in Afghanistan and elsewhere. No solutions other than to understand and accept so that young people have an alternative to jihad.

The reporter is Deeyah Khan.

- Green, Lilly, "Hamas Guidebook to Social Media Operations," Prepared by the New Media Department in the Information Office of Hamas Interior Ministry [18 July 2014]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yH2QOZorDws">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yH2QOZorDws</a> [accessed 24 October 2017].
- ICSVE, "My Journey Towards Jihad," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [11 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5WUWplVy9">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5WUWplVy9</a> c&feature=youtu.be [accessed 12 April 2018].

Video is 6:29. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an imprisoned ISIS participant who joined based off videos of the fighting in Syria and recruited through Facebook.

ICSVE, "A Child of the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [12 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYIUYr1-hQU&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYIUYr1-hQU&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 12 April 2018].

- Video is 4:04. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an imprisoned ISIS participant who took his son to the caliphate. This is a story of the son.
- ICSVE, "Marriage in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [14 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9wDofH\_QTmo&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9wDofH\_QTmo&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 15 April 2018].
  - Video is 3:42. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector who tells a story about an ISIS foreign fighter who stalks and lies to steal a man's wife.
- ICSVE, "Justice in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [22 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yeVmDEJX6wM&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yeVmDEJX6wM&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 23 April 2018].
  - Video is 2:34. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector who is imprisoned in Kosovo. He traveled to Syria twice to fight against the al-Assad regime. The second time he took his wife. His stated reason for defection is the injustice toward the wives, and especially, the widows of fighters. Despite his problems with ISIS he doesn't feel the West is better.
- ICSVE, "A Sister Walking in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [23 April 2018]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SY55Owufllw [accessed 24 April 2018].
  - Video is 2:06. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector who is imprisoned. He explains the story of his sister taken and killed for not having the right documentation to be with her brother.
- ICSVE, "We are in the Time of Jihad," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [27 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bGZz3fcy3-M&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bGZz3fcy3-M&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 29 April 2018].
  - Video is 1:51. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector who expresses falseness in the faith and piety of ISIS leaders and fighters.
- ICSVE, "The Call to Jihad," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism [28 April 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xYsXGGINbbc&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xYsXGGINbbc&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 1 May 2018]. Video is 4:34. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Kosovar soldier who traveled to Syria to fight in the Free Syrian Army. He was arrested and imprisoned.
- ICSVE, "Two Brothers in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [3 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8C3gEHhmDFk&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8C3gEHhmDFk&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 4 May 2018].
  - Video is 3:51. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of an Iraqi man who is lured into ISIS by his brother through threats and coercion. He was arrested and imprisoned.
- ICSVE, "The Islamic State takes Care of You," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [22 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HDVeEuh28Ks&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HDVeEuh28Ks&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 23 May 2018].
  - Video is 2:02. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian man who joined ISIS after fighting in the Free Syrian Army. He described the horrible living conditions.
- ICSVE, "Rules of the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [23 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QQIIyfGAXvY&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QQIIyfGAXvY&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 31 May

- 2018].
- Video is 2:55. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian man who joined ISIS as a cub of the caliphate. He tells of serving in the morality police.
- ICSVE, "The Islamic State Hisbah," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [25 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HtShqJuzx8&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HtShqJuzx8&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 31 May 2018].
  - Video is 2:59. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian man who joined ISIS after fighting in the Free Syrian Army. He described working with the morality police.
- ICSVE, "The Real Jihad," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism [28 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DDzW7QKifW8&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DDzW7QKifW8&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 31 May 2018]. Video is 4:25. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian man who joined ISIS after fighting in the Free Syrian Army. He described the horrible living conditions.
- ICSVE, "Justice for our Sisters in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [28 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zysA3GAusy4&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zysA3GAusy4&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 31 May 2018].
  - Video is 3:03. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian defector from ISIS describing the misbehavior of ISIS members.
- ICSVE, "Sex in the Islamic State," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism [8 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BNzz6v6W4jc&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BNzz6v6W4jc&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 10 June 2018]. Video is 2:55. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian defector from ISIS who joined as a teenager. He was repulsed by sexual practices of the group.
- ICSVE, "Aiming for Paradise with the Cubs of the Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [14 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TX22Yce7Px0&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TX22Yce7Px0&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 15 June 2018].
  - Video is 5:15. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian defector from ISIS who joined as a teenager. He tells of his experiences with the Cubs of the Caliphate. This is one of the best videos for explaining the grooming practices of ISIS.
- ICSVE, "Joining the Cubs of the Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [15 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IdOXnxnLkp0&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IdOXnxnLkp0&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 16 June 2018].
  - Video is 4:39. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian defector from ISIS who joined as a teenager. He tells of his experiences with the Cubs of the Caliphate and the connection between the cubs and foreign fighters.
- ICSVE, "Haram in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [15 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P0zyzizuoS8&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P0zyzizuoS8&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 18 June 2018].
  - Video is 4:36. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian defector from ISIS who had been an ISIS commander.
- ICSVE, "The Call of Duty," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [16 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=51uV">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=51uV</a> <a href="q4s598&feature=youtu.be">q4s598&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 19 June 2018].
  - Video is 5:59. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Kosovar who joined the fight in Syria, but returned disaffected by the experience.
- ICSVE, "A Baghdad Bombing by the Islamic state," International Center for the Study of Violent

- Extremism [20 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0HybMklYlkQ&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0HybMklYlkQ&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 1 July 2018].
- Video is 4:57. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of an Iraqi father who is imprisoned for supporting ISIS. He now negatively reflects on his support of the group.
- ICSVE, "The Good Caliph of the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [23 June 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p8ZqswygSP8&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p8ZqswygSP8&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 5 July 2018].
  - Video is 2:49. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian ISIS commander who defected to Turkey. This counter narrative highlights the greed of ISIS leaders.
- ICSVE, "The Sword of the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [3 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_EUcn9uHrOM&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_EUcn9uHrOM&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 4 July 2018].
  - Video is 5:18. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian ISIS commander who defected to Turkey. He reflects on the deceit associated with ISIS motivations.
- ICSVE, "Following Shariah in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [3 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y8RlzuRPgpl&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y8RlzuRPgpl&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].
  - Video is 4:15. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian ISIS commander who defected to Turkey. He discusses the failure to follow shariah with specific example of adultery.
- ICSVE, "The Long Arm of the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [6 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U7uDhtK0DDU&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U7uDhtK0DDU&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 9 July 2018].
  - Video is 5:19. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian ISIS commander who defected to Turkey and his concerns about the ability of ISIS assassins to reach him and his family.
- ICSVE, "Making Money in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [5 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BfuZzCQOCSw&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BfuZzCQOCSw&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 15 July 2018].
  - Video is 3:43. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian ISIS commander who defected to Turkey and his concerns about the hypocrisy of ISIS to deal with the Syrian regime to gain money through selling grain and other business practices.
- ICSVE, "Surviving in the Islamic State Caliphate," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism [15 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O4L6VmrlRx8&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O4L6VmrlRx8&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 17 July 2018].
  - Video is 3:24. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian ISIS commander who defected to Turkey and his concerns about how ISIS manipulated basic subsistence item prices through inflated salaries to its own fighters. This challenges the notion of ISIS as a benevolent state.
- ICSVE, "Swearing my Bayat to the Islamic State in a Time of Sectarianism," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [19 July 2018].
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O4L6VmrlRx8&feature=youtu.be [accessed 17 July 2018].
  - Video is 3:09. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of an Iraqi ISIS member who explains that the argument for joining ISIS was based on sectarian fears

- and the need to protect family and community.
- ICSVE, "Jihad is our Way," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [28 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uQFJhnudftU&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uQFJhnudftU&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 31 July 2018].
  - Video is 3:22. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Kenyan who wanted to be a suicide bomber.
- ICSVE, "The Lion and the Lioness of the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [28 July 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2S0XrvNIhEg&list=PLqpy96DXqN-dK01K">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2S0XrvNIhEg&list=PLqpy96DXqN-dK01K</a> FikteDoSxScG OTO&index=52&t=2s [accessed 2 August 2018].
  - Video is 4:56. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video "highlights the dangers of online radicalization and of developing relationships with violent extremists over the Internet."
- ICSVE, "Alexis the Belgian Jihadist," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [1 August 2018]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ft8JcJmKYzc [accessed 7 August 2018].
  - Video is 6:07. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Belgian man who converted and was stopped from making it to Syria. He still maintains strong opinions, but expresses that extremist videos have a dangerous impact.
- ICSVE, "You Must Join the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [14 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gh9eaFwasms&index=52&list=PLqpy96DXqN-dK01K">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gh9eaFwasms&index=52&list=PLqpy96DXqN-dK01K</a> FikteDoSxScG OTO [accessed 18 August 2018].
  - Video is 4:12. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with an Iraqi who joined ISIS because of family pressure.
- ICSVE, "Swearing my Bayat to the Islamic State in Fallujah," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [22 August 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pl9hdDRDvGk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pl9hdDRDvGk</a> [accessed 30 August 2018].
  - Video is 3:59. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with an Iraqi who joined ISIS because of family pressure and his explanation of the influence of Camp Bucca as a developmental area for ISIS.
- ICSVE, "The People Live in Darkness," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [12 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NyVdt1Jf8Fl&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NyVdt1Jf8Fl&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 6 February 2019].
  - Video is 2:42. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with an Syrian ISIS soldier discussing the nature of compelling young men to fight.
- ICSVE, "Striking It Rich in the Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [2 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FA4kaoEJb-Q&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FA4kaoEJb-Q&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 17 October 2018].
  - Video is 2:22. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a former ISIS commander and addresses how ISIS coerced and extorted money.
- ICSVE, "A Belgian Serving the Islamic State in Syria," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [2 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iQ3FlCdC-oM&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iQ3FlCdC-oM&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 17 October 2018].
  - Video is 5:46. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Belgian convert to Islam who traveled to Syria to fight against the Assad government.
- ICSVE 38, "Albanians in the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [12 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z5nao8DZZIw&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z5nao8DZZIw&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 28 March 2019].
  - Video is 1:27. Abu Hilmi. A Kosovar national traveled to Syria because of the suffering witnessed in the

- revolution against Bashar al-Assad.
- ICSVE 52, "The Abu Musab al Zarqawi Cubs of the Caliphate Camp," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [18 September 2018].
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=op6SPsb38SI&feature=youtu.be [accessed 14 February 2019].
  - Video is 3:52. Ibn Omar. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Syrian boy who was trained as a cub of the caliphate.
- ICSVE 56, "Escaping Jinn and the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [27 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6-ym1TvL6Y&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6-ym1TvL6Y&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 21 February 2019].
  - Video is 5:54. Verdi Morava. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with an Albanian healer and imam who was prosecuted for terrorism and facilitating travel to Syria and ISIS.
- ICSVE 59, "Should I Join al Shabaab?" *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [2 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SlxCvLxOYUo&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SlxCvLxOYUo&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 11 February 2019].
  - Video is 4:08. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Kenyan woman whose husband joined al-Shabab and then was recruited by others to come to Somalia and join the group.
- ICSVE 60, "Islamic State Live-Streaming in Kosovo," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism [15 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-ct09gm7pQ&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-ct09gm7pQ&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 11 February 2019].
  - Video is 6:09. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Kosovar man who traveled briefly to the Islamic States as a result of motivations created by images of Syrian suffering.
- ICSVE 61, "The Sabayah of the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [28 May 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dqz9eY5Sd9c&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dqz9eY5Sd9c&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 31 May 2018].
  - Video is 3:56. Ibn Ahmed. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The story is of a Syrian man who joined ISIS after fighting in the Free Syrian Army. He described the behavior of ISIS with respect to Yazidi women.
- ICSVE 62, "Listen to and Obey the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [2 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zm278YURq6M&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zm278YURq6M&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 13 February 2019].
  - Video is 4:29. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Syrian young man who joined ISIS and the comments include the brainwashing experienced by foreign fighters.
- ICSVE 63, "The Punishments of Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [2 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fMKwOpL7dHU&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fMKwOpL7dHU&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 12 February 2019].
  - Video is 2:41. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Syrian young man who joined ISIS and the comments include the punishments he witnessed.
- ICSVE 64, "My Path Toward Jihad," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [18 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQEUSMk9L0U&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQEUSMk9L0U&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 12 February 2019].
  - Video is 2:38. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The

- video interview is with a Belgian who was recruited through internet videos.
- ICSVE, "Giving the Best of Syria to the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [14 October 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mPbg">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mPbg</a> xM-zwk&feature=youtu.be [accessed 17 October 2018].
  - Video is 2:59. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Syrian who joined ISIS because of the economic catastrophe that average people experienced prior to the rise of ISIS.
- ICSVE 67, "The Islamic State's Roundabout of Happiness in Raqqa," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [14 October 2018].
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dar74u0QvSM&feature=youtu.be [accessed 6 February 2019].
  - Video is 3:50. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a former ISIS soldier from Syria and his reaction to the punishments inflicted by ISIS in Ragga.
- ICSVE 68, "A Scholar in the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [14 October 2018].
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=De9o4BQ0hRQ&feature=youtu.be [accessed 6 February 2019].
  - Video is 4:30. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Syrian who joined ISIS and became a member of the religious police.
- ICSVE 69, "Revenge in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [17 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TsU26WyVrkc&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TsU26WyVrkc&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 13 February 2019].
  - Video is 3:44. Abu Valid. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Syrian who joined ISIS after supposedly being captured and tortured by them.
- ICSVE 72, "A Cub of the Caliphate's Jihad," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [21 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D73ItroZOxk&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D73ItroZOxk&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 13 February 2019].
  - Video is 2:27. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a 15-year-old Syrian boy. He discusses how boys are convinced to be suicide bombers.
- ICSVE 74, "It is Jihad," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [10 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E1I98cD\_log&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E1I98cD\_log&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 15 February 2019]. Video is 3:24. Abu Taha. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic
  - State. The video interview is with an Iraqi man from Mosul who joined ISIS and later felt that they were deceptive about who they were.
- ICSVE 75, "Dreams of Islamic State Bombings in Baghdad," International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism [21 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jAL8IB008Ro&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jAL8IB008Ro&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 12 February 2019].
  - Video is 4:38. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with an Iraqi driver for ISIS.
- ICSVE 77, "A Belgian Family in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [21 September 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=phZsHWBzcbE&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=phZsHWBzcbE&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 15 February 2019].
  - Video is 6:35. Salma. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Belgian woman who followed her father to the Islamic State.
- ICSVE 78, "You should Fear Allah in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [22 January 2019].

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pGbGdG07XZo&feature=youtu.be [accessed 12 February 2019].
- Video is 5:14. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Belgian woman and wife of an ISIS fighter.
- ICSVE 79, "Following my Father into the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [13 January 2019].
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pNxWgUGCUfk&feature=youtu.be [accessed 26 March 2019]. Video is 4:16. Salma. A 22 year old woman who followed her father to ISIS.
- ICSVE 83, "Making Hijrah to the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [16 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1lcyUKmS7sk&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1lcyUKmS7sk&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 15 February 2019].
  - Video is 4:52. Beatrice. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Belgian woman convert to Islam who traveled to ISIS territory to join the caliphate.
- ICSVE 105, "Applying the Law in the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [21 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-3TVjO">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-3TVjO</a> nH2Y&feature=youtu.be [accessed 15 February 2019].
  - Video is 3:28. Abu Qadir. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Syrian man who expresses the hypocritical application of Islamic law in the caliphate.
- ICSVE 106, "Brothers of the Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [12 January 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-3TVjO">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-3TVjO</a> nH2Y&feature=youtu.be [accessed 15 February 2019].
  - Video is 5:09. Abu Qadir. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Syrian man who joined the Free Syrian Army and then was captured and forced to join ISIS with his brother.
- ICSVE 108, "Interpreting Scriptures in the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [30 March 2019].
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H9SUwYPn8Jc&feature=youtu.be [accessed 11 June 2019].
  - Video is 4:47. Abu Usama al Belgique. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Belgian man who expresses frustration with the fact that ISIS ordered the execution of Sunni Arab tribe members.
- ICSVE 111, "The Helpers of the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [18 January 2019].
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q9ZTmYyN6eY&feature=youtu.be [accessed 15 February 2019].
  - Video is 2:25. Abu Usama al Belgique. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Belgian man who expresses frustration with the fact that ISIS hardly fought the al-Assad regime.
- ICSVE 112, "Seeking an Islamic Life in al Shabaab," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [4 April 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O-9DN4iSHLo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O-9DN4iSHLo</a> [accessed 11 June 2019].
  - Video is 5:10. Abu Layth. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Kenyan 37-year-old man who joined after a religious conversion moment.
- ICSVE 114, "If You Come to al Shabaab Your Sins Will Be Forgiven," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [5 June 2019]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q3h-

- 5lr ht8&feature=youtu.be [accessed 11 June 2019].
- Video is 4:34. Abu Layth. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Kenyan 37-year-old man who joined to enjoy religious conversion.
- ICSVE 115, "Studying the Art of War in al Shabaab," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [6 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XUGpTPcSYZ8&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XUGpTPcSYZ8&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 11 June 2019].
  - Video is 6:02. Abu Layth. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with a Kenyan 37-year-old man who discusses the training to become a security intelligence operative in al-shabab.
- ICSVE 117, "The Clear Path into the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [13 January 2019].
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5O4m3t2YGA&feature=youtu.be [accessed 19 February 2019].
  - Video is 6:36. Abu Ayad. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with an Iraqi 20-year-old man who joined ISIS after watching fewer than a dozen videos. He was supposedly encouraged to be a suicide bomber and refused, but he was arrested on the charge of conspiring to conduct a suicide bombing.
- ICSVE 162, "The Clear Path into the Islamic State Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [1 June 2019]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OClwkzQ3">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OClwkzQ3</a> EY&feature=youtu.be [accessed 4 July 2019].
  - Video is 4:23. Abu Nasser. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. The video interview is with an Iraqi 18-year-old man who joined ISIS supposedly out of desperation with regard to food and basic needs.
- Interview with Brigadier General Richard T. Knowles (Assistant Division Commander, 1st Cavalry Division) in CBS News Special "The Battle of the Ia Drang Valley" with Morley Safer, CBS News, 1965. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JfBLUOSNryc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JfBLUOSNryc</a> [accessed 2 December 2016].
  - BG Knowles: I think the thing that is new is this pogo-type concept where we leap into an area and start a fight, finish it up to the best of our ability, and then jump over and latch onto another chunk of the enemy and then chew him up. You couldn't get in to this area on the ground. You just couldn't make it and you couldn't resupply. You had to have helicopters to support what we have been doing.

Morley Safer question: I am thinking of the intent of the mission. Everything we fought in the past has been to gain ground.

BG Knowles: Yes, but you know the basic mission of any military force is to destroy the enemy or his will to fight. And it's been our tradition since we were tied to the ground to translate that into terms of ground objectives, but that was never the real purpose. That would just help you achieve the end. Here we can free ourselves of those ground considerations and we go more directly for the enemy wherever he may be.

Interview with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu with Rick Leventhal in *Fox News Special Report with Brett Bair*, Fox News, 18 September 2016.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NDuLiOTEUQQ (approximately 33:30 in the episode)[accessed 24 December 2016].

PM Natanyahu: The way you fight terrorism is you fight the terrorists. You don't say 'I can't do anything because I have to defeat their ideas.' Yeah, you will defeat their ideas, but first defeat them. You didn't say 'I'll fight the Nazis by first defeating their ideas.' First you defeated them. Now, it doesn't mean that you can't have these forces of radicalism reappearing in Europe or anywhere else. Of course you can. But you have to keep weeding out these weeds. If you don't weed them out, they will overtake your garden.

Islamic State, "Clanging of the Swords, Part 1," al-Furqan Media [30 June 2012].

http://jihadology.net/2012/06/30/al-furqan-media-presents-a-new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-clanging-of-the-swords-part-1/ [accessed 25 March 2017]. This video is

available through the Jihadology website at the current link.

This is a video of 1:03:49. This video is in Arabic. This is one of the earliest videos produced by ISIS and it shows. Much of the video is dedicated to expressing the oppression of Sunnis within Iraq. This explanation includes speeches from Iraqi politicians. In terms of pacing. It includes an explanation of an attack – an orders brief, if you will, as well as showing the actual operations. It also includes training footage.

Islamic State, "Clanging of the Swords, Part 2," al-Furqan Media [16 August 2012].

http://jihadology.net/2012/08/16/al-furqan-media-presents-a-new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-clanging-of-the-swords-part-2%e2%80%b3/ [accessed 25 March 2017]. This video is available through the Jihadology website at the current link.

This is a video of 49:44. This video is in Arabic. This is early in ISIS operations and the video is much less interesting in terms of pacing. It includes an explanation of an attack – an orders brief, if you will, as well as showing the actual operations. It also includes training footage.

Islamic State, "Clanging of the Swords, Part 3 (Parts 1 and 2)," al-Furqan Media [11 January 2013]. <a href="http://jihadology.net/2013/01/11/al-furqan-media-presents-a-new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-clanging-of-the-swords-part-3/">http://jihadology.net/2013/01/11/al-furqan-media-presents-a-new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-clanging-of-the-swords-part-3/</a> [accessed 25 March 2017]. This video is available through the Jihadology website at the current link.

This is a two part video of 39:18 and 41:21 each. This video is in Arabic. Also known as "The Breaking of Walls." The video explains the expansion of ISIS and also includes numerous around the campfire discussions with ISIS fighters and action images of ISIS in contact with their enemies.

Islamic State, "Clanging of the Swords, Part 4," al-Furqan Media [1 June 2014].

http://jihadology.net/2014/05/17/al-furqan-media-presents-a-new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-and-al-sham-clanging-of-the-swords-part-4/ [accessed 25 March 2017]. This video is available through the Jihadology website at the current link.

This is 1:02:22 video. The beginning of the video provides statements that can help interested parties to understand the motivations of ISIS and how they interact with the public and their supporters and fighters. This is the first major release for the group and it is at the beginning of their editing skills. The material includes a great deal of the early success of ISIS. The video has English subtitles. The majority of the video includes images of ISIS killing people and blowing up things. This is disturbing and should be watched only after serious consideration.

Islamic State, "The End of Sykes-Picot," al-Hayat Media [29 June 2014].

http://jihadology.net/2014/06/29/al-%e1%b8%a5ayat-media-center-presents-a-new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-and-al-sham-the-end-of-sykes-picot/ [accessed 24 March 2017]. This video is available through the Jihadology website at the current link.

This is 15:04 video. It features a young ISIS fighter giving a tour of the Iraqi-Syrian border and expressing how the Sykes-Picot border will never be recognized by the Islamic State. This is rather boring by ISIS standards, but it features the music from the "Dawn of the Islamic State."

Islamic State, "Media Man, You are a Mujahid Too – Wilayat Salah al-Din," *al-Hayat Media* [27 May 2015]. <a href="http://jihadology.net/2015/05/27/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-media-man-you-are-a-mujahid-too-wilayat-%E1%B9%A3ala%E1%B8%A5-al-din/">http://jihadology.net/2015/05/27/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-media-man-you-are-a-mujahid-too-wilayat-%E1%B9%A3ala%E1%B8%A5-al-din/</a> [accessed 23 April 2017]. This video is available through the Jihadology website at the current link.

This is 12:14 video. Arabic language. Instruction on the importance of media in the ISIS conflict model.

★ Islamic State, "And No Respite," al-Furqan Media [24 November 2015]. http://jihadology.net/2015/11/24/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-and-no-respite/ also available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ta75NNb6MQ8 [accessed 25 March 2017]. This video is available through the Jihadology website at the current link.

This is 4:13 video. Quite possibly the best communication of the ISIS narrative in four minutes. I regularly use this video to express the ISIS perspective of the fight and the alternative results of the fight. Simply stated,

this video communicates that to the hard-core believers they are on the winning side. This is not about belief, but about faith in action.

Islamic State, "The Structure of the Caliphate," al-Furqan Media [6 July 2016].

http://jihadology.net/2016/07/06/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-the-structure-of-the-caliphate/ [accessed 25 March 2017]. This video is available through the Jihadology website at the current link.

This is 14:58 video. The video is a rather pedantic description of the bureaucracy through which ISIS governs its caliphate. The last two minutes are a series of images of ISIS fighters in action to include some gruesome beheading images. The video is in English throughout.

Islamic State, "We Will Surely Guide Them To Our Ways – Wilāyat Nīnawā," *al-Furqan Media* [17 May 2017]. <a href="http://jihadology.net/2017/05/17/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-we-will-surely-guide-them-to-our-ways-wilayat-ninawa/">http://jihadology.net/2017/05/17/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-we-will-surely-guide-them-to-our-ways-wilayat-ninawa/</a> [accessed 14 January 2018]. This video is available through the Jihadology website at the current link.

This is 44:40 video. The video comes as ISIS was losing much of their terrain and especially in Mosul. At about 9 minutes in we are introduced to an American ISIS fighter. He discusses and demonstrates ISIS weapons manufacturing capability. Much of the rest of the video is dedicated to this same topic with presenters from Russia and France. They also have several suicide bombers give testimony with overhead video of their strikes.

Israel Defense Forces, "Operation Good Neighbor," Israel Defense Forces [19 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dAMW3-rVeyM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dAMW3-rVeyM</a> [accessed 24 October 2017].

This is 3:03 video. The video shows Israel's efforts to assist Syrians struggling with medical conditions during the civil war. The video is in English or with English subtitles throughout.

★ Logan, Lara, "60 Minutes: The Battle for Mosul," CBS News, originally broadcast 6 November 2016. <a href="http://www.cbsnews.com/news/60-minutes-battle-for-mosul-iraq-lara-logan/">http://www.cbsnews.com/news/60-minutes-battle-for-mosul-iraq-lara-logan/</a> [accessed 7 November 2016].

This is an excellent presentation of fighting on the approach to and slightly within Mosul. This has graphic imagery of explosions and aftermath of fighting. The video includes a CTS major who is also featured in the Vice News video on the fighting around Fallujah.

- Logan, Lara, "60 Minutes: How unconventional thinking transformed a war-torn Colombia," CBS News, originally broadcast 11 December 2016. <a href="http://www.cbsnews.com/news/60-minutes-colombia-after-civil-war-lara-logan/">http://www.cbsnews.com/news/60-minutes-colombia-after-civil-war-lara-logan/</a> [accessed 26 December 2016].
- ★ Long War Journal Editors, "Understanding al Qaeda through the massive trove of Osama bin Laden's files," Long War Journal [18 November 2017].

https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2017/11/understanding-al-qaeda-through-the-massive-trove-of-osama-bin-ladens-files.php [accessed 21 November 2017].

This is 1:22:48 video. "The conversation featured Rukmini Callimachi, foreign correspondent with The New York Times, whose stories covering her discovery of a cache of al Qaeda documents in Mali made her a Pulitzer Prize finalist, as well as Thomas Joscelyn and Bill Roggio, FDD Senior Fellows and editors of FDD's Long War Journal, who were given an advance opportunity to preview the records, images, audio, and video files released this month by the Central Intelligence Agency. The discussion was moderated by Kimberly Dozier, Executive Editor of The Cipher Brief."

The transcript of the broadcast is at

http://www.defenddemocracy.org/content/uploads/documents/Transcript OBL Nov2017.pdf [accessed 21 November 2017].

Mann Scott, "Part 1 Interview with Joanne Herring from Charlie Wilson's War," Stability Institute [3 May 2014]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ro9LjWskfA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ro9LjWskfA</a> [accessed 26 July 2018].

Mann Scott, "Part 2 Interview with Joanne Herring from Charlie Wilson's War," Stability Institute [3 May

- 2014]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zU8ptHHHFuM [accessed 26 July 2018].
- Mann Scott, "Part 3 Interview with Joanne Herring from Charlie Wilson's War," Stability Institute [3 May 2014]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRlffVpxBW8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRlffVpxBW8</a> [accessed 26 July 2018].
  - Video is 22:23; 11:15; 10:02. Joanne Herring was instrumental in getting the funding for the mujahidin in Afghanistan. This is her story in three parts.
- Martin, David, "60 Minutes: The Coming Swarm," CBS News, originally broadcast 8 January 2017. http://www.cbsnews.com/videos/the-hostage-policy-the-coming-swarm-the-hunt-for-planet-nine/[accessed 12 January 2017].
  - The report is about autonomous robots on the battlefield. The title refers to the most significant portion of the report which is a hundred-plus swarm of UAVs working autonomously. Little discussion of ethics, but an interesting insight into capability.
- McCandless, Brit, "60 minutes Overtime: Advertising to sell peace, not products," CBS News online only, originally broadcast 11 December 2016. <a href="http://www.cbsnews.com/news/60-minutes-colombia-advertising-to-sell-peace-not-products/">http://www.cbsnews.com/news/60-minutes-colombia-advertising-to-sell-peace-not-products/</a> [accessed 26 December 2016].
  - Great report on a successful venture to get FARC guerillas to demobilize. The failure of many who watch this is to seek to take the behaviors and export them. The most important point is the research and the command of the narrative space terrain.
- McCarthy, Deborah, "The Ambassador and the General: Interview with Ambassador James Jeffrey and General Lloyd Austin," Academy of Diplomacy Series [14 June 2018].

  <a href="http://hwcdn.libsyn.com/p/9/f/0/9f01452da37f7ae7/AmbassadorGeneral\_JimLloyd.mp3?c\_id=21376936&cs\_id=21376936&expiration=1529165895&hwt=a4355335ba5d3a3edb4469c0779e346b">http://hwcdn.libsyn.com/p/9/f/0/9f01452da37f7ae7/AmbassadorGeneral\_JimLloyd.mp3?c\_id=21376936&expiration=1529165895&hwt=a4355335ba5d3a3edb4469c0779e346b</a>
  [accessed 16 June 2018].
  - Audio is 33:52. This is an interview of Ambassador James Jeffrey and General Lloyd Austin. It includes a lot of back slapping and congratulatory comments as if these men were significantly successful. I have to agree that this is an excellent interview with great comments. Having served and worked directly with the embassy and the USF-I staff during the time period under discussion, I do not share the rosy presentation of teamwork between the two organizations nor the perceptions of that teamwork as expressed by Ambassador Jeffrey and GEN Austin. Regardless of personal opinion, this still provides excellent insights into the challenges of Iraq in 2010-2011.
- Merriman, Helena, "What Kind of Person Becomes a Violent Jihadi?" *BBC World Service* (audio only) [23 April 2016]. <a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p03qr716">http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p03qr716</a> [accessed 28 December 2016]. Provides empathy for the reasoning behind jihadi actions. About 23 minutes.
- Open Publications, "Memetic Warfare," Open Perspectives Exchange Network, NATO Strategic Communication Center of Excellence, Riga, Latvia, <a href="www.openpublications.org">www.openpublications.org</a>. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Kv8RT2JJCs&t=33s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Kv8RT2JJCs&t=33s</a> [accessed 16 May 2017].
- Ramsay, Stuart, "Special Report: Secrets Of The IS Files Obtained By Sky News," Sky News [3 May 2016]. Available at <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gJis0sCXplo&sns=em">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gJis0sCXplo&sns=em</a> [accessed 28 December 2016].
  - Excellent source of information on ISIS as updated with captured documents. About 45 minutes.
- ★ RFE/RL, "Drone Video Shows Devastation Of Liberated Mosul," Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty [11 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.rferl.org/a/drone-video-show-ruins-of-mosul/28610777.html">https://www.rferl.org/a/drone-video-show-ruins-of-mosul/28610777.html</a> [accessed 12 July 2017].
  - This is a video lasting 2:02. Most of the video is simply the images of the destroyed city. This is powerful regarding the aftermath of the fighting.
  - RT, "'They slept underground': RT explores covert ISIS fortifications in liberated Syrian town (VIDEO)," RT [12 May 2016]. https://www.rt.com/news/342707-isis-tunnels-bunkers-syria/ [accessed 13 May

2016].

- Schick, Camilla and Tim Arango, "Iraq's Hardball Tactics to Root Out ISIS," *The New York Times* [24 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bUchdlhbQc0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bUchdlhbQc0</a> [accessed 8 October 2017].
  - This is a video lasting 4:12. This includes some graphic coverage of Iraqi military atrocities. The video asks some hard questions about hos the effort to find ISIS may poison a future environment in Iraq.
- Solomon, Ben C. and Ben Laffin, "Inside ISIS's Former Capital: The Forgotten People of Raqqa | The Dispatch," *The New York Times* and *The Dispatch* [1 April 2019].

  <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00\_pMI9SSs0&t=9s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00\_pMI9SSs0&t=9s</a> [accessed 6 August 2019] and <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/video/world/middleeast/100000006416068/isis-syria-raqqa.html">https://www.nytimes.com/video/world/middleeast/100000006416068/isis-syria-raqqa.html</a> [accessed 6 August 2019].
  - This is a video lasting 4:47. The opening couple of minutes provides excellent imagery of the destruction of Raqqa. The interview material is more emotional than informative. Horrible things have and did happen in Raqqa. Obviously. The video does not provide analysis and limited information.
- SouthFront, "Syrian War Report September 8, 2017: US-led Coalition Rescues ISIS Commanders From Deir Ezzor?" South Front [8 September 2017]. <a href="https://southfront.org/syrian-war-report-september-8-2017-us-led-coalition-rescues-isis-commanders-from-deir-ezzor/">https://southfront.org/syrian-war-report-september-8-2017-us-led-coalition-rescues-isis-commanders-from-deir-ezzor/</a> [accessed 12 September 2017]. This is a video lasting 3:24. It is uncertain the actual funding source for South Front, but based on the quoted
  - sourcing it seems that it may be funded or produced through Russian support. Some descriptions say the site is funded solely through crowdsourcing and exists to present alternative views.
  - This presentation is an example of "evidence" demonstrating US operational support of ISIS.
- Speckhard, Anne, "The Glorious Martyrs of the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [4 July 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZLKLV74JE0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZLKLV74JE0</a> [accessed 19 July 2017].
  - Video is 5:29. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector who was recruited through local education programs after ISIS occupied his village.
- Speckhard, Anne, "The Knights of the Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [7 July 2017]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OFMUgk\_t1XA [accessed 19 July 2017].
  - Video is 7:28. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from a former emir in change of media operations south of Baghdad.
- Speckhard, Anne, "My Brother in the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [8 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z-8HOmyIfyM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z-8HOmyIfyM</a> [accessed 12 September 2017].
  - Video is 5:14. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from a ISIS participant.
- Speckhard, Anne, "Dreams of the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [18 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7UYUkZzqYE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7UYUkZzqYE</a> [accessed 19 September 2017].
  - Video is 5:36. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector who was formerly a cub of the caliphate. The audio is Arabic with English subtitles.
- Speckhard, Anne, "My Brother, the Martyr for Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [19 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xnyqkn1no4k">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xnyqkn1no4k</a> [accessed 21 September 2017].
  - Video is 5:17. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector whose brother died in a martyrdom operation. The audio is Arabic

- with English subtitles.
- Speckhard, Anne, "Muslims Are Killing Their Brothers in Islam," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [19 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0nSEHu-qNk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0nSEHu-qNk</a> [accessed 21 September 2017].
  - Video is 2:39. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector. The audio is Arabic with English subtitles.
- Speckhard, Anne, "ISIS in al Shadadi," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [19 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0nSEHu-qNk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0nSEHu-qNk</a> [accessed 21 September 2017].
  - Video is 3:30. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector regarding the rape, condemnation, stoning, and crucifixion of a woman. The audio is Arabic with English subtitles.
- Speckhard, Anne, "You Blow Yourself Up," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [19 September 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w2uet410mig">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w2uet410mig</a> [accessed 23 September 2017].
  - Video is 2:45. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector regarding the recruitment and employment of suicide bombers. The audio is Arabic with English subtitles.
- Speckhard, Anne, "Joining Islamic States for the Sake of Martyrdom," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [9 October 2017].
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ag50IbflXnU&feature=youtu.be [accessed 12 October 2017].
  - Video is 5:30. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector on why he joined ISIS.
- Speckhard, Anne, "Establishing an Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [30 December 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eT4GXzpXsNc&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eT4GXzpXsNc&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 2 January 2018].
  - Video is 6:10. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector on why he joined ISIS and the results of that association.
- Speckhard, Anne, "Promises of the Caliphate," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [5 February 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sKMgLs6vbw0&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sKMgLs6vbw0&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 15 February 2018].
  - Video is 6:22. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an ISIS defector on why he joined ISIS and the results of that association. This interview includes statements regarding the deception of ISIS.
- Speckhard, Anne, "Rewards of Joining the Islamic State," *International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism* [14 March 2018]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6kHwyGLI5JQ&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6kHwyGLI5JQ&feature=youtu.be</a> [accessed 15 March 2018].
  - Video is 4:06. This is produced by a group seeking to get out negative information on the Islamic State. This includes statements from an imprisoned ISIS participant who joined out of anger at Shia sectarian behavior, but who feels deep remorse at killing an innocent child with a bomb.
- Stahl, Lesley, "Ex Extremist Fights Jihadist Ideology," CBS News, originally broadcast 25 April 2010. Posted on YouTube by Quilliam International on 23 September 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SLWVqGWpHNg [accessed 31 October 2017].
  - Video is 14:24. Interview with Maajid Nawaz on 60 Minutes. He speaks of "the narrative." This is an excellent source for supporting the material included in this bibliography.
- Stahl, Lesley, "60 Minutes: The Hostage Policy," CBS News, originally broadcast 8 January 2017.

http://www.cbsnews.com/videos/the-hostage-policy-the-coming-swarm-the-hunt-for-planet-nine/[accessed 12 January 2017].

Interview with the Sotloff family to put a personal face on the quandary associated with US policy to not negotiate for the release of hostages. This is emotional and moving though there is only a brief addressing of the national interests from the Obama administration official responsible.

Tamayo, Bala, "Battle of Marawi," Special Operations Command (SOCOM) - Philippine Army [28 November 2017]. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_4zXI0X8Brc&t=392s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_4zXI0X8Brc&t=392s</a> [accessed 5 December 2017].

This is a production of the Philippine Army on the fighting in Marawi. Some of the images are graphic. The value of this is the destruction of a city claimed to be liberated. Video is 8:39.

United States Department of Defense, "Senior DOD Officials Take Questions From Reporters [about the al-Baghdadi Raid with Jonathan Rath Hoffman, assistant to the secretary of defense for public affairs, and Marine Corps Gen. Kenneth F. McKenzie Jr., commander of U.S. Central Command]," U.S. Department of Defense Video [30 October 2019].

<a href="https://cdn.dvidshub.net/media/video/1910/DOD\_107390601/DOD\_107390601-1920x1080-6221k.mp4">https://cdn.dvidshub.net/media/video/1910/DOD\_107390601/DOD\_107390601-1920x1080-6221k.mp4</a> [accessed 2 November 2019].

Video is 20:34. The video is GEN McKenzie explaining the raid and answering questions. He includes several video clips and still images. Most of the articles written around this time period are derived from the material in this briefing. The transcript is in the entry below.

- United States Department of Defense, "Senior DOD Officials Take Questions From Reporters [about the al-Baghdadi Raid with Jonathan Rath Hoffman, assistant to the secretary of defense for public affairs, and Marine Corps Gen. Kenneth F. McKenzie Jr., commander of U.S. Central Command]," U.S. Department of Defense Transcript [30 October 2019].

  <a href="https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Transcripts/Transcript/Article/2004092/department-of-defense-press-briefing-by-assistant-to-the-secretary-of-defense-f/">https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Transcripts/Transcript/Article/2004092/department-of-defense-press-briefing-by-assistant-to-the-secretary-of-defense-f/</a> [accessed 2 November 2019].
- ★ Vice News, "Fighting the Islamic State with Iraq's Golden Division: The Road to Fallujah," Vice News Video [7 June 2016]. <a href="https://news.vice.com/video/fighting-the-islamic-state-with-iraqs-golden-division-the-road-to-fallujah">https://news.vice.com/video/fighting-the-islamic-state-with-iraqs-golden-division-the-road-to-fallujah</a> [accessed 8 June 2016].

This video is from the perspective of a Vice News reporter as he accompanies the Golden Division of the Iraqi Counter-Terrorism Forces attacking toward the city of Hit in the Anbar Province of Iraq. This presents some profound points of what it means to fight ISIS. It also offers a look into the lives of Iraqis and how justice is administered under ISIS, Iraqi government, and the Popular Mobilization Forces.