The Future of ISIS

Feisal al-Istrabadi, Sumit Ganguly

Published by Brookings Institution Press

al-Istrabadi, Feisal and Sumit Ganguly.
The Future of ISIS: Regional and International Implications.
Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/59140.
Index

al-Abadi, Haider, 105, 179–80, 193
Abbas Brigade (Liwa Abu al-Fadl al-Abbas), 92
Abbasid dynasty, 124
Abd al-Wahhab, Muhammad Ibn, 30, 122
Abdel-Aziz, Abdel-Qader Ibn, 31
Abdullah II (King of Jordan), 101, 180
Abdülmecid II (caliph), 20
Abu Muslim al-Khurasani, 124–25
al-Adnani, Abu Muhammad, 23, 122, 131, 156, 233
Aerial reconnaissance, 53
Afghanistan: Islamic State–Khurasan Province in, 9–10, 119–47;
Pakistan’s relations with, 126, 140–41
Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF), 134
Ahmed, Abu, 28
al-Ahmed, Mohammed Younis, 94
Ahrar al-Sham, 98
Akhundzada, Mawlawi Haibatullah, 129
Algeria, ISIS in, 119
Alliance structure in Middle East, 175–89
Allison, Roy, 188
al Qaeda: in Afghanistan, 10, 201; in Iraq, 4, 7, 42–47, 53, 73–75, 80, 159, 205, 236; and ISIS origins, 20, 25–26, 230; and ISKP, 128; origins of, 18; in Pakistan, 120; and September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, 68; and Taliban, 128;
terrorism inspired by, 23; Zarqawi as leader of, 25
al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), 46
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ameri, Hadi, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anbar Tribes Revolutionary Council, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANDSF (Afghan National Defense and Security Forces), 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansar al-Khilafat wal-Jihad, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansar al-Sham, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipatory intelligence, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Baath Socialist Party, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab League, 95, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Nationalist Guard (Al-Haras al-Qawmi al-Arabi), 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Spring, 54, 90, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araki, Ayatollah Mohsen, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army of Conquest (Jaysh al-Fatah), 99, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army of Islam (Jaysh al-Islam), 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army of Monotheists (Jaysh al-Muwahideen), 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army of the Men of the Naqshbandi Order (Jaysh Rijal al-Tariqa al-Naqshbandiyya), 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Asaad, Riad, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asaib Ahl al-Haqq (League of the Righteous), 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Assad, Bashar: Erdoğan’s relationship with, 184–85; and opposition groups, 11, 15, 97, 98, 240; and regional alliance structure, 93, 94, 175–76, 178; Russian support for, 90, 161; and Syrian Armed Forces, 91–92; and Syrian civil war, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Assad, Hafez, 98, 177, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associated Press, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atta, Mohammed, 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin, Lloyd, 45, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Azhar University, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baath Party (Iraq), 70–71, 72, 80, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacevich, Andrew, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badreddine, Mustafa, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Badri, Ibrahim Awad. See al-Baghdadi, Abu Bakr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badr Organization, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Baghdadi, Abu Bakr: as caliph, 3, 20; and governance by ISIS, 232; and Iraq opposition groups, 108–09; and ISIS origins, 29, 159–60; and ISKP, 120, 127, 130; and Syrian opposition groups, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banai, Hussein, 10–11, 151, 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barzani, Masoud, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behnke, Andreas, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benghazi, Libya, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berger, J. M., 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilad al-Sham (Greater Syria), 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bin Laden, Osama, 25, 74, 76, 80, 128, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bipartisan Policy Center, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blinken, Antony, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boko Haram, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolsheviks, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Marathon bombings (2013), 22–23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouzis, Kathleen, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremer, L. Paul, 70, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brennan, John, 55, 56, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks, Risa, 12–13, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brussels terrorist attack (2016), 206, 207, 213, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunzel, Cole, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, George W., 238, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byman, Daniel, 47, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caliphate, 19–23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Call to Global Islamic Resistance (Suri), 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvert, John, 30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

Campbell, John F., 122–23
Camp Bucca, Iraq, 28–29
Capacity building, 33, 166
CBS News, 51
CENTCOM: and intelligence failures, 7, 42, 50–52; and Syrian opposition groups, 96
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 49, 55, 58, 73, 81, 213
CFIG (Counter-Daesh Finance Group), 155
Chayes, Sarah, 53
China: ISIS response by, 10, 168; and Taliban, 121
Clapper, James, 43, 45, 47, 56, 57, 81
Clark, Kate, 132
Coalition Communications Cell, 156
Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), 70–71
Cockburn, Patrick, 158–59
Collins, Liam, 52
Community sanctuaries, 211–14, 215
Competitive governance war, 239–41
Complex terrorist attacks, 12–13, 203–04
Conflict Armament Research, 163
Conquering Lion of God Brigade in Iraq and the Levant (Liwa Asad Allah al-Ghalib fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham), 92
Corruption, 192–93
Counter-Daesh Finance Group (CFIG), 155
Counterterrorism, 54, 58, 214–16
CPA (Coalition Provisional Authority), 70–71
Crocker, Ryan, 4, 192
Cronin, Audrey Kurth, 19, 28
Cuban missile crisis (1962), 68
Dabiq (magazine), 22, 26–27, 157
Dabiq, Syria, 29, 239
Dahl, Erik J., 6–7, 41, 73
al-Dawla al-Islamiyya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham (Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, ISIL), 99
Defeating ISIS, 235–42; ending regional civil wars, 236–37; ending sectarianism and polarization, 236–38; helping allies win war of competitive governance, 239–41; matching means to ends, 241–42; and polarization in United States, 238; and territorial control, 239; and war of ideas, 237–38
Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA, U.S.), 44, 49, 50
Demographic engineering, 8, 90, 92, 103–04, 236
Desert Hawks Brigade (Liwa Suqur al-Sahara), 92
Donilon, Tom, 54
al-Douri, Izzat Ibrahim, 94, 107
Egypt: ISIS in, 119, 230; ISIS response by, 152, 158, 167; ISIS threat to, 228; Salafism in, 30; as U.S. ally, 226
Emwazi, Muhammad, 156
Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip, 100, 175, 184–85
The Essentials of Making Ready (Sharif), 31
Failed states, 166
Faizani, Mawlana Ataullah, 133
Fallujah, Iraq, 43
Fatimid Brigade (Liwa al-Fatimiyyun), 93
Index

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 213
Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA, Pakistan), 9–10, 120, 121, 140
Fighting Vanguard (al-Talia al-Muqatila), 98
Flynn, Michael, 7, 45, 57
Ford, Robert, 240
Fouj al-Mughawayr al-Bahir (Marines Regiment), 92
Fox News, 49
Free Syrian Army, 29, 70, 91, 95–96, 100
Front for the Conquest of Syria (Jabhat Fatah al-Sham), 92, 96, 98, 99–100, 102
Front for the Support of the People of Syria (Jabhat al-Nusra li Ahl al-Sham), 75, 99–100, 159
Funding Facility for Expanded Stabilization (UN), 155
Funding Facility for Immediate Stabilization (UN), 155
Gadahn, Adam, 26
Ganguly, Sumit, 3
Gates, Robert, 55, 72
General Military Council for Iraqi Revolutionaries (Al-Majlis al-Askari al-Amm li Thuwwar al-Iraq), 107
Gerges, Fawaz, 18, 28, 31
Ghazi, Osman, 120–21, 132
Global Coalition to Counter Daesh, 152–57, 164, 166, 168
Global Engagement Center, 156
GMCIR (General Military Council for Iraqi Revolutionaries), 107
Goldberg, Jeffrey, 48, 52, 189
Gopal, Anand, 136
Governance, 33, 231–33, 239–41
Green Sword operation (Afghanistan), 123
Group of God’s Unity and Jihad (Jama’at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad), 25
Grove, Steven, 50, 51
Gülen, Fethullah, 100
Gulf Cooperation Council, 102, 161–62, 165, 182
Habash, George, 98
Hacohen, Yotam, 41–42
Hadi, Abdrubhuh, 181
Hadid, Marwan, 98
Hamas, 70, 177
Hamas al-Iraq (Hamas of Iraq), 108
al-Hamdan, Ahmed, 31–32
Hamid-Jumaili, Ayad, 230
Harakat Ahrar al-Sham al-Islamiyya (Islamic Movement of the Free People of the Levant), 98
Harakat al-Mujahdin, 120
Al-Haras al-Qawmi al-Arabi (Arab Nationalist Guard), 92
Harman, Jane, 56
al-Hashd al-Shaabi (Popular Mobilization Forces, PMF), 103–04
Hassan, Hassan, 22, 29
al-Hazmi, Nawaf, 210
Headley, David, 209
Hegghammer, Thomas, 206
Hellmich, Christina, 18
Helmand Province, Afghanistan, 121, 122, 130
Hezbollah, 70, 91, 93, 102, 177
Hezbollah Brigades (Kataib Hezbollah), 103
Hijrah, 21
Hizb al-Tahrir al-Islami, 121
Index

Hoffman, Bruce, 74–75
Hooker, Gregory, 50
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 50–51, 56
Human trafficking, 90, 155
IAI (Islamic Army in Iraq), 108
Ibn Taymiyya, 30, 31
Ideology of ISIS, 17–34; spatial dimension of, 28–32; spiritual dimension of, 23–28; and statehood, 19–23; and takfiri, 24–26
IMAF (Islamic Military Alliance to Fight Terrorism), 162–63
Imam Ali Brigades (Kitaib al-Imam Ali), 103
IMU (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan), 120, 132, 137, 139
Inspire (magazine), 31
Insurgent group identity of ISIS, 229–31
Intelligence failures, 5–8, 39–85; acknowledgment of, 47–48; attribution of, 48–49; and CENTCOM, 50–52; in expert assessments of ISIS, 46–47; in government assessments of ISIS, 43–46; lessons learned, 56–59; reasons for, 52–55; on rise of ISIS, 41–66; in threat assessments, 43–47, 69–79
International Court of Justice, 90
International responses to ISIS, 10–11, 151–57. See also Regional responses to ISIS; specific countries
Interreligious dialogue, 27
Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI, Pakistan), 134
Introduction to the Jurisprudence of Jihad (Muhajir), 31
Irak Türkmen Cephesi (Iraqi Turkmen Front, ITF), 104
Iran: and alliance structure in Middle East, 93, 105, 175, 176; armed militias from, 8; and ISIS, 70, 109; ISIS response by, 10, 152, 160–62, 167, 168; and Islamic State–Khurasan Province (ISKP), 136–37; and Khurasan, 125; regional influence of, 90, 176–80; and Syrian opposition groups, 102
Iranian Revolution (1979), 54
Iraq: and alliance structure in Middle East, 175, 176; armed militias from, 8; armed opposition in, 105–09; corruption in, 192–93; de-Baathification in, 70–71, 72, 80; domestic allies of government, 103–04; government armed forces, 103; intelligence operations in, 53; ISIS territorial control in, 3, 4, 17, 28–32, 90, 153, 155, 165, 205, 230, 240; ISIS threat to, 5, 70; local actors in, 8–9, 102–09; regional allies of government, 105; regional constraints in, 191; Sunni insurgency in, 3–4, 94
Iraqi Air Defense Forces, 103
Iraqi Air Force, 103
Iraqi Army, 70, 103
Iraqi Governing Council, 71
Iraqi Navy, 103
Iraq Security Forces (ISF), 51
IRGC. See Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps
ISCI (Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq), 105
ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria): and caliphate, 19–23; defeating, 235–42; expert assessments of, 46–47; ideology of, 17–34; as
ISIS (cont.)
insurgent group, 229–31; international and regional responses to, 151–71; legacy of, 32–34; and local actors, 87–147; as revolutionary movement, 17–34, 233–35; spatial dimension of, 28–32; spiritual dimension of, 23–28; and statehood, 19–23, 231–33; territorial havens for, 205–14; as threat to U.S. regional interests, 227–29. See also Defeating ISIS; Ideology of ISIS; Local actors
Islamic Army in Iraq (Jaysh al-Islami fi al-Iraq), 108
Islamic Dawa Party (Iraq), 105, 186
Islamic Emirate, 127–38
Islamic Front (Jaysh al-Islamiyya), 70, 98
Islamic Front for the Iraqi Resistance (Al-Jabha al-Islamiyya lil-Muqawama al-Iraqiyya–Jama), 108
Islamic Military Alliance to Fight Terrorism (IMAF), 162–63
Islamic Movement of the Free People of the Levant (Harakat Ahrar al-Sham al-Islamiyya), 98
Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), 120, 132, 137, 139
Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), 91, 93, 103, 158–61, 178–80
Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (al-Dawla al-Islamiyya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham), 99
Islamic State–Khurasan Province (ISKP), 9–10, 119–47; birth of, 120–23; future of, 138–41; and Iran, 136–37; Islamic Emirate vs., 127–38; and Khurasan lexicon and terminology, 123–27; and Russia, 137–38; and sectarian violence, 134–36
Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (ISCI), 105
Israel: ISIS threat to, 5, 228; as U.S. ally, 226
al-Istrabadi, Feisal, 3, 11–12, 173
ITF (Iraqi Turkmen Front), 104
Al-Jabha al-Islamiyya lil-Muqawama al-Iraqiyya–Jama (Islamic Front for the Iraqi Resistance), 108
Jabhat al-Islamiyya (Islamic Front), 70, 98
Jabhat al-Nusra li Ahl al-Sham (Front for the Support of the People of Syria), 75, 99–100, 159
Jabhat Fatah al-Sham (Front for the Conquest of Syria), 92, 96, 98, 99–100, 102
Jama’at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (Group of God’s Unity and Jihad), 25
Jaysh al-Fatah (Army of Conquest), 99, 102
Jaysh al-Islam (Army of Islam), 98
Jaysh al-Islami fi al-Iraq (Islamic Army in Iraq, IAI), 108
Jaysh al-Muwahideen (Army of Monotheists), 92
Jaysh Rijal al-Tariqa al-Naqshbandiyya (Army of the Men of the Naqshbandi Order), 107
al-Jolani, Abu Muhammad, 99, 100
Jordan: ISIS response by, 158, 182–83; ISIS threat to, 5, 228; and Syrian opposition groups, 101–02; as U.S. ally, 226
Jund al-Aqsa (Soldiers of Aqsa), 99
Jundullah, 120, 132
Justice and Development Party (Turkey), 100
Kabulov, Zamir, 137
Kagan, Frederick W., 46
Kalyvas, Stathis, 28
Kam, Ephraim, 42, 53, 55, 56, 58
al-Kasasbeh, Muath, 101, 182
Kataib Hezbollah (Hezbollah Brigades), 103
Kennedy, John F., 68
Kent, Sherman, 68, 72
Kerbel, Josh, 56
Kerry, John, 158
Khadijim Abu Talhah, Shaykh Abd al-Rauf, 122, 130–31
Khaled Sheikh Mohammed, 210, 212
Khamenei, Ali, 178
Khan, Hafiz Sayyid, 122, 123
al-Khazali, Qais, 180
Khomeini, Ayatollah, 177
Khurasan Province. See Islamic State–Khurasan Province
Khuzestan Province, Iraq, 179
Kissinger, Henry, 54
Kitaib al-Imam Ali (Imam Ali Brigades), 103
Kitaib Ansar al-Sham (Supporters of the Levant Brigades), 98
Krause, Peter, 13–14, 223
KRG (Kurdistan Regional Government), 104
Kunar Province, Afghanistan, 122
Kurdish Democratic Union Party, 96–97
Kurdish paramilitary groups, 22, 104
Kurdish Workers’ Party, 97, 163
Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), 104
Kurdistan Workers’ Party, 70

Lahoud, Nelly, 52
Landis, Joshua, 90
Lashkar-e Taiba, 120

Lavrov, Sergei, 178
League of the Righteous (Asaib Ahl al-Haqq), 103
Lebanese Army, 70
Lebanon: and alliance structure of Middle East, 180, 188; armed militias from, 8, 70; Iran’s relationship with, 90, 159, 177; ISIS threat to, 5, 159
Libya, ISIS in, 119, 230
Liwa Abu al-Fadl al-Abbas (Abbas Brigade), 92
Liwa al-Fatimiyyun (Fatimid Brigade), 93
Liwa Asad Allah al-Ghalib fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham (Conquering Lion of God Brigade in Iraq and the Levant), 92
Liwa Suqur al-Sahara (Desert Hawks Brigade), 92
Liwa Zainebiyyun (Zaynabid Brigade), 93
Local actors, 8–9; in Afghanistan, 119–47; in Iraq, 102–09; in Syria, 89–102. See also specific groups and individuals
Logar Province, Afghanistan, 122
Lone-wolf terrorist attacks, 12, 23, 32, 203, 238
Maddrell, Paul, 79
Madrid terrorist attacks (2004), 213
Mahdi (imam and savior), 24, 124, 126, 234
Mahdi Army, 165
Maher, Shiraz, 24
Al-Majlis al-Askari al-Amm li Thuwwar al-Iraq (General Military Council for Iraqi Revolutionaries, GMCIR), 107
Al-Majlis al-Askari li Thuwwar Al-Ashair (Military Council of Tribal Revolutionaries), 107
Al-Majlis al-Siyasi lil-Muqawamat al-Iraqiya (Political Council for the Iraqi Resistance, PCIR), 107–08
al-Maliki, Nuri, 4, 14, 105, 106, 179–80, 191, 194
The Management of Savagery (Naji), 31
Mansur, Akhtar Muhammad, 129, 130, 131
Maoists, 19
al-Maqdasi, Abu Muhammad, 25
Marines Regiment (Fouj al-Mughawayr al-Bahir), 92
Martin, Kevin W., 8–9, 89
Mateen, Omar, 22
Mattis, James, 44
McCants, William, 24, 30
McGurk, Brett, 7, 45
“Methodological Difference between ISIS and Al Qaida” (Hamdan), 31–32
Midway, Battle of (1942), 67–68
Mihdhar, Khalid, 210
Military Council of Tribal Revolutionaries (Al-Majlis al-Askari li Thuwwar Al-Ashair), 107
Military Operations Centers (MOCs), 97, 102
Moore’s Law, 81
Morell, Michael, 54
Moussaoui, Zacarias, 210
al-Muhajir, Abdullah, 30, 31
Muhammad (prophet), 20, 124, 232
al-Muhandis, Abu Mahdi, 180
Mullen, Michael, 53
Mumbai terrorist attacks (2008), 209
Al-Muqawama al-Suriyya (Syrian Resistance), 92
Muslim Brotherhood, 95, 98, 177
Muwahhidun, 122
Naji, Abu Bakr, 30
Nangarhar Province, Afghanistan, 122, 123, 132, 134
Natali, Denise, 179
National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces, 95
National Counterterrorism Center, 54, 58
National Defense Forces (NDF, Syria), 91, 93
National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs), 59
National Intelligence Strategy (2014), 55, 59
National Research Council, 58
National Security Agency (NSA), 47
Newsweek on ISIS’s opponents, 70
Nicholson, John W., 133, 137
Nigeria, ISIS in, 119
al-Nimr, Nimr Baqir, 162
al-Nujaifi, Atheel, 33
Obama, Barack: and alliance structure in Middle East, 175; and Global Coalition to Counter Daesh, 153; and intelligence failures, 42, 49, 52; and ISIS response, 191; on rise of ISIS, 47–48, 173; on Saudi Arabia’s regional role, 183; and Syrian civil war, 241; and Syrian opposition groups, 97; on terrorist havens, 201
Office of Net Assessment (U.S.), 58
Oil supplies, 226, 227
Olsen, Matt, 54
Omar, Mohammad, 20–21, 128, 129, 130
Index

Operation Euphrates Shield (Turkey), 101
Operation Inherent Resolve (OIR), 153
Organization for the Jihad’s Base in Mesopotamia (Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn), 101
Organization of Islamic Cooperation, 165
Orlando nightclub terrorist attack (2016), 22
Osman, Adil/Odil, 120
Osman, Borhan, 126, 130
Pakistan: Afghanistan’s relations with, 126, 140–41; and ISKP, 9–10, 134; and Taliban, 128
Paris terrorist attack (2015), 206, 207, 213, 228
PCIR (Political Council for the Iraqi Resistance), 107–08
Peace Brigades (Saraya al-Salam), 103
Pearl Harbor attack (1941), 68
People’s Protection Units (Syria), 96, 100, 163
Peshmerga, 104, 105, 151, 191
Petraeus, David, 4
Pillar, Paul, 48–49
Political Council for the Iraqi Resistance (Al-Majlis al-Siyasi lil-Muqawamat al-Iraqiya), 107–08
Pollack, Kenneth M., 47
Popular Mobilization Forces (al-Hashd al-Shaabi), 103–04
Popular Mobilization Units (PMUs), 9, 105, 180, 191
Propaganda: by ISIS, 10, 156, 234, 238; by ISKP, 130; in Syria, 110; by Taliban, 132; and terrorism, 204, 216
Prophetic methodology, 20
Putin, Vladimir, 176, 185, 188–89
Qaeda. See al Qaeda
Qatar: and alliance structure in Middle East, 175, 182; ISIS response by, 158; and Syrian civil war, 102
Al-Qiyada al-Aliyya lil-Jihad wal-Tahrir (Supreme Command for Jihad and Liberation, SCJL), 106–07
Quds Force (Syria), 93, 158
Qu’ran, 30
Qutb, Sayyid, 30
Raqqa, Iraq, 240
Recruitment, 78, 122, 154, 206, 208, 234
Refugees, 163
Regional constraints on U.S. confrontation of ISIS, 11–12, 173–95; alliance structure, 175–89; and Arab states, 180–84; foreign policy implications of, 189–95; and Iran, 176–80; and Russia, 187–89; and Turkey, 184–87
Regional responses to ISIS, 10–11, 158–64. See also specific countries
Remote sanctuaries, 207–11
Revolutionary Guard. See Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps
Rogers, Michael, 47, 49
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 68
Russia: and alliance structure in Middle East, 175–76; ISIS response by, 10, 109, 161, 168; and Islamic State–Khurasan Province, 137–38; as regional constraint on U.S., 187–89; Syria intervention by, 11–12, 90, 185, 187–89; and Taliban, 121
Ryan, Curtis, 159
Ryckman, Gregory, 50

Saada, Antun, 98
Saddam Hussein, 70, 73, 106, 107, 177

SAF (Syrian Armed Forces), 91–92
Sahwa movement, 30
Salafi jihadism: and ISIS ideology, 6, 18, 23–24, 26, 32, 229; in Syria, 29, 91–92; and Wahhabism, 181
Sandal, Nukhet, 5–6, 17
Saraya al-Salam (Peace Brigades), 103
Sasanian Empire, 123, 125
Saudi Arabia: and alliance structure in Middle East, 175, 176; al Qaeda in, 74; ISIS response by, 152, 157, 158, 162, 167, 182; ISIS threat to, 119, 228; and Syrian opposition groups, 102; and Taliban, 128; as U.S. ally, 226; and Wahhabism, 30
Sawab Center, 156
SCJL (Supreme Command for Jihad and Liberation), 106–07
SDF (Syrian Democratic Forces), 95, 96
Sectarian violence, 10, 14, 134–36, 236–38
Security Council (UN), 154, 155, 167–68
Self-recruits, 208
September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, 68, 210, 212
Shahid, Shahidullah, 132–33
Shahzad, Faisal, 208
al-Shara, Ahmed Hussein, 99
Sharif, Sayyid Imam, 30
Shawkat, Assef, 94
Shedd, David, 44, 50
Shia Muslims: and ISIS, 70; and ISKP, 10, 135, 136; and regional response to ISIS, 159, 162–63; and takfiri ideology, 24–26; and Taliban, 26
Signals intelligence, 53
Siman-Tov, David, 41–42
al-Sistani, Ayatollah Ali, 71
Social media, 30, 77–78, 79, 82
SOF (Status of Forces Agreement), 106, 107
Soldiers of Aqsa (Jund al-Aqsa), 99
Soleimani, Qasem, 93, 103, 178
Somalia, ISIS in, 230
State-building, 166
State Department (U.S.): on ISKP, 134; on Security Council Resolution 2178, 154; terrorism assessment by, 44, 45, 59
Statehood identity of ISIS, 19–23, 231–33
Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA, Iraq), 106, 107
Stent, Angela, 188–89
Stern, Jessica, 26
Stout, Mark, 80, 81
Sufism, 122
al-Suleiman, Ali Hatem, 107
Sunni Muslims: insurgency in Iraq, 94, 191; and ISKP, 135; and regional response to ISIS, 10–11, 159, 162–63
Supporters of the Levant Brigades (Kitaib Ansar al-Sham), 98
Supreme Command for Jihad and Liberation (Al-Qiyada al-Aliyya lil-Jihad wal-Tahrir), 106–07
al-Suri, Abu Musab, 30, 31
Syria: and alliance structure in Middle East, 175, 176; al Qaeda in, 47, 75; armed militias in, 8–9; domestic allies of government, 92–93; government armed forces, 91–92; intelligence operations in, 53, 57; and Iran, 177–78; ISIS territorial control in, 29, 90; ISIS threat to, 5, 10, 15, 70; local actors in, 8–9, 89–102; “moderate” armed opposition in, 95–97; opponents of government, 94–102; political opposition in, 95; refugees from, 163; regional allies of government, 93–94; regional allies of opposition, 100–102; “Salafist” armed opposition in, 97–100; as territorial haven, 205

Syrian Armed Forces (SAF), 91–92
Syrian Democratic Council, 95, 96
Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), 95, 96

Syrian National Coalition, 95
Syrian National Council, 95
Syrian Resistance (Al-Muqawama al-Suriyya), 92

Syrian Social Nationalist Party, 98

Tahaluf al-Muhajirin wal-Ansar (Alliance of Emigrants and Helpers), 98–99
Tahrik-e Khilafat wa Jihad, 120
Tahrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP), 120, 121, 139, 208

Takfiri ideology, 24–25
Talabani, Jalal, 71
Talabani, Polad, 231
al-Talia al-Muqatila (Fighting Vanguard), 98

Taliban: in Afghanistan, 10, 128; Iran’s relations with, 136; and ISKP, 123, 131–32, 133, 135, 136, 138–39; and Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, 121; origins of, 127; Russia’s relations with, 137; and Shia Muslims, 26

Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn (Organization for the Jihad’s Base in Mesopotamia), 101

Tarzi, Amin, 9–10, 119

Taymiyyah, Taqi al-Din ibn, 122

Territorial havens, 205–14; absence of community sanctuaries in U.S., 211–14; counterterrorism strategy implications of, 214–16; and defeating ISIS, 239; importance of territory control, 206–07; remote sanctuary limitations, 207–11

Terrorism: “by inspiration,” 32; complex terrorist attacks, 12–13, 203–04; lone-wolf terrorist attacks, 12, 23, 32, 203, 238; National Counterterrorism Center, 54, 58; prevention of, 226, 228; and regional civil wars, 237; State Department assessments on, 44, 45, 59. See also specific terrorist attacks

Trump, Donald: and alliance structure in Middle East, 175–76, 186; and Iraq governance, 191; and Syrian civil war, 181, 241; on terrorist havens, 201

Tsarnaev, Tamerlan, 22–23

TTP (Tahrik-e Taliban Pakistan), 120, 121, 139, 208

Turkey: and alliance structure in Middle East, 175; and caliphate, 20; and Free Syrian Army, 96; ISIS response by, 10–11, 152, 157, 158, 163, 167; ISIS threat to, 70, 228; as
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>Turkey (cont.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>regional constraint on U.S., 184–87; and Syrian opposition groups, 100–101; as U.S. ally, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Turkmani, Abu Muslim, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Umayyad Caliphate, 124, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United Arab Emirates, 128, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United Nations, 90, 154, 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wahhabism, 30, 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walt, Stephen, 19, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>War of ideas, 237–38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WAVE (World Against Violence and Extremism), 162–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weiss, Michael, 22, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wirtz, James J., 7–8, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wood, Graeme, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>World Against Violence and Extremism (WAVE), 162–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>World Forum for Proximity of Islamic Schools of Thought, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yemen, ISIS in, 119, 181, 183, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zabul Province, Afghanistan, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zaman al-Wasl (Syrian opposition site), 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zarb-e Azb, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Zarqawi, Abu Musab, 25, 101, 127, 159, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-Zawahiri, Ayman, 25, 26, 99, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zaynabid Brigade (Liwa Zainebiyun), 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zazi, Najibullah, 208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>