



THE CRISIS IN IRAQ AN ANALYIS OF ISIS "THE ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ & SYRIA"

WITH U.S. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS IN IRAQ

POLICY REPORT

THE CRISIS IN IRAQ

An Analysis of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) with U.S. Policy Recommendations in Iraq

JUNE 2014

Copyright © 2014 by The Universal Muslim Association of America 1717 Pennsylvania Ave NW #1025 Washington, DC 20006. Phone: 202-559-9123 Email: info@umaamerica.net

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, distributed, or transmitted in any form or by any means, including photocopying, recording, or other electronic or mechanical methods, without the prior written permission of the publisher, except in the case of brief cited quotations embodied in critical reviews and certain other noncommercial uses permitted by copyright law.

Printed in the United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents1
Executive Summary3
Policy Recommendations5
Introduction9
ISIS Attacks on Western Targets
ISIS Activities in 2014
ISIS Leadership and History15
Organizational History
Media Profiles
BBC
The Independent (UK)
FOX News
Notes
About UMAA-Advocacy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (alternatively translated as Islamic State in Iraq and Syria or Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham), which is either abbreviated as ISIS or ISIL, is a terrorist organization that is responsible for thousands of deaths in Iraq and numerous attacks on the United States military forces and other Western targets over the past 11 years. Originally founded by a protégé of Osama Bin Laden named Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the group is currently led by Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi. After taking the reins of ISIS following the death of his predecessors, Al-Baghdadi has begun the process of destabilizing Iraq, while developing a platform to attack the United States and his allies. Under Al-Baghdadi's leadership, ISIS has captured several Iraqi cities, and seeks to establish a Sharia-based empire from which to launch attacks against other regional and international powers.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The following policy recommendations are key to curtail the growing insurgency of ISIL in Iraq, which threatens the stability of the region and bolsters the terrorist organization's ability to build a stronghold to attack United States interests. For these strategic recommendations to translate into effective initiatives on the ground, the United States must coordinate all efforts by collaborating with the Iraqi government so that the sovereignty of Iraq is preserved and respected. President Obama made it clear that the United States will not intervene without the Iraqi government and politicians coming together as a united front to build a long term strategy that will ensure that stability and inclusion for all parties in the political process.

1. Capture or kill group leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi

After group founder and leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was killed in 2006, the terrorist activities of the organization dramatically reduced. Iraq and the Middle East saw a relative era of increased security. It was not until the return of the group to Syria under new leadership that the situation began to destabilize. Much of the structure of the ISIS organization depends on the direct planning and actions of Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi. Addressing the threat that Al-Baghdadi poses by coordinating efforts with the Iraqi forces on the ground could critically damage the infrastructure of ISIS.

2. Facilitate the removal of ISIS from Mosul, Tikrit, Tal Afar, and nearby regions

Many current and former US officials have become aware that the presence of ISIS in these three regions will likely serve as a platform to launch attacks against the United States. Current group leader Al-Baghdadi ominously said "I'll see you in New York." Only by removing the power base and place of operations of ISIS can this threat be resolved. Through their actions, ISIS has proven that they are a threat to the region and to US interests.

"The claim by ISIS that it has massacred 1,700 Iraqi Shia air force recruits in Tikrit is horrifying and a true depiction of the bloodlust that these terrorists represent," State Department spokeswoman Jen Psaki said in a statement.¹

"Iraq and Syria combined are going to be the staging area for the next 9/11 if we don't do anything about it," said Senator Lindsay Graham (R - S.C.) on a recent episode of CNN's "State of the Union."²

"We are watching right now the worst case scenario happen" said Rep. Adam Kinzinger (R-Ill.), on the same show, repeating, "This is the worst case scenario."

"Clearly, if they can get this sanctuary in the northeast, in Syria, in Iraq, it makes this, in effect, a privileged sanctuary to attack the United States," said Rep. Peter King (R-N.Y.) to NBC's "Meet the Press."

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Former acting CIA Director Mike Morell told CBS's This Morning that ISIS had two goals "One is to set up that caliphate and, it's not just in Iraq and in Syria… Their second goal then is to use that as a safe haven to attack the United States." ³

Effective and swift action to remove this terrorist organization from the regions it occupied can only be facilitated by cooperating with the Iraqi forces and intelligence, which is on the ground combating the insurgency.

3. Cripple the ISIS organization in Iraq and Syria

Since its formation under a different name in 2003, ISIS has been a major force in destabilizing Iraq and other countries in the Middle East. ISIS has publically stated its intention to conduct attacks against the United States. The group motto is "Remaining and Expanding." Current group leader Al-Baghdadi ominously said "I'll see you in New York" implying a 9/11 style attack on the United States. In order to protect itself, the United States must bring ISIS to justice, otherwise risk its own safety and security.

4. Work with Iraq and its military forces

Iraq has requested support from the United States on the ongoing crisis. The United States should assist its ally in defeating the ISIS terrorist organization. As a sovereign nation, and new but fragile democracy, the United States must do everything that it can to help Iraq combat terrorism.

Zuhair al-Nahar, a spokesman for the Maliki government, appealed for help from the US and the UK, asking for airstrikes, also saying "Iraq would like support in counter-terrorism, intelligence activities and advice and training."⁴

"Any actions that we may take to provide assistance to Iraqi security forces have to be joined by a serious and sincere effort by Iraq," said President Obama, underscoring the need to work with Iraq rather than act unilaterally.

5. Work with Iran and other international partners to take down ISIS

The amalgam of the political powers of the United States and Iran would be historically unique, and would be difficult for ISIS to counteract. ISIS is most likely to be defeated through an international partnership between Iraq and countries such as the United States and Iran. While the latter two nations have had their fair share of disputes over the past few decades, both have a vested interest in keeping ISIS down.

In 2014, President Obama engaged in a series of talks that were widely seen as deescalating tensions with Iran, implying that he would be open to further efforts to promote dialogue.

On the other side of the aisle, Republican Senator Lindsay Graham (S.C.) said "The Iranians can provide some assets to make sure Baghdad doesn't fall. We need to co-ordinate with the Iranians..."⁵ The Senator's remarks on the matter show the seriousness of the threat posed by ISIS, previously Senator Graham lead calls in opposing Iran.⁶

The bipartisan calls for the involvement of Iran in this conflict point to readiness on the part of the United States to work with the country.

The feeling is reciprocated, as Iranian President Rouhani announced "Whenever the United States makes a move on the ISIS, then we can think about cooperation with them in Iraq."⁷

To be clear, neither Iran and the United States have suggested a military collaboration against ISIS, instead both have suggested a willingness for political cooperation.

6. Directly counteract ISIS strategy in Iraq and the Middle East.

According to a 2011 report by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the founder of ISIS developed a four-pronged strategy to defeat the coalition:

- a. isolate U.S. forces by targeting its allies;
- b. discourage Iraqi collaboration by targeting government infrastructure and personnel;
- c. target reconstruction efforts through high-profile attacks on civilian contractors and aid workers;
- d. and draw the U.S. military into a Sunni-Shiite civil war by targeting Shiites.

By countering each aspect of this strategy and supporting the efforts of the Iraqi forces, the United States and international partners can directly mitigate the threat posed by ISIS.

7. Protect Samarrah and other Iraqi religious sites

In 2006, after the al-Askariyan shrine was destroyed in an attack, conducted by a previous iteration of ISIS, Iraq saw violence that rivaled the actual 2003 war. In the most recent attacks, ISIS began the current offensive by attempting to capture the city of Samarrah, and presumably destroy the shrine again.

Representatives of ISIS have stated an intention to attack and destroy Shiite shrines in Iraq, as well as assassinate the Shia leader Grand Ayatollah Sistani.

One of the major ways that Iraq can be saved from unimaginable strife and violence is to ensure the protection of the major religious sites in Iraq. This initiative must be spearheaded by the Iraqi forces and supported by the United States and its partners in order to ensure the security of these shrines, and prevent the destabilization of the country.

INTRODUCTION

The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (alternatively translated as Islamic State in Iraq and Syria or Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham), which is either abbreviated as ISIS or ISIL, is a terrorist organization in the Middle East, that splintered from Al Qaeda after a power struggle in February 2014⁸.

The organization was originally founded in Iraq, under a different name in 2003. It was created by the now deceased Abu Musab al-Zarqawi⁹, a militant of Jordanian origin, who was killed by US forces in June 2006¹⁰. Zarqawi was believed to have befriended Osama bin Laden in the late 1980s¹¹, and to have created a terrorist training camp, with an emphasis on poison and explosives¹². He is also accused of carrying out several terrorist attacks under bin Laden's mentorship.

The Bush Administration used references to al-Zarqawi to justify the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Until his death, he was wanted by the governments of Jordan, Iraq, and the United States for multiple attacks against civilian targets. In October 2004, the ISIS predecessor group was added to the State Department's list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO).

Under al-Zarqawi's leadership, the terror group attacked Radisson SAS Hotel in Amman, primarily because it was a popular location for American tourists¹³. Later, Jordanian officials found him and his group responsible for the assassination of USAID diplomat Lawrence Foley. Another attack on the US Embassy in Jordan was foiled in 2004.

The ISIS founder was also responsible for beheading two American civilians, Nicholas Berg and Owen Eugene Armstrong, and releasing videos of the horrific executions in 2004.

Thousands of deaths have been attributed to the organization, including countless attacks against Western targets.

The group is responsible for violence in Syria and Iraq, and has gained the attention of Saudi Arabia, which banned it as a terrorist organization in May 2014¹⁴. In the early part of 2014, after making significant military gains in Fallujah, Iraq, the organization declared an "Islamic State" in the region. At the same time, ISIS faced extensive infighting with other Syrian rebel groups and lost significant battles in Syria. By March 2014, ISIS had lost nearly all significant battles in Syria, leaving it to turn to Iraq for future terrorist activities.

According to various sources in Iraq, remnants of the former Baathist regime are playing a role in logistically supporting ISIS and its efforts to topple the Iraqi government.

Consequently in June 2014, ISIS militants began a series of attacks in Iraq. After a failed attempt at taking over the city of Samarrah, ISIS successfully attacked and captured the Iraqi cities of Mosul¹⁵, Tikrit¹⁶, and Tal Afar¹⁷. An unprecedented era of cooperation appears to be on the horizon, as the United States, Iran, and Iraq may collaborate to eliminate the threat posed by ISIS.

INTRODUCTION

ISIS ATTACKS ON WESTERN TARGETS

Under the leadership of al-Zarqawi, and under the name of Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad, often abbreviated as "JTJ," the group was responsible for the assassination of U.S. diplomat Laurence Foley in Jordan in 2002.¹⁸

After the 2003 invasion of Iraq, JTJ joined forces with several obscure militant groups and conducted attacks against US and coalition forces. Foreign fighters flocked to JTJ as a primary vehicle to conduct attacks against Western targets.¹⁹

According to the Jamestown Foundation, during the Iraq war "Zarqawi has pursued a fourpronged terror strategy in Iraq. The first track of this strategy is intended to pressure international actors into rescinding their support for Iraq's American-led transition. The truck bombing of the UN headquarters in Baghdad in August 2003 effectively ended the UN involvement on the ground in Iraq; other targets have included the Jordanian embassy in Baghdad (August 2003) and the headquarters of Italy's paramilitary police headquarters in Nasiriyah.

"The second is designed to deter Iraqis from supporting the US-led transition. Zarqawi operatives have carried out numerous car bomb attacks on police stations and recruitment centers, killing hundreds, and have assassinated several leading Iraqi politicians.

"The third is designed to obstruct Iraq's reconstruction by abducting and beheading civilian contractors, humanitarian aid workers, and other foreigners in Iraq and distributing the gruesome videos of their executions over the Internet. Zarqawi's network pioneered this practice with the execution in May of Nicholas Berg (who Zarqawi himself beheaded) and carried out at least ten subsequent killings, while other al-Qaeda-linked groups are believed responsible for another two dozen murders.

"The fourth track of Zarqawi's strategy is the string of deadly car bomb attacks outside Shiite mosques (most recently, Hamid al-Najar mosque in Baghdad on December 3) that have killed hundreds of worshippers. These attacks are not intended to punish or deter collaboration with the coalition – they are deliberately indiscriminate. In his January 2004 letter to bin Laden, Zarqawi explains their purpose: 'Targeting and striking their religious, political, and military symbols, will make them show their rage against the Sunnis and bear their inner vengeance. If we succeed in dragging them into a sectarian war, this will awaken the sleepy Sunnis who are fearful of destruction and death.''²⁰

JTJ was responsible for multiple attacks against the US military "Green Zone" in 2004, resulting in deaths. Later that year, a successful bomb attack took place against the United Nations headquarters in Iraq, prompting a relocation of the office outside of the country. The group carried out several killings, including the chief of the United Nations mission to Iraq Sérgio Vieira de Mello, at the UN headquarters in Baghdad and scores of Italian in Nasiriyah²¹.

The group kidnapped and beheaded Americans Nick Berg, Eugene Armstrong and Jack Hensley, as well as Briton Kenneth Bigley.

ISIS ATTACKS ON WESTERN TARGETS

The group responsibility for the 2006 capture, torture, and beheading of US soldiers: Thomas Lowell Tucker and Kristian Menchaca, as well as several Russian embassy officials. The United States declared the organization responsible for chemical weapons attacks that lead hundreds dead²².

The Washington Monthly, in 2007, said, "The State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR), which arguably has the best track record for producing accurate intelligence assessments, last year estimated that AQI's membership was in a range of 'more than 1,000.'"²³ In 2007, the National Intelligence Estimate²⁴ report and other Defense Intelligence Agency reports said that AQI accounted for 15% percent of attacks in Iraq. Around the same time, the State Department reported that the organization maintained a major network of operatives throughout the Middle East, North Africa, Iran, South Asia and Europe²⁵.

On 16 June 2014, reports circulated that the leader of ISIS Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi upon his release from U.S. detention facility Camp Bucca in 2009 had issued a threat, allegedly saying, "I'll see you in New York". American intelligence analysts began to monitor the splinter group for direct 9/11-type threats to the United States.

ISIS ACTIVITIES IN 2014

On January 3, 2014, ISIS proclaimed to establish an Islamic state in Fallujah. In response, the Army of the Mujahideen, The Free Syrian Army and the Islamic Front launched an offensive in the ISIS-held territories in Aleppo and in the Idlip provinces. A spokesman for the rebels stated that rebels attacked ISIS in up to 80% of all ISIS-held villages in Idlib and 65% of those in Aleppo. Skirmishes and small-scale battles ensued for days until January 8, when Syrian rebels managed to expel most ISIS forces from the city of Aleppo. By mid-January, Aleppo had been cleared of ISIS militants.

The city of Raqqa, capital of the Raqqa province, has been ISIS' largest stronghold. Syrian rebels were able to breach the city on January 6, 2014 and held it for a few days but ISIS reinforcements from Deir Ezzor province were eventually able to retake several neighborhoods within the city.

Meanwhile, ISIS began exhibiting a presence in Lebanon with a deadly car bombing on January 2nd that killed four people and wounded dozens in the southern Beirut suburb of Haret Hreik. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack on January 4th and three weeks later announced the creation of a new Lebanese arm for the sole purpose of fighting Hezbollah and its supporters in Lebanon.

On January 29th, ISIS engaged Turkish border patrol soldiers in Turkey. The Turkish Army returned fire and destroyed an ISIS convoy, killing 11 militants and one ISIS emir. Turkey also fired upon an ISIS convoy traveling through Aleppo province.

By late January, it was confirmed that Syrian rebels had assassinated ISIS' second-in-command, Haji Bakr, who was al-Qaeda's military council head and a former military officer in Saddam Hussein's army, underscoring the Baathist connection with ISIS.

Al-Nura Front, another fringe group of Syrian rebels, joined the main force against ISIS and decisively expelled ISIS from Deir Ezzor province. By March, ISIS forces had fully retreated from the Idlib province of Syria after multiple battles. ISIS also retreated from the Aleppo province, choosing instead to consolidate in Raqqa in anticipation of escalated fighting with Al-Nusra and Syrian rebels.

At this time, Prime Minister of Iraq, Nouri Al-Maliki stated in an interview with France24, a French television channel, that he believed Saudi Arabia and Qatar were openly funding and arming ISIS militants.

On March 20, Turkey is engaged again when three ISIS militants of Albanian origin opened fire while hijacking a truck. One police officer and one gendarmerie officer were killed and five others wounded. Shortly after their arrest, Polis Ozel Harekat, Turkish Special Forces, launched a series of operations against ISIS in Istanbul. Police found documents and other paraphanilia linking two Azerbaijani nationals to ISIS. They were arrested.

ISIS ACTIVITIES IN 2014

On April 27th, the Iraqi military reportedly attacked and destroyed an ISIS convoy of eight vehicles inside Syria marking the first Iraqi military operation outside Iraq borders since the Gulf War.

In June 2014, ISIS executed a sweeping attack on northern Iraq. First militants stormed the city of Samarra before being ousted by airstrikes by the Iraqi Air Force. Then on June 6th, ISIS militants carry out attacks in the city of Mosul. The next day, ISIS militants occupy the University of Anbar in Ramadi, Iraq and hold 1,300 students hostage before being ousted by Iraqi military. On June 9th, Mosul falls to ISIS as they seize control of government offices, the airport, police stations and loot the central bank of Mosul, absconding with over \$400M USD. Mosul was a strategic target for ISIS as it is a crossroad between Syria and Iraq and critical to oil production operations. Two days later, militants seize the Turkish consulate in Mosul and kidnap the head of diplomatic mission and several staff members. The city of Tikrit also falls to ISIS on this day.

On June 13, Navi Pillay, U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights and Human Rights Watch, an international Human Rights advocacy organization, express alarm at reports of ISIS fighters "actively seeking out – and in some cases killing – soldiers, police and others, including civilians, whom they perceive as being associated with the government". The official ISIS website and other social media outlets also upload images and footage of ISIS militants executing surrendered Iraqi soldiers. ISIS claimed to have executed 1,700 soldiers in one day in the city of Tal Afar in the province of Nineveh. On June 15th, reports emerge that ISIS leader, Abu Bark Al Baghdadi, is said to have implied threats to his American guards when captured at Camp Bacca. Upon his release, Al Baghdadi was reported to have said "I'll see you in New York".

ISIS LEADERSHIP AND HISTORY

Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi is the leader of the militant terrorist group Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), alternatively known as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Al-Baghdadi is his nom de guerre whereas his real name is Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri²⁶. It is believed that al-Baghdadi was born in the city of Samarra, Iraq, in 1971.

The group is currently led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who was declared a Specially Designated Global Terrorist on October, 4th 2011 by the US State Department with an announced reward of \$10 million for information leading to his capture or death.²⁷ Only Ayman al-Zawahiri, chief of the global al-Qaeda organization, has a larger reward assigned, at \$25 million USD.

Reports suggest that al-Baghdadi was a cleric at a mosque in Samarra during the time of the USled 2003 invasion of Iraq. Following the US-led invasion of Iraq, al-Baghdadi led several smaller militant groups before being appointed to the judicial council of the militant group, Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), which was the Iraqi division of the international militant terrorist organization known as al-Qaeda²⁸.

Al-Baghdadi was captured by the US and held at Camp Bucca, a US controlled detention facility in Iraq from 2005 until his transfer to Iraqi control in 2009²⁹. Despite the United States' desire to keep al-Baghdadi in detention, the militant leader was subsequently released by the Iraqi government in 2009. Shortly thereafter, al-Baghdadi was named leader of ISI on May 16, 2010 after the death of his predecessor.

Upon its expansion into Syria in April of 2013, ISI became known as ISIS, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. Al-Baghdadi is in charge of running all ISIS activity in Iraq, and has since then been responsible for countless attacks including raids, suicide attacks, roadside bombs, and small arms attacks in cities and rural areas throughout Iraq³⁰.

It is imperative to recognize the threat that al-Baghdadi poses to the United States and other nations across the world as long as he is in power and in control of ISIS. Upon forming ISIS in 2013, al-Baghdadi stated that the militant Syrian Civil War faction, Jabhat al-Nusra had been an extension of ISI in Syria and was now to be merged with ISIS. Abu Mohammad al-Jawlani, the leader of Jabhat al-Nusra disputed this merger and appealed to Al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri, who consequently issued a statement demanding that ISIS is to be abolished and that al-Baghdadi confine his group's activities to Iraq. Al-Baghdadi refused, and took control of 80% of Jabhat al-Nusra's fighters; clashes ensued between ISIS and Jabhat al-Nusra in Syria's Deir ez-Zor Governorate in January of 2014, which resulted in the loss of hundreds of fighters and thousands of displaced citizens. In February of 2014, Al-Qaeda severed all relations with ISIS.

The fact that al-Baghdadi and ISIS were disowned by Al-Qaeda and are as of right now the wealthiest terror group in the world is not to be taken lightly. US Army Col. Kenneth King, previously the commanding officer of Camp Bucca in 2009 recalls Al-Baghdadi's parting words to him: "I'll see you in New York."

ISIS LEADERSHIP AND HISTORY

In just a year, ISIS has had a tremendous rise in power and success in Iraq, and will stop at nothing short to accomplish their goals and make statements exercising their power across the world. House Intelligence Committee Chairman Mike Rogers, R-Mich., said, "I guarantee you: this is a problem that we will have to face and we're either going to face it in New York City or we're going to face it here." ISIS is composed of "sophisticated, command and controlled, seasoned combat veterans who understand the value of terrorism operations external to the region, meaning Europe and the United States."

If the risk is not mitigated throughout the early stages of the rise of ISIS, they may indeed follow the same path as similar terrorist organizations (such as Al-Qaeda) and will plan terrorist operations in regions abroad. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi must be stopped and his wildly violent militant group ISIS must be eradicated before they are able to gain more power and carry out additional attacks across the world. ISIS has been publicly uploading videos of beheadings and executions of civilians and soldiers within Iraq to send a message to people across the world—a message indicating that they are serious about accomplishing their goals and will seek any measure necessary to do so.

ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY

Throughout the history of the organization now known as ISIS (or ISIL), the group has used many different names. When it was formed in 2004, it was known as Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad, "The Organization of Monotheism and Jihad" (JTJ).

Later that year, when the leadership of the organization pledged a loyalty pact to Osama Bin Laden, the group changed its name to Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn, "The Organization of Jihad's Base in the Country of the Two Rivers" (TQJBR), and was often referred to as "Al-Qaeda in Iraq" (AQI). AQI was not a name the group ever chose for itself, but it has been the one that was most used to describe the organization, considering its multiple name changes.

In early 2006, after a series of alliances, the name changed again to the Mujahideen Shura Council. Later that year, after a merger with a few major militant groups in Iraq, the group changed its name again to Hilf al-Mutayibeen, "Oath of the Scented Ones". Just one day later, the group underwent another name change and became Dawlat al-'Iraq al-Islamiyya, "Islamic State of Iraq" (ISI), bringing it closer to its current iteration.

After engaging in militant activities in Syria, in early 2013 ISI lengthened its name and became, The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (alternatively translated as Islamic State in Iraq and Syria or Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham) (Arabic: الدولة الإسلامية في العراق والشام ; 'ad-dawla 'al-islāmiyya fīl-'irāq waš-šām or Arabic: داعش dāʿiš). It is abbreviated as ISIS or alternately ISIL.

Other names for ISIS include al-Dawla, the State, or Dawla al Islamiya, the Islamic State. Critics of the organization use an Arabic acronym "Daesh," a term that the group considers derogatory.

MEDIA PROFILES

BBC

Profile: Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIS)³¹

ISIS was formed in April 2013 and grew out of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). It has since been disavowed by al-Qaeda, but become one of the main jihadist groups fighting government forces in Syria and is making military gains in Iraq.

The final "S" in the acronym ISIS stems from the Arabic word "al-Sham". This can mean the Levant, Syria or even Damascus but in the context of the global jihad it refers to the Levant.

Its precise size is unclear but it is thought to include thousands of fighters, including many foreign jihadists. Correspondents say it appears to be surpassing al-Qaeda as the world's most dangerous jihadist group.

The organization is led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Little is known about him, but it is believed he was born in Samarra, north of Baghdad, in 1971 and joined the insurgency that erupted in Iraq soon after the 2003 US-led invasion.

In 2010 he emerged as the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq, one of the groups that later became ISIS.

Baghdadi is regarded as a battlefield commander and tactician, which analysts say makes ISIS more attractive to young jihadists than al-Qaeda, which is led by Ayman al-Zawahiri, an Islamic theologian.

Professor Peter Neumann of King's College London estimates that about 80% of Western fighters in Syria have joined the group.

ISIS claims to have fighters from the UK, France, Germany and other European countries, as well as the US, the Arab world and the Caucasus.

Unlike other rebel groups in Syria, ISIS is seen to be working towards an Islamic emirate that straddles Syria and Iraq.

The group has seen considerable military success. In March 2013, it took over the Syrian city of Raqqa - the first provincial capital to fall under rebel control.

In January 2014, it capitalized on growing tension between Iraq's Sunni minority and Shia-led government by taking control of the predominantly Sunni city of Fallujah, in the western province of Anbar.

It also seized large sections of the provincial capital, Ramadi, and has a presence in a number of towns near the Turkish and Syrian borders.

The group has gained a reputation for brutal rule in the areas that it controls.

However, it was its conquest of Mosul in June that sent shockwaves around the world.

MEDIA PROFILES

Clashes erupted between Iraqi security forces and ISIS in Mosul in June 2014.

Iraqi security forces fled as ISIS advanced into the city of Mosul

The US said the fall of Iraq's second city to ISIS posed a threat to the entire region. It may also have made ISIS the most cash-rich militant group in the world.

Initially, the group relied on donations from wealthy individuals in Gulf Arab states, particularly Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, who supported its fight against President Bashar al-Assad.

Today, ISIS is said to earn a significant amounts from the oil fields it controls in eastern Syria, reportedly selling some of the supply back to the Syrian government. It is also believed to have been selling looted antiquities from historical sites.

Prof Neumann believes that before the capture of Mosul in June 2014, ISIS had cash and assets worth about \$900m (£500m). Afterwards, this rose to around \$2bn (£1.18bn).

The group reportedly took hundreds of millions of dollars from Mosul's branch of Iraq's central bank. And its financial windfall looked set to continue if it maintains control of oil fields in northern Iraq.

The group has been operating independently of other jihadist groups in Syria such as the al-Nusra Front, the official al-Qaeda affiliate in the country, and has had a tense relationship with other rebels.

Baghdadi sought to merge with al-Nusra, which rejected the deal, and the two groups have operated separately since.

Zawahiri has urged ISIS to focus on Iraq and leave Syria to al-Nusra, but Baghdadi and his fighters openly defied the al-Qaeda chief.

Hostility to ISIS grew steadily in Syria as regularly attacked fellow rebels and abused civilian supporters of the Syrian opposition.

In January 2014, rebels from both Western-backed and Islamist groups launched an offensive against ISIS, seeking to drive its predominantly foreign fighters out of Syria.

Thousands of people are reported to have been killed in the infighting.

THE INDEPENDENT (UK)

Who are ISIS? The rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant 32

With its multi-pronged assault across central and northern Iraq in the past one and a half weeks, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Isis) has taken over from the al-Qa'ida organization founded by Osama bin Laden as the most powerful and effective extreme jihadi group in the world.

Isis now controls or can operate with impunity in a great stretch of territory in western Iraq and eastern Syria, making it militarily the most successful jihadi movement ever.

While its exact size is unclear, the group is thought to include thousands of fighters. The last "s" of "Isis" comes from the Arabic word "al-Sham", meaning Levant, Syria or occasionally Damascus, depending on the circumstances.

Led since 2010 by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, also known as Abu Dua (see below), it has proved itself even more violent and sectarian than what US officials call the "core" al-Qa'ida, led by Ayman al-Zawahiri, who is based in Pakistan.

Isis is highly fanatical, killing Shia Muslims and Christians whenever possible, as well as militarily efficient and under tight direction by top leaders.

The creation of a sort of proto-Caliphate by extreme jihadis in northern Syria and Iraq is provoking fears in surrounding countries such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey that they will become targets of battle-hardened Sunni fighters.

The Isis tactic is to make a surprise attack, inflict maximum casualties and spread fear before withdrawing without suffering heavy losses. Last Friday they attacked Mosul, where their power is already strong enough to tax local businesses, from family groceries to mobile phone and construction companies. Some 200 people were killed in the fighting, according to local hospitals, though the government gives a figure of 59 dead, 21 of them policemen and 38 insurgents.

Isis specializes in using militarily untrained foreign volunteers as suicide bombers either moving on foot wearing suicide vests, or driving vehicles packed with explosives. Often more than one suicide bomber is used, as happened when a vehicle exploded at the headquarters of a Kurdish party, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan in the town of Jalawla in the divided and much foughtover province of Diyala, northeast of Baghdad. In the confusion caused by the blast, a second bomber on foot slipped into the office and blew himself up, killing some 18 people, including a senior police officer.

The swift rise of ISIS since Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi became its leader has come because the uprising of the Sunni in Syria in 2011 led the Iraqi Sunni to protest about their political and economic marginalization since the fall of Saddam Hussein. Peaceful demonstrations from the end of 2012 won few concessions, with Iraq's Shia-dominated government convinced that the protesters wanted not reform but a revolution returning their community to power. The five or six million Iraqi Sunni became more alienated and sympathetic towards armed action by Isis.

Isis launched a well-planned campaign last year including a successful assault on Abu Ghraib prison last summer to free leaders and experienced fighters. This January, they took over Fallujah, 40 miles west of Baghdad, and have held it ever since in the face of artillery and air attack. The military sophistication of ISIS in Iraq is much greater than al-Qa'ida, the organization out of which it grew, which reached the peak of its success in 2006-07 before the Americans turned many of the Sunni tribes against it.

ISIS has the great advantage of being able to operate on both sides of the Syrian-Iraq border, though in Syria it is engaged in an intra-jihadi civil war with Jabhat al-Nusra, Ahrar al-Sham and other groups. But ISIS controls Raqqa, the only provincial capital taken by the opposition, and much of eastern Syria outside enclaves held by the Kurds close to the Turkish border.

MEDIA PROFILES

ISIS is today a little more circumspect in killing all who work for the government including rubbish collectors, something that alienated the Sunni population previously. But horrifically violent, though professionally made propaganda videos show ISIS forcing families with sons in the Iraqi army to dig their own graves before they are shot. The message is that their enemies can expect no mercy.

Who is ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi?

In the space of a year he has become the most powerful jihadi leader in the world, and last week his forces captured Mosul, the northern capital of Iraq. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, also known as Abu Dua, the leader of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Isis) has suddenly emerged as a figure who is shaping the future of Iraq, Syria and the wider Middle East.

He began to appear from the shadows in the summer of 2010 when he became leader of al-Qa'ida in Iraq (AQI) after its former leaders were killed in an attack by US and Iraqi troops. AQI was at a low point in its fortunes, as the Sunni rebellion, in which it had once played a leading role, was collapsing. It was revived by the revolt of the Sunni in Syria in 2011 and, over the next three years by a series of carefully planned campaigns in both Iraq and Syria. How far al-Baghdadi is directly responsible for the military strategy and tactics of ISIS, once called AQI, is uncertain: former Iraqi army and intelligence officers from the Saddam era are said to play a crucial role, but are under al-Baghdadi's overall leadership.

There are disputes over his career depending on whether the source is ISIS itself, US or Iraqi intelligence but the overall picture appears fairly clear. He was born in Samarra, a largely Sunni city north of Baghdad, in 1971 and is well educated. With black hair and brown eyes, a picture of al-Baghdadi taken when he was a prisoner of the Americans in Bocca Camp in southern Iraq between 2005 and 2009, makes him look like any Iraqi man in his thirties.

His real name is believed to be Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri al-Samarrai, who has degrees in Islamic Studies, including poetry, history and genealogy, from the Islamic University of Baghdad. He may have been an Islamic militant under Saddam as a preacher in Diyala province, to the north east of Baghdad, where, after the US invasion of 2003, he had his own armed group. Insurgent movements have a strong motive for giving out misleading information about their command structure and leadership, but it appears al-Baghdadi spent five years as prisoner of the Americans.

After the old AQI leadership was killed in April 2010, al-Baghdadi took over and AQI became increasingly well organized, even issuing detailed annual reports over the last two years, itemizing its operations in each Iraqi province. Recalling the fate of his predecessors as AQI leader, he insisted on extreme secrecy, so few people knew where he was. AQI prisoners either say they have never met him or, when they did, that he was wearing a mask.

Taking advantage of the Syrian civil war, al-Baghdadi sent experienced fighters and funds to Syria to set up Jabhat al-Nusra as al-Qa'ida's affiliate in Syria. He split from it last year, but remains in control of a great swathe of territory in northern Syria and Iraq. Against fragmented and dysfunctional opposition, he is moving fast towards establishing himself as Emir of a new Islamic state.

FOX NEWS

What is the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant? ³³

An Al Qaeda splinter group that has seized a huge chunk of northern Iraq reportedly commands as many as 10,000 fighters and uses everything from beheadings to terrify opponents to ice cream socials for children to curry favor with local populations under its control.

Its pursuit of an Islamic state that would straddle the two countries has thrown it into bloody conflict with both governments, Kurdish militias and Syrian rebels of all stripes. The group, known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), has employed a calculated strategy to achieve its aims.

But it is the group's military prowess that has brought under its sway a swath of territory that stretches from the Syrian-Turkish frontier in the north down the Euphrates River all the way to the Iraqi city of Fallujah just 40 miles west of Baghdad.

This week, the group's fighters, many of them in fast-moving pickup trucks mounted with machine guns, captured Iraq's second-largest city, Mosul, before barreling south to take the city of Tikrit — two urban centers in the heartland of northern Iraq's oil industry.

The group has recently started paying \$200 a month to each of its fighters to boost recruitment, according to the U.S. Army War College.

The Islamic State is the latest and most powerful incarnation of what began as an Al Qaeda affiliate in Iraq following the 2003 U.S.-led invasion. American forces spent years and enormous resources to bring the group largely to heel before U.S. troops pulled out of the country in December of 2011.

Since then, the region has been convulsed in political turmoil and sectarian hatreds. The Islamic State has seized on those Sunni-Shiite tensions to help whip up its Sunni extremist followers.

The group is led by an ambitious Iraqi militant known by his nom de guerre of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi with a \$10 million U.S. bounty on his head. After taking the reins in 2010, al-Baghdadi successfully transformed what had been an umbrella organization focused mainly on Iraq into a transnational military force.

The ISIS – under its former name of Al Qaeda in Iraq – was classified as a terrorist organization by the U.S. State Department in 2004.

The Syrian uprising, which began in 2011 against President Bashar Assad, opened the door to his greater ambitions. Al-Baghdadi dispatched trusted militants to Syria to set up a group called the Nusra Front while he personally remained in Iraq, according to an audio recording later released by the Nusra Front's commander.

In the spring of 2013, al-Baghdadi's fighters moved from Iraq into northern and eastern Syria. He proclaimed that his group would lead the jihadi cause in both countries. Al-Baghdadi reportedly moved to Syria to manage affairs.

MEDIA PROFILES

Initially, more moderate Syrian rebels welcomed the group's experienced fighters. But the Islamic State alienated many rebels and Syrian civilians alike with its brutality and attempts to impose its strict interpretation of Islam.

It also drew the ire of many opposition fighters by focusing not on the fight against Assad, but rather on restoring a medieval Islamic state, or caliphate, in Iraq and Greater Syria, also known as the Levant — traditional names that refer to a region stretching from southern Turkey to Egypt on the eastern Mediterranean. The group is also referred to sometimes as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.

Eventually, the Islamic State's presence in Syria proved so destabilizing that it fell out with its sister group, the Nusra Front. Their mutual patron at the time, Al Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahri, formally disavowed the Islamic State in February.

At the same time, other Syrian rebel factions were waging an offensive against the extremist group. Activists say that fighting, which is still going on, has killed more than 6,000 people.

But al-Baghdadi's refusal to bow won him the loyalty of many of the most hard-line fighters in Syria, particularly foreigners, and his group has proven resilient. It now controls much of northern and eastern Syria from its stronghold of Raqqa, and has routed the Iraqi security forces across the border as well.

The Islamic State commands between 7,000 and 10,000 fighters, according to U.S. intelligence officials who spoke on condition of anonymity because they weren't authorized to brief the media.

Aymenn al-Tamimi, an expert on militant factions in Syria and Iraq, also put the group's fighting force at about 10,000, including veteran jihadi fighters from Iraq, the Gulf, North Africa and Europe. The Islamic State also relies on thousands of supporters to provide the public services expected of a "state," he said.

The foreigners' roles vary. Some, including Germans and Frenchmen, have carried out suicide bombings. Others, however, hold leadership positions. One of the most prominent commanders in Syria is an imposing ethnic Chechen with a flowing red beard who goes by the name of Omar al-Shishani.

The Islamic State has crafted its tactics and message to best meet local considerations.

"In Iraq, they portray themselves as the protectors of the Sunni community," al-Tamimi said. "In Syria, they are much more open about their ideology and project."

In the Syrian city of Raqqa, their strict brand of Islamic law holds sway. Activists and residents say music has been banned, Christians have to pay an Islamic tax for protection and people are executed in the main square.

In the Iraqi city of Fallujah, however, residents say the group has so far taken a more moderate approach, choosing to overlook some practices it considers forbidden.

The makeup of its forces also varies to a degree. In Syria, foreigners play a larger role than in Iraq, where locals tend to dominate.

The group has been able to do this, in part, because of the simmering anger in Iraq's Sunni minority community toward Shiite Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. They accuse al-Maliki of treating them as second-class citizens.

Salman Shaikh, director of The Brookings Doha Center in Qatar, said the Islamic State has counted on an informal coalition in Iraq of former members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party, tribal fighters and its own militants, "which is why this poses such a difficult challenge to Maliki and his U.S.-trained forces."

"As long as they're focused on Maliki and that goal rather than broader sort of Islamic goals or on taking on the local communities, they'll continue probably to thrive," Shaikh said. "If they start to lose the support of the local community, then they'll be in trouble."

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

NOTES

¹ Fox News,. (2014). US weighs alliance with Iran to counter ISIS, boosts presence in Gulf. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2014/06/16/us-weighs-alliance-with-iran-to-counter-isis-boosts-presence-in-gulf/

² TIME.com,. (2014). GOP Lawmakers Call for Airstrikes on Iraq to Counter ISIS Threat. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://time.com/2878090/isis-iraq-reactions/

³ HotAir.com,. (2014). Obama's former acting CIA director warns ISIS in Iraq is a threat to U.S. - Hot Air. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://hotair.com/archives/2014/06/16/obamas-former-acting-cia-directorwarns-isis-in-iraq-is-a-threat-to-u-s-homeland/

⁴ Chulov, M. (2014). Iraqi forces hold off Isis rebels north of Baghdad as Obama waits. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/17/fighting-continues-in-iraq-as-barack-obama-waits-to-act-over-isis-jihadists

⁵ Rushe, D. (2014). Iraq crisis: US embassy workers evacuated as Republicans slam Obama. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/15/iraq-crisis-us-iran-republican-talk-obama-isis

⁶ The true reason US fears Iranian nukes: they can deter US attacks. (2012). Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/02/iran-nukes-deterrence

⁷ Washington Post (2014), Iran is ready to help Iraq if asked, Rouhani says . Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/iraq-crisis-presents-an-opportunity-for-irans-rouhani/2014/06/14/ab2548f4-2a08-41af-8cde-1bb511bf3ff4_story.html

⁸ Washington Post,. (1996). Al-Qaeda disavows any ties with radical Islamist ISIS group in Syria, Iraq. Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/al-qaeda-disavowsany-ties-with-radical-islamist-isis-group-in-syria-iraq/2014/02/03/2c9afc3a-8cef-11e3-98abfe5228217bd1_story.html

⁹ Database - Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) Ucdp.uu.se,. (1975). Database - Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/gpcountry.php?id=77®ionSelect=10-Middle East#

¹⁰ What's Next After Zarqawi's Death?

Cbsnews.com,. (2006). What's Next After Zarqawi's Death?. Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://www.cbsnews.com/news/whats-next-after-zarqawis-death/

¹¹ Asia Times Online :: Middle East News - Death of Zarqawi: George gets his dragon

Atimes.com,. (2006). Asia Times Online :: Middle East News - Death of Zarqawi: George gets his dragon. Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/HF09A

¹² Abu Musab al-Zarqawi Globalsecurity.org,. (2006). Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/profiles/abu_musab_al-zarqawi.htm

¹³ Zarqawi building his own terror network

NOTES

Old.post-gazette.com,. (2014). Zarqawi building his own terror network. Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://old.post-gazette.com/pg/04277/388966.stm

¹⁴ Saudi: Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist group

English.alarabiya.net,. (2014). Saudi: Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist group. Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/03/07/Saudi-Arabia-declares-Muslim-Brotherhood-terrorist-group.html

¹⁵ Militants seize Iraq's second city

BBC News,. (2014). Militants seize Iraq's second city. Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27778112

¹⁶ MIDEAST - ISIL kidnaps Turkish consul, special forces, children in northern Iraqi hotspot

Hurriyetdailynews.com,. (2014). MIDEAST - ISIL kidnaps Turkish consul, special forces, children in northern Iraqi hotspot. Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/isil-kidnaps-turkishconsul-special-forces-several-others-in-iraq.aspx?pageID=238&nID=67660&NewsCatID=352

¹⁷ Advancing Iraq rebels seize northwest town in heavy battle

Reuters,. (2014). Advancing Iraq rebels seize northwest town in heavy battle. Retrieved 16 June 2014, from http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/06/15/us-iraq-security-idUSKBN0EP0KJ20140615

¹⁸ Web.archive.org,. (2006). Foreign Terrorist Organization: Designation of Jama'at al-Tawhid wa'al-Jihad and Aliases. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://web.archive.org/web/20070711131613/

¹⁹ Web.archive.org,. (2006). The Jamestown Foundation. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://web.archive.org/web/20070930185929/http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volu me_id=400&&issue_id=3179

²⁰ Web.archive.org,. (2006). The Jamestown Foundation. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://web.archive.org/web/20070930185929/http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volu me_id=400&&issue_id=3179

²¹ Web.archive.org,. (2006). The Jamestown Foundation. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://web.archive.org/web/20070930185929/http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volu me_id=400&&issue_id=3179

²² Reuters,. (2007). U.S. says Iraq chlorine bomb factory was al Qaeda's. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/02/24/us-iraq-chemicals-qaeda-idUSPAR44485120070224

²³ Washingtonmonthly.com,. (2007). The Myth of AQI - Andrew Tilghman. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2007/0710.tilghman.html

²⁴ FBI,. (2007). National Intelligence Estimate 2007. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2007/july/nie071807

²⁵ "Foreign Terrorist Organizations", Country Reports on Terrorism, U.S. State Department, 28 April 2006

²⁶ BBC News,. (2014). Profile: Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27801676

²⁷ U.S. Department of State,. (2011). Terrorist Designation of Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri.
Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/10/174971.htm

²⁸ Beaumont, P. (2014). Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: The Isis chief with the ambition to overtake al-Qaida. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/12/baghdadi-abu-bakr-iraqisis-mosul-jihad

²⁹ The Daily Beast,. (2014). ISIS Leader: 'See You in New York'. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/06/14/isis-leader-see-you-in-new-york.html

³⁰ U.S. Department of State,. (2011). Terrorist Designation of Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/10/174971.htm

³¹ BBC News,. (2014). Profile: Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIS). Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24179084

³² The Independent,. (2014). Who are Isis? The rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/who-are-isis-the-rise-of-the-islamic-state-in-iraq-and-the-levant-9541421.html

³³ Fox News,. (2014). What is the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant?. Retrieved 18 June 2014, from http://www.foxnews.com/world/2014/06/12/what-is-islamic-state-in-iraq-and-levant/

NOTES

ABOUT UMAA-ADVOCACY

We are an organization established to support the rights of Shia Muslims nationally and globally. We do this through influencing government and society so they can act in support and favors of the rights of Shia Muslims nationally and globally. We hope to become the authoritative resource on all that pertains to Shia Muslims rights' nationally and globally, and a single source of events and incidents.

Our Publications

- 1. The Situation in Bahrain
- 2. Indonesia: The Plight of Religious Minorities
- 3. The Situation in Malaysia
- 4. The Crisis in Iraq
- 5. A Crisis in Pakistan
- 6. The Syrian Civil War

For More Information

Visit www.UMAA-Advocacy.com or contact us at info@umaa-advocacy.com



1717 PENNSYLVANIA AVE NW #1025, WASHINGTON, DC 20006 | WWW.UMAA-ADVOCACY.NET