



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Armed non-state actors in conflict: strategic decision-making in the 2014 IS-KRI conflict

Berge, W. van den

Citation

Berge, W. van den. (2024, November 22). *Armed non-state actors in conflict: strategic decision-making in the 2014 IS-KRI conflict*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4150279>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4150279>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Abbreviations

The list below contains abbreviations used in this study alphabetically (left column) and their meanings (written bold) in English (right column) and, when applicable, in the native language (middle column, written in italics).

AaI	<i>Ansar al-Islam</i>	Partisans of Islam
AaS	<i>Ansar al-Sunnah</i>	Partisans of the teachings
ANARD		Armed Nonstate Actor Rivalry Dataset
ANSA		Armed Non-State Actor
AQI		<i>Al-Qaeda in Iraq</i>
AQIM		<i>Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb</i>
CAS		Complex Adaptive Systems
CPA		Coalition Provisional Authority
CPS		Complex Physical Systems
DIME		Diplomacy, Information, Military, Economy
FPA		Foreign Policy Analysis
FSA		Free Syrian Army
H	<i>Hijra</i>	Migration (of prophet Muhammad)
HRE		High-Risk Ethnography
IDP		Internally Displaced Person
IED		Improvised Explosive Device
IR		International Relations
IS	<i>Ad-Dawlah al-Islāmiyah</i>	Islamic State
ISF		Iraqi Security Forces
ISI	<i>Ad-Dawlah al-Islāmiyah fī 'l-'Irāq</i>	Islamic State in Iraq
ISIS	<i>Ad-Dawlah al-Islāmiyah fī 'l-'Irāq wa-sh-Shām</i>	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
JaN	<i>Jabhat al-Nusra</i>	<i>Nusra</i> Front
JMA	<i>Jaish al-Mubajideen wal Ansar</i>	Army of Emigrants and Helpers
JTJ	<i>Jama'at al-Tawhid wa al-Jihad</i>	Group of monotheism and <i>jihad</i>
KDP	<i>Partiya Demokrat a Kurdistanê</i>	Kurdistan Democratic Party
KNC	<i>Encûmena Nîştimanîya Kurdi li Sûriyê</i>	Kurdish National Council

Abbreviations

KRG		Kurdistan Regional Government
KRI		Kurdistan Region of Iraq
MENA		Middle East and North Africa
MSC	<i>Al-Majlis Shura al-Mujahideen</i>	<i>Mujahideen Shura Council</i>
NSA		Non-State Actor
PKK	<i>Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan</i>	Kurdistan Worker's Party
PUK	<i>Yekêtiya Nîştîmaniya Kurdistan</i>	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
PYD	<i>Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat</i>	Democratic Union Party
SOP		Standard Operating Procedure
SV-IED		Suicide Vest Improvised Explosive Device
YPG	<i>Yekîneyên Parastina Gel</i>	People's Defense Corps
YPJ	<i>Yekîneyên Parastina Jinê</i>	Women's Protection Unit

Bibliography

- "250 Kurdish militants within Daesh ranks killed. Official." *Press TV*, October 1, 2015. www.presstv.ir/detail/2015/10/01/431471/iraq-kurds-militants-daesh-takfiris-kurdistan.
- "A message from Sotloff." *Dabiq* 4 (1435H [2014]), 47-51.
- "A message to the people in Kurdistan." *Dabiq* 8 (1436H [2015]), 38.
- Abbaszadah, Yoosef. "KRG's military help to Kobane from international relations perspective." *Rûdaw*, January 28, 2015. www.rudaw.net/english/analysis/27012015.
- "About." *Middle East Media Research Institute*. www.memri.org/about. Accessed November 6, 2022.
- "About Kurdistan Democratic Party." *Kurdistan Democratic Party*. www.kdp.info/p/p.aspx?p=1&l=12&s=010000&r=344. Accessed April 27, 2022.
- "About us. The global coalition to defeat IS." *United States Department of State*. www.state.gov/about-us-the-global-coalition-to-defeat-isis/. Accessed November 26, 2022.
- "Abu Muslim al-Turkmani. From Iraqi officer to slain ISIS deputy." *Al Arabiya*, December 19, 2014. www.english.alarabiya.net/perspective/profiles/2014/12/19/Abu-Muslim-al-Turkmani-From-Iraqi-officer-to-slain-ISIS-deputy.
- Addington, Larry. *The patterns of war since the eighteenth century* (2nd edition). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Adnani, Abu Muhammad al. "This is the promise of Allah." *Islamic State*, June 29, 2014, transl. unknown. www.memri.org/reports/isis-declares-islamic-caliphate-appoints-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-caliph-declares-all-muslims.
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram. "The blurred line between state identity and realpolitik." In *Routledge handbook of international relations in the Middle East*. Edited by Shahram Akbarzadeh, 1-7. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.
- Alberts, David, *et al.* "Network centric warfare. Developing and leveraging information superiority." Washington D.C.: *CAISR Cooperative Research Program*, 1999.
- Ali, Ahmed. "Iraq's 2014 national elections." Washington D.C.: *Institute for the Study of War*, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/report/iraq%E2%80%99s-2014-national-elections.
- Ali, Ahmed, & Heather Pickerell. "Iraq situation report. June 12-14, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, June 15, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/backgrounders/situation-report-june-12-14-2014.
- Ali, Ahmed, *et al.* "Iraq situation report. July 22, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, July 22, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/backgrounders/iraq-situation-report-july-22-2014.
- Ali, Firas. "Iraqi Sunni participation in fighting against the Islamic State likely to fail, strengthening the group." *Jane's Country Risk Daily Report*, March 13, 2015.
- "Allegiance to the caliph." *Islamic State*, no date. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/17879/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-fatwas-on.
- Allison, Graham. "Conceptual models and the Cuban missile crisis." *The American Political Science Review* 63:3 (1969), 689-718. doi.org/10.2307/1954423.
- Allison, Graham. *Essence of decision. Explaining the Cuban missile crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971.
- Allison, Graham, & Morton Halperin. "Bureaucratic politics. A paradigm and some policy implications." In *Theory and policy in International Relations*. Edited by Raymond Tanter & Richard Ullman, 40-79. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

- Allison, Graham, & Philip Zelikow. *Essence of decision. Explaining the Cuban missile crisis* (2nd edition). New York: Longman, 1999.
- “American Kurdistan.” *Dabiq* 10 (1436H [2015]), 30-4.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (revised edition). London: Verso, 1991.
- Andoni, Lamis. “ISIS and the ‘clash of civilizations.’” *Middle East Monitor*, September 16, 2014. www.middleeastmonitor.com/20140916-isis-and-the-clash-of-the-civilisations/.
- Ariely, Dan. *Predictably irrational. The hidden forces that shape our decisions*. New York: Harper Collins, 2008.
- Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project. “ACLED conflict index.” www.acledata.com/conflict-index/#downloads. Accessed March 17, 2024.
- “Arming Iraq’s Kurds. Fighting IS, inviting conflict.” Brussels: *International Crisis Group*, 2015. www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/arming-iraq-s-kurds-fighting-inviting-conflict.
- Asbridge, Thomas. *The crusades. The war for the holy land*. London: Pocket, 2010.
- Ashford, Emma. “In praise of lesser evils. Can realism repair foreign policy?” *Foreign Affairs*, 100:5 (2022), 211-8. www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/praise-lesser-evils-realism-foreign-policy-emma-ashford.
- Ashour, Omar. *How ISIS fights. Military tactics in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Egypt*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021.
- Atiyah, ‘Abd al Rahman. Untitled letter to Zarqawi. 2005. Translator unknown. www.ctc.westpoint.edu/harmony-program/atiyahs-letter-to-zarqawi-original-language-2/.
- Atran, Scott. “Measure of devotion to ISIS and other fighting groups.” *Current Opinion in Psychology* 35 (2020), 103-7. doi: 10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.02.012.
- Atwan, Abdel. “A portrait of Caliph Ibrahim.” *Cairo Review* 19 (2015), 66-75. www.thecaireview.com/essays/a-portrait-of-caliph-ibrahim/.
- Aya, Rod. “The third man. Or, agency in history. Or, rationality in revolution.” *History and Theory* 40:4 (2002), 143-152. doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00186.
- Aydinli, Ersel. “Assessing violent nonstate actorness in global politics. A framework for analysis.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 28:3 (2015), 424-44. doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2013.819316.
- Aydoğan, Bekir, & Mehmet Alaca. “Kurdistan’s fading dream. The struggle and despair behind Erbil-Baghdad relations.” *Gulf International Forum*, no date. www.gulfif.org/kurdistans-fading-dream-the-struggle-and-despair-behind-erbil-baghdad-relations/.
- Ayoob, Mohammed. “Subaltern realism meets the Arab world.” In *Routledge handbook of International Relations in the Middle East*. Edited by Shahram Akbarzadeh, 59-68. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.
- Aziz, Mahir. *The Kurds of Iraq. Ethnonationalism and national identity in Iraqi Kurdistan*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2015.
- Babbie, Earl. *The practice of social research*. Belmont: Wadsworth, 1998.
- Bacevich, Andrew. “The reckoning that wasn’t. Why America remains trapped by false dreams of hegemony.” *Foreign Affairs* 102:2 (2023), 6-21. www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/andrew-bacevich-the-reckoning-that-wasnt-america-hegemony.

- Baghdadi, Abu Bakr al. "A message to the mujahideen and the Muslim umma in the month of Ramadan." Audio speech, July 1, 2014. Translator unknown. In "The leader of the Islamic State explains the caliphate's vision." Kyle Orton, *Kyle Orton's Blog*, July 2, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/07/02/the-leader-of-the-islamic-state-explains-the-caliphates-vision/.
- Baghdadi, Abu Bakr al. "Allah will not allow except that his light should be perfected." Audio speech, July 21, 2012. Translation by Fursan al-Balagh Media. In "Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's second speech as Islamic State leader." Kyle Orton, *Kyle Orton's Blog*, December 29, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/12/29/abu-bakr-al-baghdadis-second-speech-as-islamic-state-leader/.
- Baghdadi Abu Bakr al. "Even if the disbelievers despise such." Audio speech, November 13, 2014. Translator unknown. In "The Islamic State creates foreign 'provinces.'" Kyle Orton, *Kyle Orton's Blog*, December 6, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/12/06/the-islamic-state-creates-foreign-provinces/.
- Baghdadi, Abu Bakr al. "Give good news to the believers. The declaration of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria." Audio speech, April 8, 2013. Translator unknown. In "The announcement of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria." Kyle Orton, *Kyle Orton's Blog*, April 2, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/04/02/the-announcement-of-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-and-syria/.
- Baghdadi, Abu Bakr al. "March forth whether light or heavy." Audio speech, May 14, 2015. Translator unknown. In "Islamic State leader attacks Saudi Arabia, claims to be the Sunni vanguard." Kyle Orton, *Kyle Orton's Blog*, May 15, 2015. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2015/05/15/islamic-state-leader-attacks-saudi-arabia-claims-to-be-the-sunni-vanguard/.
- Baghdadi, Abu Bakr al. "Remaining in Iraq and Syria." Audio speech, June 14, 2013. Translator unknown. In "ISIS rejects al-Qaeda's command to return to Iraq." Kyle Orton, *Kyle Orton's Blog*, April 3, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/04/03/isis-rejects-al-qaedas-command-to-return-to-iraq/.
- Baghdadi, Abu Bakr al. Untitled speech, January 19, 2014. Translated by Pieter Van Ostaeyen. In "ISIS's leader calls for the Syrian rebels to cease attacking the jihadists." Kyle Orton, *Kyle Orton's Blog*, December 6, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/12/06/isiss-leader-calls-for-the-syrian-rebels-to-cess-attacking-the-jihadists/.
- Baghdadi, Abu Bakr al. Untitled speech, July 4, 2014. Translated by INSITE Blog on Terrorism and Extremism. In "The first appearance of the caliph." Kyle Orton, *Kyle Orton's Blog*, July 12, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/07/12/the-first-appearance-of-the-caliph/.
- Bahney, Benjamin, & Patrick Johnston. "Who runs the Islamic State group?" *RAND*, May 22, 2015. www.rand.org/blog/2015/05/who-runs-the-islamic-state-group.html.
- Bakker, Edwin. *Terrorism and counterterrorism studies. Comparing theory and practice*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2015.
- Bakker, Edwin, & Leen Boer. "The evolution of al-Qaedaism. Ideology, terrorists, and appeal." The Hague: *Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael*, 2007. www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20071200_cscp_csp_bakker_boer.pdf.
- Banghālī, Abū 'Abdir-Rahmān al. "The revival of jihad in Bengal. With the spread of the light of the Khilafāh." *Dabiq* 12 (1437H [2015]), 37-41.
- Baram, Amatzia. "Saddam's ISIS. Tracing the roots of the caliphate." *Foreign Affairs*, April 8, 2016. www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2016-04-08/saddams-isis.
- Barkey, Henri. "What's behind Turkey's u-turn on the Islamic State?" *Foreign Policy*, July 29, 2015. www.foreignpolicy.com/2015/07/29/whats-behind-turkeys-u-turn-on-the-islamic-state-kurds-syria/.
- Barner-Barry, Carol, & Robert Rosenwein. *Psychological Perspectives on Politics*. Prospect Heights: Waveland, 1985.

- Barr, James. *A line in the sand. The Anglo-French struggle for the Middle East, 1914-1948*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2012.
- Barrett, Richard. "The Islamic State." New York: *Soufan Group*, 2014. www.gangenforcement.com/uploads/2/9/4/1/29411337/___the_islamic_state_-_tsg_-_november_2014.pdf.
- Barzani, Masoud. "A statement from the president of the Kurdistan Region on terrorist attacks on Kobane." *Kurdistan Regional Government-Iraq Representation in Austria*, September 23, 2014. at.krg.org/en/prasident-der-region-kurdistan-gibt-erklarung-zu-den-terroranschlagen-in-kobane-ab/.
- Barzani, Nechirvan. "KRG prime minister Nechirvan Barzani lauds Kobane liberation." *Kurdistan Regional Government-Iraq Representation in Austria*, January 26, 2015. austria.gov.krd/en/krg-premierminister-nechirvan-barzani-lobt-die-befreiung-von-kobane/.
- Barzani, Sirwan. "Protecting Kurdistan. The Peshmerga before, during, and after ISIS." In *Iraqi Kurdistan Region. A path forward*. Edited by Sasha Toperich *et al.*, 23- 31. Washington, D.C.: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2017.
- Baumann, Rainer, & Frank Stengel. "Foreign policy analysis, globalisation and non-state actors. State-centric after all?" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 17:4 (2014), 489-521. doi.org/10.1057/jird.2013.12.
- Beckett, Ian. *Modern insurgencies and counter-insurgencies. Guerrillas and their opponents since 1750*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2001.
- Bechner, Lionel. "How proxy wars work. And what that means for ending the conflict in Syria." *Foreign Affairs*, November 12, 2015. www.foreignaffairs.com/syria/how-proxy-wars-work.
- Bekkevold, Jo. "No, the world is not multipolar. The idea of emerging power centers is popular but wrong and could lead to serious policy mistakes." *Foreign Policy*, September 23, 2023. www.foreignpolicy.com/2023/09/22/multipolar-world-bipolar-power-geopolitics-business-strategy-china-united-states-india/.
- Bendor, Jonathan, & Thomas Hammond. "Rethinking Allison's models." *The American Political Science Review* 86:2 (1992), 301-22. www.scholar.harvard.edu/files/mahajan/files/bendorhammond1992.pdf.
- Bengio, Ofra. "The Islamic State. A catalyst for Kurdish nation-building." *Tel Aviv Notes* 8:18 (2014). www.dayan.org/content/tel-aviv-notes-islamic-state-catalyst-kurdish-nation-building.
- Berberoglu, Omar. "Peshmerga, Syrian rebels battle Islamic State in besieged Kobani." *Reuters*, November 3, 2014. www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN0IK15L/.
- Berge, Wietse van den. "Analyzing Middle Eastern armed non-state actors' foreign policy." *Global Security Studies* 7:3 (2016), 13-31. www.globalsecuritystudies.com/berge-non-state-actors.pdf.
- Berge, Wietse van den. "Armed non-state actors and strategic decision-making." In *Routledge handbook of International Relations in the Middle East*. Edited by Shahram Akbarzadeh, 279-99. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.
- Berge, Wietse van den. "Countering violent extremism in the Kurdistan Region in Iraq." *International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague*, May 10, 2016. www.icct.nl/publication/countering-violent-extremism-in-the-kurdistan-region-in-iraq/.
- Berge, Wietse van den. "Islamic State's ambivalent relation to drugs." *Leiden Security and Global Affairs Blog*, March 7, 2016. www.leidensecurityandglobalaffairs.nl/articles/islamic-states-ambivalent-relation-to-drugs.
- Berge, Wietse van den. "Muitelij in Frankrijk. Gevechtsbereidheid in de Eerste Wereldoorlog." *Militaire Spectator* 174:1 (2005), 5-13. www.militairespectator.nl/sites/default/files/teksten/bestanden/2005-0005-01-0007.pdf.

- Berge, Wietse van den. "PKK and Turkey. Time for peace?" *Leiden Security and Global Affairs Blog*, March 9, 2015. www.leidensecurityandglobalaffairs.nl/articles/pkk-and-turkey-time-for-peace.
- Berge, Wietse van den. "Syrian Kurdish political activism. A social movement theory perspective." *META-Journal* 4 (2015), 160-9. www.archiv.ub.uni-marburg.de/ep/0003/article/view/2520/3476.
- Berge, Wietse van den. "The cleavage in Syrian Kurdish politics. Equality versus non-violence." In *Expanding research on countering violent extremism*. Edited by Sara Zeiger, 55-70. Abu Dhabi: Hedayah, 2016. www.hedayahcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/file-410201685227.pdf.
- Berge, Wietse van den. "The instrumental use of terrorism. The case of the Syrian regime." *Leiden Security and Global Affairs Blog*, March 31, 2014. www.leidensecurityandglobalaffairs.nl/articles/the-instrumental-use-of-terrorism-the-case-of-the-syrian-regime.
- Bernstein, Barton. "Understanding decisionmaking, U.S. foreign policy, and the Cuban missile crisis. A review essay." Review of *Essence of decision. Explaining the Cuban missile crisis* (2nd edition), by Graham Allison & Philip Zelikow. *International Security* 25:1 (2000), 134-64. www.jstor.org/stable/2626776.
- Betz, David. "In search of a point. The blob at war." *Military Strategy Magazine*, December 2020, 22-27. www.militarystrategymagazine.com/article/in-search-of-a-point-the-blob-at-war/.
- Beyerchen, Alan. "Clausewitz, nonlinearity, and the unpredictability of war." *International Security* 17:3 (1992-3), 59-90. www.jstor.org/stable/2539130.
- Biddle, Stephen. *Nonstate warfare. The military methods of guerillas, warlords, and militias*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021.
- Biddle, Stephen. "The determinants of nonstate military methods." *The Pacific Review*, 31:6 (2018), 714-39. doi: 10.1080/09512748.2018.1513550.
- Biddle, Stephen, et al. "Testing the surge. Why did violence decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security* 37:1 (2012), 7-40. www.jstor.org/stable/23280403.
- Biddle, Tami. "Coercion theory. A basic introduction for practitioners." *Texas National Security Review* 3:2 (2020), 94-109. [dx.doi.org/10.26153/tsw/8864](https://doi.org/10.26153/tsw/8864).
- Bilger, Alex. "ISIS annual reports reveal a metrics-driven military command." Washington D.C.: *Institute for the Study of War*, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISWBackgrounder_ISIS_Annual_Reports_0.pdf.
- Binali, Turki al. "Stretch forth your hands to give the bay'ah to Al-Baghdadi." August 5, 2013. Translated by Ubaidullah ibn Adam al-Ibrahim. *Kyle Orton's Blog*, January 8, 2015. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2015/01/08/turki-al-binali-makes-case-al-baghdadi-caliph/.
- Black, Antony. *The history of Islamic political thought* (2nd edition). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.
- Black, Jeremy. *Geopolitics and the quest for dominance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016.
- Black, Jeremy. *Military strategy. A global history*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.
- Black, Jeremy. *Rethinking military history*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Black, Jeremy. Review of *The direction of war. Contemporary strategy in historical perspective*, by Hew Strachan. *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37:3 (2014), 471-5. doi:10.1080/01402390.2014.929326.
- Black, Jeremy. "Strategic practice, an introduction." In *The practice of strategy. A global history*. Edited by Jeremy Black, 11-7. Società Italiana di Storia Militare, 2024.
- Black, Jeremy. "Strategies for the twenty-first century." In *The practice of strategy. A global history*. Edited by Jeremy Black, 543-9. Società Italiana di Storia Militare, 2024.
- Blair, Charles. "ISIS. The unsurprising surprise that is sweeping Iraq." *The bulletin*, June 18, 2014. [www.thebulletin.org/2014/06/isis-the-unsurprising-surprise-that-is-sweeping-iraq/](http://thebulletin.org/2014/06/isis-the-unsurprising-surprise-that-is-sweeping-iraq/).

- Blanchard, Christopher. "Kurds in Iraq hold controversial referendum on independence." *Congressional Research Service*, October 3, 2017. www.crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IN/IN10758.
- Blatter, Joachim, & Markus Haverland. *Designing case studies. Explanatory approaches in small-n research*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Boeke, Sergei. "Understanding Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2022.
- Boghani, Priyanka. "David Petraeus: ISIS's rise in Iraq isn't a surprise." *PBS*, July 29, 2014. www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/david-petraeus-isis-rise-in-iraq-isnt-a-surprise/.
- "Boko Haram." *Counter Terrorism Guide*. www.dni.gov/nctc/groups/boko_haram.html. Accessed October 14, 2022.
- Bousquet, Antoine. "Chaoplectic warfare or the future of military organization." *International Affairs* 84:5 (2008), 915-29. www.jstor.org/stable/25144928.
- Brehm, John, & Scott Gates. "Bureaucratic politics arising from, not defined by, a principal-agency dyad." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 25 (2015), 27-42. doi:10.1093/jopart/muu045.
- Bremmer, Ian. "The technopolar moment. How digital powers will reshape the global order." *Foreign Affairs* 100:6 (2021), 112-28. www.foreignaffairs.com/print/node/1127911.
- "Bringing down the towns temporarily as a method of operation for the mujahideen i." *Al-Naba* 179. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi, April 26, 2019. www.aymennjawad.org/2019/04/islamic-state-insurgent-tactics-translation.
- "Bringing down the towns temporarily as a method of operation for the mujahideen ii." *Al-Naba* 180. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi, May 17, 2019. www.aymennjawad.org/2019/05/islamic-state-insurgent-tactics-translation-1.
- "Bringing down the towns temporarily as a method of operation for the mujahideen iii." *Al-Naba* 181. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi, May 19, 2019. www.aymennjawad.org/2019/05/islamic-state-insurgent-tactics-translation-2.
- "Bringing down the towns temporarily as a method of operation for the mujahideen iv." *Al-Naba* 182. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi, May 19, 2019. www.aymennjawad.org/2019/05/islamic-state-insurgent-tactics-translation-3.
- Browsers, Michaelle. *Democracy and civil society in Arab political thought. Transcultural possibilities*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006.
- Brown, Jonathan. "The rise of the Kurdish gun market." *Al-Jazeera*, November 1, 2015. www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/10/rise-kurdish-gun-market-151007121649691.html.
- Brown, Seyom. *New forces in IR*. Washington D.C.: Brookings, 1974.
- Brown, Seyom. "Purposes and pitfalls of war by proxy. A systemic analysis." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 27:2 (2016), 243-57. doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2015.1134047.
- Brummer, Klaus. "Governmental politics in consensus democracies." *Global Society* 31:2 (2017), 272-92. doi: 10.1080/13600826.2016.1266995.
- Bull, Hedley. *The anarchical society. A study of order in World Politics* (4th edition). London: Bloomsbury, 2012.
- Bulut, Uzay. "Frontline Isis. The real story of Narin Afrini and the Kurdish female 'Lions' terrorising Islamic State." *International Business Times*, October 15, 2014. www.ibtimes.co.uk/frontline-isis-real-story-narin-afrini-kurdish-female-lions-terrorising-islamic-front-1470119.
- Burnes, Bernard. "Complexity theories and organizational change." *International Journal of Management Reviews* 7:2 (2005), 73-90. doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2370.2005.00107.x.

- Bustamante, Arturo. "U-form vs. m-form. How to understand decision autonomy under healthcare decentralization?" *International Journal of Health Policy Management* 5:9 (2016), 561-3. www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5010660/.
- Byrne, David, & Gill Callaghan. *Complexity theory and the social sciences. The state of the art*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Cafarella, Jennifer, & Theodore Bell. "Syria update. October 02-October 10, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, October 10, 2014. www.iswresearch.org/2014/10/syria-update-october-02-october-10-2014.html?m=0.
- Cafarella, Jennifer, & Valerie Szybala. "ISIS's second front in Syria." *Institute for the Study of War*, June 18, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/isis%e2%80%99s-second-front-syria.
- Cafarella, Jennifer, et al. "ISIS's second comeback. Assessing the next ISIS insurgency." Washington D.C.: *Institute for the Study of War*, 2019. www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep19572.1.
- Cafarella, Jennifer, et al. "Syria update. September 24-October 2, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, October 2, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/syria-update-september-24-october-2-2014.
- Calabretta, Giulia, et al. "The interplay between intuition and rationality in strategic decision making. A paradox perspective." *Organization Studies* 38:3-4 (2017), 365-401. doi: 10.1177/0170840616655483.
- "Call for reinforcements from Aleppo province to Anbar and Salah ad-Din provinces." *Islamic State*, April 27, 2015. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "Call for submission of complaints. Aleppo Province." *Islamic State*, December, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- Cammaert, Patrick, et al. "Rapport." *Commissie van onderzoek NLA-programma in Syrië*. December 2022. www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/rapporten/2022/12/09/rapport-commissie-van-onderzoek-nla-programma-syrie.
- Canna, Sarah, & Tom Rieger. "Multi-method assessment of ISIL in support of SOCCENT. Subject matter expert elicitation summary report (July-November 2014)." *SOCCENT*, January 2015. www.info.publicintelligence.net/soccent-isil-elicitation.pdf.
- Cantlie, John. "If I were the US president today..." *Dabiq* 5 (1436H [2014]), 36-9.
- Cantlie, John. "Hard talk. The real story behind my videos." *Dabiq* 4 (1435H [2014]), 52-5.
- "Captured senior ISIS commander Abdul Nasser Qardash: fanatics in ISIS had the upper hand; new leader not as resolute as al-Baghdadi." *Middle East Media Research Institute*, May 20, 2020. www.memri.org/tv/captured-senior-isis-official-nasser-qardash-fanatics-infiltrated-slaughter-900-men.
- Caris, Charles. "How does ISIS maintain control of large urban areas?" *Institute for the Study of War*, September 9, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/isis-control-methods.
- Carlino, Ludovico. "How Al-Qaeda and Islamic State differ in pursuit of common goal." *Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor*, March 23, 2015.
- Carmon, Yigal, et al. "Understanding Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and the phenomenon of the Islamic Caliphate State." *Middle East Media Research Institute*, September 14, 2014. www.memri.org/reports/understanding-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-and-phenomenon-islamic-caliphate-state.
- Carpenter, Daniel, & George Krause. "Transactional authority and bureaucratic politics." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 25 (2015), 5-25. doi: 10.1093/jopart/muu012.
- Carroll, Oliver. "Welcome to the People's Republic of Donetsk." *Foreign Policy*, April 18, 2014. www.foreignpolicy.com/2014/04/18/welcome-to-the-peoples-republic-of-donetsk/#.

- Caryl, Christian. "The world's next country." *Foreign Policy*, January 21, 2015. www.foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/21/the-worlds-next-country-kurdistan-kurds-iraq/.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik. "Blood for soil. The fatal temptations of ethnic politics." *Foreign Affairs* 98:2 (2019), 61-8. www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-02-12/blood-soil.
- Çelik, Feyyaz. "Foreign policy decision-making in operational overlap. The UK's policing assistance in Afghanistan through the EU and NATO." *European Security* 29:4 (2020), 456-82. doi: 10.1080/09662839.2020.1784143.
- Cetorelli, Valeria, *et al.* "ISIS' Yazidi genocide. Demographic evidence of the killings and kidnappings." *Foreign Affairs*, June 8, 2017. www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2017-06-08/isis-yazidi-genocide.
- Chandler, Sam. "Islamism and the 'clash of civilizations.'" *Blogs don't burn*, January 20, 2020. www.blogsdontburn.com/islamism-and-the-clash-of-civilisations/.
- Charara, Albert. "Why Kikuk matters. A Kirkuk-centric aproach to Iraqi election and the country's most immediate challenges." *Notes Internacionales* 197 (2018). www.cidob.org/es/publicaciones/serie_de_publicacion/notes_internacionales_cidob/n1_197/why_kirkuk_matters.
- Charbel, Ghassan. "We live in an age when small armies make large changes." Translated by Middle East Media Research Institute. *Al-Hayat*, November 12, 2014. www.memri.org/reports/al-hayat-editor-we-live-age-when-small-armies-make-large-changes.
- Charbel, Ghassan. "While the rest of the world is watching the world cup, we are watching the collapse of Iraq." Translated by Middle East Media Research Institute. *Al-Hayat*, June 13, 2014. www.memri.org/reports/al-hayat-editor-ghassan-charbel-while-rest-world-watching-world-cup-we-are-watching-collapse.
- Chatagnier, Tyson, *et al.* "The decision calculus of terrorist leaders." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6:4-5 (2012), 125-44. www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2012/issue-4/the-decision-calculus-of-terrorist-leaders--j.tyson-chatagnier-alex-mintz-and-yair-samban.pdf.
- Chernoff, Fred, *et al.* "Analytic eclecticism and International Relations. Promises and pitfalls." *International Journal* 75:3 (2020), 383-91. doi: 10.1177/0020702020959250.
- Cheterian, Vicken. "Turkey in 2017. A focus on the Kurdish question and military formations in Middle Eastern battlefields." In *The War Report. Armed conflicts in 2017*, 134-44. Edited by Annyssa Bellal. Geneva: Geneva Academy, 2017. www.geneva-academy.ch/joomlatools-files/docman-files/the%20war%20report%202017.pdf.
- Chigudu, Daniel. "Sectarianism and the ideology of the Islamic State (IS). Terrorism threat and policy issues." *Journal of Positive School Psychology* 6:9 (2022), 5,146-7. www.journalppw.com/index.php/jpsp/article/view/13585.
- Chuang, Yao-Li, *et al.* "Local alliances and rivalries shape near-repeat terror activity of al-Qaeda, ISIS, and insurgents." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116:42 (2019), 20.898-903. doi: 10.1073/pnas.1904418116.
- Cialdini, Robert. *Influence. The psychology of persuasion* (2021). Audiobook.
- "Clarifications about some of the works of the Maktab al-Buhuth wa al-Dirasat during two years." *Islamic State*, July 2, 2016. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/21833/the-islamic-state-research-office-self-history.
- Clausewitz, Carl von. *On war*. Translated by Michael Howard & Peter Paret. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976 [1834].

- Clemens, Walter. 'Complexity theory as a tool for understanding and coping with ethnic conflict and development issues in post-Soviet Eurasia.' *International Journal of Peace Studies* 7:2 (2002), 1-15. www.jstor.org/stable/41852883.
- "Co-operation between Baathists and jihadists in northern Iraq will probably expand support for Sunni insurgency." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, June 13, 2014.
- "Code of conduct." *ISIS information office – Nineveh governorate*, June 12, 2014. Translator unknown. www.memri.org/reports/code-conduct-issued-isis-nineveh-province-attempts-reassure-locals-while-enacting-sharia-law.
- Coggins, Bridget. "Rebel diplomacy. Theorizing violent non-state actors' strategic use of talk." In *Rebel governance in civil war*. Edited by Ana Arjona *et al.*, 98-118. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Cole, Brian. "Clausewitz's wondrous yet paradoxical trinity. The nature of war as a complex adaptive system." *Joint Force Quarterly* 96:1 (2020), 42-9. www.ndupress.ndu.edu/media/news/news-article-view/article/2076059/clausewitzs-wondrous-yet-paradoxical-trinity-the-nature-of-war-as-a-complex-ada/.
- Coles, Isabel. "Iraqi Kurdish PM fires four ministers after violent unrest: spokesman." *Reuters*, October 12, 2015. www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-kurds-politics-iduskcn0s61wm20151012.
- Coles, Isabel. "Kurds' battle for Kobani unites a people divided by borders." *Reuters*, October 31, 2014. www.reuters.com/article/uk-mideast-crisis-kurds-idukkbn0ik0d920141031.
- Coles, Isabel. "Rare bomb attack in Iraqi Kurdish capital kills six." *Reuters*, September 29, 2013. www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-kurds-explosion-idusbre98s06820130929.
- "Complex irregular warfare. The psychological component." *The Military Balance* 107:1 (2007), 415-20. doi: 10.1080/04597220601167856.
- "Conditions for travel outside Mosul." *Islamic State*, no date. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "Confidence in the future." *Invest in Group*, 2015. www.investingroup.org/exclusive-interview/187/.
- "Conflict barometer 2014." Heidelberg: *Institute for International Conflict Research*, 2015. www.hiik.de/conflict-barometer/bisherige-ausgaben/?lang=en.
- Connable, Ben. "Iraq picture may not be as bleak as it seems." *RAND*, January 31, 2014. www.rand.org/blog/2014/01/iraq-picture-may-not-be-as-bleak-as-it-seems.html.
- Constantinescu, Maria. "The national security strategy in the current environment. From DIME to a DIME-T approach." Conference paper, 2021, 20-5. www.sciendo.com/article/10.2478/kbo-2021-0004.
- "Convention on rights and duties of states adopted by the seventh international conference of American states. Signed at Montevideo, December 26th, 1933." *League of Nations*, 1936. treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/lon/volume%20165/v165.pdf.
- Cooper, Hayden. "Islamic State. Militants capture Kurd headquarters in Syria's Kobane. UN warns of massacre if Kobane falls." *ABC News*, October 10, 2014. www.abc.net.au/news/2014-10-10/is-fighters-capture-kurd-hq-in-kobane-says-monitor/5806312.
- Corum, James. "Air power in interagency operations." In *Routledge handbook of air power* (Royal Netherlands Air Force special edition). Edited by John Olsen, 215-25. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Crenshaw, Martha. "The psychology of terrorism. An agenda for the 21st century." *Political Psychology* 21:2 (2000), 405-20. doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00195.
- Crockatt, Richard. *The fifty years war. The United States and the Soviet Union in IR, 1941-1991*. London: Routledge, 1996.

- Daalder, Ivo, & James Lindsay. *Amerika ontketend. De Bush-revolutie in de buitenlandse politiek*. Translated by Moza Jakobs. Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 2003.
- Darwich, May. "Foreign policy analysis and armed non-state actors in IR. Lessons from the Middle East." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 17:4 (2021), 1-11. doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orab030.
- Davis, James. "Better than a bet. Good reasons for behavioral and rational choice assumptions in IR theory." *European Journal of International Relations* 29:2 (2023), 476-500. doi: 10.1177/13540661221137037.
- Dawson, Christopher. *Enquiries into religion and culture*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009.
- "Declaration of caliphate in Iraq and Syria likely to increase infighting between ISIL and other Sunni insurgents." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, June 30, 2014.
- "Denial of expelling Kurds from Ninawa province." *Islamic State*, July 25, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "Der Gelehrte, Anbeter, Prediger und Mudschahid Schaych Abu Ali al-Anbari. Karawane der Schuhada." *Rumiyah* 3 (1438H [2016]), 10-5.
- "Deteriorating security will jeopardise growing co-operation between Iraq's Nineveh province and the Kurdistan government over coming year." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, April 22, 2014.
- Dimitriu, George. "Clausewitz and the politics of war. A contemporary theory." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 43:5 (2020), 645-85. doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2018.1529567.
- Dimitriu, George, & Beatrice de Graaf. "Fighting the war at home. Strategic narratives, elite responsiveness, and the Dutch mission in Afghanistan, 2006-2010." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12:1 (2016), 2-23. doi.org/10.1111/fpa.12070.
- Dobbs, Michael. "Why we should still study the Cuban missile crisis." Washington D.C.: *United States Institute of Peace*, 2008. www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/sr205.pdf.
- Doces, John, & Amy Wolaver. "Are we all predictably irrational? An experimental analysis." *Political behavior* 43 (2021), 1,205-26. doi: 10.1007/s11109-019-09579-0.
- Dolnik, Adam. "Introduction. The need for field research on terrorism." In *Conducting terrorism field research. A guide*. Edited by Adam Dolnik, 1-11. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Domeier, Markus, et al. "Motivational reasons for biased decisions. The sunk cost effect's instrumental rationality." *Frontiers in psychology* 9 (2018). doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00815.
- "Early ruling imposed in Mosul." *Islamic State*, June 18, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- Elias, Barbara. "Local partners are not proxies. The case for rethinking proxy war." *Irregular Warfare Initiative*, April 20, 2023. www.irregularwarfare.org/articles/local-partners-are-not-proxies-the-case-for-rethinking-proxy-war/.
- Elkins, Caroline. "The merchant's Leviathan. How the East India Company made the modern world." *Foreign Affairs* 102:5 (2023), 211-8. www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/merchants-leviathan-east-india-company-empire-incorporated.
- Ero, Comfort, & Richard Atwood. "10 conflicts to watch in 2024." *International Crisis Group*, January 1, 2024. www.crisisgroup.org/global/10-conflicts-watch-2024.
- "Establishment of virtue and vice committee (Islamic Court) in Fallujah." *Islamic State*, January 15, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- Etheredge, Lloyd. "The case of the unreturned cafeteria trays." Washington D.C.: *American Political Science Association*, 1976. www.policyscience.net/ws/case.pdf.

- "European code of conduct for research integrity." Strasbourg: *European Science Foundation*, 2011. www.esf.org/fileadmin/user_upload/esf/code_conduct_researchintegrity_2011.pdf.
- "European code of conduct for research integrity (revised ed.)." Strasbourg: *European Science Foundation*, 2017. www.allea.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/allea-european-code-of-conduct-for-research-integrity-2017.pdf.
- Everts, Philip. *Laat dat maar aan ons over! Democratie, buitenlands beleid en vrede*. Leiden: DSWO, 1996.
- "Expulsion of an official from the Islamic State." *Islamic State*, June 5, 2015. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-document.
- Eyal, Jonathan. "Introduction. ISIS – borne of the Middle East's unresolved problems." In *Inherently unresolved. Regional politics and the counter-ISIS campaign*. Edited by Jonathan Eyal & Elizabeth Quintana, 1-9. London: RUSI, 2015.
- Eyal, Jonathan, & Elizabeth Quintana. "Editor's notes." In *Inherently unresolved. Regional politics and the counter-ISIS campaign*. Edited by Jonathan Eyal & Elizabeth Quintana, v-vi. London: RUSI, 2015.
- Ezrow, Natasha. *Global politics and violent non-state actors*. London: Sage, 2017.
- "Falah Mustafa Bakir." *University of Kurdistan*. www.ukh.edu.krd/faculty/falah-mustafa-bakir/. Accessed July 16, 2023.
- Falkowski, Maciej, & Józef Lang. "Homo jihadicus. Islam in the former USSR and the phenomemon of post-Soviet militants in Syria and Iraq." Warsaw: *Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich*, 2015. www.aei.pitt.edu/69197/1/homojihadicus.pdf.
- "Fatwa on eating meats imported from Turkey." *Islamic State*, July 20, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "Fatwa on playing billiards." *Islamic State*, November 25, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "Fatwa on playing table football." *Islamic State*, November 25, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- Feynman, Richard. "The pleasure of finding things out." In *The pleasure of finding things out. The best short works of Richard P. Feynman*. Edited by Jeffrey Robbins, 1-26. Cambridge, MA: Helix, 1999.
- "Fighting alongside FSA factions." *Islamic State*, no date. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/17879/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-fatwas-on.
- Filkins, Dexter. "The fight of their lives." *The New Yorker*, September 22, 2014. www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/09/29/fight-lives.
- Fishman, Brian. *The master plan. ISIS, al-Qaeda, and the Jihadi strategy for final victory*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Fisk, Robert. *The great war for civilisation. The conquest of the Middle East*. London: Harper Collins, 2005.
- Fliervoet, Feike. "Fighting for Kurdistan? Assessing the nature and functions of the Peshmerga in Iraq." The Hague: *Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael*, 2018. www.clingendael.org/pub/2018/fighting-for-kurdistan/.
- Flood, Derek. "Breaking down borders. The Islamic State's campaign to redraw the boundaries of the Levant." *Jane's Terrorism and Security Monitor*, August 28, 2014.
- Flood, Derek. "Victory at any cost. Symbolism transcends strategy in battle for Kobanê." *Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor*, October 17, 2014.

- Florea, Adrian. "Rebel governance in de facto states." *European Journal of International Relations* 26:4 (2020), 1,004-31. doi: 10.1177/1354066120919481.
- "Following capture of Mosul, ISIS launches 'March on Baghdad' campaign." *ISIS Twitter*, June 12, 2014. Translator unknown. www.memri.org/reports/following-capture-mosul-isis-launches-march-baghdad-campaign.
- "Foreword." *Dabiq* 3 (1435H [2014]), 3-4.
- "Foreword." *Dabiq* 8 (1436H [2015]), 3-6.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline, toezicht en straf. De geboorte van de gevangenis*. Translated by Vertalerscollectief. Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 1989.
- Freedman, Lawrence. *Command. The politics of military operations from Korea to Ukraine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Freedman, Lawrence. "Introduction. The evolution of deterrence strategy and research." In *Netherlands annual review of military studies 2020. Deterrence in the 21st century – insights from theory and practice*. Edited by Frans Osinga & Tim Sweijis, 1-10. The Hague: Asser Press, 2021.
- Freedman, Lawrence. "Kyiv and Moscow are fighting two different wars. What the war in Ukraine has revealed about contemporary conflict." *Foreign Affairs*, February 17, 2023. www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/kyiv-and-moscow-are-fighting-two-different-wars.
- Freedman, Lawrence. *Strategy. A history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Freedman, Lawrence. *The future of war. A history*. London: Allen Lane, 2017.
- "From hijrah to khilafa." *Dabiq* 1 (1435H [2014]), 34-40.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *Het einde van de geschiedenis en de laatste mens*. Translated by Anna Kapteyns-Bacuna et al. Amsterdam: Olympus, 1992.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *Identity. Contemporary identity politics and the struggle for recognition*. London: Profile, 2018.
- Gaddis, John. *Over strategisch denken. Een masterclass over Herodotus, Sun Tzu, Von Clausewitz, Machiavelli en andere grote strategen*. Translated by Willem van Paassen. Amsterdam: Hollands Diep, 2022.
- Gagné, André. "Understanding ISIS' 'foreign' jihadist strategy." *Open Canada*, June 17, 2016. www.opencanada.org/understanding-isis-foreign-jihadist-strategy/.
- "Gaining ground. ISIL seizes key territory in offensive across northern Iraq." *Jane's Terrorism and Security Monitor*, June 11, 2014.
- Gani, Jasmine. "From discourse to practice. Orientalism, Western policy and the Arab uprisings." *International Affairs* 98:1 (2022), 45-65. doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab229.
- Gardner, David. "ISIS. Armed and dangerous." *Financial Times*, August 14, 2014. www.ft.com/cms/s/2/b7f9f982-22fb-11e4-8dae-00144feabdc0.html#axzz4k20egl4c.
- Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed, & Thomas Joscelyn. *Enemies near & far. How jihadist groups strategize, plot, and learn*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2022.
- Gat, Azar. *The origins of military thought. From the Enlightenment to Clausewitz*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- "General notification. Ban on GPS and Apple devices." *Islamic State*, December 14, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- Genschel, Philipp, & Bernhard Zangl. "L'état et l'exercice de l'autorité politique. Dénationalisation et administration." *Revue française de sociologie* 52:3 (2011) 509-35. www.cairn.info/revue-francaise-de-sociologie-1-2011-3-page-509.htm&wt.src=pdf.

- George, Alexander, & Andrew Bennett. *Case studies and theory development in the social sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005.
- Gerges, Fawaz. *ISIS. A history*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Gerner, Deborah. "The evolution of the study of foreign policy." In *Foreign Policy Analysis. Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*. Edited by Laura Neack *et al.*, 17-32. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- Gilad, Sharon, *et al.* "Bureaucratic politics and the translation of movement agendas." *Governance* 32 (2018), 369-85. doi: 10.1111/gove.12383.
- Ghadhawi, Abdullah al. "'Revenge for the two sheikhs.' ISIS renews itself in the Syrian desert." *New Lines Institute*, August 8, 2022. www.newlinesinstitute.org/isis/revenge-for-the-two-sheikhs-isis-renews-itself-in-the-syrian-desert/.
- Gladwell, Malcolm. *What the dog saw. And other adventures*. New York: Back Bay Books, 2009.
- Goldstein, Joshua. *International Relations* (3rd edition). New York: Longman, 1999.
- Google Trends. [www.trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=2014-01-01 2014-12-31&q=ISIS Kurds&hl=nl](http://www.trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=2014-01-01%2014-12-31&q=ISIS%20Kurds&hl=nl). Accessed February 8, 2020.
- Goudsouzian, Tanya. "Kobane explained. What's so special about it?" *Al-Jazeera*, October 21, 2014. www.aljazeera.com/news/2014/10/21/kobane-explained-whats-so-special-about-it/.
- Goudsouzian, Tanya, & Lara Fatah, "Fall of Mosul. What's at stake for the Kurds?" *Al-Jazeera*, June 12, 2014. www.aljazeera.com/news/2014/6/12/fall-of-mosul-whats-at-stake-for-the-kurds.
- "Government formation likely to drag for months despite election of new Iraqi parliamentary speaker." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, July 16, 2014.
- Graaf, Beatrice de. "Terrorists as monsters. The unmanageable other from the French Revolution to the Islamic State." *Perspectives on Politics* 19:2 (2021), 692-3. doi.org/10.1017/S1537592721000670.
- Graaf, Beatrice de, & Saskia Pothoven. "De Islamitische inlichtingenstaat. De Stasi als leermeester?" *Militaire Spectator* 187:9 (2018), 452-65. www.militairespectator.nl/artikelen/de-islamitische-inlichtingenstaat.
- Graaf, Beatrice de, & Ahmet Yayla. "The ISIS files – Policing as rebel governance. The Islamic State police." Washington D.C.: *George Washington University Program on Extremism*, 2021. www.extremism.gwu.edu/isis-files-policing-rebel-governance-islamic-state-police.
- Grant, Rebecca. "The siege of Kobani." *Air Force Magazine*, August 29, 2018. www.airforcemag.com/article/the-siege-of-kobani/.
- Gray, Colin. *Modern strategy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Grdovic, Mark. "Untangling the Gordian knot that is irregular warfare." *Small Wars Journal*, February 9, 2023. www.smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/untangling-gordian-knot-irregular-warfare.
- Gruber, Verena. "Revisiting civil-military relations theory. A case of the Kurdish Regional Government of Iraq." MA thesis, Lund University, 2015. www.academia.edu/11961201/revisiting_civil_military_relations_theory_a_case_of_the_kurdish_regional_government_of_iraq?auto=download.
- Guilhot, Nicolas. "The Kuhnian of reason. Realism, rationalism, and political decision in IR theory after Thomas Kuhn." *Review of International Studies* 42:1 (2015), 3-24. doi.org/10.1017/S0260210515000054.
- Gunes, Cengiz. "The IS factor. The Kurds as a vanguard in the war on the caliphate." In *Kurdistan. An invisible nation*. Edited by Stefano Torelli, 71-90. Milan: ISPI, 2016. www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/kurdistan-invisible-nation-15350.
- Gunter, Michael. "Iraq, Syria, ISIS and the Kurds. Geostrategic concerns for the U.S. and Turkey." *Middle East Policy* 22:1 (2015), 102-11. doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12116.

- Gunter, Michael. "The foreign policy of the Iraqi Kurds." *Journal of South Asia and Middle Eastern Studies* xx:3 (1997), 1-19. www.proquest.com/openview/3d51d6a0a1fb7a879df0a63ef2747aac/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=1817158.
- Gunter, Michael. "The Kurds in the changing political map of the Middle East." *Kurdish Studies* 3:1 (2015), 64-81. www.kurdishstudies.net/journal/ks/article/view/392/385.
- Guofano, Gennaro. "U vs m-form organization." *FourweekMBA*, August 12, 2022. www.fourweekmba.com/u-vs-m-form-organizational-structure/.
- Gurr, Ted. "Ethnic warfare on the wane." *Foreign Affairs* 79:3 (2000), 52-63. www.foreignaffairs.com/world/ethnic-warfare-wane.
- Gurr, Ted. *Why men rebel* (40th anniversary edition). Boulder: Paradigm, 2011.
- "H.E. Falah Mustafa Bakir, former Minister and Head of Department of Foreign Relations (DFR) Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG)." *Department of Foreign Relations – Kurdistan Regional Government*, September 6, 2020. archive.gov.krd/dfr/dfr.gov.krd/p/p0cca.html?p=311&l=12&r=364.
- Hadad, Hamzeh, & Brandon Wallace, "The Iraqi Kurdish security apparatus. Vulnerability and structure." *Small Wars Journal*, September 29, 2017. www.smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-iraqi-kurdish-security-apparatus-vulnerability-and-structure.
- Haddad, Fanar, et al. "The politics of identity and sectarianism." In *The political science of the Middle East*. Edited by Marc Lynch et al., 182-205. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. doi: 10.1093/oso/9780197640043.003.0008.
- Hadid, Diaa. "Iraqi Kurds dig frontier around disputed areas." *The Times of Israel*, July 2, 2014. www.timesofisrael.com/iraqi-kurds-dig-frontier-around-disputed-areas/.
- Hadid, Diaa, & Emad Matti. "How the Kurds seized Kirkuk." *Real Clear Defense*, June 13, 2014. www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2014/06/14/how_the_kurds_seized_kirkuk_107273.html.
- Hagan, Joe. "Domestic political explanations in the analysis of foreign policy." In *Foreign policy analysis. Continuity and change in its second generation*. Edited by Laura Neack et al., 117-43. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- Halliday, Fred. *The Middle East in international relations. Power, politics and ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Hammes, Thomas. *The sling and the stone. On war in the 21st century*. Saint Paul: Zenith Press, 2006.
- Hammes, Thomas. "War evolves into the fourth generation." In *Global insurgency and the future of armed conflict. Debating fourth generation warfare*. Edited by Aaron Karp et al., 21-45. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Hanbalī, Ibn Rajab al. "My provision was placed for me in the shade of my spear." *Dabiq* 4 (1435H [2014]), 10-3.
- Handel, Michael. *Masters of war. Classical strategic thought* (3rd revised edition). London: Frank Cass, 2001.
- Haney, Patrick. "Structure and process in the analysis of foreign policy crises." In *Foreign policy analysis. Continuity and change in its second generation*. Edited by Laura Neack et al., 99-115. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- Harbom, Lotta, & Peter Wallensteen. "Armed conflicts, 1946-2008." *Journal of Peace Research* 46:4 (2009), 577-87. www.journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0022343309339112.
- Harff, Barbara, & Ted Gurr. *Ethnic conflict in IR*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2004.
- Harris, Winston. "Chaos in Iraq. Are the Kurds truly set to win?" *Small Wars Journal*, August 28, 2014. www.smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/chaos-in-iraq-are-the-kurds-truly-set-to-win.

- Hart, Paul 't, & Uri Rosenthal. "Reappraising bureaucratic politics." *Mershon International Studies Review* 42:2 (1998), 233-40. www.jstor.org/stable/254415.
- Hashim, Ahmed. *The caliphate at war. Operational realities and innovations of the Islamic State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Hashim, Ahmed. "The Iraqi insurgency, 2003-2006." In *War in Iraq. Planning and execution*. Edited by Thomas Mahnken & Thomas Keaney, 147-62. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Hashimi, Husham al. "ISIS 2020. New structures and leaders in Iraq revealed." *New Lines Institute*, May 19, 2020. www.newlinesinstitute.org/nonstate-actors/isis-2020-new-structures-and-leaders-in-iraq-revealed/.
- Hassan, Hassan. "ISIS has reached new depths of depravity. But there is a brutal logic behind it." *The Guardian*, February 8, 2015. www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/08/isis-islamic-state-ideology-sharia-syria-iraq-jordan-pilot.
- Hassan, Hassan. "More than ISIS, Iraq's Sunni insurgency." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, June 17, 2014. www.carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=55930&lang=en.
- Hassan, Hassan. "Out of the desert. ISIS's strategy for a long war." *Middle East Institute*, September 6, 2018. www.mei.edu/publications/out-desert-ississ-strategy-long-war.
- Haun, Phil. "Air power in the age of primacy. Air warfare since the Cold War." In *Air power in the age of primacy. Air warfare since the Cold War*. Edited by Phil Haun et al., 1-25. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Hauser, Christine. "Iraq. Maliki demands that protesters stand down." *NY Times*, January 3, 2013. www.nytimes.com/2013/01/03/world/middleeast/iraq-maliki-demands-that-protesters-stand-down.html?_r=0.
- Hawramy, Fazel. "Kurdish peshmerga seize a chaotic victory in Kirkuk." *The Guardian*, June 12, 2014. www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/12/kurdish-peshmerga-kirkuk-iraq-maliki.
- Hazbun, Waleed. "A history of insecurity. From the Arab Uprisings tot ISIS." *Middle East Policy* xxii:3 (2015), 55-65. www.mepc.org/journal/history-insecurity-arab-uprisings-isis.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. "Jihadi salafis or revolutionaries? On religion and politics in the study of militant Islamism." In *Global salafism. Islam's new religious movement*. Edited by Roel Meijer, 244-66. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199333431.001.0001.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. "Resistance is futile. The war on terror supercharged state power." *Foreign Affairs* 100:5 (2021), 44-52. www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2021-08-24/resistance-futile.
- Heide, Liesbeth van der. "A group affair. Understanding terrorism involvement in Mali." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2022.
- Hermann, Charles. "Reflections on foreign policy theory building." In *Foreign policy analysis. Continuity and change in its second generation*. Edited by Laura Neack et al., 243-54. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- Heuser, Beatrice. *The evolution of strategy. Thinking war from antiquity to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Heuser, Beatrice. *War. A genealogy of Western ideas and practices*. Oxford: Oxford Academic, 2022.
- Heuser, Beatrice, & Isabelle Duyvesteyn. "Grand patterns of strategy. Old and new." In *The practice of strategy. A global history*. Edited by Jeremy Black, 19-36. Società Italiana di Storia Militare, 2024.
- Heuser, Beatrice, & Jeannie Johnson. "Introduction. National styles and strategic culture." In *Insurgencies and counterinsurgencies. National styles and strategic cultures*. Edited by Beatrice Heuser & Eitan Shamir, 1-22. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

- Heuser, Beatrice, & Eitan Shamir. "Universal toolbox, national styles or divergence of civilisations?" In *insurgencies and counterinsurgencies. National styles and strategic cultures*. Edited by Beatrice Heuser & Eitan Shamir, 332-70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Hevian, Rodi. "The resurrection of Syrian Kurdish politics." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 17:3 (2013), 46-56. www.ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/journals/meria/v17i3/f_0030055_24316.pdf.
- Hevidar, Ahmed. "Senior Kurdistan official. IS was at Erbil's gates; Turkey did not help." *Rûdaw*, September 16, 2014. www.rudaw.net/english/interview/16092014.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond. "Foreign policy in the Middle East." In *The foreign policies of Middle East states* (2nd edition). Edited by Raymond Hinnebusch & Anoushiravan Ehteshami, 1-34. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2014.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond. "The politics of identity in Middle East international relations." In *International relations of the Middle East* (4th edition). Edited by Louise Fawcett, 155-75. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond, & Anoushiravan Ehteshami. "Foreign policy making in the Middle East. Complex realism." In *International relations of the Middle East* (4th edition). Edited by Louise Fawcett, 239-58. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Ho, Carmen. "Benevolent policies. Bureaucratic politics and the international dimensions of social policy expansion." *American Political Science Review* 116:2 (2022). 615-30. doi: 10.1017/S0003055421000927.
- Hofmann, Claudia, & Ulrich Schneekener. "Engaging non-state armed actors in state- and peace-building. Options and strategies." *International Review of the Red Cross* 93:883 (2011), 603-21. www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/review/2011/irrc-883-hofmann-schneekener.pdf.
- Hofmann, Stephanie, & Andrew Yeo. "Historical institutionalism and institutional design. Divergent pathways to regime complexes in Asia and Europe." *European Journal of International Relations* 30:2 (2023), 306-32. doi: 10.1177/1354066123117071.
- Hokayem, Emil. *Syria's uprising and the fracturing of the Levant*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Holland, John. *Complexity. A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Howard, Michael. "The forgotten dimensions of strategy." *Foreign Affairs* 57:5 (1979), 975-86. www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1979-06-01/forgotten-dimensions-strategy.
- Hudson, David. "President Obama makes a statement on the crisis in Iraq." *The White House – President Barack Obama*, August 7, 2014. www.obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2014/08/07/president-obama-makes-statement-iraq.
- Hughes, Thomas. "Deliberate Force. Ambivalent success." In *Air power in the age of primacy. Air warfare since the Cold War*. Edited by Phil Haun *et al.*, 54-75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Huntington, Samuel. *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Shuster, 1996.
- Hussein, Fuad, & Falah Bakir. "Iraq's crisis and the KRG." *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, July 11, 2014. www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/iraqs-crisis-and-krq.
- "Image of Osama bin Laden." No date. [cdn.vox-cdn.com/thumbor/b7_q8xrlxa2vwchxqkhz1ioifnw=/240x0:2760x1890/1200x800/filters:focal\(240x0:2760x1890\)/cdn.vox-cdn.com/uploads/chorus_image/image/46529370/1374485.0.0.jpg](http://cdn.vox-cdn.com/thumbor/b7_q8xrlxa2vwchxqkhz1ioifnw=/240x0:2760x1890/1200x800/filters:focal(240x0:2760x1890)/cdn.vox-cdn.com/uploads/chorus_image/image/46529370/1374485.0.0.jpg).
- "Imamah is from the millah of Ibrahim." *Dabiq* 1 (1435H [2014]), 20-9.
- "Increasing involvement of regional players in sectarian fighting raises risk of Iraqi civil war." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, June 17, 2014.

- "In the hospitality of Amir al-Mu'mineen." *Al-Furqan Media Foundation*, April 29, 2019. Translated by Halummu. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2019/05/10/the-reappearance-of-the-caliph/.
- "In the words of the enemy." *Dabiq* 7 (1436H [2015]), 52-3.
- "Indeed your lord is ever watchful." *Dabiq* 4 (1435H [2014]), 6-9.
- Ingram, Haroro. "Islamic State's English-language magazines, 2014-2017. Trends & implications for CT-CVE strategic communications." The Hague: *International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague*, 2018. www.icct.nl/app/uploads/2018/03/icct-ingram-islamic-state-english-language-magazines-march2018.pdf.
- Ingram, Haroro, et al. *The ISIS reader. Milestone texts of the Islamic State movement*. London: Hurst, 2020.
- Ingram, Haroro, et al. "The Islamic State's global insurgency and its counterstrategy implications." The Hague: *International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague*, 2020. www.icct.nl/app/uploads/2020/11/special-edition-2-2.pdf.
- "Interview with YPJ commander in Kobanê. Kobanê will not fall." *The Rojava Report*, October 9, 2014. www.wp.me/p3PH6l-p5.
- "Invitation to repentance. Euphrates province." *Islamic State*, January 8, 2015. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "Iraq and Syria increasingly becoming one battlefield, with foreign arms heightening risk of prolonged conflict." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, June 27, 2014.
- "Iraq-based jihadist group consolidates position in central Syria and moves to extend control along Iraqi-Syrian border." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, April 14, 2014.
- "Iraq. Fixing security in Kirkuk." Brussels: *International Crisis Group*, 2020. www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/215-iraq-fixing-security-kirkuk.
- "Iraqi forces, tribesmen battle Qaeda-linked militants." *Daily Star*, January 2, 2014. www.dailystar.com.lb/news/middle-east/2014/jan-02/242879-qaeda-linked-militants-control-half-of-iraqs-fallujah-security.ashx#axzz2ona3sbr8.
- "Iraqi government challenges arms shipments to Kurdish forces, complicating foreign military intervention against Islamic State." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, August 18, 2014.
- "Iraqi Kurdish regional government's territorial control set to boost oil export autonomy, Turkish support likely to increase." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, June 16, 2014.
- "Iraqi-Kurdistan. Does the Kurdistan Regional Government have a foreign policy?" Hamburg: *GRIN Verlag*, 2014.
- "Iraqi Kurdistan. IDPs now number 2 million." *UNPO*, June 1, 2015. www.unpo.org/article/18260.
- "Iraqi Kurds battle Sunni fighters in Kirkuk." *Al-Jazeera*, June 18, 2014. www.aljazeera.com/news/2014/6/18/iraqi-kurds-battle-sunni-fighters-in-kirkuk.
- "Iraqi Kurds 'fully control Kirkuk' as army flees." *BBC*, June 12, 2014. www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27809051.
- "Iraqi PM's insistence on running for third term and Kurdish calls for independence will delay government formation." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, July 7, 2014.
- "Iraqi prime minister's re-election highly likely to increase sectarian killings in centre and north." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, April 30, 2014.
- "Iraq. ISIL says Omar al-Shishani killed in air strike." *Al-Jazeera*, July 14, 2016. www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/7/14/iraq-isil-says-omar-al-shishani-killed-in-air-strike.

- "Iraq's Fallujah falls to 'Qaeda-linked' militants." *Daily Star*. January 4, 2014. www.dailystar.com.lb/news/middle-east/2014/jan-04/243100-fallujah-outside-iraq-government-control-security-official-ashx.
- "Iraq situation report. August 4, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, August 4, 2014. www.iswresearch.org/2014/08/iraq-situation-report-august-4-2014.html.
- "Iraq's new government lacks meaningful Sunni participation, but a compromise with the Kurds is more likely." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, September 9, 2014.
- "Irjā', the most dangerous bid'ah." *Dabiq* 8 (1436H [2015]), 39-56.
- "ISIS announces conquest of Mosul, acknowledges death of senior leader." *ISIS Twitter*, June 11, 2014. Translator unknown. www.memri.org/jttm/isis-announces-conquest-mosul-acknowledges-death-senior-leader.
- "ISIS celebrates takeover of Nineveh province, says the 'Sykes-Picot borders' have been removed." *ISIS Twitter*, June 10, 2014. Translator unknown. www.memri.org/reports/isis-celebrates-takeover-nineveh-province-says-sykes-picot-borders-have-been-removed.
- "ISIS sends Chechen commander to Kobane." *Rûdaw*, October 26, 2014. www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/syria/261020141.
- "ISIS spokesman: the real battle will be in Baghdad." *ISIS Twitter*, June 11, 2014. Translator unknown. www.memri.org/reports/isis-spokesman-real-battle-will-be-baghdad.
- "Islamic State ascendant. Iraq struggles to tackle the proto-state." *Jane's Terrorism and Security Monitor*, August 12, 2014.
- "Islamic State-Jabhat al-Nusra divergences are unlikely to be mended despite calls for truce." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, October 8, 2014.
- "Islamic State liberates the city of Mosul." *Islamic State Report* 3 (1435H [2014]).
- "Islamic State militants execute 220 Sunni tribal militiamen in Iraq's Anbar." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, October 31, 2014.
- "Islamic State news." *Dabiq* 1 (1435H [2014]), 42-9.
- "Islamic State news." *Dabiq* 2 (1435H [2014]), 33-42.
- "Islamic State reports." *Dabiq* 1 (1435H [2014]), 12-5.
- "Islamic State reports." *Dabiq* 2 (1435H [2014]), 12-19.
- "Islamic State reports." *Dabiq* 3 (1435H [2014]), 12-24.
- "Islamic State reports." *Dabiq* 4 (1435H [2014]), 18-31.
- "Islamic State reports." *Dabiq* 5 (1436H [2014]), 10-9.
- "Islamic State reports." *Dabiq* 6 (1436H [2014]), 26-39.
- "Islamic State reports." *Dabiq* 7 (1436H [2015]), 30-43.
- "Islamic State reports." *Dabiq* 8 (1436H [2015]), 14-27.
- "Islamic State's advance towards Kurdish-Iraqi border heightens risk of isolated attacks within Kurdistan Region." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, August 4, 2014.
- "Islamic State. Turkey to let Iraq Kurds join Kobane fight." *BBC*, October 20, 2014. www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29685830.
- "Islam is the religion of the sword not pacifism." *Dabiq* 7 (1436H [2015]), 20-4.
- Ismaeel, Bashdar. "Kobane, transforming the regional dynamic." *Kurdish Globe*, November 3, 2014. www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/kobane-transforming-regional-dynamic/.

- "ISW covers al-Qaeda in Iraq. Stand-off underway in Fallujah and Ramadi." *Institute for the Study of War*, January 6, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/isw-covers-al-qaeda-iraq-stand-underway-fallujah-and-ramadi.
- Ito, Ryuta. "Hubris balancing. Classical realism, self-deception and Putin's war against Ukraine." *International Affairs* 99:5 (2023), 2,037-55. doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiad180.
- Jackson, Paul. "Warlords as alternative forms of governance." *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 14:2 (2003), 131-50. www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09592310412331300716?journalcode=fswi20.
- Jenkins, Brian. "International terrorism." In *The use of force* (5th edition). Edited by Robert Art & Kenneth Waltz, 70-7. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.
- Jenkins, Brian. "ISIS's calculated barbarity." *RAND*, February 10, 2015. www.rand.org/blog/2015/02/isiss-calculated-barbarity.html.
- Johnson, Robert, & James Kitchen. "Introduction. The Great War in the Middle East. The clash of empires and global war." In *The Great War in the Middle East. A clash of empires*. Edited by Robert Johnson & James Kitchen, 1-28. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.
- "Joint Doctrine Note 1-18 – Strategy." *United States Joint Chiefs of Staff*, April 25, 2018. www.jcs.mil/portals/36/documents/doctrine/jdn_jg/jdn1_18.pdf.
- Jones, David, & M.L.R. Smith. "Return to reason. Reviving political realism in Western foreign policy." *International Affairs* 91:5 (2015), 933-52. doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12391.
- Jones, David, & M.L.R. Smith. "The strategy of savagery. Understanding the Islamic State." *War on the rocks*, February 24, 2015. warontherocks.com/2015/02/the-strategy-of-savagery-explaining-the-islamic-state/.
- Jones, David, & M.L.R. Smith. "The strategy of the mind. Maoism and culture war in the west." *Military Strategy Magazine* 8:1 (2022), 4-10. www.militarystrategymagazine.com/article/the-strategy-of-the-mind-maoism-and-culture-war-in-the-west/.
- Jong, Jurriën de, et al. *Waterloo. 200 jaar strijd*. Amsterdam: Boom, 2015.
- Jongerden, Joost. "Governing Kurdistan. Self-administration in the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq and the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria." *Ethnopolitics* 18:1 (2019), 61-75. www.geneva-academy.ch/joomlatools-files/docman-files/the%20war%20report%202017.pdf.
- Jordan, David. "Concepts and characteristics of air and space warfare." In *Understanding modern warfare* (2nd edition). David Jordan et al., 227-49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Joscelyn, Thomas. "Ansar al Islam claims attacks against Iraqi military, police." *Long War Journal*, June 20, 2014. www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/06/_operating_in_iraq_w.php.
- Joscelyn, Thomas. "The Islamic State's curious cover story." *Long War Journal*, January 5, 2015. www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/01/al_qaeda_defector_fe.php.
- Josselin, Daphné, & William Wallace. "Non-state actors in IR. A framework." In *Non-state actors in IR*. Edited by Daphné Josselin & William Wallace, 1-20. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- "JTIC yearly data shows intensification of key insurgencies across 2014." *Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor*, January 20, 2015.
- Juneau, Thomas, et al. "Neoclassical realism. Domestic politics, systemic pressures, and the impact on foreign policy since the Arab Spring." In *Routledge handbook of International Relations in the Middle East*. Edited by Shahram Akbarzadeh, 8-22. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.
- Kadercan, Burak. "This is what ISIS' rise means for the 'Kurdish question.'" *The National Interest*, September 9, 2015. www.nationalinterest.org/print/feature/what-isis-rise-means-the-kurdish-question%e2%80%9d-13798.

- Kahneman, Daniel. *Ons feilbare denken*. Translated by Peter van Huizen & Jonas de Vries. Amsterdam: Business Contact, 2011.
- Kahneman, Daniel, et al. *Noise. A flaw in human judgement* (2021). Audiobook.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. *The logic of violence in civil war*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. "The ontology of 'political violence.' Action and identity in civil wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1:3 (2003), 475-94. doi:10.1017/S1537592703000355.
- Kaplan, Robert. *De wraak van de geografie. Wat de wereldkaart ons voorspelt over komende conflicten en het gevecht tegen het onvermijdelijke*. Translated by Margreet de Boer. Houten: Het spectrum, 2012.
- Karouny, Mariam, & Omer Berberoglu. "Heavy fighting in Kobani after Peshmerga join battle." *Huffington Post*, 2014. www.huffpost.com/entry/kobani-peshmerga-fighting_n_6089284.
- Keegan, John. *A history of warfare*. London: Pimlico, 1994.
- Keegan, John. *The face of battle*. London: Pimlico, 1991.
- Keegan, John. *The mask of command*. London: Pimlico, 1999.
- Kennedy, Paul. *The rise and fall of the great powers*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1988.
- Kenney, Michael. "'Learning from the 'dark side.' Identifying, accessing and interviewing illicit non-state actors." In *Conducting terrorism field research. A guide*. Edited by Adam Dolnik, 26-45. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Kepel, Gilles. *Fitna. Oorlog in het hart van de islam*. Translated by Frans de Haan. Amsterdam: Contact, 2005.
- Khalil, Ezeldeen. "Partners to foes. Al-Qaeda-ISIL split worsens civil conflict in Syria." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, May 29, 2014.
- "Khilafah declared." *Dabiq* 1 (1435H [2014]), 6-11.
- Khomko, Konstantin. "A nation needs more than a DIME." *Central Blue*, March 24, 2019. www.centralblue.williamsfoundation.org.au/a-nation-needs-more-thana-dime- konstantin-khomko/.
- Kilcullen, David. *Counterinsurgency*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Kinānī, Abū 'Amr al. "It's either the Islamic State or the flood." *Dabiq* 2 (1435H [2014]), 8-11.
- Kiras, James. "Current irregular warfare." In *Understanding modern warfare* (2nd edition). David Jordan et al., 344-75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Kiras, James. "Key concepts and terms of irregular warfare." In *Understanding modern warfare* (2nd edition). David Jordan et al., 301-18. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Kiras, James. "The historical practice of irregular warfare." In *Understanding modern warfare* (2nd edition). David Jordan et al., 319-43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Kirschner, Shanna. *Trust and fear in civil war. Ending intrastate conflicts*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015.
- Kissinger, Henry. *Diplomacy*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994.
- Kissinger, Henry. *Wereldorde*. Translated by Huub Stegeman. Amsterdam: Spectrum, 2015.
- Kizilkaya, Zafer. "Hizbullah's moral justification of its military intervention in the Syrian Civil War." *The Middle East Journal* 71:2 (2017), 211-28. www.jstor.org/stable/90016316.
- Klandermans, Bert. "The social construction of protest and multiorganizational fields." In *Frontiers in social movement theory*. Edited by Aldon Morris & Carol McClurg Mueller, 77-103. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Knight, Michael. "Conducting field research on terrorism in Iraq." In *Conducting terrorism field research. A guide*. Edited by Adam Dolnik, 103-23. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.

- Knights, Michael, & Alexandre Mello. "The cult of the offensive. The Islamic State on defense." *CTC Sentinel* 8:4 (2015), 1-7. www.ctc.westpoint.edu/the-cult-of-the-offensive-the-islamic-state-on-defense/.
- Krasner, Stephen. "Are bureaucracies important? (or Allison wonderland)." *Foreign Policy* 7 (1972), 159-79. doi.org/10.2307/1147761.
- Kreutz, Joakim. "Violence and civil society in southeast Asia." In *Routledge handbook of civil and uncivil society in southeast Asia*. Edited by Eva Hansson & Meredith Weiss, 190-201. London: Routledge, 2023.
- "KRG-Baghdad oil deal reduces non-payment and fragmentation risks in Iraq but faces high risk of non-implementation." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, December 4, 2014.
- "KRG blocks dam over budget dispute with Iraq, but agreement remains likely." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, March 3, 2014.
- "KRG consolidation of disputed territories likely to prompt reprisals from central Iraqi government." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, July 14, 2014.
- "KRG: no foreign offices will be closed." *Rûdaw*, August 9, 2016. www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/090820168.
- "KRG's fiscal dependency on central Iraqi government ensures support for a Maliki government after April parliamentary election." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, February 24, 2014.
- Kubáľková, Vendulka. "What constructivism?" In *Routledge handbook of international relations in the Middle East*. Edited by Shahram Akbarzadeh, 23-45. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.
- Kulaksiz, Sibel, *et al.* "Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Economic and social impact assessment of the Syrian conflict and ISIS crisis." Washington D.C.: *World Bank*, 2015. www.openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/21597/940320krg0econ0box0385416b00public0.pdf?sequence=1&isallowed=y.
- "Kurdish language shar'i session, Raqqa province." *Islamic State*, no date. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "Kurdish offensive unlikely to weaken Islamic State significantly but increases likelihood of US military aid." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, August 7, 2014.
- "Kurdish peshmerga. Divided from within." *Harvard Politics*, September 5, 2015. www.harvardpolitics.com/kurdish-peshmerga-divided-within/.
- "Kurdistan MPs debate hurdles to aiding Kobane." *Rûdaw*, October 5, 2014. www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/051020141.
- "Kurdistan Region of Iraq 2020. A vision for the future." *Kurdistan Regional Government - Ministry of Planning*, 2013. www.ekrg.org/files/pdf/krg_2020_last_english.pdf.
- "Kurdistan Regional Government." *Kurdistan Regional Government*. gov.krd/english/. Accessed April 27, 2022.
- "Kurdistan Regional Government Unification Agreement." *Kurdistan Regional Government*, January 21, 2006. www.refworld.org/docid/469cdd7a2.html.
- "Kurds' ability to hold Kirkuk will increasingly be challenged by Islamic State and Shia militias in Iraq." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, July 23, 2014.
- Kurmanaev, Anatoly. "Wagner's mutiny has century-old echoes of another Russian debacle." *The New York Times*, June 28, 2023. www.nytimes.com/2023/06/28/world/europe/russia-rebellion-prigozhin-1917-kornilov.html.
- Kurth Cronin, Audrey. *How terrorism ends. Understanding the decline and demise of terrorist campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

- Kurth Cronin, Audrey. "ISIS is not a terrorist group. Why counterterrorism won't stop the latest jihadist threat." *Foreign Affairs*, 94:2 (2015), 87-98. www.foreignaffairs.com/middle-east/isis-more-terrorist-group.
- Langhe, Rogier de. "Graham Allison's modellen voor de analyse van internationale betrekkingen. Een pluralistische kritiek." *Ethiek & Maatschappij* 8:2 (2005), 64-77. www.ethiekenmaatschappij.ugent.be/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/em_82-2005-de-langhe.pdf.
- LaPiere, Richard. "Attitudes vs actions." *International Journal of Epidemiology* 39:1 (2010), 7-11. doi: [org/10.1093/ije/dyp398](https://doi.org/10.1093/ije/dyp398).
- Lasswell, Harold. *Power and personality*. New York: W. W. N. & Company, 1948.
- Last, Edward. *Strategic culture and violent non-state actors. A comparative study of salafi-jihadist groups*. London: Routledge, 2021.
- Lawrence, Thomas. *Zeven zuilen van wijsheid*. Translated by Sjaak Commandeur. Amsterdam: Athenaeum, 2009 [1926].
- Lees, Charles. "We are all comparativists now. Why and how single-country scholarship must adapt and incorporate the comparative politics approach." *Comparative Political Studies* 39:9 (2006). 1084-108. doi: [10.1177/0010414005284381](https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414005284381).
- Leffler, Melvyn. "Bush, 9/11, and the roots of the Iraq War. A declassified document reveals how the attacks shaped his thinking." *Foreign Affairs*, March 23, 2023. www.foreignaffairs.com/unitedstates/bush-911-and-roots-iraq-war.
- Legault, Lisa. "Self-determination theory." In *Encyclopedia of personality and individual differences*. Edited by Virgil Zeigler-Hill & Todd Shackelford. Online: Springer Link, 2020. doi: [10.1007/978-3-319-28099-8_1162-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-28099-8_1162-1).
- Leonard, Mark. *The age of unpeace. How connectivity causes conflict*. London: Penguin, 2022.
- Levy, Bernard-Henri. "ISIS stages a comeback in Iraq." *The Wall Street Journal*, September 8, 2022. www.wsj.com/articles/isis-stages-a-comeback-in-iraq-erbil-kurdistan-petroleum-peshmerga-salaries-ukraine-iran-irgc-11662655591.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The crisis of Islam. Holy war and unholy terror*. New York: Random House, 2003.
- Lewis, Jessica. "The Islamic State of Iraq returns to Diyala." Washington D.C.: *Institute for the Study of War*, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/lewis-diyala.pdf.
- Lewis, Jessica. "The Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham captures Mosul and advances toward Baghdad." *Institute for the Study of War*, June 11, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/backgrounders/islamic-state-iraq-and-al-sham-captures-mosul-and-advances-toward-baghdad.
- Lewis, Jessica, et al. "Control of terrain in Iraq. August 10, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, August 10, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/2014-08-%2010%20control%20zone%20map.pdf.
- Lewis, Jessica, et al. "Iraq situation report. August 3, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, August 3, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/2014-08-03%20situation%20report1.pdf.
- Lewis, Jessica, et al. "Iraq situation report. August 6, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, August 6, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/2014-08-06%20situation%20report_0.pdf.
- Lindblom, Charles. "The science of 'muddling through.'" *Public Administration Review* 19:2 (1959), 79-88. www.faculty.washington.edu/mccurdy/sciencepolicy/lindblom%20muddling%20through.pdf.
- Lister, Charles. "A long way from success. Assessing the war on the Islamic State." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9:4 (2015), 3-13. www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/439/870.

- Lister, Charles. "Islamic State senior leadership. Who's who." *Brookings*, October 20, 2014. www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/en_whos_who.pdf.
- Lister, Charles. "Profiling the Islamic State." Doha: *Brookings*, 2014. www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2014/11/profiling-islamic-state-lister/en_web_lister.pdf?la=en.
- Little, Richard, & Michael Smith. "Introduction. The study of IR." *Perspectives on IR* (2nd edition). Edited by Richard Little & Michael Smith, 1-17. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Logan, Joseph. "Last U.S. troops leave Iraq, ending war." *Reuters*, December 18, 2011. www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-withdrawal-idustre7bh03320111218.
- Lonsdale, David. "Strategy defined." In *Understanding modern warfare* (2nd edition). David Jordan *et al.*, 39-60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Lonsdale, David. "The practice of strategy." In *Understanding modern warfare* (2nd edition). David Jordan *et al.*, 61-79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Lonsdale, David. "The study and theory of strategy." In *Understanding modern warfare* (2nd edition). David Jordan *et al.*, 21-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Lucas, Scott. "Syria analysis. The 'true' story of insurgent leader Abu Umar al-Shishani & what it means." *EA Worldview*, November 21, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/11/syria-analysis-story-insurgent-leader-omar-chechen-means/.
- Lucas, Scott. "Syria daily, Oct 26. Kurdish leader warns of 'war of attrition.'" *EA Worldview*, October 26, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/10/syria-daily-kurdish-leader-warns-war-attrition/.
- Lucas, Scott. "Syria daily, Oct 28. Insurgents attack Idlib in northwest, take checkpoints around city," *EA Worldview*, October 28, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/10/syria-daily-insurgents-attack-idlib-northwest-take-checkpoints-around-city/.
- Lucas, Scott. "Turkey daily, Nov 4. Top Kurdish official warns of attacks amid stalled negotiations with PKK." *EA Worldview*, November 4, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/11/turkey-daily-top-kurdish-official-warns-attacks-amid-stalled-negotiations-pkk/.
- Lucas, Scott. "Turkey daily, Oct 14. Ankara bombs Kurdish targets in southeast." *EA Worldview*, October 14, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/10/turkey-daily-ankara-bombs-kurdish-targets-southeast/.
- Lucas, Scott. "Turkey daily, Oct 19. 'Erdogan policy on Kurds will drive country into chaos' – senior MP." *EA Worldview*, October 19, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/10/turkey-daily-erdogan-policy-kurds-will-drive-country-chaos-senior-mp/.
- Lucas, Scott. "Turkey daily, Oct 29. Kurdish PKK declares end of 'peace process.'" *EA Worldview*, October 28, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/10/turkey-daily-kurdish-pkk-declares-end-peace-process/.
- Lulko, Lyuba. "The Great Kurdistan about to be created." *EKurd*, November 13, 2012. www.ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2012/11/state6620.htm.
- Luttwak, Edward. *Strategy. The logic of war and peace* (revised and enlarged edition). Cambridge: Belknap, 2001.
- Lynch, Mark. "The end of the Middle East. How an old map distorts a new reality." *Foreign Affairs*, 101:2 (2022), 58-66. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/africa/middle-east-map-new-reality>.
- Lynn, John. *Battle. A history of combat and culture*. Cambridge: Westview, 2004.
- Mabon, Simon & Stephen Royle. *The origins of ISIS*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2017.
- MacAskill, Ewen, *et al.* "Intelligence agents study cache of leaked Isis documents." *The Guardian*, March 10, 2016. www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/10/intelligence-agents-scour-cache-isis-documents.

- Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Art of war*. Translated by Christopher Lynch. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003 [1521].
- Machiavelli, Niccolò. *De heerser*. Translated by Frans van Doorn. Amsterdam: Athenaeum – Polak & Van Gennep, 2002 [1513].
- Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Discorsi. Gedachten over staat en politiek* (2nd edition). Translated by Paul van Heck. Amsterdam: Ambo, 1997 [1531].
- Machlis, Gary, & Marcia McNutt. “Black swans, wicked problems and science during crises.” *Oceanography* 24:3 (2011), 318-20. doi.org/10.5670/oceanog.2011.89.
- Mahmoud, Mustafa. “Islamic State attacks two energy plants in north Iraq, kills five.” *Reuters*, July 31, 2016. www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-oil-attack-iduskcn10b05f.
- Mahmoud, Nawzad. “Iraqi Kurds worry about ethnic balance from waves of refugees.” *Rûdaw*, August 11, 2015. www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/11082015.
- Mahmoud, Nawzad. “Peshmerga control all Kurdish territories in Iraq.” *Rûdaw*, June 17, 2014. www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/170620141.
- Mansfield, Peter. *A history of the Middle East* (2nd edition). New York: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Mao Zedong, *Problems of war and strategy*. November 6, 1938. www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_12.htm#p6.
- Marshall, Tim. *Prisoners of geography. Ten maps that tell you everything you need to know about global politics*. London: Elliott & Thompson, 2016.
- Martin, Patrick. “Political crisis in Iraqi Kurdistan escalates into violence.” *Institute for the Study of War*, October 15, 2015. www.iswresearch.blogspot.com/2015/10/political-crisis-in-iraqi-kurdistan.html.
- Maslow, Abraham. “A theory of human motivation.” *Psychological Review* 50 (1943), 370-96.
- Maslow, Abraham. *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.
- Mason, Robert. “Strategic depth through enclaves. Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah.” *Middle East Policy* 28 (2021), 96-108. doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12554.
- “Masoud Barzani.” *Masoud Barzani*. www.masoudbarzani.krd/en/index/. Accessed April 27, 2022.
- Masri, Abu Abdullah al. “Islamic State caliphate on the prophetic methodology.” *Islamic State* (1435H [2013-4]). Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi, December 7, 2015. www.meforum.org/5700/islamic-state-master-plan.
- Masri, Abu Abdullah al. “Principles in the administration of the Islamic State.” *Islamic State* (1435H [2014]). Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi, December 7, 2015. www.aymennjawad.org/18215/principles-in-the-administration-of-the-islamic.
- Matthews, Dylan. “The surreal infographics ISIS is producing, translated.” *Vox*, June 24, 2014. Translated by Katie Paul et al. www.vox.com/2014/6/24/5834068/the-iraqi-rebels-make-annual-reports-with-infographics-we-translated.
- Mazo, Jeffrey. “The pope’s divisions.” *Survival* 57:4 (2015), 203-12. doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2015.1068602.
- McChrystal, Stanley, et al. *Team of teams. New rules of engagement for a complex world*. London: Penguin Random House, 2015.
- McClam, Erin, & Richard Engel. “Erbil blast. Car bomb explodes outside U.S. consulate in Iraq, official Says.” *NBC*, April 17, 2015. www.nbcnews.com/news/world/car-bomb-explodes-outside-u-s-consulate-iraq-state-department-n343536.
- McWilliams, Wayne, & Harry Piotrowski. *The world since 1945. A history of International Relations* (4th edition). Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1997.

- Mearsheimer, John, *et al.* "Thinking like a state. What makes foreign policy rational?" *Foreign Affairs* 103:1 (2024), 173-9. www.foreignaffairs.com/responses/thinking-state-mearsheimer.
- Meer, Anneleen van der. "Strategies of chemical warfare. Understanding the purpose of norm transgression in war." PhD diss., University of St Andrews, 2023.
- Meleagrou-Hitchens, Alexander, & Ranj Alaaldin. "The Kurds of ISIS. Why some join the terrorist group." *Foreign Affairs*, August 8, 2016. www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2016-08-08/kurds-isis.
- Miles, Richard. *Carthage must be destroyed. The rise and fall of an ancient civilisation* (2011). Audiobook.
- Miles, Rufus. "The origin and meaning of Miles' Law." *Public Administration Review* 38:5 (1978), 399-403. www.jstor.org/stable/975497.
- "Militant attacks likely to intensify in Iraqi cities in run-up to 30 April parliamentary election." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, April 10, 2014.
- "Militant group ISIL likely to expand territory it controls in northern Iraq in coming months." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, June 11, 2014.
- "Militant seizure of Iraqi town underlines growing risk to commercial assets in northern provinces." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, February 14, 2014.
- Milton, Daniel. "Structure of a state. Captured documents and the Islamic State's organizational structure." West Point: *Combating Terrorism Center*, 2021. www.ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/structure-of-a-state.pdf.
- Mintz, Alex, & Karl DeRouen. *Understanding foreign policy decision making*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511757761.
- Mironova, Vera, & Karam Alhamad. "The names of jihad. A guide to ISIS' noms de guerre." *Foreign Affairs*, July 14, 2017. www.foreignaffairs.com/print/node/1120472.
- Mishali-Ram, Meirav. "Powerful actors make a difference. Theorizing power attributes of nonstate actors." *International Journal of Peace Studies* 14:2 (2009), 55-82. www.thefreelibrary.com/powerful+actors+make+a+difference%3a+theorizing+power+attributes+of...-a0238179018.
- Mohamed, Besheer. "Who are the Iraqi Kurds?" *Pew Research Center*, August 20, 2014. www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/08/20/who-are-the-iraqi-kurds/.
- Mohammed, Layla. "Political powers split over Kirkuk asayesh." *Iraqi News*, December 14, 2008. [www.iraqinews.com/features/political-powers-split-over-kirkuk-asayesh/](http://iraqinews.com/features/political-powers-split-over-kirkuk-asayesh/).
- Moon, Bruce. "The state in foreign and domestic policy." In *Foreign policy analysis. Continuity and change in its second generation*. Edited by Laura Neack *et al.*, 187-99. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- "More than 20 vehicles enter the city of Kobani." *Syria Observatory for Human Rights*, October 31, 2014. www.syriahr.com/en/6392/?doing_wp_cron=1704183416.9296240806579589843750.
- Morell, Michael, & Bill Harlow. *The great war of our time. The CIA's fight against terrorism from al Qa'ida to ISIS*. New York: Twelve, 2015.
- Morris, Ian. *War! What is it good for? Conflict and the progress of civilization from primates to robots*. London: Profile, 2014.
- Morris, Samuel, *et al.* "The future of Kirkuk. A roadmap for resolving the status of the governorate." Erbil: *Middle East Research Institute*, 2015. www.jstor.com/stable/resrep136257.
- Moubayed, Sami. *Under the black flag. An exclusive insight into the inner workings of ISIS*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2015.
- Mouritzen, Hans. "Kenneth Waltz. A critical rationalist between international politics and foreign policy." In *The future of international relations. Masters in the making?* Edited by Iver Neumann & Ole Wæver, 66-89. London: Routledge, 1997.

- Moussalli, Ahmad. "Wahhabism, salafism and Islamism. Who is the enemy?" *Conflicts Forum*, January 30, 2009. www.issuu.com/ufuq.de/docs/wahhabism-salafism-and-islamism/8.
- Muhājir, Abū Hamzah al. "Advice for the leaders of the Islamic State." *Dabiq* 7 (1436H [2015]), 9-16.
- Muhājir, Abū Hamzah al. "Advice for the soldiers of the Islamic State." *Dabiq* 6 (1436H [2014]), 6-15.
- Muhājir, Abū Hamzah al. "Come to a just word." Transcript audiomessage. September 28, 2006. Translator unknown. In "Inducement and terror: how the Islamic State deals with Sunni social leaders," Kyle Orton, *Kyle Orton's Blog*, March 14, 2021. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2021/03/14/inducement-and-terror-how-the-islamic-state-deals-with-sunni-social-leaders/.
- "Multiple bombings target Kurds in Iraq." *Al-Jazeera*, June 8, 2014. www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/06/multiple-bombings-target-kurds-iraq-2014689857332677.html.
- Munton, Don. "The three puzzles. Essence of decision and the missile crisis." In *The Cuban missile crisis. A critical reappraisal*. Edited by Len Scott & Gerald Hughes, 142-64. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Mustafa, Mohammed, & Abdulrahman Darwesh. "The anti-Kurdish thoughts of ISIS." *Review of Middle East Studies* 56:1 (2022), 88-107. doi: 10.1017/rms.2022.31.
- Mustafa, Sara. "Iraqi Kurdistan independence referendum. Political parties, opportunity and timing." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 48:5 (2021), 890-907. doi: 10.1080/13530194.2020.1724077.
- Naím, Moises. *The end of power. From boardrooms to battlefields and churches to states, why being in charge isn't what it used to be*. New York: Basic Books, 2014.
- Naji, Abu Bakr. *The management of savagery. The most critical stage through which the Umma will pass*. Translated by William McCants. Harvard: Harvard University John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, 2006 [2004].
- Nasidze, Ivan, et al. "MtDNA and Y-chromosome variation in Kurdish groups." *Annals of human genetics* 69:4 (2005), 401-12. doi: 10.1046/j.1529-8817.2005.00174.x.
- Natali, Denise. "Iraqi Kurds maneuver between Maliki and Mosul." *Al-Monitor*, June 13, 2014. www.al-monitor.com/originals/2014/06/kurds-isis-mosul-maliki-kr-gains-leverage.
- Neack, Laura, et al. "Generational change in foreign policy analysis." In *Foreign policy analysis. Continuity and change in its second generation*. Edited by Laura Neack et al., 1-15. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- "Negotiations and ceasefire agreement with the regime over the thermal plant and surrounding in Aleppo." *Islamic State*, June 2013. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "New ministers join KRG cabinet, others to keep their posts." *Rûdaw*, April 14, 2014. www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/140420142.
- Noi, Aylin. "The Arab Spring, its effects on the Kurds, and the approaches of Turkey, Iran Syria and Iraq on the Kurdish issue." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 16:2 (2012), 15-29. www.academia.edu/1853362/the_arab_spring_its_effects_on_the_kurds_and_the_approaches_of_turkey_iran_syria_and_iraq_on_the_kurdish_issue.
- "Northern Iraq offensive (June 2014)." *Wikipedia*. [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/northern_iraq_offensive_\(june_2014\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/northern_iraq_offensive_(june_2014)). Accessed October 31, 2021.
- "Northern Iraq offensive (August 2014)." *Wikipedia*. [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/northern_iraq_offensive_\(august_2014\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/northern_iraq_offensive_(august_2014)). Accessed October 31, 2021.
- "Notice to soldiers of Raqqa on vacated Kurds' homes." *Islamic State*, June 26, 2015. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.

- "Notification for Kurds to leave Raqqa city." *Islamic State*, no date. Translated by Kareem Shaheen & Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- Noyes, Craig. "Pragmatic takfiris. Organizational prioritization along Islamic State's ideological threshold." *Small Wars Journal*, July 26, 2016. www.smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/pragmatic-takfiris-organizational-prioritization-along-islamic-state%e2%80%99s-ideological-threshold.
- Nye, Joseph, & Robert Keohane. "Transnational relations and IR. A conclusion." In *Transnational relations and IR*. Edited by Joseph Nye & Robert Keohane, 371-98. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- O'Brien, Phillips. "There's no such thing as a great power." *Foreign Affairs*, June 29, 2023. www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/theres-no-such-thing-great-power.
- Öcalan, Abdullah. *Prison writings. The PKK and the Kurdish question in the 21st century*. Translated by Klaus Happel. Transmedia, 2011.
- Öcalan, Abdullah. *Prison writings. The roots of civilization*. Translated by Klaus Happel. London: Pluto, 2007.
- "Offensive manoeuvres. The Islamic State advances on the Kurds in northern Iraq." *Jane's Terrorism and Security Monitor*, August 8, 2014.
- "Oil sales obstacles likely to undermine Kurdish ambitions to declare independence from Iraq in one-year outlook." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, August 14, 2014.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter. "Rational choice theory and social movements." In *The Wiley-Blackwell encyclopedia of social and political movements*, 3rd volume. Edited by David Snow *et al.*, 1,051-8. London: Blackwell, 2013.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter. *Theories of political protest and social movements. A multidisciplinary introduction, critique, and synthesis*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Orsini, Amandine, *et al.* "Forum. Complex systems and international governance." *International Studies Review* 22:4 (2020), 1,008-38. doi.org/10.1093/isr/viz005.
- Orton, Kyle. "About." *Kyle Orton's Blog*. www.kyleorton.co.uk/about/. Accessed November 6, 2022.
- Orton, Kyle. "Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's second speech as Islamic State leader." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, December 29, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/12/29/abu-bakr-al-baghdadis-second-speech-as-islamic-state-leader/.
- Orton, Kyle. "Al-Qaeda disowns ISIS." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, March 21, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/03/21/al-qaeda-disowns-isis/.
- Orton, Kyle. "Ayman al-Zawahiri expels ISIS from al-Qaeda." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, March 21, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/03/21/ayman-al-zawahiri-expels-isis-from-al-qaeda/.
- Orton, Kyle. "Governing the caliphate. Profiles of Islamic State leaders." London: *The Henry Jackson Society*, 2016. www.henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/IS-leaders-report.pdf.
- Orton, Kyle. "ISIS announces the restoration of the caliphate." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, June 29, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/06/29/isis-announces-the-restoration-of-the-caliphate/#more-3361.
- Orton, Kyle. "ISIS rejects al-Qaeda's command to return to Iraq." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, April 3, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/04/03/isis-rejects-al-qedas-command-to-return-to-iraq/.
- Orton, Kyle. "Islamic State discusses Kurds and insurgency." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, October 19, 2018. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2018/10/19/islamic-state-discusses-kurds-and-insurgency/#more-5809.
- Orton, Kyle. "Provocation and the Islamic State. Why Assad strengthened the jihadists." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, September 3, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/09/03/provocation-and-the-islamic-state-why-assad-strengthened-the-jihadists/.

- Orton, Kyle. "The announcement of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, April 2, 2014. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2014/04/02/the-announcement-of-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-and-syria/.
- Orton, Kyle. "The Islamic State's deputy and the ghost of Saddam Hussein." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, August 22, 2015. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2015/08/22/the-islamic-states-deputy-and-the-ghost-of-saddam-hussein/#more-1672.
- Orton, Kyle. "The Islamic State's first war minister." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, January 25, 2017. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2017/01/25/the-islamic-states-first-war-minister/.
- Orton, Kyle. "The Islamic State's official biography of the caliph's deputy." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, December 18, 2016. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2016/12/18/the-islamic-states-official-biography-of-the-caliph-deputy/.
- Orton, Kyle. "The reappearance of the caliph." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, May 10, 2019. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2019/05/10/the-reappearance-of-the-caliph/.
- Orton, Kyle. "The structure of the Islamic State." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, August 8, 2016. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2016/08/08/the-structure-of-the-islamic-state/.
- Orton, Kyle. "Turkey fears a Kurdish state more than the Islamic State." *Kyle Orton's Blog*, July 28, 2015. www.kyleorton.co.uk/2015/07/.
- Osinga, Frans. "On Boyd, Bin Laden, and fourth generation warfare as string theory." In *On new wars*. Edited by John Olsen, 168-97. Oslo: Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies, 2007. www.fhs.brage.unit.no/fhs-xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/99629/of_4_2007.pdf?sequence=1&isallowed=y.
- Osinga, Frans, & Tim Sweijjs. "Conclusion. Insights from theory and practice." In *Netherlands annual review of military studies 2020. Deterrence in the 21st century – insights from theory and practice*. Edited by Frans Osinga & Tim Sweijjs, 504-30. The Hague: Asser Press, 2021.
- Ostaeyen, Pieter Van. "Some remarks on the Islamic State's first issue of Dābiq magazine." *Bellingcat*, August 2, 2014. www.bellingcat.com/news/mena/2014/08/02/some-remarks-on-the-islamic-states-first-issue-of-dabiq-magazine/.
- Otis, Cindy. *True or false. A CIA analyst's guide to spotting fake news*. Dreamscape media, 2020. Audiobook.
- Otte, T.G. "New paths to wisdom.' Clausewitz – from practice to theory." In *The practice of strategy. A global history*. Edited by Jeremy Black, 333-48. Società Italiana di Storia Militare, 2024.
- "Our mission." *The global coalition*. www.theglobalcoalition.org/en/mission/. Accessed January 3, 2024.
- Özoglu, Hakan. "Lessons from the idea, and rejection, of Kurdistan." *NY Times*, July 5, 2014. www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/07/03/where-do-borders-need-to-be-redrawn/lessons-from-the-idea-and-rejection-of-kurdistan.
- Palani, Kamaran. "The low likelihood of ISIS resurgence in Iraq." The Hague: *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague*, 2024. www.icct.nl/publication/low-likelihood-isis-resurgence-iraq.
- Palani, Kamaran, et al. "De facto states engagement with parent states. Kurdistan's engagement with the Iraqi government." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 48:4 (2021), 770-788. doi: 10.1080/13530194.2020.1714429.
- Paquin, Jonathan. "Foreign policy analysis." In *The SAGE handbook of political science*. Edited by Dirk Berg-Schlosser et al., 1,214-30. London: SAGE, 2020.
- Paquin, Stéphane. "Paradiplomacy." In *Global diplomacy. An introduction to theory and practice*. Edited by Thierry Balzacq et al., 49-61. Translated by William Snow. Paris: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- Parakkal, Pravda. "Islamic State burns Jordanian hostage alive in retaliation for airstrikes." *Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor*, February 4, 2015.

- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria. Abu Umar al-Shishani – 'Jaish al-Muhajireen wal Ansar joined ISIS after al-Baghdadi oath.'" *EA Worldview*, December 14, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/12/syria-chechen-isis-leader-abu-umar-al-shishani-explains-oath-al-baghdadi/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria. Chechen fighter Abu Umar al-Shishani 'likes to spend time in jacuzzi in his Aleppo villa.'" *EA Worldview*, December 19, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/12/syria-chechen-fighter-abu-umar-al-shishani-moved-hraytan-aleppo-family-wage-jihad/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria. Details of Umar al-Shishani & ISIS attack on Manbij." *EA Worldview*, January 25, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/01/syria-details-umar-al-shishani-isis-attack-manbij/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria. ISIS military leader Umar Shishani to Syrian people – 'we didn't come to fight you.'" *EA Worldview*, January 21, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/01/syria-isis-military-leader-umar-shishani-syrian-people-didnt-come-fight/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria. Site close to Abu Umar al-Shishani 'today they want to get rid of ISIS, tomorrow other mujahideen.'" *EA Worldview*, January 10, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/01/syria-site-close-abu-umar-al-shishani-describes-conflict-insurgents-today-isis-tomorrow-mujahideen/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria spotlight. Chechen jihad leader Abu Umar Al Shishani on clashes with Kurds." *EA Worldview*, October 12, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/10/syria-spotlight-chechen-jihadi-leader/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria spotlight. Insurgent split – the dispute between Abu Umar al-Shishani & his deputy, Seyfullakh the Chechen." *EA Worldview*, November 23, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/11/syria-spotlight-dispute-abu-umar-al-shishani-deputy-seyfullakh-chechen/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria spotlight. ISIS Chechen leader Abu Umar al-Shishani – 'Dokka Umarov financed us.'" *EA Worldview*, December 10, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/12/syria-spotlight-interview-isis-chechen-leader-abu-umar-al-shishani/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria spotlight. Jihadist sources describe border-region fighting between Kurds, ISIS near Atmeh village." *EA Worldview*, October 6, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/10/syria-spotlight-jihadist-sources-describe-border-region-fighting-kurds-isis-near-atmeh-village/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria spotlight. More border-region clashes between ISIS, FSA & Kurdish YPG." *EA Worldview*, October 5, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/10/syria-spotlight-border-region-clashes-isis-fsa-kurdish-ypg/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria spotlight. Some north Caucasian militants swear allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi." *EA Worldview*, November 21, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/11/syria-spotlight-jaish-al-muhajireen-wal-ansar-swears-allegiance-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria. Umar al-Shishani & ISIS claim advance from Al-Bab to Manbij, capture base." *EA Worldview*, January 20, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/01/syria-umar-al-shishani-isis-claim-advance-al-bab-manbij-capture-base/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria. Umar al-Shishani of ISIS on need for unity, & division of spoils according to rules of jihad." *EA Worldview*, December 19, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/12/syria-umar-al-shishani-isis-explains-need-unite-divide-spoils-according-quran/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria. Umar Shishani shown planning major attack in new ISIS propaganda video." *EA Worldview*, March 10, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/03/syria-umar-shishani-shown-planning-major-attack-new-isis-propaganda-video/.
- Paraszcuk, Joanna. "Syria. Umar Shishani's right-hand man explains ISIS-insurgent conflict." *EA Worldview*, February 6, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/02/syria-umar-shishanis-right-hand-man-explains-isis-insurgent-conflict-part-1/.

- Paraszczyk, Joanna. "Syria. Video – Abu Umar al-Shishani & Abu Jihad al-Shishani talk of ISIS battles in Al Bab, Aleppo." *EA Worldview*, January 14, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/01/syria-video-abu-umar-al-shishani-abu-jihad-al-shishani-talk-isis-battles-al-bab-aleppo/.
- Paraszczyk, Joanna. "Syria. Video – Chechen amir Seyfullakh Shishani & Jaish Khilafatul Islamia join Jabhat al-Nusra." *EA Worldview*, December 30, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/12/syria-video-chechen-amir-seyfullakh-shishani-jaish-khilafatul-islamia-join-jabhat-al-nusra/.
- Paraszczyk, Joanna. "Syria video feature. The Chechen jihadists & the Islamic State of Iraq." *EA Worldview*, September 11, 2013. www.eaworldview.com/2013/09/syria-video-chechen-leader-abu-umar-al-shishani-isis-jaish-muhajireen-wal-ansar/.
- Paraszczyk, Joanna. "Syria. Where in the world is Abu Umar al-Shishani?" *EA Worldview*, January 7, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/01/syria-world-abu-umar-al-shishani/.
- Paret, Peter. "Clausewitz." In *Makers of modern strategy*. Edited by Michael Handel. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- "Patriotic Union of Kurdistan." *Patriotic Union of Kurdistan*. www.puknow.com/english/. Accessed April 27, 2022.
- Perlmutter, Amos. *The military and politics in modern times*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- "Permission slip for travel to Kuwait." *Islamic State*, October 25, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "Peshmerga forces leave Kobani, having secured the town." *BGN News*, April 30, 2015. www.web.archive.org/web/20150701192615/http://world.bgnnews.com/peshmerga-forces-leave-kobani-having-secured-the-town-haberi/5564.
- Peterson, Spike. "The politics of identity and gendered nationalism." In *Foreign policy analysis. Continuity and change in its second generation*. Edited by Laura Neack *et al.*, 167-86. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- Petraeus, David, & Andrew Roberts. *Conflict. The evolution of warfare from 1945 to Ukraine*. London: Harper Collins, 2023.
- Pfeifer, Hanna, & Regine Schwab. "Re-examining the state/non-state binary in the study of (civil) war." *Civil Wars* 25:2-3 (2023), 428-451. doi: 10.1080/13698249.2023.2254654.
- Pfeifer, Hanna, *et al.* "The politics of recognition, armed non-state actors, and conflict transformation." Frankfurt am Main: *Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung*, 2022. doi.org/10.48809/prifrep2204.
- Phadermrod, Boonyarat, *et al.* "Importance-performance analysis based SWOT analysis." *International Journal of Information Management* 44 (2019), 194-203. doi.org/10.1016/j.ijinfomgt.2016.03.009.
- Pickerell, Heather, *et al.* "Iraq situation report. June 17, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*. June 17, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/2014-06-17%20situation%20report%20cs3.pdf.
- Pijl, Kees van der. *Wereldorde en machtspolitiek. Visies op de internationale betrekkingen van Dante tot Fukuyama* (2nd edition). Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1995.
- Pimie, Bruce, & Edward O'Connell. "Counterinsurgency in Iraq (2003-2006)." Santa Monica: *RAND*, 2008.
- Platt, Gareth. "A Kurdish female fighter's war story: 'I don't know how many I've killed in Kobani - I don't see Isis as human.'" *International Business Times*, October 23, 2014. www.ibtimes.co.uk/kurdish-female-fighters-war-story-i-dont-know-how-many-ive-killed-kobani-i-dont-see-1471412.
- Pollack, Kenneth. "Fight or flight. America's choice in the Middle East." *Foreign Affairs* 95:2 (2016), 62-75. www.foreignaffairs.com/print/node/1116673.

- Pollack, Kenneth. "Iraq: Understanding the ISIS offensive against the Kurds." *Brookings - Markaz Middle East Politics & Policy*, August 11, 2014. www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2014/08/11-pollack-isis-offensive-against-iraq-kurds.
- Posen, Barry. *The sources of military doctrine. France, Britain, and Germany between the world wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Powell, Jonathan. *Talking to terrorists. How to end armed conflicts*. London: Vintage, 2014.
- Powell, Stephen. "The ANARD blog." *The ANARD blog*. www.stephenrpowell.wordpress.com/. Accessed December 17, 2022.
- Powell, Stephen, & Adrian Florea. "Introducing the armed nonstate actor rivalry dataset (ANARD)." *Civil Wars* 23:2 (2021), 177-206. doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2021.1883334.
- Prantl, Jochen, & Evelyn Goh. "Rethinking strategy and statecraft for the twenty-first century of complexity. A case for strategic diplomacy." *International Affairs* 98:2 (2022), 443-69. doi.org/10.1093/ia/iia212.
- "President Barzani inaugurates the security council of the Kurdistan Region." *Kurdistan Region Presidency*. July 8 2012. krp.org/english/articledisplay.aspx?id=J+F0q74X75Q.
- "Prohibition on attacking Kurdish property in Raqqa." *Islamic State*, July 18, 2015. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- "Project overview." *The ISIS Files*. www.isisfiles.gwu.edu/about?locale=en. Accessed April 27, 2022.
- Prothero, Mitchell. "'Star pupil.' Pied piper of ISIS recruits was trained by U.S." *The Seattle Times*, September 15, 2015. www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/the-us-trained-pied-piper-of-chechen-recruits-to-the-islamic-state-group/.
- "PUK and KDP likely to agree in government in Iraqi Kurdistan." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, March 12, 2014.
- "Purpose of jihad." *Islamic State*, no date. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/17879/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-fatwas-on.
- Pye, Lucian. "Introduction. The elusive concept of culture and the vivid reality of personality." *Political Psychology* 18:2 (1997), 241-54. doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00057.
- Qaraman, Ali. "The representation of Kurds in the Islamic State's media. 'Dabiq' magazine as an example." *Suleimaniyah: Kurdistan Conflict and Crisis Research Center*, 2018. Translated by Shkow Sherzad. www.kurdistanec.com/en/details.aspx?jmare=1045.
- Qingmin, Zhang. "Bureaucratic politics and Chinese foreign policy-making." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* (2015), 435-58. doi: 10.1093/cjip/pow007.
- "Qualities and manners of the mujahid commander." *Islamic State*, no date. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. aymennjawad.org/18704/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-military.
- Rabi', Ibrahim abu. *Contemporary Arab thought. Studies in post-1967 Arab intellectual history*. London: Pluto Press, 2004.
- Ranstorff, Magnus. "Research challenges involved in field study on terrorism in the Middle East." In *Conducting terrorism field research. A guide*. Edited by Adam Dolnik, 46-61. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Rapaport, David. "The four waves of modern terrorism." In *Attacking terrorism. Elements of a grand strategy*. Edited by Audrey Kurth Cronin & James Ludes, 46-73. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004.
- Rawls, John. *A theory of justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- "Reflections on the final crusade." *Dabiq* 4 (1435H [2014]), 32-44.

- "Remaining and Expanding." *Dabiq* 5 (1436H [2014]), 22-3.
- Renner, Stephen. "Air power in the battle of Mosul." In *Air power in the age of primacy. Air power since the Cold War*. Edited by Phil Haun *et al.*, 255-78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- "Resolution 2169." *United Nations Security Council*, July 30, 2014. digitallibrary.un.org/record/775920.
- Reuter, Christoph. "The terror strategist. Secret files reveal the structure of Islamic State." *Der Spiegel*, April 18, 2015. www.spiegel.de/international/world/islamic-state-files-show-structure-of-islamist-terror-group-a-1029274.html.
- Revkina, Mara. "ISIS' social contact. What the Islamic State offers civilians." *Foreign Affairs*, January 10, 2016. www.foreignaffairs.com/print/node/1116412.
- Ringmar, Erik. *History of international relations. A non-European perspective*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2019. www.doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0074.
- Ripley, Brian. "Cognition, culture, and bureaucratic politics." In *Foreign policy analysis. Continuity and change in its second generation*. Edited by Laura Neack *et al.*, 85-97. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- Rittel, Horst, & Melvin Webber. "Dilemmas in a general theory of planning." *Policy Sciences* 4 (1973), 155-69. www.urbanpolicy.net/wpcontent/uploads/2015/06/rittelwebber_1973_dilemmas_inageneraltheoryofplanning.pdf.
- Robertson, Donald. *How to think like a Roman emperor. The Stoic philosophy of Marcus Aurelius*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2019.
- Rodriguez, Cesar, *et al.* "Putting the 'FIL' into 'DIME.' Growing joint understanding of the instruments of power." *JFQ* 97 (2020), 121-8. www.ndupress.ndu.edu/media/news/news-article-view/article/2106566/putting-the-fil-into-dime-growing-joint-understanding-of-the-instruments-of-pow/.
- Roggio, Bill. "Al Qaeda in Kurdistan' breaks ranks with ISIS over Syria." *The Long War Journal*, May 1, 2014. www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/05/al_qaeda_in_kurdista.php.
- Roggio, Bill. "US kills Islamic State deputy emir, 2 senior commanders in recent airstrikes." *Long War Journal*, December 19, 2014. www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/12/us_kills_islamic_sta.php.
- Roggio, Bill. "US special forces, Kurdish troops raid islamic state prison in Iraq." *The Long War Journal*, October 23, 2015. www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/10/us-special-forces-kurdish-troops-raid-islamic-state-prison-in-iraq.php.
- Romano, David. "Sub-state actors and foreign policy risk-taking. The Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq." *Kurdish Studies* 8:2 (2020), 339-69. doi.org/10.33182/ks.v8i2.533.
- Rosati, Jerel. "A cognitive approach to the study of foreign policy." In *Foreign policy analysis. Continuity and change in its second generation*. Edited by Laura Neack *et al.*, 49-70. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- Rosen, Armin. "Kurdish takeover of a major oil city is a mixed blessing for Iraq." *Business Insider*, June 13, 2014. www.businessinsider.com/kirkuk-safe-from-jihadist-control-2014-6?international=true&r=us&ir=t.
- Rosenhan, David. "On being sane in insane places." *Science* 179 (1973), 250-8. www.science.org/lookup/doi/10.1126/science.179.4070.250.
- Rothgeb, John. "The changing international context for foreign policy." In *Foreign policy analysis. Continuity and change in its second generation*. Edited by Laura Neack *et al.*, 33-48. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995.
- Rowas, Meda al. "Request by Nineveh tribes to join KRG indicates ineffective Iraqi Sunni leadership and hinders reconciliation with Baghdad." *Jane's Country Risk Daily Report*, March 19, 2015.

- "Ruining and destroying enemy possessions." *Islamic State*, no date. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/17879/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-fatwas-on.
- Russett, Bruce, & Harvey Starr. *IR. The menu for choice* (5th edition). New York: Freeman, 1996.
- Ryan, Michael. "Hot issue. Dabiq. What Islamic State's new magazine tells us about their strategic direction, recruitment patterns and guerrilla doctrine." *The Jamestown Foundation*, August 1, 2014. www.jamestown.org/program/hot-issue-dabiq-what-islamic-states-new-magazine-tells-us-about-their-strategic-direction-recruitment-patterns-and-guerrilla-doctrine/#.u9z5l6pbhsi.
- Sadoon, Hajar. "The Islamic State and the independence referendum. The role of foreign policy in maintaining the de facto Kurdish entity in Iraq." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 23:3 (2023), 1-19. doi.org/10.1111/sena.12404.
- Saeed, Nahwi. "The problem of Kirkuk. Its complexity and importance." Suleimaniyah: *Kurdistan Conflict and Crisis Research Center*, 2017. www.kurdistancc.com/en/details.aspx?jimore=1010.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 1978.
- Saleh, John. "The battle for Kobane is also political." *Fikra Forum*, December 5, 2014. www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/battle-kobane-also-political.
- Salehyan, Idean. "The delegation of war to rebel organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54:493 (2010), 493-515. doi: 10.1177/0022002709357890.
- Salih, Mohammed. "New units step toward reforming Kurdish peshmerga." *Al-Monitor*, July 2, 2015. www.al-monitor.com/originals/2015/07/iraq-new-peshmerga-brigades-kurdistan-us-isis.html.
- Salih, Mohammed. "The Islamic State's visions of political community and statehood and their articulation vis-à-vis nationalism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2023), 1-23. doi: 10.1080/1057610X.2023.2257011.
- Salman, Raheem, & Isra al-Rube'i. "Iraq's top Shi'ite cleric issues call to fight jihadist rebels." *Reuters*. June 13, 2014. www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN0EN0RV20140613?irpc=932.
- Savelsberg, Eva. "The Syrian-Kurdish movements. Obstacles rather than driving forces for democratization." In *Conflict, democratization, and the Kurds in the Middle East. Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria*. Edited by David Romano & Mehmet Gurses, 85-107. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Sax, Joseph. "YPG and rebel forces challenge ISIS in northern Syria." *Institute for the Study of War*, September 19, 2014. www.iswresearch.org/2014/09/ypg-and-rebel-forces-challenge-isis-in.html.
- Schneckener, Ulrich. "Fragile statehood, armed non-state actors and security governance." In *Private actors and security governance*. Edited by Alan Bryden & Marina Caparini, 23-40. Berlin: Berlin Lit-Verlag, 2006. www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/publications/documents/bm_yb_2006.pdf.
- Schultz, Timothy. "Remote warfare. A new architecture of air power." In *Air power in the age of primacy. Air power since the Cold War*. Edited by Phil Haun *et al.*, 26-53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Schuurman, Bart. "Clausewitz and the 'new wars' scholars." *Parameters* (Spring 2010), 89-100. www.press.armywarcollege.edu/parameters/vol40/iss1/11/.
- Schwarz, Michael, & Shuva Paul. "Resource mobilization versus the mobilization of people. Why consensus movements cannot be instruments of social change." In *Frontiers in social movement theory*. Edited by Aldon Morris & Carol McClurg Mueller, 205-23. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- "Sectarian violence. Kurdistan struggles with militancy." *Jane's Islamic Affairs*, January 22, 2014.
- Searle, John. *The construction of social reality*. London: Penguin Books, 1995.

- Shamālī, Abū Jarīr ash. "Al-Qa'idah of Waziristan. A testimony from within." *Dabiq* 6 (1436H [2014]), 40-55.
- Shāmī, Abū Maysarah ash. "The Qa'idah of adh-Dhawāhirī, al-Harārī, and an-Nadhārī, and the absent Yemenī wisdom." *Dabiq* 6 (1436H [2014]), 16-25.
- Shamir, Eitan. "Deterring violent non-state actors." In *Netherlands annual review of military studies 2020. Deterrence in the 21st century – insights from theory and practice*. Edited by Frans Osinga & Tim Sweijts, 263-86. The Hague: Asser Press, 2021.
- Shapiro, Jacob. *The terrorist's dilemma. Managing violent covert organizations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Shapland, Greg. "Iraqi Kurds' aim of statehood stays out of reach." *Jane's Intelligence Review*, June 15, 2015.
- Sheldon, Rose Mary. "Introduction." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 31:5 (2020), 931-55. doi: 10.1080/09592318.2020.1764713.
- Shishani, Umar al. "Note from Omar al-Shishani." *Islamic State*, early 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- Shishani, Umar al, & Abu Khalid al-Suri. Agreement between ISIS and AaS. No date. Translator unknown. In Paraszczuk, Joanna. "Syria. Truce between ISIS's Abu Umar al-Shishani & Ahrar ash-Sham on eastern front in Aleppo province." *EA Worldview*, January 8, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2014/01/syria-claimed-truce-abu-umar-al-shishani-ahrar-ash-sham-eastern-front/.
- Shoichet, Catherine. "Hostage in video claims Syrian city of Kobani is under ISIS control." *CNN*, October 27, 2014. www.edition.cnn.com/2014/10/27/world/meast/isis-british-hostage-syria-kobani/index.html.
- Simon, Herbert. "Rationality in political behavior." *Political Psychology* 16:1 (1995), 45-61. doi.org/10.2307/3791449.
- Simon, Steven, & Adam Weinstein. "Iraq as it is. America can help the country, despite Iranian influence." *Foreign Affairs*, September 27, 2023. www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/iraq-as-it-is-iran.
- Sinclair, Christian, & Sirwan Kajjo. "The evolution of Kurdish politics in Syria." *Middle East Research and Information Project*, September 2, 2011. www.ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2011/9/syriakurd348.htm.
- Smith, Samuel. "ISIS militants fear being killed by woman and losing 72 virgins for martyrdom; Kurdish co-commander defending Kobane is female." *The Christian Post*, October 15, 2014. www.christianpost.com/news/isis-militants-fear-being-killed-by-woman-and-losing-72-virgins-for-martyrdom-kurdish-co-commander-defending-kobane-is-female.html.
- Snyder, Jack. "Anarchy and culture. Insights from the anthropology of war." *International Organization* 56:1 (2002), 7-45. doi.org/10.1162/002081802753485124.
- Snyder, Jack. "Conclusion. Religion's contribution to international relations theory." In *Religion and international relations theory*. Edited by Jack Snyder, 200-9. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Snyder, Jack. "Introduction." In *Religion and international relations theory*. Edited by Jack Snyder, 1-23. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Sole, Jeff. "'Management of savagery.' A model for establishing the Islamic State." *The Mackenzie Institute*, June 2, 2016. www.mackenzieinstitute.com/2016/06/management-of-savagery-a-model-for-establishing-the-islamic-state/.

- Spahic, Omer. "Too many islamic sects and groups, which group is right? The emergence of the concept of ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah." *About Islam*, January 4, 2018. www.aboutislam.net/reading-islam/research-studies/too-many-islamic-sects-and-groups-which-group-is-right/.
- Speckhard, Anne, & Ahmet Yayla. "The ISIS emni. Origins and inner workings of ISIS's intelligence apparatus." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 11:1 (2017), 2-16. www.pt.icct.nl/sites/default/files/import/pdf/0220171-the-isis-emni-the-origins-and-inner-workings-of-isis%E2%80%99s-intelligence-apparatus.pdf.
- Speller, Ian. "Introduction to the second edition." In *Understanding modern warfare* (2nd edition). Edited by David Jordan *et al.*, 1-16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- "Spoils of war for the mujahideen." *Islamic State*, no date. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/17879/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-fatwas-on.
- Squires, Lauren, *et al.* "Control of terrain in Iraq. August 8, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, August 8, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/2014-08-08%20situation%20report.pdf.
- Squires, Lauren, *et al.* "Iraq situation report. August 5, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, August 5, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/2014-08-05%20situation%20report_0.pdf.
- Squires, Lauren, *et al.* "Iraq situation report. August 7, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, August 7, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/2014-08-07%20situation%20report_0.pdf.
- Squires, Lauren, *et al.* "Iraq situation report. August 9, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, August 9, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/2014-08-09%20situation%20report.pdf.
- Squires, Lauren, *et al.* "Iraq situation report. August 16-17, 2014." *Institute for the Study of War*, August 17, 2014. www.iswresearch.org/2014/08/iraq-situation-report-august-16-17-2014.html.
- Stansfield, Gareth. "Iraq." In *Inherently unresolved. Regional politics and the counter-ISIS campaign*. Edited by Jonathan Eyal & Elizabeth Quintana, 17-21. London: RUSI, 2015.
- Stansfield, Gareth. "The Islamic State, the Kurdistan Region and the future of Iraq. Assessing UK policy options." *International Affairs* 90:6 (2014), 1,329-50. doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12167.
- Stansfield, Gareth. "The unravelling of the post-First World War state system? The Kurdistan Region of Iraq and the transformation of the Middle East." *International Affairs* 89:2 (2013), 259-82. doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12017.
- Starr, Barbara, & Jim Acosta. "U.S.: ISIS no. 2 killed in U.S. drone strike in Iraq." *CNN*, August 26, 2015. www.edition.cnn.com/2015/08/21/middleeast/isis-no2-believed-killed/index.html.
- Starr, Barbara, *et al.* "Pentagon: ISIS finance minister killed." *CNN*, March 25, 2016. www.edition.cnn.com/2016/03/25/politics/isis-no-2-in-command-killed-u-s-believes/.
- "State building. The Islamic State's trajectory in Iraq." *Jane's Islamic Affairs*, August 8, 2014.
- "State of war. The Iraqi Sunni actors taking on the Islamic State." *Jane's Terrorism and Security Monitor*, November 3, 2014.
- Stein, Ewan. "Historical sociology and Middle East International Relations." In *Routledge handbook of international relations in the Middle East*. Edited by Shahram Akbarzadeh, 46-58. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.
- Stekelenburg, Jacqueliën van, & Bert Klandermans. "The social psychology of protest." *Contemporary Sociology* 61:5-6 (2010), 886-905. doi.org/10.1177/0011392113479314.
- Stephens, Michael. "The emergence of ISIS." In *Inherently unresolved. Regional politics and the counter-ISIS campaign*. Edited by Jonathan Eyal & Elizabeth Quintana, 11-5. London: RUSI, 2015.
- Stern, Jessica. *Terror in the name of God*. New York: Harper Collins, 2003.
- Stern, Jessica, & J.M. Berger. *ISIS. The state of terror*. New York: Harper-Collins, 2015.

- Stone, Deborah. *Policy paradox. The art of political decision making*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988.
- Strachan, Hew. "Lessons from the last 'golden age.'" In *New directions in strategic thinking 2.0*. Edited by Russell Glenn, 149-66. Acton: ANU Press, 2018.
- Strachan, Hew. "Strategy in theory; strategy in practice." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42:2 (2019), 171-90. doi: 10.1080/01402390.2018.1559153.
- Strachan, Hew. *The direction of war. Contemporary strategy in historical perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Strachan, Hew. "The elusive meaning and enduring relevance of Clausewitz." In *The new makers of modern strategy. From the ancient world to the digital age*. Edited by Hal Brands, 116-44. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023.
- "Strikes over salary non-payment in Kurdistan Region increase pressure on Kurdish parties to secure deal with Baghdad." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, May 16, 2014.
- Süleymanoglu-Kürüm, Rahime. "The sociology of diplomats and foreign policy sector. The role of cliques on the policy-making process." *Political Studies Review* 19:4 (2021), 558-73. doi: 10.1177/1478929920901954.
- Sullivan, Marisa. "Hezbollah in Syria." Washington D.C.: *Institute for the Study of War*, 2014. www.understandingwar.org/report/hezbollah-syria.
- Sümer, Beyza. "Ibn Khaldun's asabiyya for social cohesion." *Electronic Journal of Social Sciences* 11:41 (2012), 253-67. www.dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/70392.
- "Syrian airstrikes will probably lead factions to perceive fighting in Syria and Iraq as a single sectarian conflict." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, June 25, 2014.
- "Syria's Kurds. A struggle within a struggle." Brussels: *International Crisis Group*, 2013. www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/syria-s-kurds-struggle-within-struggle.
- Taarnby, Michael. "Professionalizing high-risk field research in academia." In *Conducting terrorism field research. A guide*. Edited by Adam Dolnik, 206-23. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Talha, Ahmad. "Administrative and judicial frameworks for armed non-state actors' law enforcement and organizational structures." *Pakistan Journal of International Affairs* 5:4 (2022), 30-43. www.pjia.com.pk/index.php/pjia/article/view/640.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "An account of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi & Islamic State succession lines." *Aymenn Jawad*, January 24, 2016. www.aymennjawad.org/2016/01/an-account-of-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-islamic-state.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "Aspects of Islamic State (IS) administration in Ninawa province. Part II." *Aymenn Jawad*, January 20, 2015. www.aymennjawad.org/15952/aspects-of-islamic-state-is-administration-in.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "Enemy of my enemy. Re-evaluating the Islamic State's relationship with Baathist JRTN." *Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor*, June 5, 2015.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "Home." *Aymenn Jawad*. www.aymennjawad.org/about/. Accessed November 6, 2022.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "Iraqi Kurdistan's crisis. A failure of strategy." *American Spectator*, October 22, 2017. aymentjawad.org/20449/iraqi-kurdistan-crisis-a-failure-of-strategy.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "The archivist. The Islamic State's security apparatus structure in the provinces." *Aymenn Jawad*, August 2, 2017. www.aymennjawad.org/20129/the-archivist-the-islamic-state-security.

- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "The archivist. Unseen Islamic State fatwas on jihad and sabaya." *Aymenn Jawad*, September 25, 2015. www.aymennjawad.org/17879/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-fatwas-on.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "The archivist. Unseen Islamic State military commanders manual. Qualities and manners of the mujahid commander." *Aymenn Jawad*, April 11, 2016. www.aymennjawad.org/18704/the-archivist-unseen-islamic-state-military.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "The biography of Abu Ali al-Anbari. Full translation and analysis." *Aymenn Jawad*, December 17, 2018. www.aymennjawad.org/21877/the-biography-of-abu-ali-al-anbari-full.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "The factions of Kobani (Ayn al-Arab)." *Syria Comment*, November 21, 2014. www.joshualandis.com/blog/factions-kobani-ayn-al-arab/.
- Tamimi, Aymenn al. "The Islamic State research office's self-history." *Aymenn Jawad*, December 4, 2018. www.aymennjawad.org/21833/the-islamic-state-research-office-self-history.
- Tangney, Peter. "Path contingency. Advancing a spatial-institutionalist perspective on decision pathways for disaster risk governance." *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 59:1 (2024), 37-54. doi: 10.1080/10361146.2023.2294976.
- Tanter, Raymond. "International system and foreign policy approaches. Implications for conflict modelling and management." In *Theory and policy in International Relations*. Edited by Raymond Tanter & Richard Ullman, 7-39. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Taylor, Adam. "'Daesh.' John Kerry starts calling the Islamic State a name they hate." *The Washington Post*, December 5, 2014. www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/12/05/daesh-john-kerry-starts-calling-the-islamic-state-a-name-they-hate/.
- Tejel, Jordi. *Syria's Kurds. History, politics and society*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.
- "Ten die as Iraq security forces dismantle Sunni camp." *BBC*, December 30, 2013. www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-25548776.
- "The allies of al-Qā'idah in Sham." *Dabiq* 8 (1436H [2015]), 7-11.
- "The burning of the murtadd pilot." *Dabiq* 7 (1436H [2015]), 5-8.
- "The call for a global Islamic resistance." *Counterterrorismblog*, November 12, 2008. www.archive.org/details/The-call-for-a-global-Islamic-resistance/page/n5/mode/2up.
- "The Islamic State before al-malhamah." *Dabiq* 3 (1435H [2014]), 5-11.
- "The Kurdish vote for independence." *The Soufan Center*, September 25, 2017. www.thesoufancenter.org/the-kurdish-vote-for-independence/.
- "The long haul. Hizbullah's involvement in the Syrian civil war." *Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Monitor*, January 21, 2015.
- "The looming assault on Mosul." *The Soufan Center*, October 6, 2016. www.thesoufancenter.org/tsg-intelbrief-the-looming-assault-on-mosul/.
- "The management of savagery." *Think Defence*, March 16, 2015. www.thinkdefence.co.uk/2015/03/management-savagery/.
- "The revival of slavery before the hour." *Dabiq* 4 (1435H [2014]), 14-7.
- "The structure of khilafa." *Al-Furqan Media*, July 6, 2016. Video.
- "The wars of the Kurdish unification." *Energeopolitics*, September 6, 2013. www.energeopolitics.com/2013/09/06/the-wars-of-the-kurdish-unification/.
- "The world had divided into two camps." *Dabiq* 1 (1435H[2014]), 10-1.
- Thucydides. *De Peloponesische oorlog*. Translated by Wolther Kassies. Amsterdam: Athenaeum – Polak & Van Gennep, 2013 [c. 404 bce].

- Toivanen, Mari. *The Kobane generation. Kurdish diaspora mobilizing in France*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2021.
- Tonnessen, Truls. "Heirs of Zarqawi or Saddam? The relationship between Al-Qaida in Iraq and the Islamic State." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9:4 (2015), 48-60. www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2015/volume-4/6-heirs-of-zarqawi-or-saddam.-the-relationship-between-al-qaida-in-iraq-and-the-islamic-state-by-truls-hallberg-tonnessen.pdf.
- Torelli, Stefano. "Kurdistan and the Middle East. Historical divisions and international plots." In *Kurdistan. An invisible nation*. Edited by Stefano Torelli, 18-43. Milan: ISPI, 2016.
- Tromp, Bart. *De wetenschap der politiek. Verkenningen*. Leiden: DSWO Press, 1995.
- Tuchman, Barbara. *August 1914*. London: Constable, 1962.
- Tuchman, Barbara. *The march of folly*. London: Macmillan, 1984.
- "Turkey gives Peshmerga forces passage to Kobane." *Rûdaw*, October 20, 2014. www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/20102014.
- "Ultimatum for the Christians of Mosul." *Islamic State*, June 19, 2014. Translated by Aymenn al-Tamimi. www.aymennjawad.org/2015/01/archive-of-islamic-state-administrative-documents.
- Umunç, Himmet. "A hope so transcendent. The Arab revolt in the Great War and T.E. Lawrence." In *The Great War in the Middle East. A clash of empires*. Edited by Robert Johnson & James Kitchen, 178-94. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.
- "Uncertainty over legal repercussions of purchasing Kurdish oil likely to remain despite court ruling, inhibiting oil sales." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, August 27, 2014.
- "Under attack. The Kurdistan Region's response to Islamic State's incursion." *Jane's Islamic Affairs Analyst*, October 16, 2014.
- "US airstrikes in Iraq likely to prevent Islamic State militants' advance into Kurdistan Region or Baghdad." *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, August 8, 2014.
- Venable, Heather. "The result is never final. Operation Iraqi Freedom. The greater thirty years war, 1990-." In *Air power in the age of primacy. Air power since the Cold War*. Edited by Phil Haun *et al.*, 121-47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Voller, Yaniv. "Rethinking armed groups and order. Syria and the rise of militiocracies." *International Affairs* 98:3 (2022), 853-71. doi.org/10.1093/ia/iia047.
- Voss, Chris, & Tahl Raz. *Never split the difference. Negotiation as if your life depended on it*. New York: Harper Business, 2016.
- Wæver, Ole. "Figures of international thought. Introducing persons instead of paradigms." In *The future of international relations. Masters in the making*. Edited by Iver Neumann & Ole Wæver, 1-37. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Walker, Hunter. "Here is the army's declassified Iraq prison file on the leader of ISIS." *Business Insider*, February 18, 2015. www.businessinsider.com/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-declassified-iraq-prison-file-2015-2?international=true&r=US&IR=T.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. "The rise and future demise of the world capitalist system. Concepts for comparative analysis." In *Perspectives on IR* (2nd edition). Edited by Richard Little & Michael Smith, 305-17. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Walt, Stephen. "What should we do if the Islamic State Wins? Live with it." *Foreign Policy*, June 10, 2015. www.foreignpolicy.com/2015/06/10/what-should-we-do-if-isis-islamic-state-wins-containment/.

- Waltz, Kenneth. "Nuclear myths and political realities." In *The use of force. Military power and international politics* (5th edition). Edited by Robert Art & Kenneth Waltz, 95-110. Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.
- Warden, John. "Smart strategy, smart airpower." In *Airpower reborn. The strategic concepts of John Warden and John Boyd*. Edited by John Olsen, 101-33. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2015.
- Warden, John. "The enemy as a system." *Airpower Journal* 9:1 (1995), 40-55. www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/ASPJ/journals/Volume-09_Issue-1-Se/1995_Vol9_No1.pdf.
- Warrick, Joby. *Black flags. The rise of ISIS*. New York: Anchor Books, 2015.
- Watson, Mason. "The conflict with ISIS. Operation Inherent Resolve, June 2014-January 2020." Washington D.C.: *United States Army Center of Military History*, 2021. www.history.army.mil/html/books/078/78-2/index.html.
- Watts, Barry. "Clausewitzian friction and future war." Washington D.C.: *McNair*, 1996.
- Weiss, Michael, & Hassan Hassan. *ISIS. Inside the army of terror*. New York: Regan Arts, 2015.
- Welch, David. "The organizational process and bureaucratic politics paradigms. Retrospect and prospect." *International Security* 17:2 (1992), 112-46. www.scholar.harvard.edu/files/mahajan/files/welch1992.pdf.
- Wheatley, Margaret, & Deborah Frieze. "Using emergence to take social innovation to scale." *The Berkana Institute* (2006). www.margaretwheatley.com/articles/using-emergence.pdf.
- Whiteside, Craig, et al. "The ISIS files – The Islamic State's department of soldiers." Washington D.C.: *George Washington University Program on Extremism*, 2021.
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Anatomy of the salafi movement." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29:3 (2006), 207-39. doi.org/10.1080/10576100500497004.
- Wilgenburg, Wladimir van, & Mario Fumerton. "Kurdistan's political armies. The challenge of unifying the Peshmerga forces." Beirut: *Carnegie Middle East Center*, 2015. www.carnegieendowment.org/files/acmr_wilgenburgfumerton_kurdistan_english_final.pdf.
- Wilgenburg, Wladimir van, & Vager Saadullah. "Syrian Kurdish factions unite over Islamic State threat." *Middle East Eye*, February 13, 2015. www.middleeasteye.net/news/syrian-kurdish-factions-unite-over-islamic-state-threat.
- Wilkens, Katherine. "A Kurdish Alamo. Five reasons the battle for Kobane matters." *Carnegie Middle East Center*, October 10, 2014. www.carnegieendowment.org/2014/10/10/kurdish-alamo-five-reasons-battle-for-kobane-matters.
- Williams, Phil. "Violent non-state actors and national and international security." Zürich: *Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule*, 2008. www.files.ethz.ch/isn/93880/vnsas.pdf.
- Wing, Joel. "Costs of Iraq's Kurds moving into the disputed territories." *EKurd*, July 19, 2014. www.ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2014/7/state8207.htm.
- Wood, Graeme. "What ISIS really wants." *The Atlantic*, March 2015. www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/.
- Wood, Paul. "US hostage Kayla Mueller 'killed by IS' say ex-slaves." *BBC*, September 10, 2015. bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34205911.
- Wright, Robert. "The clash of civilizations that isn't." *The New Yorker*, February 15, 2015. www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/clash-civilizations-isnt.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "Why smart leaders to stupid things. Is foreign policy rational?" *Foreign Affairs* 102:6 (2023), 154-60. www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/why-smart-leaders-do-stupid-things.
- Ye, Wei. "Fragmented soft power. Bureaucratic politics and China's foreign aid in education to Africa." *Journal of Contemporary China* (2022), 1-17. doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2022.2109813.

- Yenidunya, Ali. "Turkey spotlight. The Kurds & Ankara's foreign policy dilemma." *EA Worldview*, November 18, 2014. www.eaworldview.com/2013/11/turkey-spotlight-kurds-ankaras-foreign-policy-dilemma/.
- Zapp, Mike. "The authority of science and the legitimacy of international organisations. OECD, UNESCO and World Bank in global education governance." *Compare. A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 51:7 (2021), 1022-41. doi: 10.1080/03057925.2019.1702503.
- Zarqawi, Abu Musab al. Untitled letter to *al-Qaeda* leadership. Date unknown. Translated by United States Department of Defense. www.state.gov/p/nea/rls/31694.htm.
- Zawahiri, Ayman al. Transcript of interview by al-Sahab Media Productions. September 11, 2006. Translator unknown. www.core.ac.uk/display/20561602.
- Zawahiri, Ayman al. Untitled letter to Zarqawi. July 9, 2005. Translator unknown. www.ctc.westpoint.edu/harmony-program/zawahiris-letter-to-zarqawi-original-language-2/.
- Zelin, Aaron. "Jihadi 'counterterrorism.' Hayat Tahrir al-Sham versus the Islamic State." *CTC Sentinel* 16:2 (2023), 14-25. www.ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/CTC-SENTINEL-022023.pdf.
- Zelin, Aaron. "The war between ISIS and al-Qaeda for supremacy of the global jihadist movement." *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, June 26, 2014. www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/war-between-isis-and-al-qaeda-supremacy-global-jihadist-movement.

Conversations and interviews

- Academic. Informal conversation by Wietse van den Berge. Ainkawa, August 20, 2014.
- Asayesh* officers. Interview by Wietse van den Berge. Suleimaniyah, April 7, 2015.
- IS *emir*. Interview by Wietse van den Berge. Suleimaniyah, April 8, 2015.
- KRG official. Interview by Wietse van den Berge. Suleimaniyah, April 8, 2015.
- Local journalist. Informal conversation by Wietse van den Berge. Ainkawa, September 14, 2014.
- Low-rank IS-member 1. Interview by Wietse van den Berge & Mark Dechesne. Kirkuk, November 11, 2015.
- Low-rank IS-member 2. Interview by Wietse van den Berge & Mark Dechesne. Kirkuk, November 11, 2015.
- PUK general. Interview by Wietse van den Berge & Mark Dechesne. Kirkuk, November 11, 2015.
- Two Hawija inhabitants. Interview by Wietse van den Berge & Mark Dechesne. Kirkuk, November 11, 2015.
- UN security official. Informal conversation by Wietse van den Berge. Erbil, November 13, 2014.
- YPG commander. Interview by Wietse van den Berge. Email, January 2, 2024. Translated via Google Translate.

