THE EMERGENCE AND RISE OF ISIS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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ABSTRACT

THE EMERGENCE AND RISE OF ISIS

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This thesis research will investigate an in-depth study of the ISIS. The purpose of this study is to provide a general literature review of ISIS's history, ideology, politics and military movements in local, regional and international dimensions. It was also aimed to locate it in other Islamist movements and find out the interaction of its movements with the international interventions. The main research question of the thesis was the how ISIS emerged and rose other in the region. The analysis of this study had shown that there was a highly positive interaction between different fundamentalist Islamist groups which also played very important roles in the emergence and rise of ISIS. In addition, the military interventions of the foreign powers were another important determinant of the emergence of ISIS. According to many statements of the literature, ISIS became a model and gave courage to other groups to re-emerge in different forms. In addition to this, it is possible to find the impact of the ISIS in other parts of the world. There were groups especially in Africa and Asia, who started to act similar to ISIS although they had no official connections with the ISIS. ISIS's impact was very much seen in different regions in the form of extreme radicalism. Although ISIS was

announced as defeated after the end of the military interventions, it was still known that there was a high chance of the group's resurgence because of its strong networks.

ÖZ

IŞİD'İN ORTAYA ÇIKIŞI VE YÜKSELİŞİ

Helvalı, Nuran

Yüksek Lisans, Orta Doğu Araştırmaları

Tez Yöneticisi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Derya Göçer

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Bu tez araştırması, IŞİD'in derinlemesine çalışmasını araştıracaktır. Bu çalışmanın amacı IŞİD'in tarihini, ideolojisini, siyasetini ve askeri-harekâtlarını yerel, bölgesel ve uluslararası boyutlarda genel bir literatür taramasıyla sağlamaktır. Aynı zamanda, onu diğer İslamcı hareketlere yerleştirmek ve hareketlerinin uluslararası müdahalelerle etkileşimini bulmak da amaçlanmıştır. Tezin ana araştırma sorusu, IŞİD'in bölgede nasıl ortaya çıktığı ve nasıl yükseldiğidir. Bu çalışmanın analizi sonucunda, farklı köktendinci İslamcı gruplar arasında IŞİD'in ortaya çıkışında ve yükselişinde oldukça önemli roller oynayan bir etkileşim içinde olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Ayrıca, yabancı güçlerin askeri müdahaleleri IŞİD'in ortaya çıkışında bir başka önemli belirleyici faktör olduğu da görülmüştür. Literatürdeki birçok ifadeye göre, IŞİD bir model haline gelmiş ve diğer gruplara farklı şekillerde yeniden ortaya çıkma cesareti vermiştir. Bununla birlikte, IŞİD'in etkisini dünyanın diğer bölgelerinde de bulmak mümkündür. Özellikle Afrika ve Asya'da IŞİD ile resmi bir bağlantısı olmamasına rağmen IŞİD'e benzer şekilde hareket etmeye başlayan gruplar vardır. IŞİD'in etkisi farklı bölgelerde aşırı radikalizm şeklinde görülmüştür. Her ne kadar IŞİD askeri müdahaleler sonucunda yenilmiş olduğu ilan edilmiş olsa da güçlü ağları nedeniyle grubun yeniden diriliş şansının yüksek olduğu hala bilinmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Köktendincilik, İslami köktencilik, radikalizm, aşırıcılık

To My Family…

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

ISIS, which is known as the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham had a rapid increase aiming to establish an Islamic caliphate with the implementation of the Sharia Law. ISIS became one of the most violent terror groups in the Middle East and its violence had quickly spread throughout the world. The movements of ISIS had created extreme level of anxiety for the people in the world. It became very important to analyze the emergence of ISIS as a global phenomenon in order to successfully alter it and prevent emergence of similar types of groups.

Generally, as a global phenomenon, there are many factors listed behind its emergence such as social, economic, political, ethnic, sectarian, religious reasons, in addition, the interventions of the foreign powers and rise of Islamophobia played important roles. The emergence of ISIS is a multi-causal phenomenon. In the first chapter, the factors for the emergence of ISIS will be explained under three different events. The first factor for its emergence is the ideological separations from the Al-Qaeda. Although it was a by-product of Al-Qaeda, it was more successful in controlling larger areas, declaring its caliphate, using more violence and targeting everyone who are in the opposition side. The main divergence in their ideologies was on their targets. ISIS was targeting internal enemies such as Shias, Kurds and non-Sunni communities whereas Al-Qaeda was targeting the external enemies like the Western states. According to ISIS, the internal enemies were way more dangerous than the external ones and it was harshly striking them to implement their ideologies. The second most important factor is the 2003 Iraq war. The United States with its coalition forces had decided to launch a war in Iraq. The war was justified with the claims of Iraq's holding of weapons of mass destruction, supporting the terrorists and harming the people such as the Kurds,

Shias and opposing ones. In addition, there were countries who opposed the intervention of the United States in Iraq because there was no certain proof of the holding of the weapons of the mass destruction. These opposition discourses did not affect the intervention decision of the United States. The 2003 Iraq war was the eruption point for the emergence of the ISIS as one of the most extremist fundamentalist organizations. The people in Iraq had suffered from the invasion of the United States and political, economic and cultural instabilities massively increased. The perfect environment for the emergence of the terror groups was consisted with the inefficient political functioning and strong state institutions.

The 2011 Syrian uprisings became the last factor for ISIS to expand to other states. ISIS as a radical fundamentalist organization had waged extreme movements. It had caused thousands of murders, displaced people and refugees. The international military interventions were ordered to target the ISIS and destroy all of its militants and safe havens. In the result of the military interventions, ISIS had lost the war in the battlefield and the territories it had conquered were all taken back. Unfortunately, for the ideological perspective, the international interventions were not as much successful. ISIS during its top points, had established the very strong networks that will not easily be defeated. Today, the threat of ISIS still continues and it launches attacks throughout world. It remains unknown whether ISIS will all be defeated or will it be re-emerged in the future.

After analyzing the history of ISIS and understanding the main reasons behind its emergence, the rise of ISIS will be considered in the second chapter. I will start with explaining its strong ideology as one of the most important element that unified the members of the ISIS for a long time of period. As jihadi Salafists, Islam was their strongest ideology. Under their Salafism, they considered themselves as the only true believers of Islam and had the right to fight others in favour of their so called Islamic caliphate. Although there were contradictions in the implementation of their ideologies, they were very strict in its implementations. ISIS became very extreme in its oppressions and on the other hand, as they were successfully conquering different

places, they were receiving more and more support from other Islamist fundamentalists people. Understanding the ideology of ISIS is very important in terms of understanding its relations with other Islamists and prevent emergence of similar type of groups. Both in Iraq and Syria, the political, religious, sectarian and economic problems, the regime changes, and alienation of the Sunni population from the government and the military gave opportunity for this people to join ISIS. The people who were angry of their governments found ISIS as a supporter of their ideas and a way to fight for their rights and re-gain loses. Unfortunately, these previous high military ranking officials and bureaucrats played very important roles on the rise of ISIS with their experiences and networks. In addition, the structure of the group was considered as very successful. The group was also very rich generally with the financial aids, robbery, and control of the natural resources. Its members were very skilled in technology, especially in communication where ISIS was very successful in using social media and effected many foreigners to join the group as foreign fighters. In 2014, ISIS was declared its Islamic caliphate. After the declaration of its caliphate, ISIS also started its global terror attacks causing deaths of hundreds of civilians.

In the third chapter, the rise of and fall of the international interventions will be written. The global "war on terror" strategy of the United States dates back to the 2003 war on Iraq. As opposed to the "war on terror" strategy of the United States, when it came to 2011, the intervention had helped the emergence of a stronger terror group. As the group became a threat to global peace and security, expanded geographically, prepared extreme attacks throughout the world, spread ideologically and became very violent in their tactics, the United States in cooperation with the coalition forces decided to do military interventions to stop the abuse of the ISIS. The coalition forces decided to intervene to regain their conquered territories and remove the spreading jihadist ideology of ISIS. Starting from 2014 until the end of 2017, the coalition forces did successfully receive 98% of the ISIS conquered territories. The regaining of the territories did not mean end of the ISIS. After the defeat of ISIS, the main question became what will happen to the remaining militants of the ISIS. There were debates on the repatriation of the foreign fighters. Some states were scared of possible internal

terrorism that they can create and they did not want their returns whereas others argued on regaining them into the society. The military interventions were argued as being too late. It was also argued that finding the real reasons behind the emergence of these types of terror groups and preventing their appearance will be more efficient than preparing military interventions to stop their threat. In the emergence of terror groups and in international interventions the civilian deaths become unavoidable. Therefore, as it was seen after the 2003 Iraq war, the interventions can bring more problems to the region and provide opportunities for the rise of other Islamist fundamentalist organizations.

In the last chapter, the effect of ISIS on the fundamentalist Islamists will be discussed. ISIS was seen as a stronger organization than the previous fundamentalists, it gained more support and it is argued that it became a model for other fundamentalist groups. The fundamentalism which was referring to the origins of the Islam came up as radicalism, extremism and terrorism in the new era. The Islamic fundamentalists were generally aiming to eliminate the Western effects end return to the origins of Islam. There were divergences within the fundamentalists. Some of the fundamentalists believed that state and the religion should be separated from each other and there were others who argued that Islam is referring to all aspects of the live so there is no need for their separation. There were also fundamentalists who supported the terrorism and others opposed. The supporter of the terror fundamentalists found the movements to establish the Islamic caliphate as their holy duty. According to the most threatening terror groups, such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS, their extremism was because of the attempts of the Western powers in the Middle East. The result of the interventions which brought thousands of civilians, economic deficiencies and political instabilities led the extremism in the region.

CHAPTER 2

THE EMERGENCE OF ISIS

In this chapter, the main short term causes of ISIS will be discussed. First of all, its ideological separation from Al-Qaeda and establishing its own caliphate, secondly, the 2003 Iraq War and its effects in the emergence of ISIS and lastly, the 2011 Syrian Civil War and its influence on ISIS emergence will be written. There is a historical complicated background behind its emergence, therefore it's a multi-casual phenomenon.

In recent history, the belief for guidance of Islam had increased in terms of social, political and personal lives of the people. The demand for Islamic guidance and lacking efficacy and legitimacy of states had provided opportunity for the rise of Islamists. Amongst many Islamist groups, ISIS became to be known as one of the most powerful terrorist militant organization in the Middle East (Berman, 2013). It was formed as a by-product of Al-Qaeda Central. It has gained control of large areas beginning with Iraq and Syria and quickly spread throughout the region. ISIS declared its own caliphate, used brutal violence of tactics, killings on civilians, and committed for many terrorist attacks around the world. In terms of its tactics, it destroyed monuments in ancient temples, antiquity and other important buildings. It had changed its name several times during its existence. It was named as the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) in between 2006-2013, it became Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) between 2013-2014, and from 2014 and onwards it was named as the Islamic State. ISIS as a global phenomenon had many complex factors in its emergence, rise and decline. It is possible to talk about multi-casualty in its emergence which includes the factors of religion, sectarian and ethnic conflicts, social and political desire for domination, economic problems, states' inefficient rulings, international interventions, growing Islamophobia and many other internal and external factors. Amongst all of the reasons,

there are three important events in history which had caused the emergence of ISIS (Sanchez, 2017).

2.1. Ideological Separation of ISIS from Al-Qaeda in between 2003-2006

The first factor that caused the emergence of the ISIS was in between the period of 2003-2006 when ISIS ideologically started to separate from Al-Qaeda. Although, there were many similarities between Al-Qaeda and ISIS, they also differed in their ideologies and visions. Al-Qaeda was founded by Osama bin Laden with various other militants who fought with the Afghanistan's Taliban against the Soviet occupation as a reaction to the colonial powers. The main aim of Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda was to remove the Western influences in the Middle East and North Africa to strengthen the position of the Sunni Muslims. It was formed as a kind of umbrella organization with its subsidiaries in different states throughout the Middle East and North Africa. Al-Qaeda was formed by the veterans of Taliban and ISIS similarly reshaped from the affiliates of Al-Qaeda in Iraq. Jihadism was main aim of both Al-Qaeda and ISIS to defeat opponents of Sunni branch of Islam and establish Islamic caliphate. They were both aiming to establish a caliphate through expanding to large geographic regions with constituting governments that are ruled with Islamic Sharia (Styszynski, 2014). In their statements, the Islamic governments were going to have the Caliph, implement Islamic rules and make Ummah to follow them. When their strategies are considered, it is possible to say that they both used modern technology and established strong public relations to receive support. In terms of ISIS, especially social media was used very professionally and quick to spread their news, progresses and the new made plans. In terms of their differences, Al-Qaeda's targets were more external parties. The September 11attacks was one of the most important external attacks of Al-Qaeda in the U.S. The main plan behind targeting external people was to implement their ideologies abroad. As opposed to Al-Qaeda, Islamic State was dealing more with the Muslim people, trying to implement its ideologies through violent acts. According to the Islamic State, the enemy inside was more dangerous than the enemy outside. ISIS was against any group apart from Sunni Muslims. The Sunni Muslims became targets

when they did not support ISIS's extremist strategies and ideas (McCants, 2015). Generally, ISIS was trying to improve their strategies to gain more control of the territories and fight against the Shias, Kurds and non-Sunni communities whereas Al-Qaeda was focusing on the West, fighting to eliminate Western influence in the Muslim world. As a more violent organization, the emergence of ISIS started to decrease the apprehensions of Al-Qaeda and the world's attention was turned to this new Islamist terror group. The strategy of ISIS to establish an Islamic State became bigger concern in the international sphere (Shamieh & Szenes, 2015).

While ISIS's separation from Al-Qaeda was only publicly announced during the Syrian civil war in 2011, the roots of the conflict between ISIS and Al-Qaeda can already be traced to 2003 when Al-Zarqawi started to led the Iraqi branch of Al-Qaeda, named Al-Qaeda in Iraq. The founder of this militant organization was Ahmad Fadil Nazzal al Kalaylah, who was born in Jordan, in a large and a poor family, dropped out of school at the ninth grade (Oosterveld & Bloem, 2017). Previously, his attitudes were totally against the Islamic laws and practices where he was drinking alcohol, robbing, drug dealing and doing many other crimes. He was also referred as the 'green man' with his heavy tattoos in many parts of his body. When he was at the age of his early twenties, in order to redeem himself, he attended to Tablighi Jamaat which was a South Asian Islamic revivalist organization. The main goal of the organization was to raise better Muslims. After becoming a member of Tablighi Jamaat, Zarqawi joined the opposition forces in Afghanistan when Soviet Union was already withdrawing from the country. Similar to many other Jihadists he took nom de guerre based on his hometown and he became Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Zarqawi became at the top of the interest for the U.S. President George W. Bush. He was following radical branch of Sunni Islam and formed party of Monotheism and Jihad which in Arabic meant Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad, or JT.

At the beginning of his movement in Afghanistan, he was just writing newspapers but it was just the starting of his dream to start the battle for jihad. He started to get trained and joined in some important fights which were in between different parties in

Afghanistan for power in the government. The international networks that he established had helped him very much in his jihadist movements. Especially, Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi turned out to be his main advisor, who was the main establisher of jihadi Salafism which opposes any government that is not based on strict interpretation of Shariah. Zarqawi became the examiner of Maqdisi's theories in real times and wars. When they both returned to Jordan in 1993, they had joined various banned jihadi groups and carried out terrorist operations. When Zarqawi captured and prisoned in Jordan, he educated himself, formulated his ideas and tried to gather prison mates. After his release from the prison, he tried to participate in a prevented bomb attempts where he succeeded to escape first to Pakistan then to Afghanistan and met Osama bin Laden. It is not really possible to state that both men had any common ideas except an attempt for a violent jihad. Osama bin Laden was educated and an elite member with his followers where Zarqawi was very limited in his education and attitude. Although, Osama bin Laden had disliked Zarqawi's claims on that all the Shia Muslims are not true followers of Islam and they must be killed, he was still allowed to establish his training camp in Afghanistan but was not officially a branch of Al-Qaeda. Zarqawi was receiving financial aid from Al-Qaeda Central with the consent of Taliban's leader Mullah Omar but was operating separately. He started to be seen in Syria, Iran and Lebanon to collect new fighter, trying to focus more on Muslim states where bin Laden was more prone to the West, planning terrorist attacks abroad. Zarqawi was also rejecting bin Laden's request of oath of loyalty prior to his September 11 attacks in the United States.

He was in the training camps in Afghanistan and made an important decision to be replaced in Iraq during the U.S. invasion of Iraq. After September 11 attacks, the United States and their allies invaded Afghanistan where Zarqawi and his followers had fought in the side of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. He escaped to Iran and from there to Iraqi Kurdistan to join Kurdish jihadist organization Ansar al-Islam. There were claims on him being supporter of Saddam Hussein but he had gained advantage on Iraq's invasion and established Al-Qaeda in Iraq. On March 20, 2003, the United States and their allies had invaded Iraq with claims on that Saddam Hussein had ties with Al-

Qaeda, promoting weapons of mass destruction. Zarqawi intensified his attacks when Saddam Hussein was toppled and replaced with Shiite led government. The Bush administration started to announce Zarqawi's name as the link between Al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein, claiming that Iraq was providing safe harbouring to terrorists but there was no official evidence found between Saddam Hussein and Zarqawi nor with Al-Qaeda (Warrick, 2015).

Overall, the strategic and ideological differences between the Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and Ayman al-Zawahiri led the split in the group. ISIS was established with adopting way more violent strategies than Al-Qaeda. Although al-Zarqawi had pledged his loyalty to al-Qaeda, he was acting separately with aiming a sectarian war between Sunnis and Shias. Zarqawi was targeting Muslims whereas Zawahiri was more violent to the external parties. Therefore, it is possible to state that, the divergences between the leaders had split the groups and ISIS emerged as a more violent organization (Clarke, 2019).

2.2. The United States Invasion of Iraq in 2003

The second casual factor was the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the civil war that had emerged afterwards. There were variety of factors that led to the United States intervention in Iraq and in result, it created a great chaos in the country. The intervention included political, economic and ideological purposes. First of all, United States had declared that, Iraq was developing weapons of mass destruction. There were many contradicting arguments before the intervention between different U.S. policy makers. Some of these policy makers were arguing that there was no evidence found for Iraq's owning of weapons of mass destruction whereas others were supporting the intervention before Iraq using the weapons against the U.S. and its allies. Secondly, the Bush Administration had claimed that Iraq was supporting terrorism in the Middle East. According to the statements of the Bush Administration, the 2003 intervention was the enlargement of the "war on terror" strategy of the U.S. The "war on terror" strategy of the U.S. was declared in terms of its national security. After Osama bin

Laden's declaration of war against the United States and attack on September 11/2001, the "war on terror" strategy led the rise of Islamophobia in the United States and in Europe. The fear against Islam and Muslims had grew rapidly. The increase in right wing parties in the Europe and explanations of their leaders as Islam being foreign to the democratic values and principles did also increase the tension between the Muslim communities and the Western states. Europe's exclusive policies against Muslims were considered as another way of racism. The "war on terror" did not bring peace nor stability in the Middle East but it helped the emergence of extremist groups like ISIS. The grow of Islamophobia and the exclusion of Muslims in external societies pushed them to form their own defensive ideological groups. Although, when there were conflicts in the region, the external interventions had also played significant roles in the security problems and opened gates for the emergence of the terror groups. When ISIS was established, it called Muslims living in the West to kill the westerners. They were the enemies of Muslims and offending Islam and its prophet (Ahrari, 2017).

There were claims on Saddam's ties with Al-Qaeda and he was harbouring the militias. It was also argued that, Saddam had the possibility to transform the weapons of mass destruction to the terror groups which would threaten the global peace and security to a very high extend. After September 11, the U.S. had also received public support to intervene in Iraq. The promotion of democracy in Iraq was another justification factor of U.S. intervention in Iraq. As Saddam Hussein was considered as one of the most brutal dictator in the world, it was necessary to remove his regime and liberate the Iraqi people. By promoting democracy, the region was expected to become stable. There were also undeclared reasons such as U.S. strategic partnership with Israel. Israel was very important ally for the U.S. and it was the only supporter of the U.S. ideologies in the Middle East. The U.S. was going to prevent any possible attack of Iraq on Israel after its invasion in the region. Furthermore, oil politics was another very important undeclared reason for the intervention. The oil reserves were very important for U.S. because it did not want to be depended on the Persian oil reserves. There were also many scholars who also found the invasion as the continuation of the First Gulf War which happened in 1991 after Iraq's invasion in Kuwait. The dynamics that took place

after the First Gulf War had determined the 2003 invasion of Iraq to complete the unfinish aim from 1991. In general, it is possible to list many defined and undefined reasons for the intervention in Iraq. It is also very possible to say that it did not bring peace or stability in the region but left a great chaos (Amin, 2014).

The political conflicts and internal problems in Iraq had resulted a lot of internal divisions and provided opportunities for the rise of Islamist groups. The most important internal division began when Saddam Hussein's ruling regime had attacked the Kurds in northern Iraq and they had faced extreme crushing in the region. Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons to wipe out Kurds from the region and gained control of the petrol rich areas. The anger against Saddam had grew. The other important complication that devastated the country was Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Iraq invaded Kuwait with historical claims on Kuwait's belonging to Iraq. The actual intention behind this intervention was Kuwait's rich oil reserves. Iraq was forces out of Kuwait with intervention of U.S. led coalition and UN sanctions was imposed on Iraq. The no-fly zone policy helped Kurds and Shias to strengthen. The toppling of Saddam had replaced the Sunni government with the Shias. When the government and its political institutions weakened, the internal problems started to intensify between the Shias, Sunnis and the Kurds. These three main groups had all different aims for the new political structure of Iraq (Karsh & Ruatsi, 2008).

After the removal of Saddam Hussein, the Iraqis were enjoying ending of brutal dictator and the Bush administration was announcing the "accomplishment of mission" in Iraq. The U.S. had justified their intervention to Iraq as dealing with terrorism abroad so they do not emerge in their homeland. It was a half true prediction that Iraq was a proper place for growing of jihadists but the invasion of American troops strengthened the lightening of terrorists. The American invasion was described as a reason for rise of jihadism by the jihadist leaders. Abu Musab al Suri who was one of the most important strategist of jihadism had explained that the invasion can almost be considered as rescuer of the Islamist movement.

The invasion had led to a quick rise in the attacks of terrorism within Iraq. In the first year, 78 terrorist attacks were seen and in the second year that number increased to 302 and the attacks started to jump abroad. When the civil war started in Iraq, the mission of the United States had changed from combatting terrorism to nation-building. The first attempt of the U.S. was dissolving military and dismissing all members of the Ba'athist Party of Saddam Hussein. Approximately, more than 100,000 members of the Ba'ath government administration and military personal were disbanded. These members became unemployed, angry for being removed and the soldiers remained armed. This huge number of people who were both intellectually educated and militarily experienced did carry dangerous potential for the emergence of a violent opposition. Also, the border control had decreased and it became easy for foreign fighters to enter into the country (Kaválek, 2015).

Zarqawi took the opportunity from Iraq's damaged and non-functioning politics and seized the power. Prior to U.S. invasion of Iraq, Zarqawi was not seen as a successful leader and there was no proper environment for him to show his tactics. After the invasion, the politically Sunni dominated country was handed over to Shia majority, the efforts to implement democracy into the country system had failed and de-Baathification process had angered the people. The change in the country system had also started to serve for the interest of the United States. It was the first time after the 1979 Iranian Revolution, that U.S. had allied with Shia governing leaders in the Middle East. The post war situation of Iraq was just the beginning of the sectarian conflicts in the region.

In 2003, the followers of Zarqawi intensified their attacks and bombed U.N. Mission Center and the Jordanian Embassy in Baghdad. In one of the most important attacks, the Shia cleric Ayatollah Muhammad Bakr al-Hakim was killed with 95 people in the mosque (Levitt & Sawyer, 2004). Even though there were some disagreements between Osama bin Laden and Zarqawi, the tension had decreased when Zarqawi accepted oath to loyalty to bin Laden and announced the new jihadist movement: Tanzim Qaeda al jihad fi Bilad al Rafidayn or Al-Qaeda in the Land of Tigris and

Euphrates which meets in Iraq. This group became known as the Al-Qaeda in Iraq. In the following months, in order to attract international attention, Zarqawi's group continued to increase their suicide bombings. There were foreign fighters joining the organization especially from Saudi Arabia, Syria, Libya, Yemen and North Africa. Zarqawi continued to act independently from Al-Qaeda Central and followed a strategy that was contrary to bin Laden's. Zarqawi was using *Takfir* in order to justify his attacks on Muslims which had also caused troubles for bin Laden. When Osama bin Laden was killed in Abbottabad in 2011, there were many complaining letters found about the regional powers' being non-attentive on their targets. Osama bin Laden was trying to focus their attention to the West instead of causing deaths of civilian Muslims. After the death of Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri became to new leader of the Al-Qaeda. Zarqawi implemented ideological support from jihadi text "Idarat al Tawahhush" which means "*Management of Savagery*" written by Abu Bakr Naji. It was written to establish a jihadist caliphate and take lessons from previous experiences and failures of the jihadist movements. Its chapters involved altering the economy of the enemy, demoralizing the population, sending messages through violent attacks and expanding jihadist controlling regions. The U.S. was planned to be dragged into the conflicts of the Middle East and damage its image throughout the region. Al Naji's ideologies were very influential in the Middle East especially in Iraq. Abu Musab al-Suri was another important jihadi ideologue for Zarqawi with his book "*A Call to a Global Islamic Resistance*". The big hatred towards Shia Muslims had increased with the effects of these ideologues. In 2005, Iraq voted for the first time to elect their full-term government. Jalal Talabani who was a Sunni Kurd was elected as the president and came to an agreement with Shia supporting groups with appointing Nuri al-Maliki as the new prime minister (Cockburn, 2015).

Zarqawi's objection on sectarian targets had continued to impress Iraqis who were mostly Sunni and expelled from the government or the military. The provoked attacks and deaths of dozens of lives had continued to increase each day in the region. These attacks were the initiator of the civil war which was going to damage the nation as a whole in Iraq. In 2006, Zarqawi was killed in a U.S. airstrike and the situation in Iraq

was hoped to be positively changed. The Al-Qaeda in Iraq was hoped to collapse when its leaders were removed. The death photos of Zarqawi were published by the Defense Department which was a miscalculation and brought the image of him as a martyrdom to his followers. Zarqawi was praised with efforts and services to Al-Qaeda. The praising of Zarqawi by Zawahiri was used to call for the members of Al-Qaeda in Iraq to establish the new Islamic State. In the following months, the rebellions from the Mujahideen Shura Council formed the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). Abu Hamza al Muhajir who was the successor of the Al-Qaeda after Zarqawi promised his loyalty the Islamic State of Iraq and to its leader Abu Omar al-Baghdadi. ISIS decided to not continue with sectarian massacre and follow Zawahiri's goal which was to establish an Islamic caliphate until the end of American departure from Islamic world. However, ISIS still had continued to target civilians pulling away from its so called clean statements (Riedel, 2015).

In 2014, when the violence of ISIS had rapidly increased in the region and worldwide, U.S. General David Petraeus decided to increase the number of the U.S. troops to secure the region and global peace and security. The U.S. forces began to expand to neighbouring regions with the help of Iraqis. General Petraeus planned to collect Sunni Arabs and previous rebellions in their combatting against the Islamic State. There were many former "Sunni Awakening" rebellions against U.S. who later joined the U.S. troops to save their communities. Some of former rebellions hoped to become a part of Iraqi military and continue to live in a safe environment and some was skeptical who foresighted the unkept promises (Stern & Berger, 2015).

On the other hand, according to the situation in Iraq in 2008, the stabilization was achieved and there was no violent group managing the country. The economy and ties between different communities had improved to some extent. In the same year, unexpectedly, Maliki had sent Iraqi military towards to Shi'a militias who were against the U.S. presence in the country. Until Maliki's State of Law coalition had failed to win majority in the parliament, there were a lot of promises given between different communities to stand against the terrorizing groups in Iraq. When Maliki saw his

position in danger, he turned to Iran, received help from Iran's Badr Organization which was previously funded militia of Iran, promising a voice in the government in return. According to the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, Zalmay Khalilzad, when Iran started to pressure Maliki to force U.S. to departure from country in 2011, the sectarian conflicts also began to increase. With the decrease of U.S. interest from the country, its troops were withdrawn from Iraq in 2011 (Lynch, 2014). According to Ryan Crocker, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq from 2007 to 2009, the U.S. was the linking tie of Iraq between different communities, and without them they would not be able to function properly. President Maliki's distrust towards Sunni Iraqis started to show up when the U.S. troops had left the country. He ordered to arrest of vice president Tariq Hashimi claiming that he had ties with the terrorist groups. The Sunni part of the population started to protest the parliament, they were angry and started to radicalize in their sectarian ideologies. President Maliki continued his claims on the linkages between the Sunni Arabs and the terrorist groups which intensified the population against the regime. In 2012, the protests started to increase and flags of Al-Qaeda rose where Maliki had panicked and sent troops. According to the reports of Human Rights Watch, there were hundreds of deaths and extreme violation against the Sunni Muslim protest camps. The Amnesty International had stated that some Shi'a militias started killing Sunni Arabs pretending as members of the army. Patrick Cockburn, a reporter on the Middle East had stated that Maliki was not responsible for every mistake in the country but he was one of the leading reasons for Sunni Iraqis to join on ISIS (Stern & Berger, 2015).

Furthermore, Sahra, which was the coalition of tribal sheikhs in Anbar province from Saddam Hussein's military office were disappointed with the attempts of Maliki's Shia policies against the Sunni population. The main aim of the Sahra members was to establish a community to provide stability in the country. The Sahra members started to join ISIS when they began to receive higher salaries. ISIS had also benefitted from their propaganda referring to the completing their aim of establishment of 'Islamic State' projects. The first leader of ISIS Abu Omar al-Baghdadi's connection with Quraysh clan which was coming from Prophet Mohammad had legitimized their

purposes on jihad. Abu Omar al-Baghdadi who was thought to be the next caliph was killed in 2010 and replaced with Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi also had claims on his roots coming from Quraysh and declared his own caliphate. ISIS had excessive civilian casualties on their targets. In 2014, there was a video released to announce the establishment of the caliphate under Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. This attitude of al-Baghdadi disappointed other Islamic leaders including the ones who supported the resistance in Iraq. Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaraqawi is one example who found the declaration of caliphate by al-Baghdadi as senseless and not fulfilling the actual requirements of Islam. Mohammad al-Yayoubi was another important Islamic scholar finding ISIS not as an Islamic State but followers of Islam which is written on internet. In the following days, the 126 Islamic leaders blaming al-Baghdadi for being extremely brutal and violent in his strategies (Bunzel, 2015).

As a result of the war, because U.S. had no placement plan when they removed Saddam Hussein from the power, the intervention had caused an instable environment and Iraq turned out as a failed state. According to many neo-conservatives of the U.S., the intervention was going to be welcomed by the Iraqis who were tired of Saddam's brutal dictatorship but this thought turned out as a mistake. The colonial experiences had turned the Iraqi people as the enemies of the U.S. and its allies. The invasion had brought insecurity deficiencies, damaged the infrastructure, the public health decreased and it caused a long continuing civil war with hundreds of civilian deaths. The Shia's gained advantage as opposed to the Sunnis in the country. The absence of a strong state institutions and lack of political functioning gave great opportunities for Al-Qaeda in Iraq to form up their roots in 2004 (Hinnebush, 2017).

2.3. Emergence of the Syrian Civil War in 2011

The last short-term cause of ISIS was the emergence of the Syrian Civil War in 2011. Syria, which is located in a very important strategic location in the Middle East, a neighbour to Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon, Israel and Jordan was experiencing an extreme violence within its borders. There were many political, social and economic

instabilities in its neighbouring states. It was also a neighbour to the central states like Iran and Israel in the region. Syria had a long conflictual politics and suffered from the repeated coups beginning from its independence. Hafez al-Assad who was an Alawite Muslim took the power in 1970 and ruled the country for 30 years. The working class and the peasantry had supported him because he provided employment and non-Sunni Arabs had supported his secular nationalistic rhetoric. He was also successful in building the Syrian army with the help of Soviet Union. On the other hand, he had excluded Kurds, and former Sunni Arab elite from the politics. The autocratic leader's strict policies and attacks against the protestors prepared the ground for the coming Syrian crisis (Khaddour, 2015).

When the Baath Party was handed over to Bashar al-Assad in 2000, he was expected to provide more freedom to the public. Bashar al-Assad tried to implement some economic and political reforms towards more liberalization. It was not easy for Syria to transform to unusual system of government. The people who were close to the government started to benefit from economic liberalization. It became an advantage between Alawite branch of the society in patron-client relationships for government contracts and monopolies. However, there were protests taking place in order for Assad to reform his policies and he harshly responded to the pro- reform activists and protestors. These were the general national level of reasons why the protests began and turned out to a civil war in Syria. At the regional level, the public was also highly effected by the wave of Arab Spring that started in North Africa and quickly jumped to other regions in the Middle East. The demonstrations of the Arab Spring in the region was an important spirit and hope to overthrow the unjust governments (Khan & Khan, 2017). In the Syrian case, the first signs of the appearance of the civil war came on 2011 when people began to protest the Assad's prohibition of public protests. However, the un-proportional violence of the government started to increase when children in a school in Dara'a painted anti-regime graffiti on the walls. The security forces had tortured the children and the discontent of the population increased the tension of the protests. The demands for the removal of Assad were violently suppressed by the regime forces and caused deaths of protestors. Assad's attempts of

implementing some reforms were too late to calm the protestors down. Assad was even willing to negotiate with the opposition while on the other hand he kept continuing his violent attacks. The regime started to appoint Alawi-led paramilitary organization Shabiha which were attacking the members of the opposition. On the other hand, the opposition was trying to strengthen by establishing Local Coordinating Councils. In smaller areas, the Revolutionary Councils were established for strategic media support to the uprising. There were 56 opposition groups developed by the Syrian Revolutionary General Commission. In the following days, the opposition groups had formed the Syrian National Council to represent all national opposition groups. The increase in the level of resistance had also increased the oppression coming from the regime, deploying tanks, jets and other heavy military equipment. The conflict became impossible to resolve by the unaccountable groups emerged within and outside the country. It is possible to say that different aims of the internal groups and the involvement of the external parties had highly affected the direction of the conflict and extended its resolution. Each party either supporting the Assad regime or the opposition had played very crucial roles in the conflict (Wimmen, 2016).

2.3.1. The Parties Involved in the Conflict

There were many parties involved in the conflict from inside and outside the country. It was a very complex conflict with almost all parties bringing arms and supporting armed groups in terms of their interests. The primary parties were the Assad regime, Shabiha militias, Iraqi militias, Hezbollah, the Syrian National Council, Local Coordination Committees, the Free Syrian Army, Islamists militias, and Kurdish groups. These parties were mostly divided as the supporters of the Assad regime or the opposition. However, the high number of fragmentations in the country had radicalized the conflict and helped the emergence of the radical Islamist groups. In terms of the Syrian regime under Assad rule, it was composed of the Syrian Army, National Defense Force and the Republican Guard. These groups were highly loyal to the Assad regime. In terms of the internal supporters of the Assad regime, firstly, Shabiha militias were primarily Alawite paramilitaries fighting against the opposition forces. Prior to

the civil war, they were mostly in jail and released to join the regime's army. Secondly, Iraqi militias were the Shia fighters and religious extremists in Iraq and Syria. They received training from Iran and Hezbollah, fighting against the opposition forces. It is not completely possible to state their commanders as they were fighting with the Assad regime but the Iraqi Sunni opposition was supporting the Syrian opposition. Hezbollah was another very important party for Assad regime and similarly, Syria's strategic location was very important for Hezbollah's transforming of its military supplies. When Hezbollah's Secretary General announced that they were taking important roles in Syria, ISIS and al-Nusra had attacked Lebanon (Laub, 2017).

On the side of the opposition the Syrian National Coalition was a strong supporter and had created the Syrian National Coalition. The coalition was established in Doha, dominated by the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood and was recognized as the legitimate representative of the Syrian people. The Free Syrian Army was the main opposition force established by Riad al-Asaad in 2011. Its members were mainly from the extorted members of the Syrian army and Sunni soldiers. It gathered many minority opposition groups fighting against the regime. The leaders of the group were trying to make it the umbrella and only legitimate group of the opposition. The operations they carried were mainly carried outside of Syria which created communication and coordination problems. When they started to have legitimacy problems, the main opposition group leaders established Supreme Military Command and unified all commanders. There were also many Islamist groups fighting against both the Assad regime or the opposition groups. The strongest in its ideology and extreme group compared to other Islamist groups was the Syrian Islamic Front. The Syrian Islamic Front was the main Salafist organization, containing close to 12 Islamist groups fighting against the Assad regime. It was aiming to establish an Islamic State under Shura Council. The other complicated group were the Kurdish groups which was making the 10% of the total population and mostly from Sunni Muslims and a minority of Yezidis. They were excluded from economic, social and civil rights for a long time of period. The main demand of the Kurdish Regional Government was political autonomy, removal of discrimination and recognition of Kurdish national identity. They Syrian National

Council had rejected this claim. In 2012, the Kurdish National Council and People's Council of Western Kurdistan formed Kurdish Supreme Council to protect the Kurds. The People's Protection Units (YPG) became the strongest branch. In terms of the Syrian conflict, Kurds were trying to stay neutral and protect their own areas. When they gained so called independence in Northeastern Kurdish areas they were accused of being supporter of the regime. The success of the Kurdish attacks against the regime had eliminated these claims. Similar claims were made between the FSA and YPG because they were both fighting against ISIS in Aleppo (Abboud, 2017).

2.3.2. Extra-Regional Powers

There were also secondary parties involved in the Syrian conflict. Russia was the one of the main secondary party which supported the Assad regime. Moscow had stated that their support to Assad was to prevent the expansion of radical Islamists in the region. Moscow was often blaming radicalization of the conflict especially when jihadist Sunni groups started to emerge as terrorist organizations. However, there was an important strategic alliance between Syria and USSR starting from 1970s. Syria as opposed to many other states carrying U.S. and Western interests was more prone to Russia. Putin was seeing Syria as a proxy battleground between Shia and Sunni communities. On the opposite side, Turkey was supporting the Free Syrian Army. Turkey and its main foreign policy of 'zero problems with neighbours' was damaged by the Syrian conflict. The relations between Turkey and Syria had decreased when Turkish President Erdogan had asked Assad to bring some reforms and Assad began his attacks on the opposition group members. Turkey had backed the opposition forces, hasted Syrian National Council and opened its borders for Syrian refugees. However, Turkey was scared of the establishment of possible Kurdish region in Northern Syria which could also evoke the Kurds in Turkey. Turkish political and military intervention to Syria ended its neutral image in the region. The U.S. was another state condemning the Assad's violent attacks against the opposition groups. Assad was an important ally of Iran which was an enemy of the U.S. Iran was in conflict with the U.S. since 1979 Iranian Revolution and it was called as the "Axis of Evil" including

Syria and the North Korea by President George W. Bush. It was important to overthrow the Iran backed regime in Syria and cut its links with the Hezbollah. U.S. was also worried about Syria's potential for containing chemical and biological weapons. According to U.S. there was a possibility of Syria to transform these weapons to jihadist groups. There were many other groups and organizations that took important roles in the sectarian, ethnic and religious fragmentations and clearly changed the destiny of the country. The security problems of the borders led to the flow of the Islamists extremists into the country. The fragmented society had left many security problems, including the flow of the Islamists groups (Pillon M. , 2014). This conflict was another great opportunity for ISIS to grow its roots and expand to other regions. In 2011, Bashar al-Assad provided a general amnesty, releasing an important number of Syrian extremists from the prison. According to some experts, Assad helped ISIS to grow and spread Jihadism in order to secure his own position. With releasing jihadists from prison Assad encouraged terrorism to demoralize the opposition and prevent the possible intervention of the West. Assad is assumed as trying to facilitate the armed groups to create a bridge between the Syrian regime and the opposition. Assad planned to be left with the jihadists and provided two options for other states in the world (Griffing, 2018). Through the August 2011, al-Baghdadi appointed Abu Mohammad al-Joulani to move into the Syria and form up a new arm of Al-Qaeda in Iraq. Jabhat al-Nusra was established by al-Joulani in 2012 with its members fighting in the Syrian war. In between 2012-2013, the Islamic State had attacked to the prisons in Iraq and collected a significant number of new members to the group. Iraq's weakness to prevent terror attacks had increased the manpower and it successfully maintained a ground for the upcoming crisis.

Joulani's independent actions started concerns for al-Baghdadi that he would separate from Al-Qaeda and continue as a separate entity. In 2013, Baghdadi ordered a unilateral control of operations in Syria and Iraq. In order to substantiate this change, he renamed the group as "the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria" shortly "Daesh". Joulani with support of Zawahiri opposed Baghdadi 's decision, cut the ties of ISIS and Al-Qaeda from each other. The controlling aim of Baghdadi had resulted split of the

jihadist movement in Syria. ISIS started to show up as an autonomous extremist Islamist group, with the advantages gained from the Syrian war and lack of security and border control. In 2014, with the decision of Zawahiri, ISIS was formally expelled from Al-Qaeda in Iraq. Syria became a state of war with different groups fighting over territorial and sectarian control. Islamist groups' main aim was jihadist movements where ISIS in 2014 took Northern Iraq under their control and established its caliphate. In June 2014, ISIS captured Mosul with defeating Iraqi troops. In the following days, ISIS came up to Baghdad capturing Iraq's Southwestern and central Sunni provinces (Idahosa, 2016).

2.4. The Effect of the Globalization

Apart from three significant factors for the emergence of ISIS, it is assumed that globalization is another additional important causal factor. Globalization is referred to the process of international influence that links people more with each other throughout the world (Nash, 2010). The globalization had challenged many ideologies which were totally against the ideologies of Islamist fundamentalist. Therefore, it had led the intensification of the ideologies of fundamentalist groups in the region. The desire for collective identity had tremendously increased and the fundamentalists groups started to show their reactions. ISIS as one of the most extreme Islamist fundamentalist group in the region was providing a collective identity through family, society and religion. The globalizing world was trying to be shown as infidel and they were going to secure the people by uniting them and fighting against their effects.

Prior to the arrival of the effects globalization, the identity in Syria and Iraq were generally developed by the political mechanisms. These states were already having problems in constructing a collective identity. There were various different groups and they began to deteriorate from each other even more. After the intensification of the globalization, the fundamentalist groups such as ISIS took the control of providing a collective identity against the conflicts in their countries and fought to give them a

unique meaning. ISIS was maintaining their own society based on its own traditional values, religion in terms of jihad, nation and preparing movements against the tyrannical governments (Loveday, 2015). They were preparing movements for their independence against the infidel world order outside. ISIS was fighting against the effects of globalization. Individualism was highly rejected and the group was providing a collective identity. The collective identity propagandas of ISIS were very effective abroad. It was claimed by the Telegraph Newspaper of London that there were over 27,000 foreign combatants joined ISIS after the outbreak of 2011Syrian war. Many analysts had stated that the rise of globalization had led to plural identities and at some cases the desire for plurality or multiplicity was not acceptable (Marty & Appleby, 1991). According to this discourse, ISIS found proper times and circumstances to emerge and give meaning and principles to its identity. However, it carried strong opposition principles against many other groups such as Al-Qaeda or Al-Nusra Front in Syria. It was also fighting against the groups who did not support its ideas even though they had some communalities. ISIS had most importantly separated from its main organization Al-Qaeda Central and even killed it's one of the most important leader Abu Jamal. The commonalities of these fundamentalist groups were not enough to keep them tied and accept their differences.

According to the statements of some analysts, the intensification of fundamentalist groups was a reaction to increase of Western secularization and globalization phenomenon. This situation can be seen in the case of ISIS. The people who shared same beliefs had benefitted from the increase in the communication technology in order to build a network throughout the world. The groups like Taliban, Al-Qaeda or ISIS were making references to the past, giving extreme meaning to the religion and trying to dominate the government affairs of the politics, economics and culture. ISIS as an important example had claimed the formation of the Islamic State with its own Islamic interpretations. The achievements of the Islamic successors have been told to its followers for the spirit of devotion. The early Islamic period was considered as the golden age, it was a time without any mistakes and its interpretations were still acceptable and useful for this era. For this reason, the members and followers of ISIS

were extremely hostile to the secularization of religion and Western life. ISIS was distinguished from other groups in terms of its total rejection of Western culture and civilization. They had rejected the Western innovations and prohibited the Western type of dressing, TV, films and other technological materials. Women were forced to wear head to toe burqa, smoking was prohibited, men were forced to grow beards, women were not allowed to go to gynecology doctors and men were not allowed to wear jeans. The globalization had increased the gap in the society which led the exacerbation of the fundamentalist groups. The people who were against the individualism and found their roots in ISIS had joined the group and grew hostility towards the outside world as well (Dolatabadi & Seifabadi, 2017).

It is possible to say that Western states had also followed policies which led increase in Islamophobia. The French author Jean Christophe Rufin had considered this situation as a strategy of the Western powers. He had explained that it was not possible for Western states to survive without having a strong enemy. It was significant to have a common enemy for the nations who were not strongly connected to each other. There were a lot of evidences found in the establishment of the groups like Al-Qaeda in terms of the survival aims of the Western countries. In the statements of the modern world, the globalization had led to ideological split between the individualism and collectivism. The people who felt lonely began to look for a source to join and stick to a certain identity. The anxiety of individualism opened significant ways for fundamentalist groups emergence and collecting new members. They were successful in forming new identities by giving meaning to traditional values. The image of ideal world had led to emergence of violent groups and extreme crisis. Thereby, joining to the fundamentalist groups was a way to reject to new world order (Rufin, 1992).

2.5. The Effect of Sykes-Picot Agreement

ISIS was a ruling terror group in the Middle East beginning from 2011 and formed from many unpredictable events. The Islam and the Middle East was blamed for the

emerge, rise and expansion of ISIS but in reality, its roots dates back to a deeper history. The Western colonialism, the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and Western alliances with the regional governments are all considered as important events in the formation of the organization. In its history, Middle East as a region had gone through many complex events and suffered from various conspirator agreements. According to ISIS, the Sykes-Picot Agreement was one of the most important conspirator agreement that drew the borders of the Middle East in the post-World War I period. It was a secret agreement signed in 1916 between the French, British and later Russia to dissolve the Ottoman Empire and divide Middle East in terms of their interests. In this document, the borders of the Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine was drawn with paying no attention to the ethnic, religious or tribal backgrounds of the population. The Hashemite Dynasty was promised for help to establish their own kingdoms independent from the Ottoman Empire but instead, they were thrown out of Syria and received minimum rights in the governments. The Sykes-Picot Agreement is considered as one of the most important causing events for the emergence of radical groups in the Middle East. It was a document that opened Middle East to the Western colonization. The random drawn borders brought significant crisis in the region. It is argued that Iraq as one of the important country for ISIS's emergence was already suffering from combining three completely different groups with each other. Mosul, Baghdad and Basra were united under Iraq without having any common history. It was not really possible for these different overlapping ideologies to form a common form of functional states (Mallon, 2016).

The consequences of the Sykes-Picot Agreement did not just bring violence between the Arabs and the Western states, but within the Arabs themselves. It became an important document for ISIS to enroll new members into the organization. However, there were important ideologues like Sayyid Qutb making reference to Sykes-Picot Agreement and helped to grow hatred towards Westerners. The leaders of these groups were highly influenced with these ideologues to form the terror organization (Kirkpatrick, 2014). Al- Baghdadi considered the Sykes-Picot as the conspiracy of unbelievers who were enemies to Muslims. When ISIS started its brutal attacks against

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anyone who were not their followers, Al-Baghdadi made a speech claiming that they will not stop until all supporters of Sykes-Picot was killed. The started to attack for removing all the border and expanding as wide as possible.

It is possible to argue that the effect of the Sykes-Picot Agreement on ISIS's emergence was too superficial. Terrorism cannot be found in every colonized state. Furthermore, it cannot be based on the race or ethnicity. When it comes to sectarianism, it is possible to find some relations between the terror groups and the sectarianism. Syria and Iraq were clear cases of sectarian conflicts. During the reign of Saddam Hussein, he had persecuted the Shias and the Kurds and when the administration was handed to Shia government, Prime Minister Nouri Al-Maliki had begun to persecute the Sunnis. ISIS took the opportunity collected former expelled government officials and military soldiers to fight against the government. This situation was more or less similar in Syria. When the civil war emerged in the country, there was a Shia led Bashar Al-Assad government and the Sunni opposition. The war became very complex in a short amount of time with involvement of the various parties. However, the Arab Spring in the region that began in 2011 prepared a perfect ground for the grow of ISIS. The topple of dictator governments, emergence of the civil wars, security problems and deficiency of a central authority was a golden opportunity for the emergence of ISIS (Masoom, 2016).

In result, the emergence of ISIS had multi-causal circumstances. It is possible to tie the global, regional and national levels of events under the rise of fundamentalist organizations, especially of ISIS in the Middle East. Beginning from its history, Middle East had suffered from many brutal religious, ethnic and sectarian conflicts. It had problems of identity construction, a central functioning government and security. ISIS's ideological separation from the Al-Qaeda, the 2003 Iraq war and 2011 Syrian civil war were found as the main reasons that caused its formation. The globalization, growing Islamophobia and the Sykes-Picot agreement were considered as additional important reasons for its establishment. The conflicts in the region had prepared a perfect climate for the rise of ISIS. The mistakes of internal and external powers that

followed the pattern of the history had caused the emergence of one of the most violent extreme jihadist organization with highest number of participants both from the region and extra-region. It also became as one of the richest terrorist groups.

CHAPTER 3

THE RISE OF ISIS

3.1. Ideology of ISIS

The events that happened in Iraq, Syria and other regions in the Middle East were all reasons behind the emergence of the ISIS and providing a strong ideology was the main element that unified them and gave the spirit to fight for long time of period. The leaders of the group had promoted an alternative nationalism as their ideology to unite people under the umbrella of their caliphate. Although they were behaving to be very strict, their ideologies were found pragmatic, changing depending on the strategic goals and it became very hard to understand the actual intention of their ideas or if they hide different aims underneath. Being pragmatic and contradictory was an important strategy of successful terrorist groups. The most important contradicting strategies of the ISIS was seen in the Syrian civil war. ISIS was against the Shia dominated Syrian regime but still cooperated with Assad in order to fight against the Free Syrian Army and Jabhat Al-Nusra. ISIS had sold petrol to its enemies, Assad and the Jabhat al-Nusra. ISIS was planning to attack the Shia crescent from Iran to Beirut. Iran, Lebanese Hezbollah and Assad under Syria were all Shias and supporting each other against the Sunni Muslims. Their hatred towards Shias comes from previous times and it inflamed extremely with policies of Maliki in Iraq and Assad in Syria (Bunzel, 2015).

In terms of the religious beliefs, ISIS can be clearly identified with jihadi Salafism (al-Salafiyya al-Jihadiyye). Salafism, is the Sunni branch of Islam and refers to the movements to purify the Islamic faith. According to Salafists, they are the only true Muslim believers. It strongly opposes polytheism and fights for the truth of Islam. The

rebellions of the post-colonial and modern Islamic periods had called themselves as Salafist including Wahhabism which was adopted by Saudi Scholar Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab. Wahhabism rejected Maqasid which means the spirit of Sharia law. The Islamic State was carrying many practices of Wahhabism. Wahhabism in its ideology was a duty for a religious movement in terms of Sunni Islam and renovate the monotheistic worship. The most important adoption from Wahhabism was the concept of 'wala wal bara' referring to the loyalty of Islam and unacceptable un-Islamic rules. They also implemented 'tawhid' in their ideology, meaning that there is only one God (Hassan, 2016).

ISIS adopting the jihadi Salafism had established an important network around the world between people especially scholars. The social media had played very important role for the support of their jihadist movement. As they were conquering more regions, they were demolishing Sufi and Shia shrines and historical centers which were considered as polytheistic. The leaders and members of the group was trying to address to the people around the world to gather under the jihadi Salafism. As a symbol representing the group, the Black Standard of Prophet Mohammad was on their flags, adopted as ISIS's philosophy. The flag carried Prophet Mohammad's imprint with a statement "There is no God but Allah", aiming to establish an early caliphate dealing with all aspects of politics, religion and eschatology. The movement was based on extremist and violent premodern Islamic readings. It formed a different type of Islamic thought based on marginal readings of Islamic doctrines. It had its own Islamic scholars, mostly from the new generation, and opposed the famous scholars of the Muslim community. There were three important documents adopted by ISIS. They were '*The Management of Savagery'* written by Abu Bakr al-Naji, '*Introduction to Jurisprudence of Jihad'* by Abu Abdullah al-Muhajjer, and 'the *Essentials of Making Ready'* by Seyyid Imam al-Sharif. These three documents were successful in helping to explain ISIS's brutal and violent methods. ISIS's aim of implementing global jihadist structure was way more extreme and violent than any other organization in the Middle East (Idahosa, 2016). The Shias and the people who are part of democracies around the world were viewed as transgressors. They believe that democratic systems

were showing themselves as the partners of God. ISIS, similar to Wahhabism strongly stood against the Shi'ism and found them as infidels. The Islamist groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS who were highly effected by the Salafist ideas aimed to devastate the democratic governments and establish Islamic states. Al-Qaeda was targeting the U.S. at first in order to be able to create the Islamic caliphate whereas ISIS was targeting every group except their supporters of Sunni Muslims. Although, both groups were connected to the Salafism, carrying the character of jihadi movements, ISIS was more severe in its attacks.

Zarqawi played very important role in attribution of violent version of Salafism. The speeches he made to address to the people in the Middle East and around the world were mostly taken from Wahhabi tradition. It is even possible to find some quotations of Wahhabi scholars on ISIS publications. According to their doctrines, all Muslims should link with the Muslims and distance themselves from the ones who did not follow its principles and restrictions. Generally, jihadists like Al-Qaeda had adopted defensive type of jihadism. Their main aim was to secure Middle East from Western combatants. This fight of Al-Qaeda over foreign occupiers turned into fighting with Muslim rulers who were found as more unbelievers, infidels and criminals by Abu Omar al-Baghdadi. ISIS was more prone to offensive jihad as it can be seen in their violent attacks of beheadings and publishing them on the internet. ISIS refused any Western innovations, finding them as threats against Islamic belief. Almost all of their propaganda had involved the importance of tawhid which means monotheism and jihad as the holy war for the Islamic state. Al- Baghdadi announced the declaration of the caliphate claiming that Syria was not only for the Syrians and Iraq was not for the Iraqis. There were a lot of apocalyptic statements used in their doctrines. The apocalypticism and sectarianism played very crucial roles in collecting members and fighting for the victory of Islam. The attacks of the Islamic State had also encouraged other groups against the Shia community. Yazidi women in Sinjar was raped and used as slaves, Shia solders in Tikrit were massacred and many other opposing Sunnis in Syria and Iraq were killed. They had beheaded the Western hostages and other

humanitarian workers in the field. They were very brutal in their operations to dispatch the enemy forces (Bunzel, 2015).

The torture and beheadings were seen as a tool to show their strength and influence the people around the world. Their ideology was also very influential in their military operations. ISIS had showed a very strong resistance against the Free Syrian Army to take Dabiq. They believed that Dabiq was a town of Prophet Mohammad and the place where the Roman will be defeated. Taking Dabiq had impressed the Islamic groups as ISIS's completion of ideological purposes. The strategies that ISIS adopted based on classical state-building procedure. As Charles Tilly had outlined that the "war made the state, and state made the war". Islamic state as opposed to other jihadist groups had big number of members and it was always referring to building a state and expanding it as wide as possible. It was regularly attacking to build a state, maintain its institutions, forcing people to convert to Islam and decrease the state-controlled services (Byman, 2016).

Islamic State was not successful in disturbing their religious discourses. They did not have enough religious resources like jihadi schools to implement and continue their extreme sectarian ideology. They were mainly teaching their followers to focus and target the internal enemies like Shias. They used 'takfir' blaming other Muslims to be unbelievers when they were becoming ultra-extremists. The hybridization of Salafism and other Islamic ideologies had led to the extremism of ISIS. The type of movement that had ISIS followed was based on Sahwa (Awakening movement) that began in 1970s. The Sahwa was affected by the Muslim Brotherhood drawing revolutionary thought from the political Islam.

The ideology of ISIS became a very long debate. It was very important to understand the factuality of its ideology in order to be able to defeat it. Their movements were not going to be countered before understanding why they emerged, what had unified them and what were they planning for the future. There were Muslim fighters inside and outside their regions who were not supporting ISIS but still not arming against it

because of the religious reasons. According to many scholars, Salafism or political Islam was not leading the emergence of any Islamist group. On the contrary, ISIS had declared Salafism and political Islam as a guidance for their use of extremism and political oppression. Most of the official Salafi or Wahhabi clerics had mad statements against ISIS's manifestations of the ideologies. It was not fair to blame Salafism or Wahhabism for the emergence of ISIS. The ideology of ISIS is still a big challenge to understand in order to avoid emergence of similar type of Islamist groups (Hassan, 2016).

3.1.1. The Sectarian Polarization

The tension of the Syrian civil war came from the previous political, religious, sectarian and economic problems prior to 2011 and the inflame of the foreign interventions. For Iraq, Maliki had blamed the Saudi Arabia and Qatar for the increase of Sunni extremism, sectarian divisions and terrorist movements in Iraq. They were accused for providing especially financial assistance to the terror groups. Most importantly, the opposition in Iraq was dominated by the jihadists killing the Shias, Alawites, Christians and others who do not obey them. The jihadi militants had received significant amount of aid from the Gulf. There were other jihadist extremist groups such as the Ahrar al-Sham or the Army of Islam sharing similar ideologies with ISIS. Similar to ISIS, they were fighting to establish a Salafist jihadist caliphate under the Sharia law. These jihadist groups were welcomed by the local people as they had promised to remove the Western influence and regain everything that they have lost. In 2013, the attacks of ISIS had continued to increase and approximately 10,000 Iraqi civilians were killed and 5,000 injured at the beginning of 2014 in the Iraq Body Count report. It was not possible to estimate the ISIS controlled areas in the region. ISIS was taking very careful steps towards the local population so that they would not feel marginalized. ISIS's severe attacks were not responded with a significant counter attack from the government forces. The members of ISIS were told to kill the members of other groups who had exactly the same ideologies as ISIS. ISIS had killed Abdullah Muhammad al-Muhaysani who was the official representative of Al-Qaeda Central in

Syria and also killed Ahrar al-Sham's leader. In terms of Jabhat al-Nusra, it was considered as more restrained than ISIS. Later on, this was seen as a strategy of Jabhat al-Nusra as it was preparing an attack against ISIS in northern Iraq. It was seen possible for Jabhat al-Nusra to re-collect its members as it was still controlling important portion of eastern Syria and western Iraq. It is possible to say that Jabhat al-Nusra was not really willing to fight and more prone to find a common way.

The harmful attacks against Shia civilians had continued and ISIS prepared a suicide bombing to Hilla province killing 45 and injuring over 150 civilians. Dr. Mahmoud Othman, who was a veteran MP had explained that "almost half of Iraq was under ISIS control". The corruption in the Iraqi army lacked the nationalistic feelings to fight for the good of the country (Cockburn, 2015). The government had detained and mistreated the Sunni men in the army. The government had forced 500,000 people to escape to a safer place where life became very hard for them. For the population around the Euphrates River food became scarce and children was not able to get any education. An attack by the government forces to Hawijah which was beaten in southwest of Kirkuk had caused more than twenty deaths, injuries over hundred and damaged the powerful Sunni tribes.

In the Syrian war, the main fighting parties were the Assad regime and the Free Syrian Army. The government forces were targeting the civilians who did not support the Assad regime. In August 2013, there was a sarin poison gas attacks on opposition hold part of Damascus. The Syrian nightmare was getting worse and worse every day with official government attacking its own people. This was one of the worst times that the world has seen in the recent times. The number of deaths and injuries became unpredictable. Most of the cities in Iraq and Syria were left empty which were previously known as the most populous centres of the region (Hassan, 2016).

3.1.2. The Structure of the Organization

According to the success of ISIS in their progress, it possible to say that they had a good structured system. When compared to some other states in the Middle East, it can be considered as more structured. In its system, firstly, it had established the judicial authority including Islamic courts. Secondly, there was legislative authority with a Shura Council which was supervising state affairs. Thirdly, the executive authority was responsible of security and military issues. In terms of its finance, Gulf states were important supporters of ISIS at the beginning of its establishment. When it was established, they started to occupy oil rich areas and had the ability to profit from the reserves. The group had also stolen historical artifacts and collected high amount of taxes. ISIS was estimated as the richest terrorist organization in the world. However, in terms of communication and information, most members of the ISIS were very skilled in using technology. In order to moralize their supporters and demoralize their enemies, they were posting videos of beheadings of hostages, operations and the successes they receive as they expanded to a large geography. Some positive interviews of the captured people were posted to show that they were fighting to save true believers and end of Sykes-Picot border agreement which was considered as a treasury. They were also able to use different languages like English, Arabic, French and German in their reports. One of the most important element to receive new members from all over the world was the success of using social media, posting messages on Facebook and tweets on the twitter (Shamieh & Szenes, 2015).

3.1.3. ISIS's Violent Strategy

Violence was a very important strategy of ISIS. To a large extend it relied on violence not to lose its territorial controls and increase its influence on others. In order to understand the violent strategy of ISIS, it is important to analyze its online magazines which were *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah.* The aims of the ISIS were driven from the religious books such as *"The Management of Savagery"* and reflected in these magazines.

According to *"The Management of Savagery"*, there are two types of jihad in the Qur'an where one refers to the personal efforts to find the true meaning of Islam and the other one refers to the faith of all (Burchill, 2016). ISIS saw the re-establishment of the common faith was going to be made with the defeat of the Sunni enemies and expel from their lands. Abu Bakr Naji's book, *"The Management of Savagery"* had provided the network between the jihadi Islam and the use of violence to expel the foreign influence in the Muslim world. In his book, he was generally trying to implement to old understanding of jihad to the current world. The jihad should unify all Muslims together to fight against the un-Islamic world. Their main aim should be the maintenance of the Islamic Caliphate. For this aim, the guerilla-like strategy was legitimized to fight with the enemies. In the case of ISIS, because it also did not have enough amount of time for the training and they had to defeat the enemy as quick as possible, the guerilla attacks were perfectly applied. In terms of its irritant strategy, they were targeting the economic resources, government institutions and military bases of the enemies.

In their online magazines, it is possible to find the interpretations of Naji's book on how all non-Muslims were enemies of Muslims and they must be killed. *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah* were both using propaganda to unify all Muslims under ISIS. The authors of the magazines were unknown. They were mainly publishing their successful attacks, videos or photos of executions, the statements of West to declare ISIS as the enemy, and the role of women and men were written. The quote of Al-Zarqawi was involved behind every event which was "The spark has been lit here in Iraq and its heat will continue to intensify- by Allah's permission until it burns the crusader armies in Dabiq" (al-Zarqawi). There were pictures of ISIS members being targets of its enemies. They also published people giving loyalty to ISIS in behalf of fighting for jihad. These online magazines were very important in terms of showing their aims of expanding the claimed caliphate and collecting a high number of fighters in the group. In terms of Dabiq, it was important to cause a long-term defeat of the enemy. In Dabiq, Kurds were significantly targeted. The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) was a Marxist group that was fighting for an independent Kurdistan. Because of their Marxist and

nationalistic ideas, ISIS found them as unbelievers of Islam. In Dabiq, they had stated that their fight with the Kurds was not a nationalist war but a religious. ISIS had legitimized its attacks as a reaction to the Western harmful attempts against the Sunni Muslims in Syria and Iraq (Hermsen, 2017).

"The Management of Savagery "was a book written with a very effective language of jihadism that provided a proper ground for the deterioration of the Islamic and the non-Islamic world. The Salafist meanings with Wahhabi principles of the book encouraged the leaders of the ISIS took harmful actions. It was suggesting to provide security, food and medical treatment, secure the region from the foreign occupiers, increasing the successes during the trainings, form a society to fight at all levels, build an intelligence agency, unite people under the jihad and ally with the ones who give allegiance to the caliphate. The Islamic society was going to be supported in the Islamic caliphate. The violence in this book was written as the strategy that should be used to alter the enemy. Rather than establishing a caliphate, it was more providing a proper ground for the use of violence. For instance, in one part of the book, Naji was referring to the series of civil wars which would be a cause for the establishment of the caliphate. The followers of ISIS had caused many conflicts with influence of the Naji's writings. ISIS was going to take control after the breakdown of the governments that were established after the Sykes-Picot Agreement. The violence was legitimized in the process of decline of the official governments and establishment of the caliphate. The governments were described as inefficient, not being able to provide the needs of the people and betrayals of the Islamic religion. ISIS had taken the role to become the main actor to implement the principles of *"The Management of Savagery"* through violent methods. Naji had explained that after the signing of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the savagery had consolidated its roots in the region. He had offered patterns for the establishment of the caliphate. The sections were divided into three as the power of anger and exhaustion, administration of savagery and establishment of the caliphate. According to Naji, in order to not lose control or effectiveness, the military combatants should firstly begin with small operations and then expand to the large areas. The other

important point to defeat the enemy for Naji was to exploit the economic and military resources of the enemy (Sole, 2016).

3.1.4. The Use of Violence

In terms of Naji's understanding and justification of violence, it was permissible to frighten others by violent attacks in order to make them pay the price of what they have previously done in the region. If the requirements are not met, then the group have the right to do any terrifying attacks against their hostages. After the withdrawal of foreign occupiers, new states had established which began to be governed by the military or the civil governments. The strength of these governments was based on the support of their police and army or the support of the external powers. Most of these states were succeeding their colonized powers and they were used as satellite states. One of the best example to the satellite state order was described as the United Nations as the main body of the global order and dominated by two super powers. Each of these states were either economic or military purposes allying with them in order to survive. ISIS had legitimized its violence in order to attain its religious, political and economic purposes. According to ISIS, which was the one of the most extreme organization, taking human lives who were against its existence was an honorable action. Violence was very important for their acceptance in the regional and international sphere. Violence was necessary for ISIS to confront the revenge feelings of their members. ISIS used revenge especially when killing its hostages and inciting its members. Violence as an important strategy to exploit the economic resources of the enemy. They were robbing, extorting and using redemption to gain economic infrastructure (Daskin, 2016).

The best way to discourage and exhaust the enemy was to unite the Muslim society through conducting rational operations. In terms of the security dimension, *"The Management of Savagery"* puts forward the elimination of police officers, armies, media, oil companies and political parties. According to Naji, every Muslim should be united under one flag to battle against the tyrannical governments who humiliate the

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followers of the Islam. There should be a unification of all the movements, people around world and parties to fight against the enemy. The united force was going to put the rule of Sharia. These were the general economic, political, religious and historical points written in Naji's book and adopted by ISIS. ISIS's main drawn principle was to unite all groups to improve the group's power, be loyal and train each other to alter the enemy (Sole, 2016).

3.2. The Declaration of ISIS's Independence

The death of Zarqawi in 2006 and Abu Omar al-Baghdadi in 2010 had caused many turbulences in the organization. The new leader of the group became Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri al-Samarrai as a nom de guerre of Abu Bakr al Baghdadi. He had played very important role in ISIS's movements and expansion.

Baghdadi was an educated person receiving a doctorate in Islamic culture and Sharia law. He was told as a quite person at his early age and did not take important attempts until the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. Baghdadi was a founding partner of the Army of the Sunni people (Jamaat Jaysh Ahl al Sunnah wa-al-Jamaah) which was seen as a rebellion group in Samarra, Diyala and Baghdad. After the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Americans had entered to the city of Fallujah in order to capture the high rank rebellion leaders and Baghdadi was taken to the Camp Bucca detention center (Rachidi, 2019). Andrew Thompson, who was a worker in the U.S. led detention centers argued that the framework of the detention centers had caused more radicalization of the prisoners. It is debated that the time the prisoners spend in the centers had provided them the opportunity to collect new members and further their extremism. According to Major General Douglas Stone, who was a general at the Multi-National Forces in Iraq had argued that Baghdadi had slowly organized himself for the steps of establishing the Islamic State. Because he had experienced the prisons himself, he was very successful in the prison operations. When he left the Camp Bucca, he had joined the ISI which was under the rule of Abu Omar al-Baghdadi.

Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi had become the leader of the Islamic state in Iraq on May 2010. He had maintained his safety first and then replaced his allies with the ones who he had spent time with in Camp Bucca. He did not want anyone near who were untrusted. There were many former Baathist leaders joining the ISI who lost their jobs during the de-Baathification process in Iraq. There was a great military and operational skills brought by the Baathists. The Baathists were also very helpful for ISIS to establish networks. He was very careful in all his attempts that he was not even showing his face to the people near him. Beginning from the 2008, al-Baghdadi had launched his most violent attacks with approximately 1,000 combatants. The violence of the group had continued to increase each year. They had prepared suicide attacks besides harmful ground fight (McLaughlin, 2014).

The threats and calls for Baghdadi's capture had no effect on his attacks. He had announced the campaign to promise for the release of the Iraqi prisoners. In order to join the jihadist groups. Baghdadi had kept his promise by attacking eight prisons and leading hundreds of detainees outside. On the one hand, Baghdadi had declared its expansion to Syria which was already suffering from the civil war. When the group started to expand into the Syrian territories, it became known as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. The sectarian clashes in Iraq provided a proper environment for ISIS and the Syrian war flourished its rise. Baghdadi sent several people to Syria to form a new jihadist organization for jihadist operations. Abu Mohammad al-Jawlani who was a member of Al-Qaeda in Iraq became the leader of Jabhat al-Nusra which was formed as an independent from both Al-Qaeda Central and the ISIS. It became recognized as an insurgent group in Syria (Thomas, 2018).

At the beginning of its establishment, Jabhat al-Nusra was preparing violent attacks in favour of Al-Qaeda and ISIS but through 2012, it changed its side to Syrian nationalist groups such as the Free Syrian Army. Meanwhile, Jabhat al-Nusra was continuing to fight in Syria, ISIS was fighting in Iraq. In 2013, Baghdadi had announced joint of ISIS and Jabhat al-Nusra which he renamed as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. Baghdadi also announced himself as the only leader of the ISIS. Zawahiri and Jawlani

had opposed this announcement and rejected Baghdadi's leadership claims. After Baghdadi's frustrated decision, Jawlani announced his loyalty to Al-Qaeda Central and it totally deteriorated from the ISIS. The tensions between these groups continued to increase and in early 2014, it became a war in a war with ISIS fighting to other groups in the region. ISIS described itself as an individual organization from Al-Qaeda group and they were not responsible from each other. ISIS was very successful during 2014. It invaded Raqqa and took control of most of the neighbouring area. Raqqa was declared as its capital in Syria. Fighting with Jabhat al-Nusra, it also received important part of Deir Ezzour which provided it an opportunity for political and logistic gateway near Iraqi border (Stern & Berger, 2015).

3.2.1. ISIS as the Claimed Caliphate

ISIS was quick and successful in expanding to Iraq and Syria. In January 2014, it took Fallujah under its control and continued its movement. There were alliances made between the ISIS and the Sunni Arab tribes in Iraq even though ISIS's extreme ideologies were not supported. Most of the Sunni Arabs joint ISIS because of Maliki's violence and exclusion policies towards Sunnis in the country. The previous members of Awakening Movement felt deceived by Maliki and turned their ways towards ISIS. There were many Sunni groups fighting in terms of ISIS and receiving control of the regions. The U.S. trained Iraqi military personnel in the Iraqi army had also joint ISIS. The replacement of the Sunni officers with the Shias had caused many internal conflicts in the army and the corruption became inevitable. ISIS began to receive a high amount of military equipment from the Iraqi army after their invasions. Abu Mohammad al Adnani, who was the spokesmen made a speech saying that the ISIS was declaring the caliphate with the old Islamic practices. It was going to be a caliphate for all jihadi Salafists. Baghdadi declared himself as the new caliph in 2014 after delivering a speech in Mosul Mosque (Olidort, 2016).

ISIS continued to move towards to the south in Iraq which was under Kurdish domination. The peshmerga was forced out and their areas were also taken under ISIS

control. In the Kurdish controlled areas, there were close to 500,000 Yazidis whom had faced an extreme level of violence. ISIS had declared them as infidel and killed their men and enslaved women and children. There appeared to be humanitarian crisis while Yazidis were trying to escape to the Sinjar Mount. There were emergency air drops by the United Nations, United Kingdom and France. The attack against the Yazidis is considered as a genocide. The U.S. with the help of peshmerga and Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) and the People's Protection Party (YPG) tried to help the Yazidis to escape from ISIS but they were caught with rapid increasing members of the ISIS. The U.S. started to target ISIS with excessive air strikes. When ISIS faced an attack from the U.S., it began to release videos of their captured people. This was an important strategy of ISIS taken from *"The Management of Savagery"* in order to discourage the enemy. It was justified to kill the hostages and frighten the enemy. According to Charles R. Lister, ISIS controlled a territory from Aleppo in Syria to Salah ad Din in Iraq with approximately 25,000 combatants (Cohen, 2019).

3.2.2. Invasions of ISIS

In terms of ISIS's expansion, its main aim was to first fight in Iraq, Syria and Kurdish forces and expand throughout the world. Although they had provided financial and military aid to the jihadist groups, with the rise of ISIS's attacks, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States had joined the U.S. coalition forces against ISIS because ISIS began to be found as a threat against their survival. As the political conflicts in Iraq and Syria was increasing, the Shias, Sunnis, Kurds, Alawites and Christian communities began to fight for dominance in the politics. The disloyalties in the military and political structure of the states depending on the governor had accelerated disintegration process of these states.

In Iraq, almost all of the Sunni areas were under the control of ISIS which made up the quarter of the country. ISIS's successful military invasions had begun with the capture of Raqqa in March 2013. It continued its expansion in January 2014 and captured Fallujah which was the city very close to Baghdad. The June 10 of 2015 was

marked as a very important date with ISIS's invasion of Mosul. Mosul, which was one of the most populous city in Iraq with the largest damn gave a huge damage to Iraq's unity. After this invasion, the U.S. decided to increase its air force in order to prevent ISIS's growing expansion. Although, the Iraqi army had an important number of military personnel and finance, it did not put forward a significant resistance. The new caliph Baghdadi, without considering any difference was calling everyone around the world, to join the new jihadist Caliphate. They were all brothers to each other and the new state was going to be established for every Sunni Muslim who obeys the ISIS (Oosterveld & Bloem, 2017).

The Sunni people who were suffering from the ongoing conflicts were deeply affected by the intolerant Wahhabi beliefs of the ISIS. As ISIS was succeeding in collecting high numbers of members, its attacks and victories had also increased. ISIS only fought for four days to take over Mosul. The invasion of Mosul began with five suicide bombings with a severe gunfire with the help of other Sunni insurgents such as Baathist Naqshbandi, Ansar al-Islam and the Mujahideen Army. Before taking Mosul, ISIS had well prepared its fighters and sent a big convoy to the city. ISIS had won a great victory with approximately 1,000 members against 60,000 Iraqi army. It was obvious that there was a corruption in the Iraqi army and the army personnel was not really on the fronts to fight. Mosul was very important for ISIS with two million Sunni population. The Baghdad administration did not take the invasion very seriously thinking that they would be soon repelled back. After taking Tikrit, ISIS was expected to attack Baghdad but it did not happen. The Baghdad administration also did not accept Massoud Barzani's offer for peshmerga to fight against ISIS in Mosul. He was found as taking opportunity from this situation. Mosul's last step for its downfall happened with escape of the top three generals from Iraq. The chance of ISIS's attack on Baghdad was very terrifying with Shias being on dominance (Malson, 2016).

The Iraqi army was also not supported by the civilians because they were seen as the Maliki's traitors who were Shia and the soldiers of Iranian army. After Mosul, the city of Baiji did also not put much resistance which was carrying Iraq's largest refinery.

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Tikrit was the same in terms of its easy give up. The disintegration of the Iraqi army had shocked its people even though it was not supported. Iraq's army suffered firstly from Saddam who tried to eliminate Shias and dominate the army with Sunnis, then the army similarly suffered with Maliki replacing the Sunnis with Shia officials. Maliki was complaining about the fall of Mosul, stating that it was a conspiracy. He seemed like feeling no responsibility from the disintegration of the Iraqi army. When Mosul was captured the streets were left empty, people were anxious of the coming events. People began trying to stock food and fuel in order to prepare themselves for the unknown future. ISIS's expectations to attack Baghdad and take the control of the Green Zone did not happen (Cockburn, 2015).

At the beginning of 2015, ISIS was assumed to have approximately 30,000 fighters with half of them being foreign. Most of the important command positions were given to Saddam's previous officers. It's perfect structure and decision-making led its fast expansion. Cockburn had suggested that in order to get rid of ISIS, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan should have been the real targets of the U.S. They were accepted as the main finance and logistic supporter of the ISIS. It was argued that Pakistan had played very important role on preparing Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan and hosted bin Laden and Al-Qaeda members. Besides the important financial aid, the ideology was important where Wahhabism had encouraged fundamentalism and forced for imposition of Sharia law. Women were considered as a lower statue person, allowing for the execution of the Shias, Sufi Muslims and non-Muslims. These ideas were greatly welcomed by ISIS. Saudi Arabia spending big amount of money in its religious person trainings and building of mosques had increased the gap between the Shia and the Sunni communities (Cockburn, 2015). The Sunni alliance with ISIS was one of the many important reasons for the failure of the Iraqi army. On the other hand, Kurdish treachery were found as an important reason for the failure of the Iraqi army. When Maliki tried to shift his failure to someone else, he had explained that Erbil was the head office of ISIS. According to Shias in Iraq, Iraqi military personnel with approximately 1,000,000 members had failed not because they did not put a significant fight but because they were betrayed. Kurds were found as a good target for the blame

of army's failure. Massoud Barzani had taken advantage of the Iraqi army's disintegration and took the control of Kirkuk (Warrick, 2015).

The victories of ISIS in Iraq were causing turbulences in Syria. As Kurds were blamed for allying with ISIS in Iraq, Assad faced with similar accusations. These conspiracy theories faded away when ISIS firstly attacked the Kurds, beaten the peshmerga in the Sinjar province and killed many Yazidis. By August 2014, ISIS took Iraqi Kurdistan and in September it attacked Kobane which was surrounded by the Syrian Kurds. Kobane was very important Kurdish region, especially with its oil refineries. The capture of Kobane had caused extensive amount of refugee flow to Turkey. The Kurdish Regional Government (KRG) together with People's Protection Units (YPG) and U.S. and its allies had attacked ISIS and regained the region six months after its invasion (Thompson, 2014).

The small insurgents in Iraq and Syria was shifting their positions depending on whom they can get support from. Jabhat al-Nusra was another important insurgent group targeted by the U.S. It was very hard for the U.S. and its allies to keep the Sunni groups away from joining ISIS. There were attempts for preventing the ISIS's expansion by the U.S. and its allies. In 2014, President Obama had asked the Congress for the training and equipment of the Syrian opposition. After few months of receiving the U.S. aid, it was explained that the Syrian opposition was mostly formed by the members of the ISIS and Jabhat al-Nusra (Ashton, 2014). Furthermore, ISIS members were always able to take the equipment sent to the anti-Assad forces. According to Lister and Cockburn, ISIS was a strong but it was innovative.

In the case of Syria, ISIS was thinking that if Assad would fell, there was going to be a great change for the success of ISIS to take control of the country. The rapid victories had also helped its rapid increase in its numbers with appealing to the Sunni men who were feeling alienated in their own homelands. It was obvious in its name that it was planning to cover Iraq and "al-Sham" meaning the greater Syria. It was an independent organization from other jihadi insurgents and more violent than any other. After the

uprising in 2011in Syria, approximately 6 million Sunnis in Iraq was encouraged to stand against the alienation beginning from the fall of Saddam Hussein. In Syria, ISIS had taken four Syrian military bases which gave important damage to the Damascus government. The ISIS was progressing towards Deir Ezzor which was an oil rich province, exploiting the resources and killing the local commanders. ISIS started to attack al-Shaer gas field which is located in central Syria, close to Palmyra where in total 300 Syrian soldiers and civilians were killed. The government forces had reattacked ISIS and it succeeded to retake the gas field but the important portion of Syria's oil and gas field remained under ISIS control. The war between the jihadist insurgents was an opportunity for Assad. The civil groups were also attacked by the ISIS and other extremist jihadists. However, there were also non-jihadi groups like the Free Syrian Army that was considered as more secular fighting with both ISIS and the Assad regime. ISIS held east of Aleppo (Hubbard, Savage, Schmitt, & Kingsley, 2019).

It is possible to say that, there were many mistakes made by the primary and secondary parties both in Iraq and Syria. One of the biggest mistakes for the war to cause frightful amounts of deaths, injuries and refugees was the allowance of the war to continue by the secondary parties. The external provokes of the internal parties had intensified the war as time passed, even though it was understood that the Assad regime would not fall. It was not easy to defeat Assad who was controlling most of the provinces in Syria. The people in Iraq and Syria became tired of the wars and conflicts so it became inevitable for the Sunni population to join an organization who was promising them for the stability and saving their country from the crusaders (Pillon M. , 2014). The U.S., Europe, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Iran, Hezbollah and the Russia were the main players of the continuation of the war. Some of these parties provided assistance to the opposition and some to the Assad regime that both sides would not stop the fight. These inextricable conflicts prepared a perfect environment for the rise of Islamists.

In general, the rise of ISIS was knitted to the fall of Saddam Hussein in Iraq and marginalization of the Sunnis from the military and government services and the Syrian civil war. The wars in Iraq and Syria was very complex that every group at some point had fought with each other. The expansions of and the reactions to ISIS was different both in Iraq and Syria. ISIS's fight with other jihadist and non-jihadi organization was to show that it was stronger than any other. After signing of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, ISIS caused the second biggest geopolitical change in the Middle East (Khatib, 2014).

3.2.3. ISIS's Global Attacks

Apart from ISIS's regional attacks and spillover, it was also very successful in sending their messages throughout the world. ISIS was clearly a global phenomenon that many foreign fighters had joint the group and it prepared many attacks across the world. In between 2014 and 2016, there were series of attacks with causing hundreds of deaths with ISIS's claims of responsibility. ISIS began its global attack in Sydney, Australia in 2014 with a gunman taking seventeen hostages and, killing two and injuring three of them. The murderer was shot by police after his confess of working in behalf of ISIS (Malet, 2014). Within a month, there was another attack in Paris to Charlie Hebdo Magazine as a revenge to Prophet Mohammed's cartoon drawings. Twelve people were killed in this attack. In the following days, a Jewish store in Paris was attacked with causing four deaths. The next place of attack was Egypt with bombings on security forces. The police stations and military bases were the main targets and approximately fifty people were killed. In the same week, another attack appeared in Libya, killing many people.

 In 2015, two armed men with military uniforms prepared an attack to a museum in Tunisia causing again many deaths. In the same month, Yemeni mosques were targeted with suicide bombings and over a hundred-thirty people were killed. Another attack to a mosque happened in Saudi Arabia that killed more than twenty people. On May

2015, there appeared an attack to a political crowd in Diyarbakir, Turkey, killing two and injuring more than a hundred people. Next month, a Tunisian beach was at target causing more than forty deaths. It again became Turkey's turn to be attacked with two suicide bombings in Ankara. The explosions happened during the peace meeting of People's Democratic Party and more than hundred people were killed. This attack was Turkey's deadliest attack in its republican history. The attacks continued to intensify and expand throughout the world. A Russian airplane was crushed in the Sinai Peninsula killing everyone in the airplane. ISIS had approved the claims of its explosives prior to the crush. In Texas, a cartoon tournament was targeted but, they were not successful on killing the civilians. Paris was again on their target with being one of the most frequent targeted state. The Stade de France, Le Petit Cambodge restaurant, Café Bonne Biere, La Bella Equipe were all targeted public spaces, giving nineteen deaths and many injured people. The Bataclan Theatre attack was one of the deadliest attack in France since the World War II. In this attack a hundred-thirty people were killed and more than four hundred were injured. In December, 2015, two different attacks happened in the U.S., Inland Regional Center. The attacks on the civilians caused fourteen deaths and close to twenty wounded people. In a similar attack in Orlando, forty-five people were killed (Lister, Tim; Sanchez, Ray; Bixler, Mark; O'Key, Sean; Hogenmiller, Michael; Tawfeeq, Mohammed, 2018).

The attacks in 2015 did not stop and continued in 2016 as well. In Nice, France during the Bastille Day celebration, a cargo truck crushed over the people where eighty-six people were killed and again more than four hundred injured. The next country on ISIS's target was Belgium, Brussels, where the organizer of the Paris attacks was captured. The series of bombs explosions happened firstly in the Brussels Airport and in a metro station. In this attack, thirty people were killed and over two hundred were injured. In Ataturk Airport in Turkey, three gunmen opened fire killing forty-five people and injuring more than two hundred. Continuing in Turkey, a suicide bomber has exploited in during a wedding in Gaziantep and killed close to sixty people. In Pakistan, a suicide bomber killed more than ninety-five people and had injured more than hundred-thirty (Bonsangue, 2017). In Berlin, Germany, another attack had

happened with a Tunisian refuge drawing to the Christmas market, crushing twelve people and injuring fifty-six. The attacks of ISIS had severely continued through 2017 and 2018. The last attack of the group happened in Sri Lanka in 2019 killing more than two hundred people (Gettleman, Bastians, & Beech, 2019).

In conclusion, there were many reasons that flourished ISIS's rise and expansion. It was very quick to collect members with providing a collective ideology to the ones who felt lonely, alienated and lost their jobs after the changes of their governments. There were various small insurgents who joint ISIS in their fights sharing the same ideology. The sectarian rivalry and security vacuum in Syria and Iraq was a very good opportunity for ISIS to spillover in these two states. First in Iraq, with the removal of Saddam Hussein and Maliki's replacement of the office and the military with the Shias had angered the Sunni community. The experienced military personnel had joint ISIS in order to regain the rights that they have lost. Maliki's Sunni exclusion policies was a very important factor for the expansion of the ISIS. ISIS was very violent, adopting the Salafism and Wahhabism and giving no tolerance to others. It was successful in frightening its enemies with guerilla type strategy. Their violence was justified with the crusaders and the betrayals of the Islam paying the price of what they have previously done. After its establishment of the claimed caliphate, ISIS did not limit its expansion within the Middle East. It started to prepare attacks worldwide. It attacked close to a hundred states around the world and the number of deaths and injuries that it caused are not countable.

CHAPTER 4

THE RISE AND FALL OF INTERNATIONAL MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

After the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, under the "war on terror" strategy the importance of the military interventions had increased in order to stop the rise of terror. The main intention of the military interventions was announced as nation building and fixing the conflictual politics of the states in the Middle East. They have put important efforts in order to prevent the expansion of terrorism especially in the United States territories. Unfortunately, when it came to 2017, it was possible to see that they had caused more damage than solution in the region. The "war on terror" strategy of the United States was considered as a failure. Generally, the withdrawal of the foreign military interventions considered as very important factor for the emergence of the terror groups such as ISIS. Especially, after the 2003 Iraq war and the intervention of the United States, ISIS found a perfect environment to grow its seeds in the region. It became one of the biggest threat to global peace and security which further consolidated its roots after the 2011 Syrian civil war. The United States decided to do military interventions with its coalition partners when they arguably received consent of the states in conflict and saw that there was a need for humanitarian purposes. The group's expansion and attacks in the region had grew day by day and intervention became a very important task of global forces. ISIS became a very important concern for the world with its quickly spreading jihadist ideology, revolutionary attacks and increase of the transnational terrorism. The coalition forces embraced the mission to first eliminate ISIS physically and then eliminate its remaining ideology (Blanchard & Humud, 2018).

ISIS in Syria, Iraq and overall in the Middle East had strikingly damaged the stability and created a very large risk to global peace and security. The international community had tried to find a common consensus in order to prevent the threat of ISIS. It was very

difficult to determine the most effective way for the foreign powers to intervene against ISIS. The most of the measures taken by the coalition forces were not found effective and they even intensified the harms given by the group. Instead of military interventions, there were different measures suggested such as cutting its financial supports, negotiating with the group leaders, using propaganda and preventing its join of foreign militants. These strategies were stated to target the ISIS dominated areas in Syria, Iraq, the group's international networks and ideological supporters of their movements. In order to fight against the ISIS properly and forbid the emergence of similar type of groups, it was very important to analyze the actual root causes of the ISIS. Although, there are many reasons that can be listed for the emergence of ISIS, it can be clearly said that the internal conflicts in Iraq and Syria had provided a perfect safe haven for it. The inefficient and weak states were not able to prevent the rise and expansion of ISIS in the region (Clancy, 2016). There were military and non-military solutions foreseen to fight against ISIS, where both of them were never completely efficient.

4.1. Non-Military Solutions

4.1.1. Economic Sanctions

ISIS was one of the richest organization in financial terms and therefore cutting off its funds was a very important way to weaken the group. ISIS was receiving an important amount of money, especially from the oil sales to the region and to the world market. The airstrikes on the oilfields had highly decreased the group's income. Besides its own exploitation of the resources, there was a very important amount of financial support given to ISIS. The United Nations Security Council had adopted a resolution (2199) which allowed the United Nations to take all necessary actions against any individuals or entities who provide financial assistance to ISIS. It was not easy to carry out this resolution because ISIS was using illegitimate ways with the cash money that cannot caught be easily. This economic sanctions against ISIS did not work properly

and as the long-time causes, they started to damage the local economies and therefore it did not last for a long time (Levallois, Cousseran, & Kerrello, 2017).

4.1.2. Preventing the Flow of Foreign Participants

The other important tool was to prevent the flow of foreign fighters who wanted to join ISIS. This was also a very complicated tool to carry out for the international powers. The countries, including the United States was not successful on determining the people who desired to join ISIS but they were trying to recognize the ones who were getting radicalized in their ideologies. The United Nations Security Council had required the states to increase their intelligence services to determine the foreign fighters and alter the root causes of the radicalizations (Benmelech & Klor, 2016).

4.1.3. Negotiations

Negotiations had brought very important debate between the supporters and un-supporters to negotiate with the ISIS leaders. The un-supporters were claiming that negotiating with the group would give them the legitimacy of their existence. On the other hand, there were supporters of the negotiations who believe that they would bring better resolutions for the conflict. The previous events were provided as important examples that were solved diplomatically. Even though, ISIS was considered as a more extreme violating group, it was believed that the negotiating with their leaders would give faster and more efficient results.

4.1.4. Counter Propaganda

ISIS was very strong on the internet propaganda especially on social media. In one of its slogans in terms of the media, it was said that the media was almost making half of their Islamic Caliphate. It was very important to demoralize ISIS with making them lose their followers by providing a counter effective propaganda. When the non-military solutions were found as ineffective, the military intervention was decided to implement (Pecht, 2016).

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4.2. The Military Involvement

There are many reasons for the rise of military intervention. First of all, as there were many fundamental jihadist groups joining to ISIS, it began to become a bigger threat for the region and the world. The stability of the region was damaged to a large extend and humanitarian abuses were extremely high. The increase of global peace and security threat had also increased the intention for global fight against the ISIS. Secondly, the situation in Iraq and Syria was getting worse every day. The civilians were also being targeted to a very high extend and the global powers thought that the military intervention was necessary first for the people in the region, second for the prevention of their expansion. Thirdly, in the case of Syria, its civil war was usually called as the "proxy war" in the international arena. It became a battle between the supporters of the Syrian regime and the oppositional forces by the regional and international powers. Iran, Hezbollah, other Shia supporters and Russia had sided with the Assad regime to fight against the ISIS. On the other hand, the Sunni Gulf States had joined US-led coalition to fight against ISIS. Turkey as another member of the US-led coalition forces was mainly concerned about Syria's Kurds taking advantages of this situation and claiming self-determination. There were many debates about the interventions making the Syrian conflict even more inextricable (Bannelier, 2016).

The United States administrations found it proper under the 2001 Authorization for the Use of Military Force against Al-Qaeda (AUMF) to target the Islamic State, the individuals and entities who support them. They were also targeting the groups who were fighting against the United States and its partners. In 2014, the Obama administration in the United States had called for the formation of the coalition forces in order to defeat ISIS. There were more the 60 nations in the US-led coalition, over 30 in the Saudi-led coalition and 4 with the Russia that agreed to fight against ISIS. The members of the coalition forces had five main duties. These were listed as the providing military assistance, preventing the foreign fighters joining to the ISIS, enabling its financial support, providing humanitarian assistance and destroying the roots of the ISIS. The military operations of the coalition forces were mainly based on

the airstrikes. Through the end of 2015, approximately half of the United Nations members had joined the US-led coalition. The coalition partners were listed as the Afghanistan, Albania, the Arab League, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, the European Union, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kosovo, Kuwait, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Malaysia, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Somalia, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom and the United States. The United Nations had passed down couple of resolutions (2170, 2178, 2199) authorizing the extortion of its financial support, provide humanitarian assistance in the region, prevent the influence of ISIS messages and try to establish the stability in the region (McInnis, 2016).

In 2015, there were more than 18,000 targets with the airstrikes in Syria and Iraq by the US-led coalition. The joint military operations against ISIS was seen as underestimating the removal of ISIS's ideology. In some cases, the operations were strengthening the ideology of ISIS. During the operations, it was very difficult to determine ISIS militants from the civilians for the coalition forces. ISIS successfully spread between the civilians especially in cities like Raqqa, Deir Ezzor and Mosul. The inability of the coalition forces' separation between the civilians from the militants had caused a large number of civilian deaths in the region. The airstrikes also had highly damaged the infrastructure of the targeted cities. When the airstrikes began to damage the cities and target civilians as much as the militants, the United States wanted to build a ground forces to continue to fight more effectively. Although, there was an important participation to join the ground forces against ISIS, most of the Western states did not support the idea of being on the ground. The support for the anti-ISIS operations was not enough to defeat it. It was argued that the military intervention of

the foreign powers was not bringing a solution to the ISIS case but providing a more proper ground for its rise (Pecht, 2016).

ISIS, beginning with the intervention in 2014, had lost very important areas that was under their control. The group had also lost very high number of their personnel with the airstrikes. Through the end of 2017, ISIS lost 98% of its conquered territories. The loose of the caliphate's capital Raqqa became the beginning of end of ISIS. Some of the ISIS members had escaped to the mountains and deserts whereas some were trying to get involved into the society. After the operations against the ISIS were accomplished to some extent, the operations to stabilize the region had begun. The situation in Iraq and Syria was very complex and it became even more unsolvable when the Turkish military intervened into the northern Syria. Turkey had legitimized its intervention with stating that they were receiving threats against the Turkish territories. Although Turkey had justified its interference as the defeat of terrorists, the expel of the Kurdish forces from the Euphrates River Valley had brought the concerns that Turkey was more concerned with their legitimacy. It was warned by the Pentagon that all allies should concentrate on the main enemy which was the ISIS and they should realize that it was not totally defeated yet. The coalition forces had promised to continue their missions in Syria and Iraq. On the one hand, they were still striking to clear the region from ISIS fighters and on the other hand, they were working to bring peace, security and stabilization to the region. It was the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands who had taken the responsibility for offensive air strikes for the coalition forces. Canada, Germany and Poland were more prone for the duty of discovery, refuelling and the transportation. On the other hand, NATO itself was not a coalition member but there were important number of its members that had joint the coalition forces. In 2016, during the Summit of Heads of State and Government in Warsaw, NATO announced its commitment to fight against the ISIS. It was going to give support with the Airborne Warning and Control System which was a radar observer to detect low and high aircraft targets. NATO had also stated that, it was going to help training the Iraqi military personnel which was receiving further threat from the ISIS. Although the interventions were not enough to eliminate all ISIS

militants from the region, the coalition had continued to damage the group through cutting their finance, networks, internet connections and removing its leaders (Blanchard & Humud, 2018).

Britain had supported the coalition forces in Iraq and Syria with airstrikes helping the local ground forces, supplied intelligence and observations. The United Kingdom became the second largest air operationalist after the United States in Iraq and Syria. It also had a high number of military personnel on the ground. In total, there were 77 partners that formed the coalition for the military intervention against the ISIS. Besides targeting the ISIS, the main duty of the foreign interventions was to stop the flow of foreign combatants, cut the financial support, alter its ideology and unsure humanitarian aid to war wearies. The coalition forces' struggle to achieve stabilization worked more effectively in Iraq. Syria's ongoing conflict became an obstacle for the coalition forces. The Syrian Democratic Forces firstly received control of Raqqa and proceeded to Khabur and middle Euphrates Valley with the support of the coalition forces (Kearney, 2019). The Russian support to Assad regime had also provided important gains in eastern Syria and western Euphrates. The coalition forces were still striking to clear the ISIS survivors. In May 2018, the Round Up Operation was announced by the Syrian Democratic Forces to clear the rest of the ISIS resistant fighters and establish the security throughout the Iraqi and the Syrian borders. This operation was going to take hand in cooperation with the Iraqi security forces. As the time passed, the coalition found that the Syrian Democratic Forces were restricted in their fights and the Kurdish fighters which made up important part the Syrian Democratic Forces were led back to the region to strengthen their fight. The coalition had also provided training to the Kurds and Iraqis in order to help them to remain against the ISIS. The US-led coalition received a large amount of assistance from various nations in terms of equipment, training and the military personnel. Unfortunately, there was a high chance of capture of the military supplies by the ISIS militants. According to a report of Amnesty International, there were over 100 military supplies found under ISIS usage which were originally from the coalition forces. In addition, the "train and equip" operations of the United States were not very successful

because the trained security forces had severely lost the fight against ISIS. However, it is argued that some of the trained personnel had transferred to ISIS (Mills, 2018). The training operations of the coalition forces increased after the airstrike operations ended. The training operations involved training the instructors for the military, building military schools and training the local security forces. In total, 26 countries with 4,000 unities had helped the military personnel in Iraq to train and equip. In Iraq with the contribution of the coalition forces, approximately 25,000 police, 18,000 counterterrorism unity of power and in total close to 150,000 security personnel were trained. The number in Syria was quite close to the number in Iraq with more than 12,000 trained personnel. There were also the United States troops deployed in Syria and Iraq in order to give logistic help to Iraqis, Kurds and other groups who were fighting against the ISIS. The Coalition Aviation Advisory and Training Team (CAATT) was established by the coalition forces in 2018 in order to assist the Iraqi partners in aviation security sector. NATO had played very important role in training the Iraqi personnel especially in Jordan and in Turkey. They were receiving training for medical services, civil and military operations and security missions. In the case of Syria, the US had explained that it needed "a condition based" military presence to stabilize the ongoing war (Mills, 2018).

4.3. ISIS and the United States

The military operations in Iraq and Syria to fight against ISIS was arranged by the Combined Joint Task Force-Operation Inherent Resolve (CJTF-OIR). The US-led coalition forces began to use the air combat, armed unmanned aerial vehicles and sea-launched cruise and launched approximately 25,000 strikes in Iraq and Syria in 2017 against the Islamic State. According to a report of CJTF-OIR, their strikes had costed more than $23 billion. The programs of the coalition forces generally had training, equipping and advising the Iraqi forces. The United States had deployed its own security forces to train the military personnel for the Iraqi army. The intelligence service was also one of the main duties of the United States in Iraq, besides training, assisting and equipping. By March 2018, the number of trained personnel had reached

to 30,000 with Iraqi security forces, the police, peshmerga and Sunni tribal combatants. Iraq and the United States was trying to extend the partnership in order for the United States military personnel to stay in the country to continue to fix the security forces while fighting to annihilate remaining Islamic State fighters. They were also working to prevent the re-emergence of a similar type of groups. In 2014, Syria had also received similar type of program that was permitted and funded by the United States Congress. The program was to support the United States fight against the Islamic State and its affiliates and establish a stable environment to negotiate the conditions of the Syrian civil war. In 2015, the Obama Administration had changed this program with Russian intervention in Syria and the decision of the Congress Members for more civilian protection goals. The program had changed towards more "transactional" and based on the performance with the help of Syrians who were going to benefit from this program. The renovated train and equip program had turned into providing equipment and supporting the individuals and entities who were fighting against the Islamic State in Syria. The United States trained and equipped groups in Syria established the Syrian Democratic Forces which was a coalition of the Arabs and Kurds, the Internal Security Force in Raqqa and the Mughawir al-Thawra in the southeast Syria (Thrall & Goepner, 2017).

The United States was providing military equipment to the Syrian Democratic Forces and other groups fighting the Islamic State, deployed its own military personnel and supported operations of the Syrian Democratic Forces and Mughawir al-Thawra (MAT). In 115th Congress in 2018, the United States intelligence service had stated that ISIS was expected to re-emerge from its remaining insurgent groups in Syria and Iraq. The expected plans for the Islamic State to re-group included increasing global being, defending its reason for being, organizing international attacks and giving courage to its followers to prepare attacks abroad. The situation in Iraq and Syria began to be more complicated when local actors became rivals of each other and emergence of external interventions such as Russia, Turkey, Iran and the Gulf States. Iraq's situation was remaining devastated in terms of politics, economics and social standards. The Iraqi leaders and different fractions were fighting to gain the power of

the government. They were demanding improvement in security, more proper distributions of services and annihilate the high corruption. The increase of attacks on the civilians, security officers had encouraged the Islamic State to continue their attacks throughout Iraq. This was seen as a period similar to the emergence of ISIS after the 2003 Iraq war. In 2018, the United States intelligence had explained that they were going to remain in the region as long as the threat of ISIS was present. In terms of Syria, even the situation turned more in favour of the Assad regime, the conflict was still remaining between the opposition forces and the Assad regime. The south and west of Euphrates were controlled mostly by the Assad regime, the opposition forces and the Turkish security forces. The north and east of the Euphrates was under the Kurds and Arabs who were supported by the United States. The Trump administration gave the message of providing a support to the partners in Syrian forces in order to continue their fight to remain security in the areas regained from the ISIS. As it was stated before, the US-led coalition had successfully weakened the ISIS in the region but it was wondered if they were going to successfully establish the stability (Blanchard & Humud, 2018).

4.4. ISIS and the Russia

The United States involvement into the war provided the chance for Russia to also enter into the war. As an important ally to Assad, Russia had played very important role in the pathway of the Syrian civil war. In 2015, when Assad was having hard times, Russia had declared its own military intervention to fight against the terrorism in Iraq and Syria. In Latakia, it showed its military presence and started its airstrikes. According to the United States State Department, most of the Russian attacks were targeting the opposition against the Assad, not the ISIS fighters. Russia was in the side of the Assad regime firstly because, Moscow and Syria had a long relationship history and secondly, it was afraid of a possible regime in Syria as a United States ally. As opposed the most of the coalition partners in Syria, Russia was the only one who believed that Assad was not going to be defeated. The differences in their beliefs was also reflected in their targeting as well. Russia was targeting not only the ISIS militants

but also the ones who were opposed to the regime and called as the terrorists by the Assad. Furthermore, Russia wanted to increase its presence in the region both diplomatically and militarily. In order to find a common ground, United States had suggested the "Joint Implementation Group" for Russia and the United States for safer flight coordination for the common security. There were many concerns emerged from the Department of Defence and the Intelligence Service. Generally, it was stated that ISIS was a very good opportunity for Russia to increase its influence in the region and become an ally with Iran both supporting the Assad regime (McInnis, 2016).

4.5. The Effect of the International Military Interventions on ISIS

On June 2014, when the situation in Iraq and Syria became insolvable, the government of Iraq required help from the United States to fight against ISIS. In August 2014, after the severe attacks of the Islamic State, the United States had authorized its military officers to target the safe havens of the Islamic State. The United States airstrikes which began in August 2014 in Iraq stretched over Syria in the following month. Kobane was the next city to be targeted by the U.S. airstrikes since it was one of the most suffering area in Syria. The campaign that the United States had started was named as the "Operation Inherent Resolve" by the Pentagon and under this operation there were over 8.000 airstrikes launched in Iraq and Syria. The trained Iraqi army was efficiently fighting in gaining ISIS conquered areas. In Syria, although the Syrian-Turkish border was rescued, ISIS was still successful in taking Aleppo, kept Raqqa and other important places. The international community was especially concerned about the Yazidis who were terribly attacked, their men and boys were killed and women and girls were raped and sold as sex slaves. The states who wanted to join the United States effort to bring the ISIS down had joined the US-led coalition forces. After the attacks of the United States, some of the Yazidi people had successfully escaped to the Mount Sinjar but unfortunately some was trapped under the ISIS controlled areas (Teson, 2016). The airstrikes were successful in destroying many armaments, safe havens and fighters of the Islamic State. The airstrikes of the US-led coalition were responded severely by the Islamic State militants. In the following days

after the start of the United States airstrikes, ISIS had published a video beheading of the American journalist James Foley. The Islamic State began to threat the United States as they were going to keep killing the hostages they captured as long as the airstrikes continue. The next month, on September 2014, ISIS had shared another video of beheading of Steven Sotloff, who was another American journalist hostage. The video releases continued with the killing of David Haines who was a British aid worker. In this video, Britain was threatened to withdraw its forces from the US-led coalition. In the following month, Alan Hennig, who was British citizen was killed as well. On November, they killed Peter Kassig who was an American aid worker in the region. ISIS continued its violent attacks on the civilians and killed more than 300 people in Abu Nimr tribe in Iraq. ISIS began to ask for money for the return of its hostages. They asked for $200 million for the return of the two Japanese hostages but both of them were killed. Another important murder was a Jordanian pilot being burned alive in a locked cage which extremely angered the Jordanian authorities. The Jordanian airstrikes began to exterminate the Islamic State camps, armaments and members. This responses against the Islamic State was not enough to stop its movements (Glenn, Rowan, Caves, & Nada, 2016).

In 2015, it was seen that ISIS had successfully jumped into other states. Both sides were intensifying in their responses towards each other. In January, the Kurdish forces with the support of the US-led coalition had fought and won the over the militants. As a response, in February, ISIS captured close to 200 Assyrian Christians in northeastern Syria. In May, ISIS successfully captured Ramadi in Iraq then Palmyra in Syria. In the following month, the Kurdish fighters took over Tell Abiad in Syria which is a close city to Turkish border and Ain Issa which was an important military base of ISIS. ISIS was very effective in its expansion due to its strong affiliate groups, supporters and followers and their attacks abroad. On September 30th, Russia also started its airstrikes against ISIS in Syria. It was critiqued by the United States that Russia was targeting civilians and the U.S. backed opponent groups. One month after Russia started its airstrikes, a Russian airplane was shot down by the ISIS militants in Egypt and all of the passengers on board were killed. On November, Sinjar became another city retaken

from the ISIS by the Kurdish forces. The ISIS attacks throughout the world rose the concerns of the world even more and they started to take more effective and serious actions. When ISIS prepared one of the deadliest attacks in Paris, France also increased its attacks against ISIS in Raqqa. The Defense Secretary of the United States decided to deploy US Special Operation forces in Iraq to provide more support to the Iraqi and Kurdish fighters in the region. Through the end of 2015, Abu Saleh, who was a finance minister of ISIS was killed in an US airstrike and the Iraqi forces took back Ramadi. The coalition forces became wider in terms of preventing its fans to become foreign fighters, cut its financial support and destroy its safe havens. In 2015, they continued killing and releasing the videos of their hostages. They killed 21 Egyptians in Libyan beach and razed peshmerga fighters in Iraq. ISIS was destroying Iraq and Syria, including the very important antiquities and architecture. In 2015, Boko Haram's leader Abubakar Shekau had announced his commitment to the Islamic State and its expansion into the Africa. This commitment was accepted by al-Baghdadi and as increasing the courage of the group, the Islamic State had attacked Ramadi killing more the 40 Iraqi military personnel (Sliney, 2015).

The next year in 2016, the coalition forces and the ISIS continued their struggle over each other. The Iraqi town of Hit that was under control of ISIS since 2014 was taking back by the Iraqi forces but on the other side the Free Syrian Army had lost Rai to ISIS in the Syrian-Turkish border. On 19 May, Rutbah was retaken in Iraq by the Iraqi forces. In the following month, Fallujah was also saved with the help of US-led coalition forces. In August, Abu Duaa al-Ansari who was one of the important leaders of ISIS was killed in the Sinai Peninsula according to Egypt announcements. Manbij was another city saved in Syria with minority population of the Kurds, Circassians and Chechens. On September, the Iraqi government had announced that all of the Iraqi oil reserves were saved from the ISIS. Qaraqosh in Iraq which is an important area with its Assyrian population in southeast Mosul was also captured on October. On November 11 2016, The United Nations Human Rights Office condemned ISIS for using chemical weapons against the civilians in Mosul. When the chemical weapons came into the scene, the attacks of the coalition forces also increased and at the

beginning of the December, United States had explained that approximately 50,000 ISIS militants were killed in their airstrikes. In the case of Turkey, its President Recep Tayyip Erdogan had explained that in their cross-border operations they had "neutralized" more than 200 ISIS fighters. Through the end of the year, one of the most important commanders of ISIS, Abu Jandal al-Kuwaiti was killed in Syria in the severe attacks of the coalition forces (Glenn, Rowan, Caves, & Nada, 2016).

When it came to the end of 2017, ISIS had lost approximately 98% of its conquered territories. Even the declarations of victories over ISIS were being announced, ISIS was still alive and continued its attacks on many parts of the world. On February, Jordan prepared harmful attacks to ISIS in south Syria. Turkey had announced that they had killed more than 50 ISIS militants in the northern Syria. The Syrian Democratic Forces were effectively capturing military bases of ISIS in Syria. On April, United States had launched its biggest non-nuclear bomb which is known as the "mother of all bombs" in Afghanistan. They mostly targeted the places where ISIS members were hiding and using as safe havens. Abdul Hasib, who was in charge of ISIS in Afghanistan was killed in the airstrikes. On June, Raqqa in Syria which was considered as the capital of the claimed caliphate were taken back. On June 16, Russia had announced that Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi was killed in their airstrikes. Iraq's success of retaking the Grand Nuri Mosque was marked as a victory of the Iraq's army and end of the ISIS according to the Iraqi Prime Minister al-Abadi. Most importantly, the Iraqi army had declared its victory over Mosul in Iraq which was its second largest city. Russia had explained that they had killed more than 200 ISIS militants in Deir Ezzor. Hezbollah on the other hand continued their attacks on ISIS in the Lebanese-Syrian border. On October, Iraqi forces captured Hawija in Iraq. On November 2017, Rawa as the last town under ISIS control was retaken (Hilali & Petkova , 2017).

The next year in 2018, the US decided to remain some of its troops in Syria in order to prevent resurgence of the Islamic groups. The concerns on ISIS's re-emergence was highly remaining in the world. Most of the ISIS militants after the foreign intervention had escaped to the mountains, tried to find different safe havens to hide and the foreign

fighters were trying to find a way to escape back to their homes. In this period, Iraq continued launching attacks on ISIS targets. The Western states on the other hand were working to eliminate their propaganda. On 25 July, ISIS attacked and captured Suwayda Province in Syria and murdered more than 150 people. ISIS was responded with severe attacks but it was too late to prevent the damage it had caused. On August 23th, a shocking news came from a sound recording of al-Baghdadi. He was referring to the current loses of the group and he had claimed that their defeat was not going to be determined by the stolen cities of the transgressors. The remaining conflicts in Iraq and Syria was still an advantage for the militants to re-emerge. Thereby, on October, ISIS attacked northern Syria and caused over 40 deaths of the Syrian Democratic Forces. The Syrian Democratic Forces prepared a "round up" operation in order to clear the remaining parts of ISIS especially in the eastern Syria. The Syrian Democratic Forces had successfully taken Hajin which was an important town in Iraq because it was going to decrease the ISIS controlled areas in the Euphrates River. ISIS was trapped as far as to Baghouz in eastern Syria by the Kurdish forces. In the end of the 2018, the United States administration had announced the defeat of the Islamic State and that they had intention to withdraw from Syria. Although, the United States was willing to withdraw its forces, the Syrian Democratic Forces had continued their fight against the Islamic State (Callimachi, 2018).

In 2019, The Islamic State's affiliate group in West Africa prepared a sudden attack in Nigeria. ISIS was controlling only Baghouz and the Syrian Democratic Forces had successfully taken the city as well. After the fall of Baghouz, which was the last territory hold by the ISIS, it was officially defeated and the Islamic State had no region to call as belonging themselves. On April 29[th,] a video of al-Baghadi was released explaining that they had taken the revenge of defeat of Baghouz with the attacks in Sri Lanka. He continued with saying that their fight will continue until the end of the world (Cameron Glenn, Rowan, Caves, & Nada, 2019).

4.6. The Effects of the Sanctions on the War

Syria had faced many international sanctions besides humanitarian aid in the war time. The external sanctions, decrease on the foreign investments, reduce of internal production and the influence of the war had damaged the economies of the states to a very high extend. The international sanctions were considered as causing more troubles then the wars in Syria and Iraq. In 2011, Syria was expelled from the Arab League. There were important economic sanctions imposed on Syria that had caused important damage to the Syrian economy. The European Union sanctions did also play very critical role in the collapse of the Syrian economy. The oil export embargos hardly crushed the fiscal income of the government. There was a sharp devaluation of the currency which increased the prices and crushed the salaries. According to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, the sanctions had also limited the humanitarian aid that wanted to be given to Iraq and Syria. The foreign countries were being negatively affected and at some points they cut their assistance. One of the most important negative impact of the sanctions on Syria was the starvation. The high unemployment had also highly frustrated the society and caused violence towards each other. The situation was the same in Iraq, especially after the United Nations sanctions against the Saddam Hussein's regime. The sanctions were not reducing the power of the regimes but damaging the society. According to some analysts, when people began to become hungry, they had two options. One of their option was to ally with the government and the other one was to join the terror groups. Both options were not favoured by the most of the populations in Iraq and the Syria. In Iraq and Syria, with collapse of the economies, people also started to be linked to the illegal activities. ISIS had gained important number of militants as a result of the suffering economies. The financial well-being of ISIS had attracted the people who were economically damaged, politically supressed and culturally alienated. Generally, it is possible to say that both the international military interventions and sanctions had caused more damage than the internal conflicts of the states (Jones & Libicki, 2018).

4.7. The Foreign Fighters after ISIS

After the defeat of ISIS, the countries around the world started to be concerned about the future of the foreign fighters. Many people abroad left their homes in order to join ISIS and similar organizations in Syria and Iraq. When ISIS lost all the territories it conquered, the foreign fighters were left down and they started to demand to go back to their home countries. The US government had said that the foreign fighters should be repatriated and try to regain them into the society. The other countries were worried about the possible internal terror actions of the returnees. It was important to determine the actual reasons of the foreign fighter who joint ISIS in order to specify which option would be the safest for their countries. When the number of the foreign fighters are analyzed, there were approximately 300 US citizens that joint ISIS. In Europe, the number increased to 6000. The Syrian insurgent groups had captured many foreign fighters of ISIS and threatened the US that they would keep them as long as the US remains in the region. Although, United States was supporting the idea of return of the foreign fighters, it did not accept their own citizens (Jenkins, 2019).

The national policies of countries varied from one to another in this case. In terms of the United States, their proscription law on the foreign fighting was the first in the world. The law had stated that the people who join foreign fight, armed group or other forces who are against the United States, will lose their citizenship. Therefore, United States did not remove any citizenship to prevent return of foreign fighters. In terms of France and Russia, they were willing to take all citizens of foreign fighters to determine their situations in their homes. The situation in Canada was complicated in terms of internal divisions. Some of the people were supporting their returns but others were arguing that they would cause more problems in the country. At the beginning, they were in favor of taking their citizenships but later it was decided that they should return to punish at home. Generally, it can be stated that, the national policies of countries changed in terms of their own domestic security concerns (Malet, 2019).

4.8. Challenges and Critiques

The mission of the coalition forces became very complicated when it came to receive the consent of all powers for one task. This task was even more complicated when it was about the military intervention, when all nations were contributing to the task equally and they all had equal rights to say. The interests of the purposes were easily crossing each other. There was a very clear example of this situation between the United States and Turkey. On the one hand, United States were providing equipment and assistance to the Kurdish fighters in order for them to remain their fights against the Islamic State. On the other hand, Turkey was afraid of a possible establishment of a Kurdish state in the region and triggering the Kurds in Turkey as well. Turkey had prepared cross border operations for various times, targeting both the ISIS militants and the Kurdish peshmerga. Turkey's military interventions were not welcomed by most of the states that it was considered as underestimating the common aim and was more fighting for its own interests. Apart from this example, there were many conflicts between the internal and external powers as all parts were supporting their allies in the region (McInnis, 2016).

There were many criticisms made towards the intention of the international military intervention which was shunned even after the chemical weapon attacks on 2013. According to the Syrian Network for Human Rights, there were many attacks against the civilians by the Assad regime and they caused more deaths than the ISIS. The civil war in Syria had started in 2011 but the military intervention emerged in 2014. Instead of targeting the offender of the civil war, the main target of the coalition forces were the ISIS. ISIS was considered as a perfect opportunity for Assad to turn the focus of the world away from its extremist attacks on the opposition groups. Taking advantage of the international military intervention, Assad under the name of "war on terror" had continued to target its opposition groups and it also gave courage for Russia to enter into the war. In terms of the military interventions, it was said that declaring a war on another war cannot bring peace and instead it may cause more damage. According to the Airwars, which was a United Kingdom based journal, it was estimated that there

were approximately 5,000 civilians killed in the coalition forces airstrikes. The coalition forces also targeted the infrastructure and other sources that ISIS used. On the one hand they were blocking ISIS but on the other hand, they were causing a very important damage for the recovery of the states. The airstrikes made ISIS militants to merge into the civilians and try to gain more followers by saying that the US airstrikes were against all Muslims in the region. They were also capturing people from the towns and in this way, ISIS was receiving more militant than they lose. ISIS's territorial lost did not mean its ideological lose as well. According to a Europal statements in 2016, the foreign fighters were returning to Europe and they were expected to cause internal terrorism within the continent. The military intervention was also targeting other extremist groups like Jabhat al-Nusra, which would also take the opportunity from the defeat of ISIS and try to gain territories that ISIS lost. However, the weapons that US-led coalition forces used for some its targets were found as a war crime in terms of international law. In the case of Raqqa, the use of white phosphorous munitions which is a lethal chemical and burn the human body is unlawful and can be punished. It was a weapon that was condemned by the United States when militants in Afghanistan had used them against the civilians. The general vision of the airstrikes on the ground was way more different than what is was trying to be shown abroad. Civilians were not accessing the clean water and there was malnourishment (Al-Faqir, 2018).

In conclusion, the international military interventions in the Middle East began after the September 11 attacks of Al-Qaeda in the United States. The "war on terror" strategy of the United States for both Al-Qaeda and ISIS had unfortunately caused more damage. Apart from military involvement in the region there were military and non-military solutions suggested. In terms of the non-military solutions, the economic sanctions were seen as one of the strongest sanction to downturn the ISIS. Besides ISIS's exploitation of the resources, it became very rich with a well financial support. It was seen very effective to weaken to group through cutting its financial ties and flow of the resources. Secondly, as a group growing in numbers day by day, including the ones coming from abroad, it became one of the main duty for the states to prevent the

flow of foreign fighters to the region. Thirdly, instead of a direct military intervention, negotiation with the group leaders were suggested. This was highly rejected in the international area as it can be an event for the group to be considered as internationally recognized. In last, countering the ISIS's propaganda, especially on social media was seen as another important way to weaken the supporters of the group.

The decision to take the military intervention was based on providing a military assistance, prevent the flow of foreign fighters, cut its financial ties and provide humanitarian assistance. In 2014, the US-led coalition forces were formed by the Obama Administration in order to fight against the ISIS after the request of the Iraqi government. The coalition forces did mainly use the airstrikes to target ISIS conquered areas. The operations had effectively weakened the group and most of the areas were successfully retaken. Beginning from the 2014 until the 2017, ISIS lost 98% of its controlled territories. Besides the defeat of ISIS militarily, the United States and its allies were also providing the training, equipping and advising programs to the Iraqi and Syrian forces. Russia on the other hand, took the opportunity from the United States involvement of the war and entered the war. It was argued that, as an important ally of the Assad regime, Russia was targeting the opposition groups as well as the ISIS militants. After the withdrawal of the coalition forces, there are many arguments raised as the emergence of terror organizations similar to ISIS being seen. The interest-based coalition forces do not always serve for the common good and may cause more damage than solution to the conflicts. This situation was clearly seen in the case of ISIS where after the intervention of the foreign powers, the war became more intensified and the civilian causalities had tremendously increased.

CHAPTER 5

THE EFFECT OF ISIS ON FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAMISTS

In order to understand the relation between the Islamic fundamentalism and the ISIS, it's necessary to consider the origins of the fundamentalism. Fundamentalism is a religious movement with the strict interpretations of the sacred texts. It has a Christian origin but it was used in other several religious movements. In the beginning of the 20th century, it came out as a reaction against the secularism and modernity. Under the belief of fundamentalism, religion was trying to be implemented in all aspects of human lives (Munson, 2019). Therefore, Islamic fundamentalism refers to the earlier times of the Islam and adopts the life same as Prophet Mohammed lived. The majority of the ISIS members were fundamentalist Islamists who suffered from the results of the foreign interventions in their countries, mainly Iraq and Syria. When the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism in different regions are analyzed, it is clearly possible to say that, it is a very sophisticated social phenomenon. Generally, the fundamentalists movements were reaction against the foreign domination and exploitation in the Middle East. In addition, it is not possible to say that the Middle East's history was always dominated by the religion and fundamentalism at all times.

The movements of the Islamic fundamentals had varied throughout the Islamic world. Some of the Islamic fundamentals turned out as radicals, some to extremists and even further some came out as terrorists. Islamic fundamentalism is a religious and political movement that is willing to establish a society ruled as the pure Islamic times. The Western domination and neo-colonialism such as using economic, political and cultural pressures to impact others pushed the people in the Middle East to engage in an idea that helps the oppressed people against the Western crusaders. They were willing to eliminate their effects and re-establish a sanitized Muslim society. According to the fundamentalism in the Middle East, the United States and the Israel

were their main enemies. The Islamic history is full with conservative campaigns in order to return to the origins of the Islam. Returning to the origins of Islam was also a debate between the fundamentalist Islamists. Muhammad 'Abduh and Jamal al-Din al Afghani as reformists had supported to idea that it was possible to return to the origins of Islam in Prophet Muhammed's times with achieving science and democracy. This argument was opposed by other fundamentalists who found the Sharia law as the only legitimate way to live the Islam (Chang, 2005). The roots of the Islamic fundamentalism in the form of planned political movement appeared in 1920s in Egypt with the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood. It is possible to talk about many fundamentalist political and religious organizations prior to the Muslim Brotherhood but Muslim Brotherhood became accepted as the first modern Islamic political fundamentalist group of current times. Generally, its emergence began after the foreign interference for the colonization of the Middle East (Achcar, 2013).

There are many Muslims who unlike the fundamentalists believes that the religion should be separated from the state. However, it is possible to find many differences in the Islamic movements taking place in different states. The supporter of early Islamic times say that Islam covers all aspect of lives of the people, therefore, there is no need for the separation of Islam and the state. According to almost all of the Islamic fundamentalists, they are responsible for the holy war in order to establish jihad against the enemies who are viewed as the non-Muslims and Muslims who are not Sunnis. Even most of the Muslim countries were prone to Islamic movements, there were still many internal oppositions as they were at some point seemed as allies of the Western states (Munson, 2016).

According to historical materialists such as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the structure and developments of a society is determined by its economic opportunities. The states which were negatively affected from the capitalism, wanted to turn back to their histories. This perspective can clearly be seen in the case of Islamic fundamentalists, when their responses against the foreign domination and capitalism are considered. The part of small bourgeoisie, artisans and peasants were changed with

the increasing effect of the capitalism and in order to keep their survival, they started to shift from small producers into big ones and began to earn high profits. The capitalism had increased the class fractions within different societies. Capitalism, which led political, economic and cultural exploitations of the dependents began to create movements against the colonial powers. The revolts were mainly against the foreign interference and exploitation of their resources. The cooperating groups' ideology against the foreign domination was based on mythical Islamic golden age which came from times of the Prophet Muhammed. Most of the Islamic fundamentalists adopted the earlier Islamic rules as a common feature. ISIS became the most extreme group in adopting and implementing these ideologies. Therefore, its main aim became to establish an Islamic caliphate with the early Islamic rules and regulations (Achcar, 2013).

The Islamic fundamentalism continued to increase when Western economic and political domination continued to increase in the Middle East. The founder of Al-Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden had stated that, it was the United States who pushed Iraq into a disaster situation causing millions of deaths of Iraqi citizens and led the rise of extremism in the country. The Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern states were also found guilty with working for the interests of the United States in the region. Generally, their fight was against the Western domination and elimination of the corruption to establish the Islamic state (Achcar, 2013).

5.1. The Effect of the Separation Between the Religion and the State

There has been a long debate for the relation between the state and the religion in the Islamic world. According to the Sharia law, the state and the religion can-not be separated from each other. It was generally accepted that after the 9th century, when the Sharia law started to be implemented, the ideational freedom was prohibited and the Sharia law was enough to accommodate all needs of the human nature. The Sharia law came along the old Western legal system. The rules of the Western judicial version of the Sharia law was vaccinated in some of the Muslim states. In terms of ISIS, it

became very radical movement in order to clarify the vaccinated Western influences of the Islamic system. According to Oliver Roy, who is a French political scientist professor and working on radical Islamism explained that there were possibilities in the old commitments of Islam to be more compliable with the modernity but it shifted to the neo-fundamentalism which emerged as one the of the most extremist terror group in the region. As the time passed, the most important difference between the Islamic and the Western world became the separation of the religion and the state from each other. In most of the Muslim states, the religion and the state were combined but on the Western world, they were separated from each other. The combination of the state and the religion in the Muslim society prepared a perfect ground for the emergence of the radical Islamist groups. ISIS became one of the extreme fundamentalist organization coming from this type of society. The religion is seen as very important element to shape the society. The Western world had stated that one of the most important problem in the emergence of ISIS was the failure of the Islamic societies to separate the religion and the state from each other. The societies who successfully separated the religion and the state from each other had developed democracies in their systems. The most important problem of implementation of the Sharia law is that while it was trying to appeal to the all of the human and social practices, it was not accommodated with the modern law and the changing world. The radical Islamism under the state politics became threatening for both the individuals and groups that limits the rights of the people and forces people to follow its rules (Ahmed, 2017).

There were many conflicts emerged between the communal Islamic culture and the secular/individualistic cultures. The conflict of the pluralism and individualism had shifted to the problems of the West and the Arab world. ISIS attributing to the individualism and democracy as Western tools to colonize and annihilate the Islamic essentials. The major problem between the religion and the state is that there are debates of the state being only responsible for the order of the community and restricted in the public field or whether it is also responsible for the personal area and tries to separate the religion and the moral essentials. When the religion and public

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relations are closely linked to each other, it is argued that either one of it becomes the subservient of the other. If became either the religion or the politics determining the aim of the state.

In the ISIS's use of fundamentalist Islamism, religion was used to justify its holy war as a reaction to the modernity. According to Samuel Hungtinton's "Clash of Civilization" writing, the different perspectives and understandings of two different societies between the West and the Islamic society had caused many problems. The collective understanding of the Islam was against the individualism of democracy. Fundamentalism with its collectivity was more appealing to the Islamic world instead of the democracy (Aarde, 2018).

5.2. The Causes of Islamic Fundamentalism to turn into Violent Extremism

5.2.1. Economic Reasons

When the capitalism had started to dominate the countries in the Middle East as well as other parts of the world, the gap between the rich and the poor began to widen. The states in the Middle East were drifting from each other and the dissatisfaction of the poor portion of the population increased. The rapid increase of migration from rural areas to urban space caused imparity which later on fed the fundamentalists. The people who lost most of their hopes for proper standards to survive began more linked to their religion and it became an opportunity for the fundamentalists. Islamic fundamentalism was provided as supporting the equality and justice for all.

5.2.2. Political Reasons

After the World War I, there were many movements in order to eliminate the foreign influences in different states. Most of these movements were nationalistic and they at most times did not succeed. The unsuccessful attempts of the nationalists started to be found as wrong ideas and religious started to replace the nationalism. There were important events considered as turning points to replace the nationalism with Islamic

fundamentalism in the region. First of all, there were various wars between the Arabs and the Israel starting from the 1948, the establishment of Israel. The most devastating war was 1967 war which highly damaged the Arab prestige and started to decline the belief in Arab nationalism. Nationalism, which was considered as a secular idea was found guilty and in order to have the victory in the region, the Islamic law was seen as the only legitimate source. Furthermore, it lifted the morale of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt because Nasser was very harsh against the Muslim Brotherhood for their fundamentalist views. The defeat of Arabs began to be a great advantage for the rise of fundamentalists. The second event was 1979 Iranian Revolution which replaced Iran with Islamic Republic under the Islamic leader Ayatollah Khomeini. According to most Islamic fundamentalists, this was an opportunity and opening gate to have the courage to raise their voices against the foreign occupiers. Thirdly, the Gulf Crisis of 1990-1991 did play very crucial role for the expansion of the fundamentalist Islamism. In this war, when Iraq lost against the coalition of the United States in Kuwait, the dignity of the Arabs was damaged to a high extend. The Islamic fundamentalists had thought that, now it was their turn to take the action in order to regain their prestige (Chang, 2005). Overall, it is said that the current Islamic fundamentalist struggle is the continuation of the previous colonial and nationalist fight of the extremist Islamists. The fight had re-appeared carrying the new identity of Islam. The victory of the United States and its allies in the region was not a total victory and in fact it had waken the radical Islamic fundamentalism. The last important event for the gaining importance of the fundamentalism in the Middle East was the rise of international terrorism after the September 11 attacks of Al-Qaeda in the United States. After the September 11 attacks, the United States invaded Iraq and this became known as the turning point for the emergence of the ISIS (Gopal, 2019).

5.2.3. Terrorism

The radical Islamic fundamentalism had adopted very extreme level of violence in order to wage war against the governments. They were not only attacking the government officers but the civilians as well. They were threatening the foreign

countries to prevent them by attacking themselves. The secular Muslims were also on their targets. They were also fighting to cut the financial support of the foreign states to secular Muslims. Overall, it is not possible to say that all of the Islamic fundamentalist movements were based on same purposes, each state had its own aims.

Terrorism, which is based on extreme level of violence is not found as a political act since it targets the civilians as well as the military and government officers. Their acts are criminal and illegitimate. As opposed to this argument, terrorists see their acts as the only way to make their voices heard throughout the world. According to them, there is no other way to stay strong against the foreign crusaders in their lands. Especially after the 1960s, it is seen that terrorism had expanded worldwide (Chang, 2005).

5.3. The Modern Islamism

The Islamic fundamentalism as a religious-political movement can be best seen as a response to the crisis of the modern times. The terror organizations such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS had taken on the responsibility to resurrect the Caliphate which was removed in 1924. They were against the modernity but not all means of it. For instance, they were using modern military equipment and communications technology, especially the social media in order to successfully appeal to the masses. The Islamic fundamentalism is placed on the right side of the political spectrum but it is possible to differentiate the modern day of political Islam from the fundamentalism. The political Islamists were usually fighting to establish a community that involves all social classes equally. It was only the Al-Qaeda and the ISIS who were talking about the economic system and segregating the people from each other to murder the ones who did not accommodate with them. The fundamentalism of ISIS can be better understood with historical/geopolitical and dogmatic levels.

5.3.1. The Historical/ Geo-political Level

Islamic fundamentalism fight against the nation-state supporters of Muslims and non-Muslims because they believe that it is a Western product and it only works to divide the region of the Muslims. As ISIS was frequently making reference to the Sykes-Picot Agreement, finding it as a betrayal to their religion and people, they were trying to remove its borders. The 1916 British-French designed agreement was found against the Islam and the border drawn with it was helping the Western powers to conquer the Islamic world. ISIS adopted abolishing the Sykes-Picot borders as it main duty. ISIS had involved many statements making reference to the Sykes-Picot Agreement such as "Breaking the Borders" and "End of the Sykes-Picot" (Lister, Tim; Sanchez, Ray; Bixler, Mark; O'Key, Sean; Hogenmiller, Michael; Tawfeeq, Mohammed, 2018). The way the borders were drawn was providing a good advantage for the Western states to exploit the under and above ground resources of the region.

5.3.2. Dogmatic Level

The fundamentalism that ISIS had represented was politicized edition of the Salafism. The politicization of Salafism was considered as a departure from the true version and the politics was supposed to be kept away from the Salafism. According to the old Islamic reformists such as Muhammad Abduh and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, there is nothing remains unchanged in this world and therefore, people also change as time passes. When the people change, the laws and the politics implemented to them should also correspond with their needs as well. In terms of ISIS's implementation of Sharia laws on the people, they were obviously way more strict and extreme than the Middle Ages.

5.4. Reactions to the Modernity

ISIS opposes modernity stating that especially for the working conditions, its hours and the wages were all the slavery factors of the modernity. These living and working

conditions were damaging the dignity of all Muslims. The ideas produced by the modernity was confusing the young generations. The holy war against the crusaders was the only way to have the victory (Kaminski, 2016). There were many reasons listed for the need for the resurrection of the Islamic fundamentalism. First of all, Muslim world was seen as declining and losing their true faith in the religion. In order to remove the toxics of the Western modernization, Islam was going to be implemented to the public and private lives of the people. Furthermore, Islam was referring to the all parts of human lives. The modernization was accepted only for the science and technological purposes as long as it was not subordinating the Islamic assets (Esposito, 2001).

5.5. The Future of Islamic Fundamentalism

According to the Abd al-Jawad Yassin who is an Egyptian Islamic scholar, political Islam was dying in the Arab world and fundamentalism was in its last stage. The Islamic fundamentalism that the Arab world had been experiencing for a long time of period had consolidated its roots in their social structures and brought fragmentations within the society. The extreme belief in the religion which was used by the fundamentalists had departed people from each other and prevented the human development. If the change of the natural laws of the people are accepted, the removal of the fundamentalism in the near future is inevitable. According to Yassin, the events that people experienced in the periods of the ISIS, it was the third generation of the fundamentalist Islamism. In terms of its life cycle, it has reached to its top points with most extremist attacks in history and the fundamentalism after ISIS will be dying.

There are two important problems listed under the religious systems. Firstly, it was believed that it is the only true source and foreclosing others who does not agree with this view. This view was challenged because pluralism and diversity were welcomed in the Quran but not in the ISIS's religious systems. Secondly, as it is stated at most of the times, the religious systems are stuck with one and unchanged source but the human nature is changing. The source should compensate with the changing human

nature because otherwise it will accommodate with the needs of the society. Therefore, ISIS is seen as the last phase of the increasing fundamentalism as it has reached to highest position compared to previous positions of the Islamic fundamentalists in the region and it was not appealing to the everyone and changing environment. The first generation of the Islamic fundamentalists was the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt which appeared in 1920s. The second generation came out as Sayyid Qutb and Abud A-la Maududi in Egypt as well. In last, ISIS came as the third generation of the fundamentalists and it is expected to be the last (Abid, 2019).

5.6. The Contradictions Between the Fundamentalism and ISIS

It should be taken into consideration that ISIS as strictly formed and disciplined organization had also ambiguities in its running. While ISIS was strict in interpretations of the Islamic Laws, on the other hand it involved Western materials and practices in their daily lives. For example, in one of the videos of Al-Baghdadi, he had a Swiss watch on his arm and it was obvious that they were not preventing themselves from using Western produced products. Furthermore, they did not renounce themselves from their orgies. The rape rates in the region had severely increased, detaining women as sex slaves. The robbing, rape, persecution and slaughtering people were highly forbidden in Islam but these were highly adopted in ISIS movements. It was a confusing characteristic of ISIS to have valiant behaviour to prepare attacks any time, risking everything that they gained so far. The Western world and the fundamentalist Islamism were completely moving into two different directions as the West was dedicating itself to fulfill the lives of its citizen in material and cultural terms but on the other side, fundamentals were dedicating themselves to transcendent. In the Western word, the temporal pleasures were more important but in the Islamic societies, life after the death was more important (Wood, 2015).

According to William Butler's explanation, the extremists referred as "the worst" were associated with racism, radical religion and sex addiction. These principles of ISIS raise the concerns whether they are true fundamentalists or not. It is possible to say

that they have not found the truth as long as they are threatening and being threatened by other people. ISIS was fighting more to its own temptation than to the guilt of others. The excessive violence of ISIS proves its true understanding of the faith. The other important misunderstanding of the fundamentalists was that they believed they were considered as the lower statue group of people. This was seen as an internal concern of the members of ISIS but not accepted by the outsiders. ISIS and its followers must understand that there is a limit to everyone's superiority (Zizek, 2014).

5.7. The Important Factors Shaping the Ongoing Violence and Extremism in the Middle East

In the history of the Middle East, due to its complex structure the internal and external conflicts were seen as inevitable. The civil unrest and instability can be considered as important factors leading to conflicts in the region. The Middle East as a region is a home to very diverse population with majority of Muslims, and then Christians and Jews including their different sects. There were also multiple nations in the region which have the potential to have rivalry between each other. However, Middle East had very important issues in its structure which enabled various political protests, radicalism and terrorism.

The region is with high insecurity and instability compared to the other regions in the world. There were very important and crucial problems between the neighbouring states such as ethnic and sectarian conflicts, increase in the threat for the use of weapons especially chemical weapons and increase in the distrust between the different groups of people. Therefore, increase in the tension, rivalry and civil conflicts became inevitable. The region was also very important with its geographic location. Its routes were important for commercial purposes for roadways, sea routes and airlines. It also had very important sources such as natural gas and oil which was very important for almost every state in the world. The region had experienced almost all political views from the political spectrum beginning from democracies to the Islamic regimes (Cragin, Bradley, Robinson, & Steinberg).

In order to prevent extremism, it was important to develop a stable administrating government, providing security and economic welfare. The monarchies in the Middle East were not able to provide stability, proper social and economic conditions and civil order. The most of the reactions of the extremists were for the problems emerged after the failure of secularist attempts, oppression coming from the state, ethnic and political alienations, military pressure, high corruption and unsuccessful economic developments. It was not very easy to measure the reasons for the instability and failed states. In the national and regional levels of the Middle East, the most important problems were listed as its diversity in terms of religion, national, ethnic, sectarian, the problems of leaders being unable to address to all parts of the society, the high oppression, ineffective democratic and political structures, the state extremism, high corruption, inefficient law system, economic failures, high unemployment, divisions in the society, urban growth and growing violence from the general social unrest.

The region had experienced high number of civil failures, weak governance and oppression from both the military and the government. When its compared to the other regions in the world, Middle Eastern states usually differ in terms of their state and political systems, understanding of national unity, oppression and the high insecurity within their borders. The high level of oppression coming from the government officials led to the emergence of violent rebellion, radical extremism and then terrorism. Furthermore, there were numerous people in the society faced with discrimination. It is very important to take these issues into consideration prior to analyzing the field of terror movements. The state terrorism should also be defined apart from drawing all attention to the non-state terror groups (Cordesman, 2019).

5.7.1. The Economic Factors

The other very important factor leading to extremism was the economic inefficiencies. It had serious problems in economic developments, providing wealth and equality the incomes. There was a huge gap between the rich and the poor in most of the states. The effect and expansion of capitalism was very plague-some in the region. In the case

of Syria, it was known that the economic complains of the citizens had started almost a decade ago, prior to the 2011 uprisings. In many other states, the economic situation was experiencing even worse circumstances. The high rates of unemployment can be found in most of the states in the Middle East and therefore civil unrest is a very frequent event seen in the region. The amount spent for the national militaries are found too high that it highly prevents economic developments and civil programs. The economic factors played very important roles for people to engage in extremist events. When there was no enough welfare provided to people due to corruption, nepotism, capitalism and different reasons for the alienation of the population, the aggression of the people reached its highest point. Generally, the people in the region who were aware that they were not going to receive their rights from the government, they started to fight against them cooperating with other fundamentalist groups who were also against the government authorities. The situation in the region in terms of economics is not expected to change as long as the economic problems are solved (Cordesman, 2019).

5.7.2. The Ethnic, Sectarian and Regional Conflicts and Increase in the Migration from Rural to Urban Areas

The conflicts which were seen internally due to the region's diverse environment were repetitively seen in its history. In this environment, the violence was inescapable as much as the other features leading to extremism. There were various factors effecting the violence between different groups in the region. For instance, in the Iranian Revolution when Islamists took the control of the country and established the Islamic Republic, Iranian Revolution became a model for other fundamentalists in the region. It flourished the hopes of the fundamentalists that they can do the same movement in order to establish their own Islamic caliphate. The foreign military intervention into the region began to be considered as an attack to Islam by the Islamists. The invasion of Iraq in 2003 led very important sectarian conflicts between the Sunni and the Shias in the country. The replacement of the government with the Shias and alienation of the Sunnis led them to be extremists. These frustrated people had cooperated with other

extremists and terrorists and formed new terror group. The politics played very important role in the sectarian and ethnic conflicts, inequalities between different nations and economic gap between the rich and the poor.

The population in the region was another very important factor shaping the continuing extremism in the region. After the defeat of ISIS, there emerged to be excessive refugees and displaced people in the region that no one knows anything about their future and where they will be placed. These people had terribly suffered from the long-lasting war between many different groups in the region. They have gone under very terrible circumstances and because of that they are expected to grow anger and aggression in the near future. These circumstances are not expected to be obviated for a long period of time. The displaced people with their unknown future and aims have the possibility to increase another violence and extremist group. Most of these people, who had not found enough amount of living standards in the country side began to migrate from rural to urban areas. When all these people with different backgrounds become close to each other, the conflicts became inevitable. The tension is expected to increase between the massive problematic diversity (Wenger & Abulfotuh, 2019).

5.7.3. The Demographics and Increase in the Young Population

In the Middle East, beginning from the 1950s, the population had increased more than it was estimated. It is estimated by the United States Consensus Bureau that the population in the Middle East and the North Africa region will grow by 43% addition to the 424 million by 2050. The states in the Middle East is facing with more difficult situation with their citizens than they previously had. It is recognized that the situation is even worse than it was prior to 2011 Syrian uprising. These difficulties between the states and their citizens are expected to be turned out as uprising further radicalism and terrorism.

The young population had mostly gone through the unkept promises of their governments. There were jobs offered which had no efficient results to satisfy the

young population. According to the Arab Development Reports, the problems of the young population has the potential to threaten the stability in the region. When the history of the states in the Middle East are analyzed, it is possible to say that the young population, in fact, have the right to distrust their governments.

The emergence of the future extremists or terror organization can-not be linked to only one reason. As they were explained in the previous paragraphs, the region had many factors leading the aggression of its citizens and turn against the ruling governments. It had not been easy to find solutions for the regional or national problems. At some points, the solutions emerged as additional problems to the previous ones. The politicians and the military officers were not willing to work to find solutions in the complex events which will not be solved. The conflicts of the Middle East and the North Africa region is considered as endemic and is not expected to be solved in the near future. The high corruption and internal segregation made the states enemies of their own citizens (Cordesman, 2019).

5.8. What Will Come After the Defeat of ISIS?

After the defeat of ISIS in the Middle East, there had been apprehensions increasing for the expansion of the extremism because the Muslim fundamentalists were demanding religious independence. When ISIS was thought as defeated and lost all of its lands in the Middle East, its extremism continued to show itself across Europe, Africa and Southeast Asia. The Middle East started to become a safer place, allowing most of its refugees to return their homes. As opposed to the situation in the Middle East, Indonesia, Somalia, Nigeria and Pakistan started to be more threatening for the terror attacks. The defeat of ISIS in military terms did not mean the complete end of it. It started to reoccur in the places that it can have support from the Muslim fundamentals and form a new group of fundamentalists. The consequences after the reborn of the ISIS was expected to be more devastating than it was in the Middle East, especially towards to non-Muslims. The re-emergence of ISIS brought threat for its presence for all times across the globe.

There was a high risk of diverse societies to be influenced by the "neighbourhood fundamentalism". The extremism in one state created the anxiety and distrust between different groups towards each other. The re-emergence of ISIS in the Southeast Asia also led the emergence "aggressive nationalism" in the region. The religious minorities in countries like India, China and Myanmar were severely oppressed. The intolerance against the religious minorities in many countries highly increased. According to the Charity's "Religious Freedom in the World 2018 Report", in 196 countries in the world, more than half of the population lives without religious freedom (Caldwell, 2018).

It was announced by the Syrian fighters against the ISIS that ISIS had officially lost the war with the end of the caliphate that it had established. It had controlled wide range of territories from Syria to Iraq, prepared severe attacks throughout the world against almost eight million people, it came up to be the richest terror group with its financial supports, exploitation of resources, robbing and money received from the kidnapping. The physical defeat of ISIS was announced but ideologically it was still remaining.

According to a statement made by the United States, it was necessary to remain the fight against ISIS because as a dispersed group, it was expected to return with full aggression and intention of revenge. There was high risk for the Islamic State to revenge in Syria and regain the important parts of the territories that it had lost. Referring to this high risk, the United States military was not completely withdrawn from Syria. A 400 "peacekeepers" were planned to remain in Syria in the White House until the situation was more calmed. According to a report read in the United Nations Security Council, the Islamic State group had already established strong networks until the Iraqi government declared its victory on 2017. It was still possible to find Islamic State militants in rural areas without any security check points that allowed them to be free to make plans of their movements. These regions were mostly known as Anbar, Nineveh, Kirkuk, Salah al-Din and Diyala. It was envisaged that these remaining terrorists were planning to weaken the government authorities, show that the country

has no judicial system, disturb the peacemaking and try to prevent the reconstruction attempts by increasing the costs spent for counterterrorism. The group was also successful in having areas in the opposition and government-controlled areas even after its defeat. They continued to launch operations with heavy weapons, prepare bombings including suicide attacks and assassinated some of the local leaders to decrease the authority of the states. The leaders of ISIS were also successful continuing their commands. In terms of its finance, there were still external dominations provided and criminal activities had also continued.

Although it had lost a very high number of its militants, there is still expected to remain approximately 20,000 militants including foreign fighters. The estimated number of foreign fighters in ISIS was close to 40,000. The Syrian Democratic Forces had captured many people including women and children who had remaining ties with ISIS. The captured foreign fighters were asked by the United States to return to their homes but most of the home countries were concerned about the possible severe outcomes of having those previous militants back. There was a high chance for them to still be linked to the ISIS and create internal terrorism. The scariest scenario was the ISIS fundamentalists to join other fundamentalist groups especially in Southeast Asia and Africa. When these previous militants of ISIS join other extremist groups in other regions, they may appear stronger and more violent than at previous times. However, the attacks of individuals who were influenced by the ideas of ISIS also continued their attacks abroad.

5.8.1. The Continuing Threats of ISIS

The attacks of the ISIS militias continue abroad even after it was announced to be defeated. The planned attacks of poison ricin were stopped by the German and French authorities in Europe. The excessive attacks of the Kurdish fighters had continued ISIS's retreat from Syria. In addition, the United States airstrikes continued to target the radicals in countries like Yemen, Libya and Somalia. Attributing to these massive movements against the ISIS, it can be understood that ISIS had lost the fight in the

battle field but they are still alive. The structure of the extremists is very complex that their plans were never really understood. ISIS started to take advantage of its malfunctions such as tools of the globalization. For instance, the communication technology was used to gather their supporters from around the world. ISIS was still very strong in appealing to the people around the world with its strong established structures. Their messages were still successfully attaching to the millions. There were many debates going between different nations for the counter-terrorism. It was argued by the counter-terrorism specialists that the Islamic State can find opportunity and enough amount of time to re-establish if the concerns would turn away from ISIS to the resources and politics. It is known that the networks of the terrorists were very strongly maintained and not easily going to be cut. The resurgence of the ISIS in ungoverned areas was a big fear of the international arena. Europe on the other hand continued to face international terrorism. ISIS takes the advantages of the weaknesses. Their leaders were announced as killed but they were still approaching to their messages and preparing attacks worldwide. It is believed that most of the fighters of ISIS that escaped after its military defeat, had the potential to rebuild the group, now more extremists than it was before. It was also thought that, they may be linking to the problems in other states in order to create more tensions, divide people and gain more supporters. Some of their members are thought to be hiding and will show up at any time they are asked to. The United States military, cooperating with the Kurdish fighters were trying to find remaining members of the ISIS and their families in order to figure out their routes and linkages. There were many Islamic State militias in the nests made out of schools and hospitals. The Islamic State started to spread its ideology to the states that have never experienced radical extremism before. The groups such as al-Sunnah wa Jama'ah, Swahili sunna or al-Shabab prepared extremist attacks from Mozambique to Tanzania. The groups were not officially connected to the ISIS but they were highly influenced from the ideas of the ISIS. The attacks prepared in Mozambique were similar to the attacks of the ISIS which were reactions to the poverty in the region (Schmitt, 2018).

5.8.2. The Struggle for the Continuing Terrorism

It is a globally accepted phenomenon that the threat posed by the ISIS will continue in the future either with a different name or the same. ISIS's survival will continue apart from their defeat on the battle ground. It would be a great persuasion and a mistake to believe in easy defeat of the ISIS. While they started their fight on the ground and increased territorial expansion, they had most likely established a very strong network which even will continue after their ground defeat. One of the most important and strong arm of the organization is the Amn al-Kharji, which is known as the external operations unit of the ISIS had helped its strengthening the external networks. As ISIS was losing on the ground, the Amn al-Kharji was strengthening abroad. The United States Intelligence Service had stated that, ISIS had presumably deployed many militias in Europe and hiding many others in Turkey who will carry their future attacks. Furthermore, another future threat was expected to come from the returnees of the European fighters in Iraq and Syria. These returnees were considered as one of the biggest problem because they were ideologically influenced and militarily experienced. Most of the home countries of the foreign fighters did not want the returnees back because of the fear of possible internal terrorism. The socialization of the returnees was not seen possible. It was known that, as it happened previously, the trained militias in the Middle East or in any other region will look for the new conflicts to engage with and create bigger problems.

 In terms of ISIS's continuation, it is possible to see its some type of partnership with other groups such as Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda, which was not seen for years and ISIS as a losing group would both gain advantage from the cooperation and both groups would repair loses. In fact, there were attempts from both sides for the reconciliation but it was not easy. There were many members of the ISIS which came from Al-Qaeda because practically Al-Qaeda was considered as defeated and ISIS emerged from the ideological separation from Al-Qaeda. The division of the ISIS and Al-Qaeda had weakened the jihadist aims of the both groups and in result both of it lost on the ground fight. On the one hand, Al-Zawahiri was teasing with al-Baghdadi and considering its

caliphate as the fake one but on the other hand, he called for the cooperation. ISIS as opposed to Zawahiri, was respectful to its leaders and followers. The successful attempts of Al-Qaeda were praised and considered as its own achievements. Apart from the ideological and material differences between the Al-Qaeda and ISIS, the most important reason for them to separate was the personal rivalry between Zawahiri and al-Baghdadi. Therefore, when al-Baghdadi was announced as killed, the chance for the rapprochement between them had increased and it posed a picture of bigger threat for the international arena. Their cooperation might as well massively increase the foreign attacks abroad (Harris, 2018).

ISIS was militarily in defeat with lose of territorial controls and members but still the group was thought to be reorganizing successfully. They were very effectively using the social media to collect more and more members and removal of the leaders of ISIS or similar type of groups will not going to bring their end. They are very quick to replace them and continue their movements. The help and support to the internal security forces are also not seen very effective to alter the terrorism as well. Their inefficiencies were obvious that without any obstacle, ISIS had continued their movements worldwide. The terrorists were more successful and faster to train their militias than the internal security forces. The efforts of the state to build its internal security were limited whereas ISIS was easily building its networks and safe havens. In addition, ISIS had exceeded the state security forces in terms of their operations. When the previous struggles between the ISIS and internal security forces are considered, it could be clearly stated that, in terms of Iraq, it was not able to defeat the ISIS without help of the peshmerga militias. It was necessary to detect the possible deadly attacks of the unusual terror groups and work more efficiently to defeat those enemies as threat to the global peace and security. In order to defeat them, it is necessary to estimate their attacks based on different resources and circumstances. The highest capacity, share of information and quick and efficient responses were required under the strategy to defeat the enemy. In order to alter the terrorists, they should be able to distinguish the militias from the civilians. In doing so, it can be easy to figure out their safe havens and limit their freedom of act. Therefore, when they can-not

freely act, it can be easy to detain the militias. It was seen necessary to establish civil control methods to find out the reasons for emergence of the terror groups or insurgents and prevent further events that can lead up the same results.

In general, it can be stated that it is very hard to annihilate these terror groups and there can-not be one solutions. In order to have success towards these difficult groups, they need to adopt more integrated attitude. Therefore, it will be easy to implement the strategies while using all the resources and tactics efficiently that will annihilate the dispersed groups. As the emergence and spread of ISIS is considered, it is possible to say that, the previous strategies were not effective. Therefore, the strategies should be based on the circumstances that will go beyond a very dangerous terror groups and insurgents (Hoffman, New York).

The Operation Inherent Resolve was implemented to fight against the ISIS and remove its threat from the region. With their military defeats, they started to become an underground organization, escaped to the mountains and found new places to hide. The hiding militias of the ISIS were predicted to be waiting for the security deficiency, especially in Iraq and Syria. Therefore, it was not the time yet for the coalition forces to comfort themselves. It was explained by the Operation Inherent Resolve general that ISIS was still able to kidnap people and exploit bombs. Ideologically, it was still successful to affect the people throughout the world with their appealing to the millions through the social media. The most important prove for the continuation of the ISIS was the 2019 Sri Lanka attacks. The attacks were said to be a response for the defeat of the last ISIS controlled territory, the Baghouz. In addition to that, there was a video posted of al-Baghdadi calling for the recollection of the new militias in order to finish their incomplete duties. After this attack and the video, the internal security forces with the help of the coalition members increased their attacks on the hiding nests of the ISIS.

In terms of the politics in Syria and Iraq, they still not have achieved stability. In terms of the security, the United States and its coalition partners was going to provide the

military necessities to prevent any sudden re-emergence of the ISIS. In terms of the humanitarian conditions, there were millions of refugees who had passed the borders to escape to safer places. There were also many other dis-placed people in Iraq and Syria. There were many international staff of different organizations to help to improve the conditions of these people but it should never be forgotten that these people might also be radicalized. The situations that they have been living for years now can perfectly provide grounds for the extremism. The people with different backgrounds who lived in the camps had also problems between each other. The camps were trying to be separated in terms of their identities in order to avoid any conflict. The different groups were usually blaming each other for the conditions of their countries. When some of these people were led out to return to their homes, because of the employment rates, most of them chose to stay in urban areas. The conflict between the rivalry groups of Sunnis, Shias, Yazidis, Arabs and Kurds became unavoidable. Each group was trying to gain the dominance in the society in order to establish their own way of security. In order to overcome this situation, it was necessary to educate the new generation to eliminate any risk for their radicalization. The prevention of emergence of another terror organization was mostly based on the raising more conscious new generations. When the new generations are aware of the reasons why their countries are suffering, they can choose to become educated to be more beneficial citizens. It was very necessary to avoid any time of instability because these terror groups usually are very quick to become opportunistic to launch their operations. The new generations are expected to be more united and not allow these terror groups to not benefit from the divisions of the society. What had happened from the past and done by the ISIS must stay in the past and work to build better futures (Cronk, 2019).

5.9. Main Findings

ISIS was formed as a by-product of Al-Qaeda and its emergence was accepted as the cooperation between the fundamentalist groups of people who were also reacting to their regimes and to the foreign interventions. These people were tired of the unfair system and the oppression that they had faced for a long time of period. The ongoing

wars, corrupted governments and conflict between different groups radicalized the people and led them engage in terror activities. The aims of the ISIS had changed their directions throughout the holy war that they waged, targeting the civilians as well. When the international military interventions began to target ISIS, and regained the territories it had invaded, it was still known that this did not mean the end of the group.

Under the main findings, first of all, it is possible to list various reasons for the emergence of ISIS in the region. There was many social disorder, economic crisis, sectarian rivalries, political oppressions and many other events that can be listed for the people to become more and more extreme. In the case of the emergence of ISIS, the ideological separation from Al-Qaeda, the 2003 Iraq war and 2011 Syrian civil war are found as the main reasons for the emergence of the ISIS. These conflicts had provided a perfect ground for ISIS to take advantage first from the security flaw and capture the people who were alienated from their own societies. In Iraq after the 2003 invasion, the country was left with a great chaos. The de-Baathification process dragged country into more conflictual environment. Many Sunni people were expelled from their jobs including the high ranking military personnel and government officials. These people had growing anger towards their governments and their hatred became more and more extreme each day. When ISIS was emerging, people's joining to the group became inevitable. They were feeling disconnected from their societies and ISIS was providing them a new world that was going to work for the will of all its members and take their revenges. ISIS's Sunni representation also was another factor for these people to feel close to them and join the group. The experiences of these military personnel and networks of Iraq became crucial opportunity for its rise and expansion. These people were fighting on the side of the ISIS in order to defeat their enemies and regain their rights. The 2011 Syrian war was another important factor for the ISIS to jump into other regions, because there was also a great security flaw as well. The civil war in Syria was very harsh against its citizens and many of the oppressed people here chose to join ISIS. Apart from these factors, the effects of globalization, growing Islamophobia and the Sykes-Picot Agreement were found as additional important reasons for the emergence of ISIS (Sanchez, 2017).

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Secondly, the rise of ISIS was analyzed. The rise of ISIS was very quick and people around the world were shocked of its successes. The ideology of the group had played important role for its rise because it received significant amount of help with representing Salafist/ Wahhabi ideology. The help included both finance and members joining to fight. ISIS had provided collective identity under Sunni Islam to embrace all of its members under its caliphate and convinced them to fight for a long time of period. ISIS was very successful in its identity propagandas that most of its members were very loyal to the group and continued their struggle until the very end. They were very motivated to remove the Western influences from their countries and the regimes who betrayed to the people. Enigmatically, there was a significant amount of ideological support that ISIS had received from foreign members as well. Its collective identity propagandas became very charming for the foreign fighters who also somehow felt alienated from their societies. ISIS had also received military help from other Sunni insurgents such as Baathist Naqshbandi, Ansar al-Islam and the Mujahideen Army. The small insurgents in Iraq and Syria were changing sides depending on their own security concerns. ISIS's quick rise was also tied to its well structure. Its structure was seen better than some states in the Middle East. It was also very violent and successful in its invasions. The violent strategy to threaten others and successful expansions of the group was impressive feature of the group for its members (Bunzel, 2015).

Thirdly, the rise and fall of international interventions and its relations with ISIS movements were considered. When ISIS started to spread abroad and began to become a threat to global peace and security, the international intervention was decided to be made in order to provide military and humanitarian assistance, prevent the flow of foreign fighters and cut its financial aids. First of all, it was analyzed that how did the international military interventions effect the movements of ISIS. Secondly, were international military interventions of the coalition forces helpful in altering ISIS both physically and ideologically and did it bring an end to its existence. As it is known, the emergence of previous terror groups such as the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, were strongly tied to the interventions of the foreign powers in their states and the chaos

they left behind when they withdrew. In addition to that, one of the international military intervention, which is the 2003 United State intervention in Iraq is accepted as one of the most important factors for the rise of ISIS. The military intervention against ISIS is similar to the previous ones was not found successful to alter ISIS ideologically and guarantee that it will not appear in the future. However, in the case of ISIS, the interventions were found too late when they started because ISIS had already caused irreparable damages in the region in terms of humanitarian abuses, destroyed cities and their infrastructure and historical artifacts. It was not going to be easy for the states to recover in terms of social, economic, cultural and political measures. In terms of military involvement, ISIS had lost almost 98% of its conquered territories through the end of 2017, but at the beginning of the interventions, ISIS became more brutal trying to take revenge of all attacks prepared against it. As the time passed, ISIS had weakened militarily, lost all of its territories and members escaped but ideologically it was still remaining (Blanchard & Humud, 2018).

In last, the fundamentalism as an adoption of earlier Islamic way of life that was highly adopted by the various groups in the Middle East turned out as radicals, extremists and some even to terrorists. There were differences in the Muslim societies for the adoption of the fundamentalism as well. Some of the Muslims believed that the religion and the state should be separated from each other while others extremely rejected this idea stating that Islam was covering all aspects of human lives and there is no need for their separation. It is possible to find many divisions between the fundamentalism and the ISIS but still it was a highly adopted idea in the group. The fundamentalist groups apart from their religious requirements started to ask for political rights as well. The movements of these groups were generally known as a reaction to the modernity brought with neo-colonialism and Western influences through the capitalism. Capitalism became a very important element in deranging the Islamic societies in the Middle East and in result the people who were losing both morally end economically from the effects of the capitalism, turned out the be extremists against the Westerners and their innovations. The declaration of the Islamic caliphate and implementation of the Sharia law was accepted as the only way to eliminate the Western influences and

find the true path of Islam. The foreign interventions, economic deficiencies, political inadequacies all played important reasons for the fundamentalists to engage in terror activities (Schmitt, 2018).

In 2019, ISIS was announced as defeat in the battleground with the re-taking of the last ISIS controlled territory, Baghouz but unfortunately, its defeat can-not be easily stated in terms of ideology. It was still impacting other fundamentalist groups and the individuals around the world. There were other groups found in other parts of the world who were carrying similar operations as ISIS even without any connection. This can be one of the scariest scenarios of the threat of re-emergence of similar type of organization. Furthermore, when it came to 2019, the attacks of ISIS had continued giving threats that they will re-appear in order to finish their incomplete duties. ISIS had a very important effect on the other fundamentalist groups and individuals around the world than any other group that previously had before. The amounts of foreign fighters that had travelled to Iraq and Syria to join ISIS, the attacks carried out abroad and the emergence of smaller organizations can clearly show how strong its influence was. Unfortunately, the belief in the extreme fundamentalism did not decrease, instead it can even be called as growing.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In the four parts of this thesis research, it was tried to explain how the relationship between the fundamentalist Islamists and the ISIS was shaped, beginning from its emergence until the end of its so-called caliphate. In the first chapter, the emergence of the ISIS, the events that caused the radicalization of the people and the reasons for their formation were stated. It began with ideological separation from the Al-Qaeda, continued with the 2003 Iraq war and reached its top point with the outbreak of the 2011 Syrian Civil War. In the second chapter, the rise of ISIS was analyzed, which was very quick and very successful to take opportunity from the security deficiencies of Iraq and Syria. When the Iraqi and Syrian governments were not able to control the state borders and internal conflicts, it became a very good environment for ISIS to collaborate the people who were alienated by the government authorities. The hatred of the people, which was coming from the history of their states with full of political, economic and cultural problems opened the gates for them to join the ISIS. ISIS was found as a proper organization for the radicalized people because it was providing a fair system giving them all the rights that were taken from them. It was promised by the leaders of the Islamic State that their fight was going to continue until all of their revenge was taken and all foreign influences were eliminated from their region. In the third chapter, the rise and fall of military interventions were written to explain the effectiveness of the international military interventions for the defeat of ISIS. The coalition forces were successful in the battlefield to defeat the ISIS but unfortunately, it can-not be stated in terms of ideological defeat of the ISIS. It was still impacting the other fundamentalist groups and the individuals around the world. There are other groups found in other parts of the world who were carrying similar operations as ISIS even without any connection. This can be one of the scariest scenarios of the threat of re-emergence of similar type of organization. Furthermore, when it came to 2019, the

attacks of ISIS had continued giving threats that they will re-appear in order to finish their incomplete duties. The ISIS had a very important effect on the other fundamentalist groups and individuals around the world than any other group that previously had before. The amounts of foreign fighters that had travelled to Iraq and Syria to join ISIS, the attacks carried out abroad and the emergence of smaller organizations can clearly show how strong its influence was. Unfortunately, the belief in the extreme fundamentalism did not decrease, instead it is seemed to be getting stronger.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Irak-Şam İslam Devleti olarak bilinen IŞİD, Orta Doğu'da çok hızlı bir şekilde ortaya çıkmış ve yükselmiş İslamcı bir terör örgütüdür. Bu terör örgütü bölgede ve dünyada en saldırgan örgütler arasında yer almıştır. IŞİD' in saldırıları Orta Doğu'da ve dünyada çok önemli hasarlara yol açmış ve büyük endişeler yaratmıştır. Küresel bir olgu haline gelen bu örgütün ortadan kaldırılması ve buna benzer örgütlerin tekrar oluşumunun engellenmesi için, bunun nasıl ortaya çıktığını ve nasıl ilerlediğini incelemek çok önemli çalışmalar arasındadır.

Genel olarak incelendiğince, bu örgütün ortaya çıkışının ve hızlı ilerleyişinin arkasında birçok sebep bulunmaktadır. Bölgedeki sosyal, ekonomik, politik, etnik, mezhepsel ve dini çatışmaların yanı sıra bölgeye yapılan uluslararası müdahaleler ve dış devletlerde yükselen İslam fobisi de örgütün ortaya çıkışında ki önemli faktörlerdendir. Bu tez çalışmasında da IŞİD' in ortaya çıkışı ve ilerleyişini incelemek amaçlanmıştır. Yakın tarihe bakıldığı zaman insanların sosyal, politik ve kişisel yaşamları açısından İslam'ın rehberliğinin tek doğru yol olduğu inancında artış görülmekteydi. Devletlerin çeşitli sebeplerden dolayı kendi içlerinde etkinliklerinin ve meşruiyetlerinin azalmasıyla İslami rehberlik talebi yükselmiş ve bu durum İslamcıların yükselmesi açısından olumlu bir fırsat haline gelmiştir. Ortaya çıkan İslamcı örgütler, bu devletlerin yetersizliklerinin ve kişilerine olan sorumluluklarını yerine getirememesinin sebebini İslam'a uygun yaşamamaları ve İslam'a ihanet içinde bulundukları olarak göstermiştir. IŞİD, bu durumdan fırsat yaralanarak ortaya çıkmış en tehlikeli örgütlerden bir tanesidir. Ana El-Kaide'nin bir yan örgütü olarak ortaya çıkarak bölgede çok hızlı bir şekilde ilerlemiş, işgal alanlarını genişletmiş ve saldırılarını dünya çapında gerçekleştirmiştir. Kendi hükümdarlığını ilan ederek, bütün İslamcılara yanlarında olmaları için çağrıda bulunmuş, siviller dâhil olmak üzere birçok karşıt gruplara

saldırılmış ve dünya da gerçekleştirilen birçok terör saldırısını üstlenmiştir. İnsanlara verdiği zararın yanında, şehirlerin altyapılarını alt üst etmiş, tarihi yapılarına ve eserlerine ve birçok önemli yapılara saldırmıştır.

İlk bölümde, IŞİD' in ortaya çıkışının en önemli üç faktörü ve bu faktörlere ek olarak önemli bulunan iki faktörden daha bahsedilmiştir. Öncelikle IŞİD' in ortaya çıkışının tarihsel boyutu, yani El-Kaide'den ideolojik olarak ayrılışı ve yeni bir formda ortaya çıkışı ele alınmıştır. IŞİD 2003 ve 2006 yılları arasında ideolojik olarak El-Kaide'den ayrılmaya ve yeni bir formda ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır. Bu iki örgüt arasında çok fazla benzerlik olmasıyla birlikte, bazı farklılıklarda görülmektedir. El-Kaide, Osama Bin Laden tarafından Afganistan'da Sovyet işgaline karşı savaş diğer Taliban militanları ile birlikte kurulmuştur. Örgütün amacı, Orta Doğu'da ve Kuzey Afrika'daki Sünni İslam birliğini güçlendirmek ve bu bölgeyi dış etkilerden arındırmak olarak açıklanmıştır. Bu iki örgütün temel amacı, 'cihat' ilan edip, Sünni İslam karşıtlarını alt ederek İslami hilafeti kurmaktı. Aralarındaki temel farklılıklar arasında, El-Kaide daha çok dış partileri hedeflerden, IŞİD ideolojilerini çeşitli şiddet eylemleriyle Müslüman toplumlara baskıyla kabul ettirmeye çalışıyordu. IŞİD' e göre içerideki düşman dışardaki düşmandan daha tehlikeliydi ve bu örgüt Sünni İslam'a karşı olan bütün grupları hedef olarak görmekteydi. IŞİD' in El-Kaide'den ayrılışı açık bir şekilde 2011 Suriye Savaşı'nda açıklanmış olsa da, aslında bu ayrılışın köklerinin Abu Musab al-Zarqawi'nin 2003 yılında El-Kaide'nin Irak kolunu yönetimiyle başlamıştır. Zarqawi merkezi El-Kaide örgütüne bağlı olmasına rağmen bu örgütten bağımsız olarak hareket ediyordu. Zarqawi'nin merkezi El-Kaide'ye olan itaati 11 Eylül 2001 saldırısından sonra gerçekleştirmiştir. Bu saldırıdan sonra Zarqawi ve Saddam Hüseyin arasında bağ olduğu iddia edilmiş, Saddam Hüseyin'in terör örgütlerine destek verdiği ve kitle imha silahlarını bulundurduğu gerekçeleriyle 20 Mart 2003 yılında, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve müttefikleri Irak'ı işgal etmiştir. Irak'ın işgali Zarqawi'nin işine yaramış ve ülkedeki güvenlik zafiyetinden faydalanarak El-Kaide Irak kolunu kurarak yönetimine başlamıştır. Irak'ta Saddam Hüseyin'in devrilmesi ve Şii hükûmetinin yerine geçmesiyle Zarqawi saldırılarını arttırmıştır. Irak'ın işgal edilmesinden sonra, işgali için öne sürülen gerekçeler içinde

resmi bir kanıt bulunamamıştır. Genel olarak, IŞİD' in El-Kaide'den çok daha fazla saldırgan bir örgüt olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

IŞİD' in ortaya çıkışının ikinci çok önemli sebebi ise Amerika Birleşik Devlet'lerinin 2003 yılında Irak'ı işgal etmesi olarak görülmektedir. Bu işgalin altında birçok gerekçe sunulmasıyla birlikte, işgalin ülkeyi çok büyük bir kargaşaya sürüklediği gerçeği de açıkça görülmektedir. Amerika'nın müdahalesi hem ekonomik hem politik ehemde ideolojik sebepler içermekteydi. Müdahalenin en önemli sebeplerinden bir tanesi, yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi Saddam Hüseyin'in terör örgütlerine destek verdiği ve kitle imha silahları bulundurduğu iddia edilmişti. Bush yönetimi Irak'a yapılan işgali ilerleyen zamanlarda "teröre karşı savaş" politikalarının genişletilmiş hali olarak açıklamıştır. 11 Eylül saldırılarından sonra ve "teröre karşı savaş" politikalarıyla Batı dünyasında İslam fobisi artış göstermiş ve İslam'a ve Müslümanlığa karşı olan düşmanlık artmıştır. Özellikle Avrupa'da sağ kanat partiler artış göstermiş ve İslamin demokratik değerlere yabancı olduğu söylemleri de görülmüştür. Müslümanlara karşı yapılan dışlayıcı politikalar da birçok düşünür tarafından ırkçılığın bir başka şekli olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bölgede hali hazırda bulunan çatışmaların üzerine bir de uluslararası müdahaleler eklenince güvenlik açıkları oluşmaya başlamış ve terör örgütlerinin oluşması veya yayılması için kaçınılmaz bir hal almıştır.

Amerika'nın Irak'ı işgalinin altında bir de bildirilmemiş sebepler olduğu iddia edilmekteydi. Bu sebepler arasında Amerika'nın İsrail'le olan stratejik müttefikliği ve Irak'ın İsrail'e karşı herhangi bir saldırı gerçekleştiremeyecek olmasını garanti altına almak istemiş olmasıdır. Bununla birlikte, bu bölgeden bahsederken ilk akla gelebilecek olan petrol politikaları ve bu petrol kaynaklarının Amerika için çok önemli bir yere sahip olması da vardır. Ayrıca bu savaşı, 1991'de gerçeklesen Birinci Körfez Savaş'ının devamı olarak gören düşünürler de vardır. Birinci Körfez Savaş'ındaki dinamikler 2003 savaşı için alt yapı hazırlamış ve orada elde edilemeyen amaçların 2003 Irak Savaş'ında elde edilebileceği düşünülmüştür. Irak'ta Saddam Hüseyin döneminde ve onun sonrasında çok fazla siyasi çatışma meydana gelmiş ve bu çatışmalardan dolayı iç bölünmeler yaşanmıştır. Saddam'ın Kuzey Irak'taki Kürtlere yaptığı saldırı, Kuveyt'i işgal etmesi ve bu işgal sonunda ülkeye uygulanan yaptırımlar

sonucunda Kürtler ve Şiiler, Sünnilere karşı güç kazanmaya başlamış, daha sonra Saddam'ın devrilmesiyle birlikte de Sünni hükümet Şiilerle yer değiştirmiştir. Irak'taki hükümet değişikliği sonucunda hükümetten ve askeriyeden çıkartılan 100,000 üzerinde Bat Rejimine ait asker ve bürokrat dağıtılmıştır. İşleri elinden alınan bu kişiler haksızlığa uğradıkları gerekçesiyle haklarını tekrar elde edebilmek için çeşitli İslamcı gruplarla iş birliği içine girmişlerdir. Bat Rejiminden arda kalan bu yüksek rütbeli askerler ve güçlü ağları olan bürokratlar IŞİD' in oluşmasında ve yükselişinde önemli roller oynamışlardır.

Diğer bir önemli faktör ise, 2011 yılında başlayan Suriye Sivil Savaş'ı olarak görülmektedir. Suriye'de de Irak gibi birçok politik, siyasi ve ekonomik karışıklık bulunmaktaydı. 1970 yönetimi eline alan Alevi Müslüman Hafız al-Esad, 30 yıl yönetimde kalmış, ülkeyi otoriter bir lider olarak baskıcı politikalarıyla yönetmiştir. Hafız al-Esad'dan sonra 2000 yılında yönetimi eline alan Beşer Esad liberalleşmeye yönelik bazı ekonomik ve politik reformlar yapmaya çalışmış ancak çok başarılı olamamıştır. Hükümete yakın olan bazı gruplar bu liberalleşme reformlarından faydalanırken, diğerleri için durum tam tersine dönmüştür. 2011 Suriye Savaş'ının başlamasında hem ulusal hem bölgesel faktörler rol oynamıştır. Ulusal anlamda toplumun ezilen kesimi bu politikaları protesto etmeye başlamış ancak Esad rejime protestolara orantısız bir şekilde karşılık vermiştir. Bölgede ise Kuzey Afrika'da başlayan ve hızlı bir şekilde Orta Doğu'ya da sıçrayan Arap Bahar'ının önemli etkisi görülmüştür. Esad rejiminin protestolara verdiği orantısız karşılık sonucunda birçok sivil yaşamını kaybederken, geride kalanlar bu rejime karşı savaşan Özgür Suriye Ordu'suna veya diğer İslamcı örgütlere katılmıştır. Burada da yine, ülkede çatışmalardan yüksek oranda etkilenen kişiler kendilerini ve kendi haklarını her şekilde savunacağını ileri suren IŞİD' e katılımları kaçınılmaz bir olay olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

IŞİD' in ortaya çıkmasında bu üç önemli faktör dışında iki tane de ek faktör sıralanabilir. Bunlardan bir tanesi küreselleşme diğeri ise Sykes-Picot Antlaşmasıdır. Küreselleşme, İslami köktendincilik ideolojilerinin birçoğuna çelişki olarak görülmüştür. Bu çelişki sonucunda da köktendincilerin birçoğu ideolojilerinde daha da

sivrileşmeye yönelmiştir. Küreselleşmeyle artan bireyselliğe karşı IŞİD kolektif kimliğiyle öne çıkmaya çalışmıştır. Irak ve Suriye gibi karışık kimliklere sahip olan ülkeler hali hazırda kolektif bir yapıya sahip olma sorunları yaşarken, küreselleşmenin getirdiği bireysellikle bu durum daha da zorlaşmıştır. Burada IŞİD Sünni İslam kimliğini kullanarak, kişilerin kendi kanatları altında toplanması için uğraşlar vermiştir. Yapılan bazı araştırmalar sonucunda, IŞİD' e katılan hem bölgedeki hem de dışarıdan gelen yabancı militanlar, toplumlarından bir şekilde yabancılaştırılmış olanlar olarak saptanmıştır. IŞİD' in kolektif kimliğinden etkilenerek birçok kişinin dünyanın değişik yerlerinden gelip örgüte katıldığı da öne sürülmektedir.

Son olarak, Sykes-Picot Antlaşması'nın IŞİD' in oluşumuna ve ilerleyişine büyük bir etkisi olmuştur. Sykes-Picot Antlaşması IŞİD' in ortaya çıkmasının çok daha derin bir tarihe dayanabileceğini göstermektedir. IŞİD 'e göre bu antlaşma bir komplo antlaşması olmasıyla birlikte, kendi dinlerine ve insanlarına ihanet edenler tarafından imzalanmıştır. Sykes-Picot Antlaşması ile çizilen sınırlar, Müslümanları birbirinden ayırmak adına çizilmiştir ve gerçek inananlar tarafından tanınması mümkün değildir. Batılı sömürgeciler tarafından çizilen ve kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda hazırlanmış olan sınırları ortadan kaldırmak ve İslam dünyasını cihat altında toplamak IŞİD' in ana görevleri olarak ilan edilmiştir. Bu faktörlerin hepsini detaylı bir şekilde incelediğimiz zaman IŞİD' in ortaya çıkısına ve yükselişine çoklu nedenselliğin neden olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. İç ve dış güçler tarafından yapılan hatalar sonucunda, bu şekilde aşırıcı saldırgan bir örgüt ortaya çıkmıştır.

IŞİD' in ortaya çıkısından sonra hızlı bir yükselişi olmuştur. Bu hızlı yükselişi, çok fazla militan toplaması ve yaygın bir coğrafyaya yayılmasında ideolojisi çok önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda bazen ideolojisine ters düşen girişimlerde bulunmuş olsa da genel olarak harekâtlarında çok katı tavırlar sergilemiştir. IŞİD dini olarak cihatçı Selefilik ile açıkça tanımlanabilir. Selefilik, İslam'ın Sünni kolu olmakla birlikte İslam inancını arındırılmasını öngörür. IŞİD, özellikle sosyal medya aracılığıyla, bu ideolojisi sayesinde cihat harekâtı için önemli bir ağ kurmuştur. IŞİD' in hareketleri, aşırı ve şiddetli pre-modern İslami okumalara dayandırılmaktadır. IŞİD' e göre Şiiler ve demokrasi destekçileri IŞİD' in en büyük

düşmanları olarak görülüyordu. Bu Selefi fikirlerle de olabildiğince çok üye toplayıp, demokratik hükümetleri devirmek ve İslam devleti kurmayı amaçlamışlardır. Irak ve Suriye'deki mezhepsel çatışmalardan faydalanarak örgüt çok fazla üye toplamıştır. Örgüt, Batılı rehinelerini ve insani yârdim çalışanlarını öldürmüş ve düşmanlarına saldırılarını çok acımasız şekillerde gerçekleştirmiştir. Rehinelerine yaptıkları işkenceleri ve öldürme tekniklerini görüntülü bir şekilde medyada yayınlamalarının sebebini ise düşmanlarını etkilemek için kullandıkları bir strateji olarak söylemiştir. Bu örgütün ortadan kaldırılması için ideolojilerinin ne olduğunu anlamak çok önemli bir konu haline gelmiştir. Neden ortaya çıktıklarını, onları neyin bir araya getirdiklerini ve gelecek için planlarının ne olduğunu bilmeden, örgüte karşı zafer kazanmak olanaksız görülüyordu. Irak ve Suriye'deki mezhepsel kutuplaşmayla birlikte birçok Sünni kesimlerinden IŞİD' e katılan birçok üye olmuştur. Bununla birlikte, IŞİD' in Selefi/Vahabi ideolojinden dolayı, Suudi Arabistan'ın ve Katar'ın örgüte büyük ölçüde finansal yardımda bulunduğu da iddia edilmiştir. IŞİD' in yapısı incelendiğinde birçok Orta Doğu ülkesinin yapısına göre daha düzgün sekil verilmiş olduğu söylenmiştir. Ayrıca, en zengin terör örgütlerinden biri olan IŞİD, kurulduğu zaman, petrol kaynaklarının zengin olduğu bölgeleri işgal etmiş ve buralardan büyük karlar elde etmiştir. Diğer İslamcı örgütlerle de çeşitli çatışmalar yasayan örgüt, Abu Bakir al-Bağdadi'nin liderliğinde 2014 yılında hilafeti ilan etti. Bu hilafetin ilanından sonra IŞİD işgallerine hızlanarak devam etmiştir. IŞİD' in hem diğer cihatçı hem de cihat dışı örgütlerle olan savaşları, bu örgütün diğerlerinden çok daha güçlü olduğunu göstermektedir. IŞİD, Sykes-Picot Antlaşması'ndan sonra bölgedeki en büyük jeopolitik değişikliğe sebep olmuştur. Bölgedeki değişikliğiyle birlikte dünya çapındaki saldırılarda da oldukça etkili olmuştur. Sonuç olarak ortaya çıkışında nasıl çoklu nedensellik varsa, yükselişinde de aynı şekilde çoklu nedensellik bulmak mümkündür. Güçlü ideolojisi, bölgede ki mezhepsel çatışmalar ve çatışmalardan faydalanarak üye toplamak, dış ülkelerden gelen savaşçılar, finansal ve askeri yardımlar örgütün ilerlemesinde önemli roller oynamıştır. Örgüte katılan üyelerin daha önceden tecrübeli askerler olması işgallerinde yardımcı olurken, devlet çalışanlarıyla olması da güçlü bir ağ oluşturmasına önemli derecede yardımcı olmuştur.

IŞİD' in hem coğrafi hem de ideolojik olarak çok hızlı bir şekilde yayılması bütün dünya devleri için tehdit haline gelmeye başlamıştır. Bölgede büyük ölçüde istikrarsızlığa yol açan örgüt, küresel barış ve güvenlik için büyük bir risk taşıdığı gerekçesiyle, alana uluslararası koalisyon güçleri tarafından müdahaleler başlatılmıştır. Koalisyon güçlerinin tarafında ortak bir karara varılması oldukça zor olmuştur. Bunla birlikte yapılan müdahaleler sonucu grup daha da öfkelenerek saldırılarını arttırmıştır. Askeri müdahalelerin çok etkili olmayacağına düşünen bazı taraflar, finansal kaynakları kesme, grup liderleriyle müzakere etme, örgüte karşı propaganda yapma ve örgüte yoğun bir şekilde akım halinde olan yabancı militanların katılımını önlemek gibi önlemler önermişlerdir ancak bu önerilerin yeterli olmayacağı kanaatine varılmıştır. IŞİD' e karşı yapılan askeri müdahalelerin yoğunlaşmasının birçok nedeni vardır. Öncelikle, IŞİD' e katılmakta olan temel cihatçı gruplar hem bölge hem de dünya için çok büyük tehdit haline gelmeye başlamıştır. Bölgedeki istikrarın büyük ölçüde zarar görmesiyle birlikte, insani istismarlar son derece yükselmiş ve binlerce kişinin ölümüne, yaralanmasına ve mülteci konumuna düşmesine yol açılmıştır. Irak ve Suriye'de ki durum gün geçtikçe daha çok kötüleşirken, sivillere olan saldırılarla birlikte, müdahalelerin çok daha yoğun bir şekilde devam edilmesine karar verilmiştir. Suriye'deki iç savaş, bir süre sonra "vekâlet savaşı" olarak görülmeye başlamış ve çatışan gruplara dışarıdan kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda finansal ve askeri yardımlar gelmiştir. Bu gelen yardımlar sonucunda Suriye savaşı gün geçtikçe daha da şiddetlenmiş ve IŞİD bu durumdan faydalanarak hem topraklarını genişletmiş hem de ortada kalan birçok insanı çeşitli vaatlerle kendi örgüt üyesi haline getirmiştir. 2011 yılında Obama hükümeti IŞİD' i yenmek için koalisyon güçlerinin bir araya gelmesi için çağrıda bulunmuştur. Amerika'nın öncülük ettiği koalisyonda 60'tan fazla ülke bulunurken, Suudi koalisyonunda 30'u aşkın, Rusya ile birlikte de 4 ülke bulunmaktaydı. Bu koalisyon güçlerinin beş ana görevi bulunmaktaydı. Bunlar; askeri yardım sağlamak, yabancı militanların bölgeye seyahat ederek gruba katılmasını engellemek, finansal desteklerini kesmek, bölgeye insani yardım sağlamak ve IŞİD' in köklerini yok etmek. Koalisyon güçleri IŞİD' e karşı askeri mücadelesinde çoğunlukla hava saldırılarında bulunmuştur. İlerleyen zamanlarda bu hava saldırılarında IŞİD militanlarıyla birlikte

birçok sivilinde hayatını kaybettiği dile getirilmiştir. Bununla birlikte Birleşmiş Milletler 'de IŞİD' e karşı birkaç karar almış ve Birleşmiş Milletler üye devletlerinin yarısından fazlası koalisyon güçlerine çeşitli yardımlarda bulunmuşlardır. Koalisyon güçlerinin yoğun bir şekilde IŞİD militanlarını ve yuvalarını hedef almalarına rağmen, ideolojilerini yok etmekte başarılı olamamışlardır ve hatta bu operasyonlar sonucunda daha da güçlendirmiştir. Bu saldırılar sonucunda birçok sivil de hayatını kaybetmiş ve şehirlerin yapıları da önemli ölçüde zarar görmüştür. Bir süre sonra hava müdahaleleri yerine kara kuvvetlerinin saldırıya geçmesi gerektiği düşünülmüş olsa da birçok Batılı ülke bu öneriye onay vermemiştir. 2014 yılına gelindiğinde, koalisyon saldırıları sonucunda IŞİD önemli ölçüde toprak ve militan kaybetmiştir. 2017 yılında neredeyse IŞİD' in işgal ettiği toprakların %98'i geri alınmıştır. IŞİD' in sahadaki büyük kaybı sonucunda birçok militanları dağlara ve çöllere kaçıp bir daha sonra tekrar topluma karışmak için şehirlere inmeye başlamışlardır. IŞİD' den geri alınan topraklardan sonra koalisyon güçleri bu sefer de güvenliğin devamlılığını sağlamak için bölgede yerel askerlere eğitimlere başlamışlardır. Toplamda 26 ülke Irak'taki yerel askerleri eğitmek ve donatmak için yardımda bulunmuştur. Irak'a toplamda 25,000 polis ve 18,000 terörle mücadele ekibi yetiştirilmiştir. Suriye'de eğitilmiş personel sayısı 12,000'e yaklaşmıştır. 2018 yılının sonlarına doğru güvenlik güçleri, polis, peşmerge ve Sünni aşiret savaşçılarıyla birlikte eğitimli personel sayısı 30,000'e ulaşmıştır. Bu eğitim personelleri bölgedeki güvenliği sağlamaya çalışırken bir yandan da IŞİD' in tekrar oluşumunu engellemek için çalışıyorlardı. Savaşa Amerika'nın büyük ölçüde müdahale etmesiyle birlikte, aynı derecede savaşın içinde bulunma hakkını Rusya da kendisinde görmüştür. Ancak bu iki ülke farklı taraflarda olduğu için, savaşın gidişatı büyük ölçüde etkilenmiştir. Amerika, muhalif güçlere destek vererek, IŞİD' e karşı savaşırken, Rusya Esad rejimiyle birlikte savaşa taraf olmuştur. Bazı iddialara göre, Esad rejiminin yanında yer alan Rusya, IŞİD hedefleriyle birlikte muhalif güçleri de vurmuştur. Bu savaş ile birlikte, yapılan analizler sonucunda, Rusya ve Amerika'nın bölgedeki varlığı ve etkisi büyük ölçüde artmıştır. Askeri müdahalelerin sonunda da IŞİD' in tamamen ortadan kaldırılamadığı dile getirilmiş ve ideolojilerini yenemedikleri, örgütün gerçekleştirdiği yeni saldırılar sonucunda anlaşılmıştır. IŞİD yeni saldırılarını başka bölgelerde gerçekleştirmeye başlamış ve bu saldırılarla

intikamlarını alacaklarını ve kaybettikleri topraklarını da geri kazanacaklarını söylemişlerdir.

IŞİD' in ortaya çıkışı, ilerleyişi ve yapılan uluslararası müdahalelerin etkinliğinden sonra, IŞİD' in diğer örgütlere olan etkisi de analiz edilmesi gereken önemli konulardan bir tanesidir. Daha önceden de bahsedildiği gibi, IŞİD' in işgal ettiği topraklar ellerinden alınmış olabilir ancak ideolojik olarak devam ettiği ve başka bir formda tekrar ortaya çıkabileceği endişeleri hala devam etmektedir. IŞİD köktendinci ideolojileriyle büyük bir kitleye hitap etmiş ve birçok destekçi toplamıştır. IŞİD militanlarının çoğunluğu, özellikle Irak ve Suriye'den gruba üye olanlar, kendi ülkelerindeki iç karışıklık ve dış müdahaleleri sonucunda ortaya çıkan çatışmalardan muzdarip olmuş İslamcı köktendincilerdi. İslami köktendinciler, ülkelerindeki bu kargaşalara sebep olarak gösterilen Batılı ülkeleri sömürgeciler olarak tanıyıp, İslami esaslarla birlikte bu etkilerden temizlenebilmek için savaşmışlardır. IŞİD de bu köktendinciliği modernliğe tepki olarak kendi kutsal savaşları için kullanmışlardır. IŞİD, bu İslami köktendinciliği, şiddet aşırılığına çevirmiştir. İslami köktendinciliğin şiddet aşırıcılığına dönmesinin ekonomik, siyasi ve terör gibi sebepleri de bulunmaktadır. IŞİD, ekonomik anlamda modern çalışma koşullarını, çalışma saatlerini ve ücretlerini modern yaşamın kölelik sistemi olarak kabul ediyordu. Bu yasam ve çalışma koşullarının, Müslümanların onuruna zarar verdiği söyleniyordu. IŞİD, yaptığı birçok propaganda da Müslümanları bu kölelik sistemlerinden kurtaracaklarını ve kendi dinlerinin gerektirdiği biçimde yaşamaları için savaşacaklarını vaat etmekteydiler. Ancak, IŞİD ile birlikte zirveye ulaşan köktendincilik, birçok araştırmacıya göre, IŞİD' den sonra ortadan kalkacaktır. Yapılan araştırmalara göre, köktendincilerin kullandığı dine olan aşırı bağlılıkları, insanları birbirinden uzaklaştırmış ve ülkelerdeki kalkınmaların önüne geçmiştir. Bununla birlikte, IŞİD' in de kendi içinde köktendinciliği çok fazla savunmasına rağmen birçok çelişki de bulunmuştur. Bir yandan İslami hukuku çok aşırı bir şekilde savunurken ve Batıyı ve Batılı icatları kendilerine karşı olduğunu söylemiş, diğer taraftan da bu icatları kullanmaktan kaçınmamışlardır. Aynı zamanda, İslam'a uygun olmayan bir şekilde davranarak, soygun yapmış, bölgedeki tecavüz oranlarını ciddi bir

oranda arttırmış, insanlara zulüm etmiş ve katliamlar gerçekleştirerek, aslında İslam'ın katı bir şekilde yasakladığı hareketleri önemli ölçüde benimsemişlerdir. Bunlara rağmen, IŞİD köktendinci politikalarının propagandalarını yaparken çok başarılı oldukları, birçok insana hitap ettikleri düşünülmüş ve örgütün yenilgisinden sonra da bölgede bu köktendincilerin bağımsızlık taleplerinin aşırılıklarını arttıracakları söylenmiştir. Orta Doğu'da alt edildiği düşünülen IŞİD, Avrupa'da, Afrika'da ve Güney Asya'da varlığını ve saldırılarını devam ettirmiştir. IŞİD kendisine destek verebilecek ve yeni formda tekrar ortaya çıkabileceği bölgeleri tercih etmeye başlamıştır. Komşu ülkelerin de IŞİD' in köktendinci politikalarından çok fazla etkilenmiş olabileceği endişeleri ortaya çıkmıştır. IŞİD' in sergilediği bu aşırıcılık ve saldırganlık, farklı isimlerde ancak aynı formlarda da görülmeye başlamıştır. Özellikle Çin, Myanmar ve Hindistan'da dini azınlıklara çok fazla baskılar uygulanmaya başlanmıştır. Birçok ülkede, farklı azınlıklara karşı olan tolerans ciddi ölçüde azalmaya başlamıştır. IŞİD' in yönetimi zayıf olan yerlerde ortaya çıkma ihtimali bütün dünyayı tedirgin hale getirmiştir. IŞİD' den geriye kalan militanların, daha da hırslı bir şekilde yeni bir grup kurma potansiyelleri de aynı şekilde tedirginlik yaratmıştır. Sonuç olarak, IŞİD'in bölgede ve hatta diğer bölgelerdeki köktendincilere büyük ölçüde olumlu etki ettiği söylenebilir. Diğer aşırıcıların da IŞİD ile aynı formda tekrar ortaya çıkacağı olasılıklar arasında yer almaktadır. Bu tür grupları da IŞİD vakasında da gördüğümüz gibi imha etmek oldukça zor ve tek bir çözüm yolu da yoktur. Bu grupların oluşumunu engellemek için yapılacak önde gelen stratejilerden bir tanesi farklı grupları birbirlerinden ayırmadan her anlamda eşit muamele göstermektir. Uluslararası koalisyon güçlerinin askeri müdahaleleri sonucunda IŞİD' in resmi olarak yenildiği her ne kadar açıklanmış olsa da ideolojisinin devam ettiğini daha sonraki farklı bölgelerde başlayan saldırılarda görülmektedir. Bölgede, özellikle Irak ve Suriye'de bir istikrar kazanılamamışken, ortaya tarihin en büyük mülteci krizlerinden bir tanesi çıkmıştır. Kaybolan ve katledilen insanların sayılarının tahminlerin çok daha üzerinde olduğu söylenmektedir. Mültecilerle ilgili birçok ülkeye ait farklı organizasyonlar görev almışlardır ancak, şu unutulmamalıdır ki bu insanlar geçirdikleri zor koşullar sonucunda da radikalleşmeye yatkın olabilmektedirler. Kamplara alınan birçok farklı mülteci gruplarının da kendi

aralarında çatışma yaşadıkları görülmüştür. Farklı gruplar ülkelerinde oluşan bu koşullardan dolayı birbirlerini suçlamaya başlamışlardır. Bu durumun tekrarlanmaması ve üstesinden gelinebilmesi için, bir sonraki neslin eğitilerek radikalleşmelerine engel olunması gerekmektedir.

Bu tez çalışmasının sonunda bazı ana bulgularımız olmuştur. Öncelikle IŞİD' in ortaya çıkışının ardında çoklu bir nedensellik olduğu çok net bir şekilde söylenebilmektedir. Özellikle Irak ve Suriye'de olan sosyal bozukluklar, ekonomik krizler, mezhepsel çatışmalar ve siyasi baskılar gibi birçok olaydan söz edilebilir. Bunlar arasında en önemlileri olarak ideolojik olarak, grubun 2003-2006 yıllarında El-Kaide'den ayrılışı, 2003 Irak Savaşı ve 2011 Suriye Sivil Savaşı'nı sıralayabiliriz. Bunlara ek olarak küreselleşmenin Orta Doğu'daki olumsuz etkileri ve Orta Doğu'daki birçok ülkenin bugünkü sınırlarının belirlendiği Sykes-Picot Antlaşması da önemli faktörler arasındadır. İkinci olarak örgüt, diğer örgütlere kıyasla çok hızlı ilerlemiş ve hem askeri hem finansal açıdan çok fazla destek görmüştür. IŞİD' in, Selefi/ Vahabi ideolojinden ötürü çok fazla destek gördüğü ve bu desteklerden dolayı hızlı bir şekilde yükseldiği ortadadır. Dünya barışı ve güvenliğine tehdit haline gelen bu hızlı yükseliş sonunda da uluslararası koalisyon güçleri tarafından askeri müdahaleler başlamış ancak bu müdahaleler ideolojisini yenmeye yeterli olmamıştır. IŞİD' in işgal ettiği topraklar geri alınmış olsa da onarılması çok güç zararlara neden olmuştur. Diğer İslamcı köktendincilere örnek haline gelip, farklı bir grubun aynı formda ortaya çıkma tehlikesinin varlığını büyük ölçüde ilerleyen zamanlarda düzenlediği saldırılarla göstermiştir. Üzülerek belirtilmelidir ki, aşırı köktendincilik IŞİD' den sonra azalmamış, aksine yükselmeye başlamıştır.

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