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Air Force Magazine

Turkey's Proxy War

Survival December 2021-January 2022: Trials of Liberalism

Erick Stakelbeck Raphael Israeli Miley Thomas Jeffrey Miley Aaron Stein Jessica Trisko Darden Phebe Marr Macer Gifford Mr Lungthuiyang Riamei Hannes Āerny Aimen Dean Murat Yeřiltař Laura Scaife Robert L. Brenneman Till Paasche Noor Dahri The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

the terror masters of isis are determined to get america s attention they ve humiliated the iraqi army we trained and seized territory in iraq that we had secured at the cost of so many american lives they ve beheaded american journalists on camera in a direct challenge to the power and resolve of the united states and now isis is calling for city wolves across the united states to act on their dedication to the islamic state s blood drenched ideology and murder innocent american citizens at random who is isis where did it come from and what is driving its successful campaign of murder and conquest our government and our media alike seemed to be blindsided by the islamic state s blitzkrieg like advance which forced american troops back into iraq isis has conquered a territory roughly the size of the state of indiana rules over eight million terrorized souls and has even revived the practice of legal slavery and yet the true motivations inner workings and future plans of this terror state and its mysterious caliph seem almost as obscure as when isis first burst onto the world scene in isis exposed veteran investigative reporter erick

stakelbeck gets inside the story of the new caliphate and reveals just how clear and present a threat it is

an islamic terrorist movement isis also dubbed is or isil has taken advantage of the chaotic arab spring in syria and iraq to declare an islamic caliphate wherever it has been able to rise to power this movement is continuously attempting to extend the territory of its rule the egyptian sinai peninsula and the libyan post qaddafi desert country have sworn allegiance to the caliphate and every town that is captured by the fighting forces of isis is forced to submit to strict islamic law the caliphate movement is constantly increasing its power and influence it is not only sustained by the thousands of local recruits but it is reinforced by many thousands of muslim minority youth dwelling abroad these youths are charmed by the purity of its ideals and goals its brutal and coercive ways and its defiance of the west the united states some moderate arab allies in the gulf and some other international players including russia have launched attacks against the isis forces to prevent them from further destroying the ancient cultures of mosul and palmyra dedicated by unesco as part of the world heritage beyond that there does not seem to be any force capable of arresting their advance or checking their universal appeal to muslims around the world israeli s pessimistic conclusion is that isis may be contending for power in the middle east for many years to come while threatening to become a centre of terrorist activity against the west

e only free men can negotiate prisoners cannot enter into contracts i cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when i and you the people are not free your freedom and mine cannot be separated e from a letter by nelson mandela during his imprisonment february 10 1985a revolutionary imprisoned on an island fortress may hold the key to peace in the middle east the leader of the outlawed kurdistan workers party pkk abduallah calan is considered by many to be the e kurdish mandela e courageously issuing proposals for peace even from his prison cell his ideas on democracy women s liberation and freedom have even inspired the remarkable rojava revolution in northern syria as turkey descended into tyranny and syria exploded in civil war a peace delegation of european politicians academics and journalists led by nelson mandela s lawyer and supreme court judge essa moosa repeatedly attempted to go to meet with calan at his prison on imrali island your freedom and mine tells the story of these momentous delegations the book opens with an informative historical overview of the kurdish question leading up until the optimistic opening and eventual bitter failure of the peace process in turkey it includes official documents and reports from the imrali delegations in istanbul and diyarbakir amed which involved in depth interviews with kurdish and turkish politicians media and civil society regarding the degenerating political and human rights situation the final section is a collection of testimonials from delegation participants your freedom and mine offers crucial insight into the dramatic history and current reality of the kurdish struggle for recognition and peace in turkey

the war against isis is often explained through the group s own rise to power the american side of the story has not yet been told this book records how the united states and its allies chose to fight the group what the consequences have been for transatlantic relations and how these factors may shape future wars the west decides to pursue the book is based on first person interviews with u s and european policymakers and members of the military in direct combat against isis from u s and allied forces on the ground to the kurdish fighters who fought beside them these interviews show precisely how the west fights wars through the eyes of the people most involved in them and includes key insights about civilian decision making as it happened in tracing the war as it developed the book examines the west s approach to conflict and reveals new insights such as why both the u s military and the civilian bureaucracy underestimated russian military capabilities the war was always meant to be small and focused but its repercussions have been considerable and far reaching including a serious rupture in turkish western relations and russia s return to the middle east aaron stein shows why mistakes were made in the war against isis and what happens when a narrow policy focus on counter

terrorism is pursued at the expense of almost all wider regional security and political concerns at a time when the u s might be called again to stem the rise of a terror group or to fight against a collective threat the lessons in this book are essential

why do women go to war despite the reality that female combatants exist the world over we still know relatively little about who these women are what motivates them to take up arms how they are utilized by armed groups and what happens to them when war ends this book uses three case studies to explore variation in women s participation in nonstate armed groups in a range of contemporary political and social contexts the civil war in ukraine the conflicts involving kurdish groups in the middle east and the civil war in colombia in particular the authors examine three important aspects of women s participation in armed groups mobilization participation in combat and conflict cessation in doing so they shed light on women s pathways into and out of nonstate armed groups they also address the implications of women s participation in these conflicts for policy including postconflict programming this is an accessible and timely work that will be a useful introduction to another side of contemporary conflict

the modern history of iraq is a remarkably readable account of contemporary iraq placing in historical perspective the crises and upheavals that continue to afflict the country this text weaves together several important themes including the search for a national identity the struggle to achieve social and economic development the changes in political dynamics and the impact of foreign interventions to provide readers with a holistic understanding of modern iraq revised and updated throughout the fourth edition features more discussion of cultural identity and media and society in addition this edition includes two new chapters on the events and shifts in the country of the early twenty first century the us intervention and withdrawal the stabilization and subsequent unraveling of the maliki government the effects of the arab uprisings and the rise of isis and their political economic and social consequences written by noted iraq scholar phebe marr with new co author ibrahim al marashi this text is essential reading for readers who seek to understand modern iraq in the context of historical perspective

a visceral riveting no holds barred military memoir told from the front line of the war against isis with a foreword by andy mc nab in the summer of 2014 the world watched in horror as the black flag of isis swept all before it mosul the second largest city in iraq fell isis proclaimed the caliphate and the horror mounted from the mass murder rape and enslavement of the yazidis to the public beheading of journalists by british jihadis for macer gifford it wasn t enough to ask why more wasn t being done he knew he had to act so he left his job in the city split from his girlfriend and a few weeks later found himself illegally crossing the border into syria to join the kurdish ypg in their fight against the savagery of isis macer gifford became one of longest serving british international volunteers and one of the only few to be promoted to be a commander in the ypg he fought alongside the kurds and their syrian allies for three long tours of duty from the dawn of the caliphate all the way to its military defeat in the ruins of raqqa in 2017 sniping at the final deadly wave of suicide bombers as they burst from the rubble along the way he made and lost many friends this is the only complete account of the war against the caliphate by the kurds and the remarkable and often eccentric band of international volunteers who fought alongside them

upon the tenth anniversary of the gezi protests the book takes upon the task of critically re examining the social uprising of june 2013 in turkey by compensating for blind spots in the academic corpus hitherto generated this volume braves into subjects largely neglected by the extant scholarship in particular the organizational aspects of the gezi upheaval which bear heavily on the course of social and political affairs that has since taken dramatic turns by delving into the question of

political practice whether on the part of the state the government or the opposition the book re evaluates how the emergent collective momentum was managed by the contesting parties in other words the volume concentrates on the multifaceted political organizing of social forces in conflict both during and in the aftermath of the protests contributors are athina arampatzi gökhan atılgan Özgür balkılıç selin dingiloğlu antoine dolcerocca Çağlar dölek kürşad ertuğrul ufuk gürbüzdal ezgi kaya hayatsever eren karaca sebla ayşe kazancı arca Özçoban ezgi pınar sungur savran ozan siso aylin topal fatih yaşlı and adem yeşilyurt

kurdistan the name given to the kurds historical homeland is a landlocked region that lies at the crossroads of turkey syria iraq and iran after the fall of ottoman empire the kurdish people were promised independence by the treaty of sevrès in 1920 the kurds are known as a nation without borders and consider as a stateless people aftermath of the arab spring in 2010 kurdistan has witnessed an increase in nationalism and a shift in geo politics the book examines the various models which could be acceptable solution to the kurdish problem in west asian region it also evaluates the role of the kurdish diaspora placing kurdish issue in the international forum the kurdish peshmerga and ypg militia maintains one of the strongest forces confronting against the isis in west asian region

due to its primacy in explaining issues of war and peace in the international arena the discipline of international relations ir looms large in analyses of and responses to ethnic conflict in academia politics and popular media in particular with respect to contemporary conflicts in the middle east grounded in constitutive theory this book challenges how ethnic ethno nationalist conflict is represented in explanatory ir by deconstructing its most prominent state centric models frameworks and analytical concepts as much a critique of contemporary scholarship on kurdish ethno nationalism as a detailed analysis of the most prominent kurdish ethno nationalist actors the book provides the first in depth investigation into the relations between the pkk and the main iraqi kurdish political parties from the 1980s to the present it situates this inquiry within the wider context of the ambiguous political status of the kurdistan region of iraq its relations with turkey and the role kurdish parties and insurgencies play in the war against isis in iraq and syria appreciating these complex dynamics and how they are portrayed in western scholarship is essential for understanding current developments in the iraqi and syrian theatres of war and for making sense of discussions about a potential independent kurdish state to emerge in iraq iraqi kurdistan provides a comprehensive and critical discussion of the state centric and essentialising epistemologies ontologies and methodologies of the three main paradigms of explanatory ir as well as their analytical models and frameworks on ethnic identity and conflict in the middle east and beyond it will therefore be a valuable resource for anyone studying ethnicity and nationalism international relations or middle east politics

as one of al qaeda s most respected bomb makers aimen dean rubbed shoulders with the mastermind of the 9 11 attacks and swore allegiance to osama bin laden as a double agent at the heart of al qaeda s chemical weapons programme he foiled attacks on civilians and saved countless lives brushing with death so often that his handlers began to call him their spy with nine lives this is the story of how a young muslim determined to defend his faith found himself fighting on the wrong side and his fateful decision to work undercover for his sworn enemy from the killing fields of bosnia to the training camps of afghanistan from running money and equipment in britain to dodging barrel bombs in syria we discover what life is like inside the global jihad and what it will take to stop it once and for all

this volume investigates the nature and changing roles of the non state armed groups in the middle east with a special focus on kurdish shia and islamic state groups to understand the nature of transformation in the middle eastern geopolitical space it provides new empirical and analytical insights into the impact of three prominent actors namely isis ypg and shia militias with its distinctive detailed and multi faceted analyses it offers new findings on the changing contours of

sovereignty geopolitics and ideology particularly after the arab uprisings overall this volume contributes to the study of violent geopolitics critical security studies and international relations particularly by exploring the ideologies and strategies of the new non state armed actors

terrorism why does this word grab our attention so propaganda machines have adopted modern technology as a means to always have their content available regardless of the hour or time zone information is being shared by somebody somewhere social media is a game changer influencing the way in which terror groups are changing their tactics and also how their acts of terror are perceived by the members of the public they intend to influence this book explores how social media adoption by terrorists interacts with privacy law freedom of expression data protection and surveillance legislation through an exploration of the fascinating primary resources themselves covering everything from the snowden leaks the rise of isis to charlie hebdo the book also covers lesser worn paths such as the travel guide that proudly boasts that you can get bounty and twix bars mid conflict and the best local hair salons for jihadi brides these vignettes amongst the many others explored in this volume bring to life the legal policy and ethical debates considered in this volume representing an important part in the development of understanding terrorist narratives on social media by framing the legislative debate this book represents an invaluable guide for lawyers government bodies the defence services academics students and businesses

the kurds are the largest ethnic group in the world without their own homeland numbering over 30 million people divided among turkey iran iraq and syria originating as rural nomads living in the mountains the kurds have transformed into an urban entity within the middle east brenneman who has lived and conducted long term fieldwork among the kurds in iraq and turkey presents a rich arc of their culture and experiences from ancient to modern times the latest edition incorporates original and updated accounts of core and changing aspects of contemporary kurdish culture including human rights challenges complicated ethnic identity women s roles and gender issues family and community dynamics diverse religious practices transition from oral tradition to literacy and struggles to defeat the islamic state questions for discussion at the end of each chapter encourage readers to think deeply about what it means to be a proud ethnic group fighting for sovereignty and recognition

this insider assessment of american military involvement in syria offers a fascinating and down to earth look at the war against isis military heritage magazine the us military campaign in alliance with kurdish forces in syria remains a rare success story in the age of the war on terror considering the military victory the civilian government that followed the fighting the light military footprint and the strong link to kurdish partners the intervention against isis in syria is widely regarded as the nation s most successful campaign since world war ii in this volume three authors who participated directly in the conflict offer a rare ground level view of how it turned into a just war between the three of them they participated in all the large kurdish operations against the islamic state between late 2014 and mid 2016 they endured muddy archaic trench warfare witnessed the first waves of decisive us and british airstrikes against isis and experienced the impact america had on the battlefield later when american british and french special forces were deployed at the front lines the authors worked closely with those teams evacuating hundreds of wounded from the battlefield together based on their unique insights they analyses america s war in syria identifying its distinct phases from the secretive build up to the ultimate destruction of the isis caliphate

turkey is committing crimes against humanity across a region spanning asia the middle east and africa this book is the first to explain the machinations that the

country's leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan has put in motion in his rise to power from leading the Muslim Brotherhood's Istanbul branch to president the atrocities being committed are ongoing and continue against a backdrop of global condemnations of the dismal security situation and violence that exists within areas controlled by Turkish forces. The book highlights the long simmering conflict between Turkey and its Kurdish minority which has spread further afield and resulted in the targeting of the Kurdistan Workers Party in Iraq even as popular discontent grows against the Erdogan regime at home and abroad. Erdogan's murky political and military strategic agenda is further exacerbated by Turkey's fomentation of ISIS and deployment of the terrorist group's militants. This book describes how Turkish intelligence operatives smuggled ISIS militias into Libya and Azerbaijan who then carried out heinous war crimes with the intent to destabilize the region. Moreover, the desperate situation of Syrian refugees has been exploited by the Turkish administration which has hijacked their plight in a cynical manoeuvre to exert political pressure on Europe while also routing refugees into Kurdish territory dubbing it a safe zone. The Muslim world does not know enough about Erdogan's dangerous authoritarian leadership and its grave consequences. This book aims to change that by revealing the continuity between pan-Islamism, Turkish Islamisation and Erdogan's proxy militias and how those interrelationships have led to war crimes against Kurdish people in Iraq and Syria.

Survival, the IISS's bimonthly journal, challenges conventional wisdom and brings fresh, often controversial perspectives on strategic issues of the moment. In this issue, Gigi Kwik Gronvall examines the contested origin of SARS-CoV-2 and argues that scientific work should be apolitical and globally cooperated, including with China. Lawrence Freedman contends that while liberalism is in crisis, it should still be better than authoritarianism at adapting to new circumstances, acknowledging salient problems and choosing among alternatives. Robert S. Ross argues that Chinese strategists believe Beijing can challenge a strategically weakened United States on the Korean Peninsula. Ondrej Rosendorf, Michal Smetana, and Marek Vranka assess that persuading the public that nuclear abolition is feasible could strengthen disarmament advocacy. And nine more thought-provoking pieces, as well as our regular book reviews and noteworthy column editor Dr. Dana Allin, managing editor Jonathan Stevenson, associate editor Carolyn West, assistant editor Jessica Watson.

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