

had also killed leaders from other factions, leaders on whose heads U.S. forces had offered rewards of hundreds of thousands of dollars.¹⁶

At the same time that AQI was trying to muscle other Sunni insurgent groups to come under its banner, it sought to tighten control over al Anbar itself. The stronger AQI became, the harder it pushed on the various institutions associated with acquiring resources and recruits. Where it could, it began to impose its own laws and enforced them through Islamic courts. These courts implemented a strict version of shari'a. They banned cigarettes, imposed strict dress codes for women, and prohibited female drivers.¹⁷ Marine Colonel Peter Devlin, writing on al Anbar, observed that AQI was an "integral part of the social fabric . . . the dominant organization of influence in al-Anbar [with] an ability to control the day-to-day life of the average Sunni."¹⁸ AQI was also able to insert its members into the smuggling trade, notably in oil refining and oil distribution.¹⁹

Fighting al Qa'ida

AQI's use of murder and intimidation to win allies reached beyond Sunni insurgent groups and extended to the various tribes of al Anbar. Many tribes were initially opposed to the U.S. intervention but wary of a theocratic ideology that left little room for tribal authority. Although

¹⁶ D. Hazan, *Sunni Jihad Groups Rise Up Against Al-Qaeda in Iraq*, Washington, D.C.: Middle East Media Research Institute, Inquiry and Analysis Series 336, March 22, 2007.

¹⁷ Middle East Media Research Institute, *The Islamic State of Iraq Issues Regulations for Women Drivers*, Washington, D.C., special dispatch 1514, March 23, 2007a.

¹⁸ Michael R. Gordon, "G.I.'s Forge Sunni Tie in Bid to Squeeze Militants," *New York Times*, July 6, 2007, p. A1; Dafna Linzer and Thomas E. Ricks, "Anbar Picture Grows Clearer, and Bleaker," *Washington Post*, November 28, 2006, p. A1.

¹⁹ As reported by Bing West and Owen West ("Iraq's Real 'Civil War,'" *Wall Street Journal*, April 5, 2007, p. A13), AQI controlled the fuel market. Each month, ten trucks with 80,000 gallons of heavily subsidized gasoline and five trucks with kerosene were due to arrive. Instead, AQI diverted most shipments to Jordan or Syria, where prices were higher, netting \$10,000 per shipment and antagonizing 30,000 shivering townspeople. No local police officer dared to make an arrest.