



Economical, Social and political facts:

- **The Economist Democracy Index 2008, ranked 156 out of 167 countries**
 - **The Wall Street Journal and the Heritage Foundation: Index of Economic Freedom 2008, ranked 144 out of 157 countries.**
- **Transparency International: Corruption Perceptions Index 2008, ranked 147 out of 180 countries.**
 - **Reporters Without Borders: Worldwide press Freedom index 2008, ranked 159 out of 173 countries.**
- **United Nations: Human Development Index 2010, ranked 111 out of 169 countries**
 - **Gallup Global Wellbeing Index 2010, ranked 122 out of 155**



2005 to 2010 the poverty rate increased from 33% to 45% and that poverty rate is estimated by people who are living with less than 1 dollar a day in Syria

wealth was concentrated within the “Leeches segment” and within cities actually, the major cities, Aleppo, Damascus – the rural areas were deprived of any sort of growth, even though growth was annually 5% in Syria but the poverty rate increased.

Riyad Sief -parliament member- cellphone monopoly 2011 costing the state \$7 billion (5 years). Imprisoned again in 2008 for signing "Declaration of Damascus" asking reforms.



Why did really the revolution start?
Why did it continue to grow? And why
Assad has to leave?

I will answer that later!



Moving to the opposite side. The opposition!

Why did The FSA Start?

Why is it dysfunctional?

-organizational problems.

-lack of funding and proper support.

Before the revolution and between 2008-2011 the same division in the opposition that exists today existed then.

In 2008 differences in viewing some issues in Damascus declaration lead to a division in the opposition which lead it to split into two camps.

Namely in the issue of foreign intervention –an issue that was brought up after the Iraq invasion- and also the role and position of the Lebanese Hezbollah.

And whether or not the regime can be reformed peacefully or only militarily.



The problems that faced the FSA marginalized it and turned many of its units towards thievery, kidnapping and wrongdoing to sustain itself.

Give examples like Al farouq birgades and Asifat al Shamal.

the concept of “The jihad trade” that a lot of brigades and units used to milk money out of sponsors and donors , where they profit of the status quo of instability. Examples



The Islamic brigades:

- 1-Salfist jihadist
- 2-Muslims brotherhood

These Islamic units like Jabhat al nousra went after public money as a source of funding , it went after cable and battery factories , cellphone towers and companies , wheat mills and silos , and last but not least oil where it started selling it to the regime.

THE SYRIAN OPPOSITION EXTREMISM SPECTRUM

A Breakdown Of The Roughly 100,000 Rebel Fighters In Syria, From Most Radical To Most Moderate



12K



18K



9K



30K



31K

Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), Jabhat al-Nusra and similar groups

These groups have pledged allegiance to al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahri and aim to establish an Islamic caliphate. They are explicitly hostile to the West and are increasingly hostile to certain rebel groups.

Ahrar al-Sham and the Syrian Islamic Front (SIF) coalition

SIF forces, led by Ahrar al-Sham, coordinate operations with Jabhat al-Nusra and ISIS.

Ahrar al-Sham is an independent Salafist brigade that rejects the concept of democracy and has called for an Islamic state.

Suqor al-Sham

Suqor al-Sham regularly fights alongside Ahrar al-Sham, Jabhat al-Nusra, and ISIS in addition to rejecting democracy and embracing an Islamic state.

Commander Sheikh Ahmed Abu is head of SILF, which is technically aligned with the Supreme Military Council (SMC) of the FSA.

Syrian Islamic Liberation Front (SILF) Liwa al-Tawhid

The largest rebel group in Aleppo. It is nominally linked to the SMC but receives much of its funding from elsewhere.

Liwa al-Islam

One of the biggest and best-equipped brigades in Damascus. It is credited with the July 2012 bombing that killed several members of Assad's crisis management cell.

Farouq Brigades

This large, Islamist-leaning group was created in Homs province in the beginning of the uprising. It has a strong presence across the country and has long-running hostilities with al-Qaeda linked groups.

Roughly 15 other groups account for 5,000 fighters

The Rest of the Free Syrian Army (FSA)

The rest of the rebels are localized independent units and larger moderate units loyal to the defectors from the Syrian Army fall into this category. Some pro-democracy forces work with more radical groups out of necessity or fight them depending on the situation, particularly strong in the south, where they receive other support from the West in Jordan.



Dr Mustafa Alani is the Senior Advisor and the Director of the National Security and Terrorism Studies Department at the Gulf Research Center

“Jabhat al nousra started with an idea of brigadier Hafez Makhlof –the cousin of Assad-. When the Syrian regime felt that they can’t control the revolution in Syria and it started to spread.

The Idea was to “assassinate” the revolution politically , through releasing the jihadists in the Syrian regime prisons..., by the year 2008 there was almost 1000 Jihadist left , whom were apprehended by the Syrian intelligence (Palestine branch) , and they stayed in prison from 2008 till 2011...between April and september 2011, 960 Jihadists were released from prisons -whom amongst them were 47 to 43 commanders amongst them was Abu Mohamed al Jolani who was apprehended in august 2008”



The division between Al nousra and ISIS and how it came to be.
ISIS/Alnousra...Baghdadi/Joulani-Zawahiri

only in Syria in Alhasaka two al-Qaida factions are fighting each other , how ISIS attacked the headquarters of Alnousra in Aleppo and its rural areas and used suicide cars bombings against other Islamic brigades like “Ahfad al rasoul” in Alraqa.

it couldn't seize Alnousra headquarters in Idlib because Ahrar al Sham interfered to the side of al nousra and stopped them.

The point of all of this to show how even amongst the radical opposition there is division that will play a major role in crystalizing the opposition in the future.



The emergence of Liwa Al Tawhid as a key player.

- Withdrawing recognition from the coalition.
- Settling the clashes between ISIS and Asifat al shamal in Izaz.
- Uniting with Al Fateh brigade and reaching up to 12500 men.
 - One of the most organized brigades.
 - Has military intelligence and police.
- One of the very few brigades to operate on a national scale by going across the country to Al qusair-Homs to fight.
 - Huge popularity and support.



RC in Manbij and how it is functioning as a civil authority

The use of Islamic courts, why? What they consist of? And how they run?

Why did the attempt of Liwa al Tawhid to unify all the courts under the Arabic penal code failed?
why other factions declined?

One order and consistent law will limit “Jihad trade”



what the UN can do more to help civil
society in Syria?



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The security unit in Manbij.

(50 members , 4 groups)

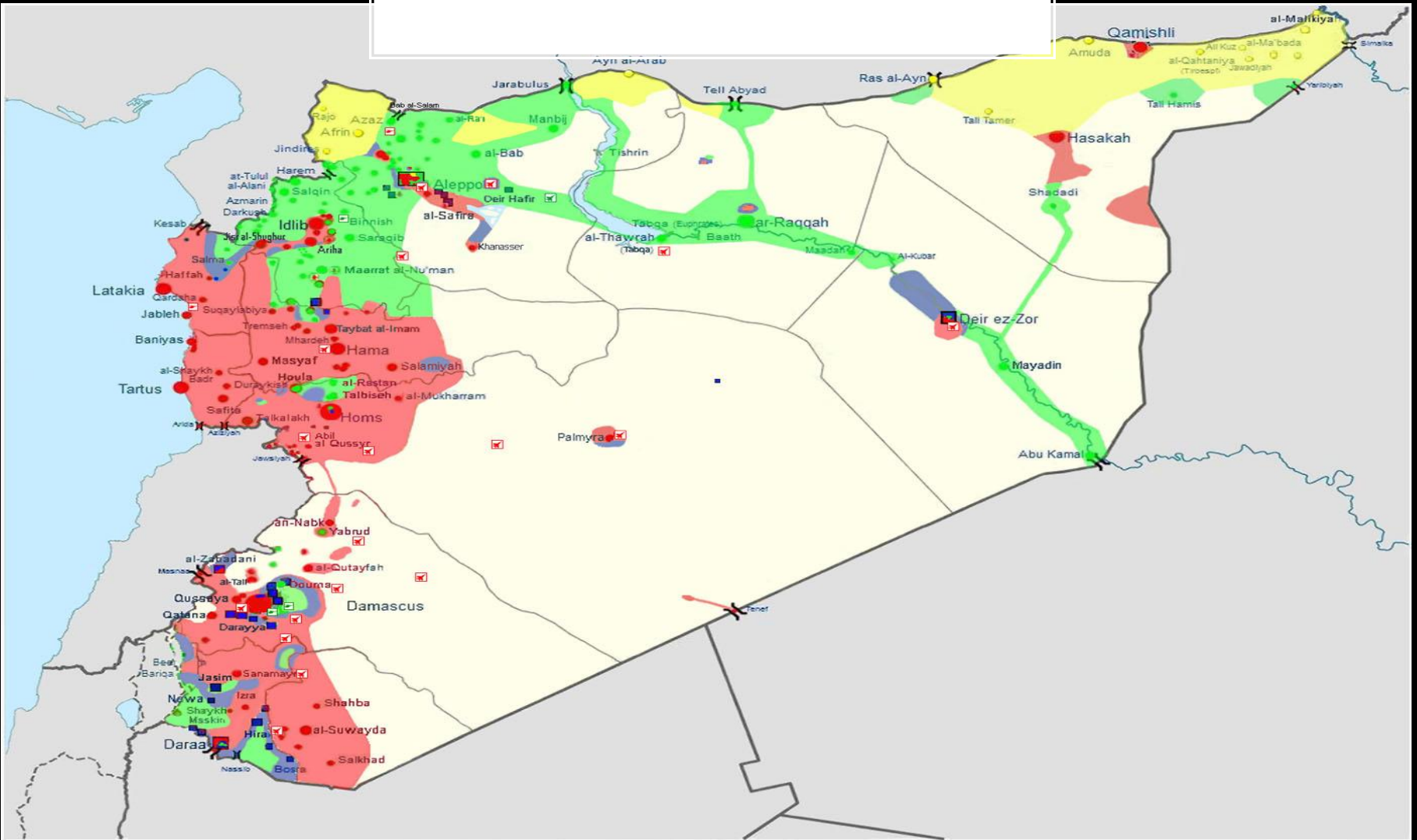
- A group to guard the city and public properties.
- A group to guard the court in Manbij and enforce its sentences.
- A group for the revolutionary council
- A military police group.

17 000\$ fixed expenses a month.

In need of training.

Supplies and money.

Backing this option is empowering civil society in Syria and standing up
to ISIS



Legend:
• Military base
✈ Airport/Air base (jet)
✈ Airport/Air base (helicopter)
⚓ Major port or naval base
]] Border Post
⚡ Dam





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