

DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
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## **Al Assad's Rules Amidst the Arab Spring in Syria: Conspiracy or Failure**

**Submitted By:** SIGAA Abdelkader

**Supervised:** Mrs. MEHDAOUI Amaria

### **Board of Examiners**

**Chairperson:** Mr. Salmi Zakaria

**Supervisor:** Mrs. Mehdaoui Amaria

**Examiner:** Dr. Ghouti Rabha

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## **Abstract**

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate and identify the success or failure of Basher Al Assad during the Syrian crisis and what were the major alliances that conspired against him during the war against the rebels. This work first examines Syria governing system since the period of Hafez Al Assad presidency and the earliest rebellion in Syria that happened in 1982 with the brotherhood. At that period, Hafez Al Assad used force to put end to this rebellion. After the death of Hafez in 2000, Basher assumed command of Syria and made some political and economic adjustments that have made Syria open to the world. In the second stage, I will identify the roots of the civil war in Syria from the beginning until the national reconciliation adopted by Basher. This will lead me to examine the foreign powers that were included in this war and what were the coasts behind these interventions. Finally, in this dissertation I will tackle the major battels that happened between the national army and radical groups. For that, the rebuilding of the infrastructure was a debatable topic amid Basher Al Assad ruling Syria and many western countries were opposing it, the return of refuge had started after eight years of war. For that a number of sources are drawn from books on Syrian crisis as well as information from articles, and newspapers. In conclusion, this dissertation argues that despite the opposition inside and outside, Basher have eventually succeeded in fighting rebels and retake Syria.

## Dedication

*I dedicate this dissertation at the first place to my wife and  
beloved parents for whom I'm forever in debt.*

*To my father and my mother*

*To my brothers and sisters,*

*To my dear teachers,*

*To my family and relatives,*

*To my friends and classmates,*

*To all people whom I know.*

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*All praises to Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful for the strength and the blessing for completing this thesis, the Almighty, on whom ultimately, we depend for sustenance and guidance.*

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*Finally, my sincere thanks to all my teachers during the course of my studies, especially to those of my master studies, for whom I owe a deep respect, I would like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude for them.*

*Thank you.*

## List of Acronyms

F.S.A: Free Syrian Army

D.F.N.S: The Democratic Federation of Northern Syria

U.N: United Nations

I.S.I.S: Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

E.U: European Union

U.S.A: United States of America

U.S.S.R: Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

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## General Introduction

Throughout its history, Syria was colonized by France and it took its independence after years of war. The Bath party had assumed command in Syria and after years of inner conflicts Hafez Al Assad became the president of the republic of Syria in 1971. A new era had begun with Hafez and many changes were brought by him. The war against Israel had pushed Syria into the world public opinion. Later in 1982 the brotherhood started a rebellion against Hafez Al Assad but it did not go according to its plans. Hafez put military troops in streets and stopped the rebellion with blood, it was memory that could not be forgotten by the Syrians. In 2000, Hafez Al Assad died after many years of achievements and Basher Al Assad became the new president of Syria.

Basher Al Assad assumed command and the West saw him as one of the youngest and successful Arab presidents. He had changed certain policies by opening Syria to the world and neglecting his father's policy of isolation. Furthermore, he pushed the private sector and many investors came to the country for better business opportunities. The economy, hence, had been enriched by new laws that were drafted by Basher. Despite of that, the social circumstances did not improve in Basher's era but got worse than before due to economy stagnation of 2010.

Considerably, from 2010 people all over Syria started to blame Basher Al Assad for the bad social circumstances they had lived. Later in 2011 manifestations started, it was peacefully with roses in the beginning but after so many Fridays the regime did not make any change. The civil war begun and the blood of the Syrians was shed, cities were destroyed by air jets and people fled into the nearest countries as refugees of war. Chemical weapons were used by terrorists in many cities. Basher Al Assad started to win the war after the Russian assistance, Russia troops were put in Khmeimim air base and Air jets provided protection of the national army.

Effectively, the main concern of this dissertation is to build a claim about the success of Basher Al Assad in winning the war against the terrorists. The dissertation aims at testing the



high connection between the Russian and Iran interference in Syria and the success of Basher Al Assad. The dissertation is also an attempt for evaluating the performances and the different tools that Basher Al Assad used in negotiation with rebels. In approaching Al Assad family performances this dissertation strongly relies on examples of the entire political and economy journeys, from Hafez until Basher then the beginning of the Syrian civil war. Thus, the topic of issue is Basher Al Assad winning the war and new Syria after eight years of bloody war.

The main questions that the dissertation would answer are highlighted as the following: How Hafez Al Assad assumed command of Syria? How Hafez did put an end to the brotherhood? How could Basher Al Assad be successful as his Father? What were the Adjustments made by Basher Al Assad after his father's death? How was the Syrian civil war seen by the world? Did Basher profited from Astana and Geneva talks? How did the Syrian see Basher after the civil war? Could Basher succeed without the help of the Russia and Iran?

Those questions were topic of debate since the Syrian civil war had started. The dissertation attempts to hold an array of hypotheses for the questions being asked above. Firstly, Hafez Al Assad was a pioneer in the Bath party. At this expanse Hafez became a president then Basher Al Assad was the next, but the civil war changed everything. Secondly the early days of the uprising change the path of Basher and Syrians saw him as the devil of Syria. Thirdly Russia and Iran interference made Basher retake so many areas that were controlled by rebels. Additionally, The Geneva and Astana talks made the rebels think about their position in Syria because Basher was winning the war. Many foreign powers had started a conspiracy against Basher Al Assad to weakening his army and providing an extra support to the radical groups in Syria

Methodologically, to achieve all the goals and to answer the main questions on the topic of the dissertation, it relies on the historical, the narrative and the argumentative tools. The historical and the narrative method are used to give the autobiography of Hafez Al Assad than his son Basher Al Assad and the new adjustments made by Basher during his presidency. I

used the argumentative approach to test the credibility of Basher success over the rebels. In terms of style this dissertation applies the seventh edition of Modern Language Association format (MLA).

Structurally, this dissertation is built upon three chapters. The first chapter entitled “AL Assad Family and Syria Governing System” is highly concerned with Syria governing system. The chapter discusses Hafez Al Assad as president then shifts to Hafez’s state of war with the brotherhood. It also deals with Basher Al Assad becoming the new president of Syria after his father’s death. Later it studies the demographic compositions of Syria then the political, economic, and social adjustments made by Basher Al Assad.

The second chapter shifting to continue the study about the beginning of the Syrian civil war. It deals with how the uprising changed from peaceful to a bloody one. Then it provides data about some rebel groups that were fighting the regime with the Western’s support. Subsequently, it highlights the Russian military support to the national forces. Additionally, it deals with USA and Israel bombarding air bases of the Syrian government.

The third chapter deals with the conspiracy behind that was planned by foreign powers against Basher in the Syrian bloody war. Then it gives some key elements of the war and information about the battle over Idlib. Later it discusses the Geneva and Astana talks that led to national reconciliation provided by Basher Al Assad. Moreover, it tackles the refuge return to Syria after the war then the areas that have been taken by Basher. Additionally, it tackles the rebuilding of the infrastructure of Syria and the current situation after eight years of war. Each of the three chapters include an introduction and conclusion in addition to the general introduction and general conclusion.

# **Chapter One**

## **Al Assad Family and Syria Governing System**

### **1. Introduction**

Syria witnessed many challenges before getting its independence. Moreover, the Bath party was the most powerful group that led the country from difficult stage and from a government. Hafez Al Assad was the first president after independence and the founding father of Syria. After many achievements he died in June 2000 and the regime shifted to his son. In 2000 Basher Al Assad; who was seen different from his father because of his education level and the years that he experienced in England, became president. As result the government was in development and Syria became open to the world because of the foreign policies provided by Basher Al Assad. However, the young Basher faced many challenges and many goals had to be fulfilled during his presidency. This chapter will tackle the early stages of Hafez Al Assad government, then, it will deal with how Hafez maintained his presidency during the brotherhood rebellion. Moreover, it will talk about Basher Al Assad as president of Syria then shift to a discussion of the social, economic and political improvements made by Basher Al Assad.

### **1.1. Syria Demographic Composition**

Syria had seen an expansion in financial development rates that had went with upgrades in foundation, extension of open administrations, and expanded work investment since its independence. The development rates endured genuine difficulties; nonetheless, the nation persevered through a sharp monetary compression next to expanding social and political which thus bargained nourishment security, work, and efficiency. Moreover, the nation came back to positive monetary development rates, progressively financial transparency, and an expansion in work and training. In any case, the connected advancement arrangements in Syria were described by low efficiency, extension of the private segment, expansion of the casual division, and the shortcoming of genuine wages versus huge spending plans to help significant wares and open administration.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Stifler, John. "Forced Dispersion A Demographic Report on Human Status in Syria". *Syrian Centre for Policy Research*. (2016): 4-7

Syria government was formed by many demographic features with a wide cluster of ethnic and religious gatherings which was drawn after World War I by the European colonial movement in all over the world. European forces gave to Syria diversity in the composition of the society including Arab Sunnis, Alawites, Christians, Druze, Shia, and Sunni Kurds, Circassians, and Turk men. The Arab community was the biggest one in Syria, it was 90 percent of the population by 22.5 million and the second were the Kurdish minority by taking 9 percent of the society<sup>2</sup>. Religion in Syria was very complex component, Sunni Islamist was the dominant ethnic group and the Alawites were comprised of Shia Islamists and were the second ethnic group.

Syria was multiethnic country that the Sunni was the dominant part and the state was controlled by the Assad family. Moreover, Syria had been a mainstream nationalistic state with a power structure that favored individuals from governing family. The administration attempted to verify dedication from various minorities and Sunni were putting all the resources into the business in big cities like Damascus. Under this framework, Syrians experienced different types of persecution and dispute was not endured. As a result, the Sunni was a business ethnic group that kept their influence only on business. Therefore, partisan personalities did not fill in as a noteworthy obstruction to conjunction and social attachment

## **1.2. Syria Governing System**

Syria was colonized by France, and for ten years from 1936-1946 there were negotiations to take its independence. Syria was ruled by Ba'ath party and there were many inner struggles and violence. From 1971 Hafez al-Assad was the president until his death in 2000. Hafez Al Assad, the first president after independence, was born in 6<sup>th</sup> October 1930 in Qurdaha, got his education in Latikia, was taught by Wahib al-Ghanim, and was a Ba'thist who adopted the thoughts of Zaki al-Arsuzi and called up Assad to the Ba'th Party. After so many military

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<sup>2</sup> Frederic Hof, Alex Simon Sectarian." Violence in Syria's Civil War: Causes, Consequences, and Recommendations for Mitigation". *The Center for the Prevention of Genocide United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. (2014): 12-19

coups, Hafez El Assad and his colleagues finally succeeded in 8<sup>th</sup> march 1963. He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel and took control over a military base.<sup>3</sup>

In 1966, Hafez Al Assad became the Minister of Defense with the help of Salah Al Jadid<sup>4</sup>. By assuming the position, he offered help to the Palestinian to fight back against Israel, as result Israel moved attention toward Syria. Force in many places in Golan stopped the crisis of May 1967. In the same year war was declared in June and the forces lost the Golan Heights. Hafez Al Assad was put in blame after this failure because of the bad performance of his forces. In February 1971, Hafez Al Assad became the president of Syria and the neo-Ba'ath was abolished and he secured the office. After becoming president, he made some changes in the Ba'ath party. Firstly, by changing the regional commander and taking the position of secretary-general. Hafez Al Assad also made certain changes in foreign policies by isolating Syria from the Arab countries and form alliances with Egypt to confront Israel.

### **1.2.1. The Brotherhood and Hafez Al Assad**

Inside Syria there was a major political advancement likewise worked up disdain toward the government to induce viciousness against the Muslim brotherhood. Among these was the emotional increase in communist approaches and in secularism for the most part, just as the Baath party did not interfere in certain political issues. Syria military interference in the war against Israel had given a direct heat to the government.

Moreover, the Islamic groups were an indistinguishable piece of the prevailing social powers that made up the customary Sunni political power. This political gathering depended on the remarkable groups of the big cities and the other areas. At the point when this customary request crumbled following the ascent of the Bath party then the brotherhood had been in opposition with their goals and they were the only group that was against the government and pose a threat to it.

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<sup>3</sup> Dean, David. *Historical Dictionary of Syria Asian Historical Dictionaries*, Scarecrow Press, 1996, Print.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

As result Hafez Al Assad assumed command and tried to put an end to the brotherhood. He wanted to verify religious authenticity for the Alawite and all the other tribes. The Brotherhood had responded by downsizing its threat and it wanted a peaceful solution. However, the showdown kept achieving one of its peaks with the ejection of uproars. The brotherhood killed some people to make Hafez Al Assad's government take some considerations about the acts that were taking against the brotherhood.

In the final stages, the brotherhood raised its vicious action and distributed out of the blue its true purpose. It propelled an assault on the Military Institute by killing more than thirty people. These events had let the government to military act and put a stop to certain leaders in the brotherhood.

### **1.2.2 Hafez Al Assad and the Rebellion in Hama 1982**

Firstly, Hafez Al Assad was credited in the war against Israel. During his first years as president he was not threatened by the Islamic gathering, as result he made certain development by providing money from the oil production. In any case, the Syrian economy was threatened by debasement and bribery and providing military assets. As result, people were facing bad life conditions and especially the working classes.

In the interim, Hafez Al Assad political standing had been seriously harmed by his dependence on Alawite to control the national forces. By this act he rehashed conflicts with Sunni, like what happened in the intervention in Lebanon. The Lebanon incursion was seen by mainstream patriots and liberals as an assault to their Christian citizens. Furthermore, the government reacted by subduing vicious and serene challenge, yet this just increased the contention. New challenges were widespread to the point that outside eyewitnesses were starting to scrutinize the government dependability. Significant dissents and strikes occurred in Hama and different urban areas. As a result, ministers implicitly put an end to the brotherhood by using armed forces in the public sphere. In parallel to the developing

prevalent activism, outfitted conflicts between the government and the Islamist bunches were expanded into many cities.

By late 1980, the issues had reached a critical stage. The nation forces had the town of Jisr El Shughour as a result many people were killed in this event. In challenge, the resistance called a general strike, to which the government reacted all over the country by sizing the Islamic groups and control its movements. Several common society pioneers were captured, and the expert associations were disintegrated by pronouncement, later to be controlled under the Bath commander.

The brotherhood had a major grow in its followers but the political work did not achieve the true purpose as result it shifted to make strikes all over Syria. At the beginning in 1981 a bomb hit the Syrian parliament then the armed forces headquarter had been targeted. Later, a bomb hit a security building, it slaughtered a huge number or even many non-military including students. The brotherhood focused on individual that supported Hafez Al Assad. Syrian culture became progressively isolated due to religious war that was widespread.

In 1982 an uprising was initiated by the brotherhood against the government in the city of Hama, the heartland of the Sunnis. Hafez Al Assad sent military troops to stop the rebellion. The brotherhood gave an example about the bad acts against it to the government and it slaughtered more than 70 people. Later in February the brotherhood had took the city of Hama but this success did not last for long, and inside three weeks Refaat Al Assad the chief of the armed forces, he had retaken the city, utilizing big guns and tanks. At that point, immovably responsible for the circumstance after the city had fallen, the government gave an example of Hama by leveling portions of the town and executing a huge number of inhabitants. According to certain statistics over 20,000 people were killed<sup>5</sup>.

The Syrian regime was seen by others as passive one, which be adopted from Ba'athist or Alawite, in way that regime was forced to use violence to determine its purpose like what

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<sup>5</sup>Lund, Aron." The Ghosts of Hama". *Swedish International Liberal Centre*. (2011): 7-13



happen in 1982, by putting a bomb in the street of Rosiers. The regime's stability was dependent on the army by putting secret agents within public sphere to provide inside overview and dismantling any terrorist plans. Syrian government intentionally misused religious contrasts to solidify its inside authenticity. Power shifted in the hands of the decision group, which thus depended on the Mukhabarat (secret intelligent service) just as business circles. New changes were brought in 1986 by reforming the country economy like the private sector was pushed over.<sup>6</sup>

The speech of Hafez Al Assad in March 11 1999 pushed Syria further by listing the most prominent achievements in 30 years of his presidency and he stated that Syria will be developed but it will be in danger from others nations. Hafez Al Assad had a good relationship with Washington. Abd al-Halim Khaddam was one of the prominent figures of the Ba'th Party in Syria, he was the right hand of Hafez Al Assad and the closest friend. The death of Hafez Saturday, June 10, 2000, was an attack to Khaddam and he was appointed for temporary replacement and that led to the success of Basher to become a president.<sup>7</sup>

### **1.3. Basher Al Assad As President**

Basher Al Assad was born on 11/09/1965 in Damascus; he studied there and got his secondary certificate in 1982. Basher studied medicine at university and graduated from it in 1988. He joined the armed forces as an officer in the department of medical services, he was first lieutenant, was specialized in ophthalmology in 1992 at Tishreen Military Hospital, then continued his specialization in London until 1994.

Basher followed many courses and was included in the military ranks until he was promoted to the rank of a team, and he filled many of leadership positions. Later, he became the commander chief of the armed forces. He was elected to the Secretary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party at the Ninth Congress of the Party in June 2000. He was elected on 7<sup>th</sup> October

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<sup>6</sup> Holliday, Joseph. "The Assad regime From Counterinsurgency to Civil War". Middle East Security Report 8. (2013): 7-69

<sup>7</sup> Zisser, Eyal. *Commanding Syria Bashar al-Asad and the First Years in Power*, I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2007

2000 as President of the Republic and took office after being sworn in before the People's Assembly.<sup>8</sup>

After the death of Hafez Al Assad, Syria started new era, he was considered as a founding father because he was the first president after the independence on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1946. Outside Syria this decision was considered as reckless one due to Basher journey was known until 1995 after the death of his youngest brother Basil, he had a car accident and he was the father's choice but the death reversed everything. New era had begun when Basher was elected as president.

Many people saw Basher as modern and different from his father, however, in an interview with Basher Al Assad he confirmed oppositely,

Whoever thought that I would be more moderate than my father erred. The Americans think that our political behavior is pragmatic, but in practice my generation, including myself, show an even greater adherence to national and pan-Arab principles than did my father's generation. (Zisser. 2007.P21)<sup>9</sup>

Basher had a return to London as a president of Syria in December 2002 for the first time; he recalled some memories of him as young resident. Basher assumed the president chair when Syria was in new era and new challenges were raised.

After the invasion of Iraq in 2003, Basher was in bad condition due to the changes that the Middle East was facing and led to the change in foreign policies; especially with Washington. Syria was affected by this invasion because Iraq was the home of the Ba'ath party and led to an economy crisis in the two neighboring countries. Basher refused the decision of war against Iraq.

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<sup>8</sup> Dean, David. *Historical Dictionary of Syria Asian Historical Dictionaries*, Scarecrow Press, 1996, Print.

<sup>9</sup> Zisser, Eyal. *Commanding Syria Bashar al-Asad and the First Years in Power*, I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2007. P114

Syria supported Iraq but the war had bad outcomes like weapon smuggling into Iraq through Syrian borders. Basher had a self-awareness like his father to prevent a declared war between Americans and Syrians. Between 2000 and 2010, Syria foreign policy had one goal to deal with the fall of the Soviet Union. This event led to put an end the security plan which was planned with two aims: the first was to achieve strategic balance with Israel and the second was Syria dependence of the Soviet Union in the event of an attack. Syria was in conflict with certain governments in the way they had interfered in Lebanon which was ended in April 2005.

Basher was in his 36<sup>th</sup> birthday when the 9/11 attacks occurred, it was remarkable day due to the terrorist attack in New York. Washington was waiting the response of the Syria government but the government acknowledged by giving a direct statue of the attacks in the Syrian TV channels.

Syria had bad relations with most countries of the world before Basher was president, due to his father politics of isolation. Moreover, this led Syria to socioeconomic stagnation. Basher was the hope of Syria relations with other countries. Basher had a good impression on other leaders due to his education in England and also the interviews made by the journalists with him; “They described him as a young, open-minded, very intelligent man, well versed in details and quite in control of facts” (Zisser.2007 P130)<sup>10</sup>. Basher was seen as representative of the young Arab leaders, many meetings gave Basher more experience in foreign policies, he had visited every Arab state and he excluded Iraq for many times and the visit to Lebanon was remarkable achievement between the two countries since the civil war of 1975.

Basher Al Assad, however, faced two crises in his first year of presidency and had impact toward his regime; one of them is the outbreak of the Al Aqsa Intifada then the activities of Hizballah against Israel. These events had created a serious problem between Syria and Israel.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p130.

The 9/11 attacks on USA was a second issue of Basher because USA had declared war toward terrorist by putting an end to Taliban and then invasion of Iraq.

Despite the fact that Basher Al Assad was the result of his father framework but the West had considered him to be a reformist. He had opened the economy to enable some outside banking and exchange to the advantage of representatives near his family. Moreover, many clarifications had been looked to represent Basher al-Assad behaviors. Some viewed him as a powerless that he needed expert even over his own family

Nonetheless, his family depicted him as a man with great self-confidence, who did not take rake less decisions over his company or the administration of his government, and he had confidence in his properties. Basher had held some reality in the early years of his administration, he made certain changes with figures that were inside the government since his father was president. In many ways as other citizens in Damascus, Basher saw the American invasion of Iraq as a risk to the destabilization of his government.

### **1.3.1. Basher Al Assad Political Achievements**

The Second intifada had represented a genuine test for Bashar Al Assad. In the beginning, Syria was the only piece left of the Middle Easterner nations, he felt obligated to give some help to the Palestinians. This weight constrained the Syrian government to decide whether to help Arafat or not<sup>11</sup>. In the meantime, Basher had confronted in his first year by pulling back Syrian army from Lebanon, until Syrian military withdrew from Lebanon.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore new strategy was confronted by Basher Al Assad to seek new alliances and form global relations to enrich Syria.

Basher Al Assad comprehended that the breakdown of the Soviet Union may lead Syria to bad future and it was a misfortune to his country capacity to achieve peace with Israel. Amid the primary years of Basher Al Assad's presidency, Jordan and Syria had grown new

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<sup>11</sup> Ghadbian, Najib "The New Asad: Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Syria" *Middle East Institute*. (2001): 1-18

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

relations, and the two countries had set a new goal to go further toward providing help to each other.<sup>13</sup> Politically, the two governments had increased their contacts and diminished their reactions of each other's situation toward Israel. Jordan had shown honest intention toward Syria to recover its occupied land.

Arafat had been persona lion in Damascus. Each side accused the other for the absence of coordination in the exchanges with Israel, which empowered different Israeli governments to play one side against the other. Shared adversaries and local weights on the two governments had helped this rapprochement. Moreover, during the Iraq invasion, Syria was a vital asset to Iraq.<sup>14</sup> At long last, Syria relations with Turkey kept on improving under the new government. Basher Al Assad had officially communicated greatly to achieve better relations with the European Union. He started a careful program of political advancement and selected various European tools and technocrats to enter places of intensity in his regime. Basher was received by French President Jacques Chirac even before being president and Chirac was the main Western president that was in the memorial service of Hafez Al Assad<sup>15</sup>. The new events had refreshed French-Syrian relations and it conveyed much potential for Syria.

### **1.3.2. Basher Al Assad Economic Achievements**

The Syrian economy Hafez Al Assad left behind had many flaws and there were inefficiency, fraud, and the lack of employment. The unemployment was in high levels by 22 percent of the whole society<sup>16</sup>. Basher Al Assad started a financial reformation so as to reduce the nation financial segregation and for the first time he permitted private banks to return in 2004. He diminished taxes and sought after an organized commerce. He opened free trade with Middle East countries and Turkey. Therefore, Basher Al Assad tried to make Syria join to certain international organizations like the European Association. In 2005, he made a

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> International Crisis Group. "Syria Under Bashar (II): Domestic Policy Challenges" *ICG Middle East Report*. (2004): 1-12

<sup>15</sup> Ghadbian, Najib "The New Asad: Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Syria". *Middle East Journal*. (2001): 6-8

trip to China for exchange and speculation. China reacted by investing resources into the Syrian oil and to open new factories to enrich textile industry <sup>17</sup>

As result, the private sector was enriched in Syria and for the first time Syria had stopped from importing vehicles since the 1960s. With this advantage many Syrians started to invest in many fields due to the government facilitations scene. Basher improved political and business relations with Turkey, including an organized commerce assertion that became effective in 2007, Turkey goods had flooded Syrian markets.

Syria economy was powered by political system and it was controlled by three gatherings. Firstly, the public sector was the powerful and the entrepreneurial was at early stages, meanwhile the military elite were dominating in many fields. Many studies pointed that officers were taking bribery to certify the release of all goods and services.<sup>18</sup>Basher was against all forms of corruption and made certain laws to prevent certain problems of the interference of military elite in economy and launched an attack against his uncle Rifat.

Certain changes were adopted in oil production in early 2000s by reserving oil and it made discounts in taxes <sup>19</sup>.The economy was in good shape by the reformation it was growing and corruption was in minimum levels, meanwhile poverty was rising. Huge changes were made amid the period on the financial, political and social levels trying to discover a spot for Syria among worldwide economies and guarantee access to worldwide markets. As result, industrial cites started to be build and foreign investment started coming to Syria.

The Syrian economy was not constrained by the United States due to the strategy adopted by Basher Al Assad. Another critical advance in opening and changing the economy was Syria joining to some trade association like the Greater Arab Free Trade Area (GAFTA).<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile globalization had opened Syria to the world and the advancement of free showcase economies around the world. Therefore, connection between national economies

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<sup>17</sup> D Hale, David. "Syrian Opportunity". *The Magazine of International Economy Policy*. (2007): 1-2

<sup>18</sup> Bill, James And Robert, Springborg." Politics in the Middle East. 5th ed" *New York Longman*. (2000): 1-7

<sup>19</sup> Gobat, Jeanne and Kostial, Kristina. 'Syria's Conflict Economy' *International Monetary Fund*. (2016): 4-12

<sup>20</sup> Bakeer, Hussein. "The Syrian nightmare? Evaluation of the critical situation in Syria and Future Scenarios" *Syrian Centre for Political Research*, (2013): 1-14

and global markets had increased the benefits and brought more money to the Syrian government.

Many obstacles had kept the Syrian economy to move to a market economy and obtain its authoritative and administrative tools. The new conditions and developing powers made an incredible driving compel towards monetary change. In the meantime, the Syrian administration was confronting various troubles and difficulties to make a reformation in its economic system.

Monetary advancement would significantly decrease the work of the public division, in this manner denying the condition of its critical job, and turning it into a business of fewer specialists that produce less wares and administrations, along these lines bringing down the quantity of worker were connected to the state. Change was confronting restriction from the legislature administration that created a bureaucratic bourgeoisie which amassed tremendous riches and whose premiums would be compromised by change.

Since Basher Al Assad was president, certain people benefited from using political power to ensure dominance in the private sector and they got many investments. Additionally, there was a change that the government insured by drafting certain to investments. As a result, there was a risk of debasement which accused the Syrian government that led to certain changes. Little gatherings near the decision-making circles had begun to command more extensive regions of well profit<sup>21</sup>. Under Bashar Al Assad administration, state business systems had turned out to be progressively restricted. The new systems were controlled by the bourgeoisie of Damascus and Aleppo.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, the withdrawal from Lebanon achieved many chances for business advancement. Investors built up the nation over through a western style, shopping centers started to multiply. In this sense, everyday life in Syria moved toward becoming progressively

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<sup>21</sup> Samir, Sefian. "The Road to Economic Reform in Syria". *The University of St Andrews Centre for Syrian Studies* (2011): 7-15

agreeable, and the government got the credit from the individuals who profited from the situation.

Syria saw the Western countries as potential piece to improve its economy, and Basher tried to improve relations with European countries. Basher Al Assad supported the battle against corruption. It was generally trusted that Basher had chosen the Prime Minister and a few other ministers. Later, the Syrian media started blaming Mahmud Zubi for fraud.

It was declared that Zubi benefits would be seized, and he was removed from the Ba'th party. Days before he was to show up before the financial security court, he put an end to his life.<sup>23</sup> Basher had a big battle against fraud, it meant that the new Assad was looking for new Syria without corruption. Basher released many political prisoners in his early months and free speech was tolerated<sup>24</sup>, for the first time in Syria, private newspaper was released by the name of al-Dumari<sup>25</sup>

### **1.3.3. Basher Al Assad Social Reformation**

The Syrian culture was heterogeneous as far as its ethnical, religious, and sectional piece. This heterogeneity depended on the way that the nation had contained different religious gatherings, people groups, and ethnic gatherings. In this unique situation, the essential minorities comprised of Alawi, Druze, Ismaili, and different Christian gatherings. In this manner, the two Muslims and Christians were separated into very unique gatherings.<sup>26</sup> Another vital component of the statistic structure of Syria was the population expansion and joblessness. The population development rate of the Sunni and Kurds had achieved its most abnormal amount while it remained relatively low for Christians. After time, Syria had accused numerous Middle Easterner nations for having conventional kingdoms and governments, it proposed that the Baath government was progressive.

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<sup>23</sup> Ghadbian, Najib. "The New Asad: Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Syria". *Middle East Journal*. (2001): 9-10

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

<sup>25</sup> Issam, Hamza. "Syria's first private newspaper is sell-out," *Reuters*. (2001): 1-16

<sup>26</sup> Veysel, Ayhan." The Social Opposition Movement in Syria: The Assad Regime in the Context of Reform and Revolution." *Alternative Politics*. (2011): 4-5



At the beginning, Basher had demanded that most of the Syrian were behind him and that his adversaries were not important minority. This connivance had been helped by radical Islam in Syria and in many Arabic countries which had dependably seen the secularism of the Baath party as a plague.<sup>27</sup> Basher had seen a good way to defeat inner struggles and to prosper the country. This standpoint was apparently part of his father's legacy, he had put an end to uprising, and it had stopped a crisis. In any case, the use of power had just raised the emergency and put the government to worldwide risk.

During Basher Al Assad presidency there was no social revenue. Many people saw some changes. Moreover, a radical change had to be in early years. Firstly, the idea of political development had been raised to those sections of the population that were not composed in state structures. However, Syrian society had come to get the term of common society as implying government's false hope. Finally, the term was frequently used particularly by authority organizations, it was said with the term anti-government.

Since the beginning, Bashar Al Assad was focusing on local issues and his goal was to see all residents had the option to impact arrangement as contrasted to the others Arab nations' leaders were subjective in their governing systems. This type of governing, he adopted it from Western countries. Basher tried to give an equitable voice to the general population; however, governed as a dictator. Sectarianism was organized inside the Syrian political framework and society. Casual sectarianism was obvious in the military association in which it controlled relations and its structure was generally dictated by individuals. Military positions were controlled by tribes like the Alwiates.

Bashar Al Assad had shaped a modern Syria through his visions; yet, Syria had many culture compositions. He shaped a structure where religious association was effectively connected to formal policies nevertheless religion had assumed a job in the foundation of the country due to Syria multi ethnic groups and this affiliation were connected to the

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<sup>27</sup>Zisser, Eyal." Alone at the Top: Bashar al-Assad and the Struggle for Syria". *Strategic Assessment*. (2013): 14-28

government. In many dimensions it made Syrian organizations carry on in an unexpected way.

#### **1.3.4. Women Rights during Basher Al Assad's Presidency**

Women rights was a topic with huge debate on Syrian society. The limitations were based on opportunity of affiliation and it compelled numerous women rights associations to work illicitly. Therefore, change was commonly forced by the national initiative or through government affiliated associations, instead of emerging through common society activism.

The nationality law kept on forbidding ladies from passing on their citizenship to their kids, while putting no such confinements on men. Males had acentric qualities in the public arena and the tyrant political framework left ladies helpless against sex oppression both in home or outside. Ongoing investigations had appeared aggressive behavior at home were normal in Syria, however, such maltreatment was not specifically banned like spousal assault was avoided as offense under the law definition of assault. Under the current law, ladies needed full power over issues identified with marriage, separation, guardianship and other family matters<sup>28</sup>

In a similar period, Asma al-Assad propelled herself into her new job as Syria's First Woman, giving her time and vitality to the restoration of common society. She was motivated by the case of Jordan's ruler Noor. She orchestrated the setting up of a system of associations to make advancement in many fields, for example, rustic advancement, culture, arrangement for youngsters, and the handicapped and vagrants.

These associations were free and did not need money requirements. While all other common society affiliations were constrained by labor ministry. Furthermore, parties had to acquire a consent for every single contact with outsiders. Global contributors were standard visitors of the associations working under Asma Al Assad support.

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<sup>28</sup> Farhat, Hana. "The Status of Women Human Rights Defenders in Syria". *The WHRD Collation in The Middle East and North Africa*. (2014): 1-12

Despite the fact that there had been endeavors to change oppressive enactment and proclaim new laws that would provide protection to ladies from violence and segregation, yet the administration had taken a noteworthy advance forward by drafting new laws, which had given more opportunities to women by that it had gave ladies certain rights. Moreover, some Syrians were seeking for gender equality and all new laws kept them constrained. For many occasions some report shown that violence over women still existed.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, work was a big deal with women in the Arab World. All examinations underlined the significance of ladies' interest in the work showcase that the work was a desire and the expanding number of female schools were needed to build a society. However, many reports affirmed that Arab social orders had less proficient ladies and less working ladies by given the quantity of females in the working community.

#### **1.4. Conclusion**

Syria was a prospered country since Hafez Al Assad due to social and economy developments, yet, there was certain social injustice but still the Syrians had lived in better life than the colonization era. After years of presidency Hafez Al Assad died and his son Basher was elected as the new president. Basher Al Assad maintained certain changes when he was elected as president, especially the economy and foreign relations. Economy was in bad conditions but Basher pushed the private and many investors came to Syria. Although social revenue was a big issue to Basher, yet, certain changes were adopted but still people were not satisfied with these new conditions.

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30 Heydemann,S and Leenders,R. "Middle East Authoritarianism: Governance, Contestation and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran". Stanford *University Press*. (2014): 12-13

# **Chapter Two**

## **The Arab Spring and Its Effect in Syria**

## **2. Introduction**

Like its partners in the Arab world, the Syrian crisis started as a serene uprising with two measurements, it was about improving the social status and fixing internal issues, as it tried to bring open opportunities. At first, the uprising comprised of unconstrained social events that rose up out of the mosques after Friday petition every week. The government responded with savagery from the earliest starting point of the challenge development, planning to subdue it and keep it from extending. The government emphasized on the utilization of savagery was looked by a challenge development that kept up its tranquil character so as to accomplish its destinations. Be that as it might, occasions went in a new direction with the heightening of the utilization of power against the serene nonconformists. In the meantime, the Middle Easterner Alliance endeavored to achieve a political goal to the emergency wavered, as did the activities inside the Security Board, which went for forcing Basher Al Assad to change his strategies and acknowledge a smooth political progress of intensity. This chapter will try to give an overview about the Syrian crisis at the beginning then it would give a glimpse about the new anti-government forces that had appear during this crisis. This chapter would give certain information about foreign alliances and their effect on the war, it would also bring a debate about USA and Israel bombardment on the national forces and providing an asset to the terrorists.

### **2.1. The Beginning of the Civil War in Syria**

The revulsions of the continuous Syrian common war had never been a long way from the front pages of the news. Social researchers had considered it before long defy the cumbersome reality that the war's fierceness blocks field could be explored on its focal military and political elements. Researchers have made imperative advances in contemplating instruments behind dissent movement and the activation of furnished restriction to the Al Assad government.

The Middle Easterner Spring proclaimed a political change in the Center East and North Africa. Al-Assad government had held power all through a nine-year struggle that had killed a large portion of a million Syrians, and keeps on fortifying its position. In contemporary examination, its strength was regularly credited to help from universal partners Russia, Iran and Hezbollah and radical groups among the resistance and its effective endeavor to extend itself as Syria's solitary prospect for stable and common government.

These changes presented significant aspect to understand the government diligence; meanwhile it presented a restricted recorded comprehension of its versatility. Besides, there remained a supposition that the strife was completely partisan in nature with a minority Alawite battling the Sunni dominant part, both radical and moderate. It would be contended that a more extensive, chronicled see was required to maintain a strategic distance from partisan reductionism and speculations about the war religious measurement.<sup>30</sup>

At first, the Syrian revolutionist ascended against the government of Basher al-Assad in 2011 received a nonsectarian methodology. In any case, partisan talk and observations came to win in the resulting struggle. Inside a month following the principal wave of challenges in mid-Walk 2011, partisan personality turned into a significant, frequently abrogating, component in the elucidation and heightening of savagery.

As result this did not imply that Syria was solely, or even predominantly, encountering a partisan common war, the same number of examiners had spoken about it, that a noteworthy segment of Syrian Sunnis still helping the government, or that many thousands of inside uprooted individuals from Sunni regions had looked for asylum in government-controlled regions, outlines this was not a battle between unmistakable what was more, durable gatherings competing for matchless quality and command over an area or the avoidance or annihilation of different groups.

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<sup>30</sup> Aston-Ward, Alexander. "Assad Regime Resilience During the Syrian Civil War ". *Harmoon Centre for Contemporary Studies*. (2017): 1-5

Henceforth, the big issue was isolating renegades from followers who did not fundamentally pursue partisan and ethnic alliance. Divisions jumped up inside partisan gatherings, between territories that had been influenced distinctively by social change, and in some cases indeed, even inside families, setting the minimized against profiteers, adherents against administrative foundations, and adolescents against older folks.

Moreover, the contention was not brought about by age-old partisan abhorrence discharged by a blend of government shortcoming or local and global impedance, at that point for what reason did the impression of an existential partisan clash win so rapidly? For what reason did the comprehensive talk of the dissidents neglect to persuade enough Syrians. Specifically, non-Sunni that the Syrian individuals was one in their battle against the current government. For what reason did as such numerous Syrians rather fall for the fear mongering of a Basher rule that about everybody knew and despised for its defilement, deviousness, and advantage?

For some people who were favored of the uprising, the response to these inquiries was clear: it was the government negative abuse of sectarianism that turned the uprising far from its initial comprehensive and municipal orientation. Such a point of view showed up naturally conceivable given the focal points that the procedure of sectarianizing offered Syria's rulers. On a local dimension, depicting the uprising similar to the aftereffect of Sunni radicalism could startle religious minorities into favoring the current ruling system. It could likewise frighten liberal sections of the Sunni lion's share, who dreaded a move in the direction of state-forced religious inflexibility and conservatism, as happened in Saudi Arabia and all over the Arab world. Initially many decisions were made by the government and largest amounts may additionally be proof that probably a few components in the Syrian control structure looked to direct the circumstance toward it and through a partisan clash

Meanwhile there was no indisputable proof of a planned government technique pointed explicitly at touching off partisan clash. The ruling system reactions to dissents amid the initial couple of weeks were opposing furthermore, aimless, and once in a while component of

the routine seemed by all accounts to be working at cross-purposes. While the official talk concerning the partisan measurement of the contestation surely qualified as fear mongering, it was basically the continuation of a longstanding and intentionally uncertain methodology were used, it was marking as partisan any individual who uncovered the truth of Alawite dominance in the Syrian government.<sup>31</sup>

The continuous Syria emergency kept on representing a consistent risk and long-term challenge to the world and the universal network with Germany step by step assuming a progressively noticeable job as an arbiter in emergency discretion, as a principle goal for uprooted evacuees, and as an objective for Islamist fear-based oppression. The drawn-out Syrian clash had quickened the decay of security and solidness in the Middle East district through fighting, authorized movement and relocation. Furthermore, the Syrian upheaval was in its center a peaceful well-known uprising by the Syrian individuals against its government law; it was ended up subjected to expanded radicalization among its principle entertainers, in this way engaging radical Islamist components among the equipped restriction.

Furthermore, neighboring nations who have ingested no less than five million Syrian displaced people were confronting a colossal weight presented on their economy and society. This showed a way to depict the Syrian clash as a drawn-out global clash apparently invulnerable to discretionary intercession also, with long haul symptoms on the security condition not just of the locally yet additionally worldwide.<sup>32</sup>

The Syrian forces had started engaging the radical's groups and it was proceeding unabatedly. The government had pulled back its forces from vast parts of the nation. Different dissident gathering was controlling towns and small villages as well as rustic zones in the southwest and all the borders.

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<sup>31</sup> Wimmen, Heiko. "Syria Path from Civic Uprising to Civil War." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. (2016): 1-17

<sup>32</sup> Kudors, Andis, and Pabriks, Artis. "The War in Syria: Lessons to The West. Riga" *The Centre for East European Policy Studies*. (2016): 1-4



At first the dissidents were unfit to secure the nonmilitary personnel populace in the freed territories against assaults by the national army. Since the agitators began offensives in Damascus and Aleppo, Basher Al Assad had struck back with expansive scale obliteration by bombarding rebel-held zones with big guns, rockets and contender planes. It had likewise endeavored to recover freed portions of Damascus, Homs and Aleppo. The ruling system had recovered command over key areas on the borders of Lebanon. Damascus and the Alawite possessed beach front mountains.

In the zones influenced by battling, open administrations had been shut down this influence all sectors including education housekeeping and medical assistance. The government had stopped paying wages. In the meantime, access to these territories was exceedingly limited; this additionally applies to helpful associations. United Nation had helped associations and the Global Red Cross, for instance this could work in those territories only in which the legislature enables it to. Nourishment, fuel and medication were uncommon and costly. To some degree, nearby coordination advisory groups or on the other hand progressive boards, philanthropies and casual systems had been taking over by open capacities. In this way, a critical level of self-association was occurring at the neighborhood level.

## **2.2. The West Support of the Militia in Syria**

Since the war had begun in Syria many people came over as non-state activist entertainers to combat in the front line. In particular, a developed interest and concern was raised in the region about the disturbing number of outside warriors in Syria who had volunteered to battle either for the administration of Basher al-Assad or for one of the different radical groups. Traditionalist appraisals of foreign warriors had entered Syria in the previous two years place the number somewhere in the range of 1 million warriors.

In spite of the fact that the contenders in Syria were transcendently Middle Easterner Muslims, people who had originated from more than 50 countries and incorporate Westerners from Europe, Australia, and the U.S. In spite of Western-sponsorship for moderate dissident

gatherings, for example, the Free Syrian Armed force, radical restriction gatherings, for example, those connected to al-Qaeda it seemed both progressively firm and monetarily stable. Either because of or related to this, numerous foreign soldiers were running to these gatherings, frequently overwhelming authority positions and adding a worldwide measurement to the gatherings' picture, as their essence shows the gatherings' objectives rise above neighborhood issues. The nearness of Al-Qaeda underscored the inexorably worldwide nature of the contention, and on account of those volunteering for this terrorist connected gatherings, their only issue was to call to fight the enemies of Islam.

Radical powers ostensibly controlled most regions of the nation where government powers had pulled back, yet they would be not able to force their power all through Syria, regardless of whether Basher Al Assad retreated. The radicals had programmed a war only on local boarders; however, their exercises were nearby and awkward rather than directed by a national system. They had not had the capacity to make the progress from local warriors to a field one's to drive fit of testing the administration's powers on the war zone.

The revolutionaries worked locally, infrequently collaborating, however they did not have the portability and coordination's to send far from their command posts for any time allotment. Any centralization of rebel powers would be helpless against overpowering government capability. The renegades could take and hold littler towns and invade the fringe of bigger urban communities.

The revolutionaries could just like to make an unsustainable circumstance that prompted a governmental change from inside or that incited mediation from abroad. United States alerted in offering help to the dissidents reflected vulnerability about the advancing clash and worries that propelled weapons may fall under the control of Al Qaeda who would utilize them in fear monger assaults coordinated against the West.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Brian, Michael Jenkins. "The Dynamics of Syria's Civil War". *RAND Corporation*. (2014): 1-17

### 2.3. Democratic Federation of Northern Syria

The Democratic Federation of Northern Syria (DFNS) was an army created by the Kurdish and during the war it was controlling the biggest areas rather than the other rebels. Later it was called Rojava and this term was driven from the name of a Kurdish person “Rojavayê Kurdistan» and the term appeared in late 2016.

Kurds figured out how to build up a place of refuge in the strife of the Syrian common war. Be that as it may the underlying point was not to set up a different state, however to lay the reason for a majority rule Syria with a self-government in a bureaucratic state, guaranteeing insurance for minority gatherings and political opportunities for the whole community. In 2013 A free government was set up with government shared dependent on the individual minority gatherings extent of the community, lady’s correspondence, social focuses, military and police powers.

Northern Syria had continuously been a different district it was different ethnically, with respect to religion, and social values. To protect this rich decent variety, all religious and social networks must almost certainly experience their confidence also their culture unreservedly.<sup>34</sup> Turkey had turned out to be progressively worried about the military and political achievement of the Kurdish new power that they had taken since the war had started.

The USA intended to keep their military forces in north Syria until 2020 for many reasons, it had to counteract the arrival of the Islamic State as not to impact the political progress in Syria and it had to hinder the development of the Iranian to the Mediterranean. Due to this dedication, the US chose to keep three thousand men on the ground and to look for assistance from Rojava forces.

The USA had provided the SDF with air support during the civil war; it had increased its success and stopped many attempts made by the Syrian army. Moreover, the government was

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<sup>34</sup> Kamal, Sido.” Rojava a protection zone for religious and ethnic minorities in northern Syria”. *The Society for Threatened Peoples*. (2016): 1-19

worry about security dangers in Syria at the beginning of the uprising before long driven Basher Al Assad had to make appeasing moves towards the Kurdish minority. Basher made a call to bring certain key figures inside various networks, including a solicitation for a gathering. The welcome was trailed by a surge of announcements, including the declaration of the conceding of full Syrian citizenship had been raised.

Recently a worldwide risk had emerged from the Iraq that had influenced the Syrian civil war, ISIS was controlling most east cities, and there was a defeat on the Kobane with the help of the USA air support that put a conclusion to its string of military triumphs and claims of reliability on the war zone. These victories had modified the political scene in northern Syria, prompting the foundation of a true nearby government.

A new shape of government had been occurred in forming new organization in Rojava that had encouraged various positive advancements, initially it concentrated on individual flexibilities. Even more, it could be contended and its decentralized model may hold at any rate some portion of the answer for an enduring settlement in Syria. In many occasions, the organization had diminished the repercussions of the Syrian war on the social level in Rojava, and to put an end to the spread of terrorist.

The new government had made some establishments to make some balance and to be fortified between the civilian and the military relations all around, it was characterized and isolated, moreover there were certain rules to see upcoming threats and find fast solutions. Allegations of tyranny from many groups' rivals were referred to as one of the fundamental explanations behind limited Western support for the new government.

New laws were adopted about the temporary constitution for Rojava, certain articles were fundamental standards of rights, it was a portrayal and individual flexibilities that coordinate the arrangements of the Widespread Statement of Human Rights. It contained various different standards up until now never connected in Syria and neighboring nations, for example, the unacceptability of regular folks being attempted by military courts and the

nullification of capital punishment. Furthermore, certain laws embraced a dynamic sexual orientation fairness standard in its administration structures, with equivalent sex portrayal on the whole organizations and the foundation of a service for women rights a standard that has been generally clung to be included inside the military.<sup>35</sup>

#### **2.4. Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL)**

ISIS had filled a consistently expanding vacuum in these two fizzled states, which clarified the simplicity with which it was capable to embed itself first in Iraq and later in Syria. The gathering was based on the Islamist extremist that were developed from Al-Qaeda, varying to the extent that it figured out how to stay itself regionally.

ISIS venture was meant to build up a caliphate inside the Muslim world that could settle in long years. Its main goal was to set up such a caliphate on domain from which it could raise a global terrorism. This undertaking along these lines varies from al-Qaeda's and was first actualized in Iraq, because of the nation significant destabilization as an aftereffect of progressive outside military mediations.

Moreover, another component must be considered so as to all the more likely comprehend ISIS development was its capacity to pull many people into its positions. Dissimilar to al-Qaeda, was essentially elitist in nature it based only on selects additionally the individuals who were unpracticed, guileless and accidental just as numerous ladies as could be expected under the circumstances.

The Caliphate venture was leaded by its pioneer Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, it required, to be reasonable of the foundation and to use better methods than those marshaled by al-Qaeda to do its activities. In its regional methodology that included law, open request, money, charges and financial concerns ISIS considered itself to be an early state it runs over the domain under its control with sanctions laws, rebuffs and rewards, raises charges.

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<sup>35</sup> Coughlan, T. "Revolutionary Kurdish feminist leads assault on Raqqa". *The Times*. (2016): 1-5

Since it was set up itself regionally, ISIS had endeavored to actualize an arrangement of administration that meet its subjects' desires. This was run the extent from making war torn zones secure, actualizing a legal framework and fixing the essential foundation required to run a state like providing water, power and waste the board. While fundamental life, the Baghdad government had shunned the arrangement of such fundamental administrations.

ISIS had figured out a method to raise an extensive piece of its assets from assaults on Syrian and Iraqi banks, like what happened in Mosul city when it was taking in 2014. ISIS used water assets as a key apparatus, because of the seriousness of the water emergency that had struck the nation. The annihilation of the Tabqa dam, which could suffocate a piece of Iraq, was nevertheless one of the association's different methods for coercion should it got itself basically threatened. ISIS had lost control of the Tishrin dam. The dam contains six power age units, which supply Aleppo area's eastern districts just as other northern locales close to the Raqqa

Meanwhile ISIS had benefitted from the vitality creating capability of the region it held the degree to which it could benefit from its misuse shifts as indicated by the distinctive types of vitality created. As per the World Bank, Syria water stocks and water system limits had been struck by the contention that desolates the nation.

Warm power plants particularly those in towns and urban areas had been wrecked, or were constrained by the Syrian contention different rebels' groups they were continually upset by proposed or unintentional activities which influences the power provided to the influenced districts.

ISIS profits were by many extensive assets, cash streams were in from the territories under its control yet in addition from abroad. The administration of such assets was exceptionally brought together, administering reserves got from all way of patron. A decided universal community-oriented exertion was in this way required to avoid or at least farthest point the course of this cash

ISIS had charged financial movement by coercing the nine million people who lived in the territories under its control at the tallness of the association's geographic extension. It endeavored to legitimize this framework by pronouncing such assessments to be of a religious type.<sup>36</sup>

## **2.5. The Russian Military Support of the National Forces**

The war within the Middle East was politically and militarily complex and the Syrian Common War epitomized the developing multi-faceted nature of current battle tasks. Different warring groups battling for various objectives and using a scope of high and low innovation abilities had made a difficult battle and an accompanying compassionate catastrophe. The Western rules had reacted to the disintegrating military and politico-financial circumstances by starting alliance air activities against ISIS in Syria and endeavoring to give compassionate alleviation to the ambushed nonmilitary personnel community. In September 2015, Russian air bombardment started leading their own air battle against ISIS and giving backup to Assad powers in Syria.

The Russian message was being transmitted to the countries of the Middle East; Russia was increasingly genuine about settling the debate in Syria than the USA. It may, Russia's Syrian crusade was constrained in plan and just an unobtrusive endeavor by an unassuming capacity to make a blemish on the world stage. Hence, there was no confirmation that the achievement of this crusade would consequently prompt satisfying even minor worldwide aspirations. Considering Russia current financial circumstance, it may recover worldwide status.

Russia had been in contact and associating with the Muslim world for over a thousand years. In the early stages of the Cold War, Soviet weapons were being distributed in the

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<sup>36</sup> Agnès, Levallois. Jean Claude and Lionel, Kerrello. "The financing of the 'Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) ". *Policy Department, Directorate-General for External Policies*. (2017): 1-24

Middle East, military educators were filling the Middle Easterner expresses and overtime they had become customers of the Super Powers in the world.

At the beginning of the civil war in Syria, Russia was prepared to help the Assad government, more than once utilizing its veto capacity to discredit any United Nation goals that would influence Basher Al Assad. As to consequent activities, Russia was obviously not associated with Syria for any benevolent reason but instead securing and facilitating its national interests. The declaration that Russia had appeared mediating prompts, it was about saving the current government and guaranteeing that the West did not interfere in its residential undertakings, it was seeking after regard from the universal network and coordinating the status of other major worldwide nations.

Russia had satisfied its dream for having more water ports in the area and setting up a firm dependable balance in Arabic world. This was the initial move towards Russia recapturing the worldwide power status that was appreciated by the previous Soviet Association. In any case, Russia mission for worldwide control was experienced with two noteworthy downsides. Moreover, Russia had a contracting economy that had been essentially influenced by Western approvals and proceeding low oil costs.

The Syrian Common War was mind boggling and it had an expansive number of members and everyone had its goal, it was one of the most parts indistinct. It had expanded in multifaceted nature since it joined two separate clashes being battled all the while, one against the Assad government and one against the ISIS. Of the two, the battle against the present government was less complex and, at any rate for the occasion, appears to have sunk into an unknown status. The result of the Russian intercession was that Basher Al Assad was not going to be supplanted soon. Be that as it may, the counter routine powers would keep on battling a holding example to guarantee that their cases for the need to topple the routine were to cover up inside the political convenience.



The noticeable accomplishment is that Russia had revived its Soviet period with incredible power status in the Arab world. Russia was currently back more effectively and unmanageably progressing into zones that it had desired for centuries. Second, the achievement of the Russian intercession speaks to a semi-changeless move, to support Russia, in the political and vital condition in the Arab world. Russia had a perpetual army installation in Latakia in Syria, which enormously built its Russian military entrance to the region. Thus, its military nearness unalterably adjusted the territorial power balance. The nations of the locale would now need to represent one more factor in their choices pretty much all national security matters. The supremacy of thinking of the Syrian had helped for national security.

Moreover, by ensuring that the Assad regime continued in power, Russia completely negated the United States call for governmental change. Russia had shown the main goal of military in securing of Basher Al Assad. A vital association with Iran, supported by military strategy as just the start of long-term relationship. The one outright sureness was that Russia needed to spread its impact over the Arab world. It was likewise sure that US had well and really relinquished its power in the locale to seek after a hands-off arrangement in the Syrian Common War.<sup>37</sup>

## **2.6. The Russian Troops in the Airport of Khmeimim**

On August 26, 2015, a treaty was signed between Russia and Syria to send air jets to Khmeimim air base and it was furtively marked in Damascus. The Russian military had high trusts in the SVP-24 the new computerized locating and route framework for all modernized Su-24s and Su-25s had been sent to Syria it was introduced on long-extend to the Tu-22M3 planes. The military expressed that they wish with these advancements old flying machine would almost certainly utilize unguided bombs with a level of precision similar to that of guided weapons.

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37 Kainikara, Sanu. "In the Bear's Shadow: Russian Intervention in Syria". *Common wealth of Australia*. (2018) 1-2

The refreshed Aviation Powers did not have genuine battle understanding. It looked with a genuine adversary; they bit by bit changed their old strategies as they adjusted to the front line and to the capacities of new airplane. However, from the beginning, it unmistakably unguided weapons would be a pillar of its arms stockpile. In early stages, the Russian troops had made a 1,292 battle missions with 32 jets on 1,623 targets. From the earliest starting point, the official press reports pronounced each strike fruitful, and any objective hit by even a nearby blast of the single bomb was guaranteed as annihilated. Along these lines, the quantity of authoritatively decimated fear-based oppressor targets was quickly expanded to incredible sums.

The air support for the national Syrian army battling against ISIS additionally turned out to be progressively powerful. Out of the blue, Russian aeronautics was associated with assaults not on back targets and foundation offices, however on protective positions on the bleeding edge in close coordination with ground forces.

Another period of the Syria battle started. On November, the forces of strategic flying air strikes spiked to the greatest workable for 32 air ship. They performed 98-100 forays day by day for four days. Out of the blue, vital flying working from A Russian area was also included, so as to build rise number of the strikes.<sup>38</sup>

Out of the blue since the civil war had started, Russian planes were sent to free objectives to look only for terrorists in the desert. Rather than undertaking pre-arranged missions, they were permitted to look get together purposes of oil transporter trucks that moved oil from the oilfields constrained by ISIS and quickly then they had to strike them.

While all the aircrafts remained in Khmeimim, little gatherings of Russian helicopters were seen on primary landing strips utilized by the Syrian armed force, regularly at Shayrat air base. Assault helicopters and a couple of transport flying machine were on the base. Obviously, these were battle scan and salvage groups for the clearing of brought down pilots.

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<sup>38</sup> Anton, Lavrov. "The Russian Air Campaign in Syria ". *The Carnegie Corporation of New York*. (2018): 1-23

Amid this period, Russian battle helicopters were still once in a while found in military activities.

Toward the beginning of February 2016, Russian avionics concentrated on a restricted division of the front around there to help another hostile by government powers. As per the agitators, more than 100 air strikes were completed there in only two days. The protection was broken by avionics, and this time the administration powers achieved the assaulted towns absent much exertion.

In the meantime, at most fight zones, including suburbia of Damascus and the region of Homs, assaults by government powers immediately fizzled. There was more fragile air support from the Russian Aviation Powers in these zones, and lower-quality troops were included. This appear differently in relation to northern Aleppo features the centrality of the job that Russian Aviation Powers played in changing the circumstance on the ground in Syria and in the territories were being occupied by terrorists.<sup>39</sup>

## **2.7. The USA and Israel Bombardment of the Syrian National Army Bases**

Israeli intelligence service stated that Syria was continued threat to Israel and since the crisis had started, Israel had made military moves in excess of multiple times inside Syria. Israel struck in Syria and it had for the most part focused on areas and escorts close to the borders, it was related with weapons shipments to Hezbollah. In any case, strikes broadly credited to Israel out of the blue legitimately focused on Iranian offices and work force in Syria.

Israel struck military bases in Syria a beach front region of Lattakia. A Syrian anti-aircraft battery reacting to the Israeli strikes brought down a Russian military plane, slaughtering 15 Russian that were in board that transporter. A representative expressed that Israeli planes were focusing on an office of the Syrian Military from which frameworks to fabricate precise and deadly weapons were going to be exchanged in the interest of Iran to Hezbollah in Lebanon.

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<sup>39</sup> Anton, Lavrov. "The Russian Air Campaign in Syria ". *The Carnegie Corporation of New York*. (2018): 1-23

The representative included that the Russian military keep up a deconfliction framework in Syria, expressing that the Russian plane was not in the territory of activity amid the Lattakia strike Syrian anti-aircraft discharge for the occurrence. In light of the bringing down of their plane, Russian resistance authorities declared designs to give an S-300 air barrier framework to Syria.<sup>40</sup>

While the White House kept on demanding that Assad was not the true ruler, ousting him was never again observed as America obligation. Donald Trump demanded that the United States strategy centers around fighting IS, it also had to move back Iran, and counteracting concoction weapons using or multiplication. The United States propelled two rocket strikes in Syria in two years, it referred to the need to stop using chemical arsenal. Washington had additionally flagged its assurance to keep disengaging Damascus monetarily and carefully until the UN checks that a tenable and irreversible political procedure was in progress.<sup>41</sup>

## **2.8. Conclusion**

Like the political restriction, the majority of the Syrian furnished resistance groups concur that their goal was to oust Basher Al Assad government and that they were made so as to protect the unarmed people from the government outrageous constraint. In the beginning of the civil war in Syria the Rojava or the Kurdish planned to set an independent government with a full support by most world countries but later ISIS had appeared and pose a threat to all the Syrians. In any case the Syrian crisis had emerged a global threat and many countries intervened as to protect innocents civilian but in reality there was a hidden agenda behind these interventions.

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<sup>40</sup> Esther, Meininghaus. "War in Syria UN peacekeeping mission and deal with Russia are imperative". Bonn *International Center for Conversion GmbH*. (2018): 1-14

<sup>41</sup> Lund, Aron. "Syria's Civil War Government Victory or Frozen Conflict?". *FOI*. (2018): 1-2

# **Chapter Three**

## **The Success of**

### **Bacher Al Assad in**

#### **Retaking Syria**

### **3. Introduction**

Basher Al Assad had used many ways to find a solution to the Syrian crisis. Moreover, Russia air support was weakening the rebel's groups and destroying their strongholds. These strikes had caused a vital threat to the population and also the radical groups, in that sense many people left the regions. As result, Basher Al Assad took a decision on the rebel's groups to fight them back and there partners also who did not accept peaceful negotiation. The government kept on progressing on the revolutionaries by catching the last parts of Homs then Daraya and Aleppo, then in 2016 the government had took the stronghold of ISIS Palmyra. Nowadays Syria was separated into two areas, an area controlled by the government and the other was controlled by rebels that were supported by Turkey. This chapter will tackle the beginning of the success of Basher Al Assad strategy in retaking most parts of Syria then it discussed the great battels of the regime that made a sufficient progress in territories. Moreover, this chapter will try to give a glimpse about the Geneva process and the Astana treaty, then it will give the beginning of the national reconciliation provided by Basher Al Assad to recover the population and find a way to retake back the refuges.

#### **3.1. The Conspiracy Behind Bacher Al Assad with the War with the Rebels**

The Assad government had offered a new technique of specific organization of politically solid troops had guaranteed that the Syrian Armed force had kept away from any critical surrender of a whole move unit amid the contention. The methodology additionally clarified why the government had been unfit to create enough troops to control the entire nation despite the fact that the doctrinal request of fight would recommend, it had battle control accessible. This focal test of producing battle control was established in the government over-dependence on confided in units and had been exacerbated after some time by abandonments and whittling down. Particular organization, wild absconding of people, what's more, front line had constrained government accessible military powers, however it had likewise cut the fat, with the end goal that the remaining parts of the Syrian Armed force were involved

completely of obstinate government supporters equipped for proceeding to battle for quite a long time.

The Syrian war couldn't be chosen singularly by Western nations, like what happen in Libya. On the opposite, it would require a discourse among all gatherings included, including Russia, Iran and all Basher Al Assad alliances.

The Assad regime had taken the urban areas and towns along its western flank. A little pocket stayed in Idlib, it was controlled by the different fanatics and other rebels had been congregated. The administration on Idleb saw the last fight for authority over Syria It was as of now the case that the Turkish government had once upheld these revolutionaries, it had now washed its hands of them. Turkey had concluded that it was unquestionably increasingly essential to subdue the Kurdish minority that was seeking for independence along its fringe than to topple the Assad government. This implies the renegades never again had access to an open Turkish fringe. Their political advocates regardless of whether the Syrian Muslim Fraternity had stopped the field. The revolutionaries would reject to surrender and the legislature would discover no road for a political settlement with them. The Kurdish of Idlib would be as fatal as the remainder of this ruthless war.

Many news had been spread that the Western forces like Israel was excited for a military incursion against Damascus to debilitate the bartering position of the Assad regime It was seen that a triumph for the Basher Al Assad would be a triumph for Iran and Russia. The United States will not endure such a triumph. Israel thought that it was offensive that Syria was currently nearer to Iran and Hezbollah could retake arms from the borders of Syria. This was additionally offensive to the West.

Syria was debilitated profoundly by the human and physical toll of this civil war. Regardless of the use of chemical weapons in this crisis, it was again sidelined, since the allegations of their utilization had been considered adequate legitimization for Western assault of the Syrian government military resources since what happen on the bombardment of

Shayrat base. The nearness of Russian troops that had been remained that would give backup to the Assad regime. This was the first occasion when that the Russians had mediated since the fall of the Soviet Union.

### **3.2. The Battle for Retaking Idlib**

During the last two years Russian President had chosen to help Basher Al Assad and give military help to keep him from tumbling from power and help him in retaking most of the lost area. With Russian and Iranian help, Basher Al Assad had relentlessly a winning back area that was held by different radical gatherings. In spite of the fact that the United States could have been a snag to this pattern, American core interest was on overcoming ISIS. In this way, United States had generally not meddled in Basher Al Assad recuperation.

In the wake of restoring a few pockets of obstruction in the southwestern piece of Syria, the aim presently moved to Idlib, an area in northwestern Syria. Dissimilar to the zones as of late had been taken. Idlib circumstance was significantly more confused. There were a few renegade gatherings in Idlib, an extensive number of uprooted individuals and five countries with interests in the territory. Accordingly, the potential was raised that the activities intended to remove rebel gatherings would transform into a lot more extensive clash.

The regime was preparing troops for an assault on Idlib. Russia was holding maritime war diversions in the Mediterranean, which might be a guise for prepositioning maritime resources for a strike on the territory. Another problem was that the radical gatherings lined up with Turkey may inevitably split away if a split had been created in Idlib. For whatever length of time that Turkey could control these gatherings, Basher Al Assad might exchange some portion of this domain, but this would raise more arguments.<sup>42</sup>

The Syrian government had put resources into the territory due to the district's monetary significance to the government because of the oil and gas assets in this district, and Basher Al Assad powers had been strengthened due to the continuation of a blockaded station in Deir

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<sup>42</sup> O'Grady, Bill. "The Battle for Idlib". *Advisor Perspectives*. (2018): 1-5



Zour. The government will not going to surrender this domain to other enemies of Islamic State powers. Also, the Iranians might make a land connect that it was part from Iran.

The Assad regime had been utilizing open cash, saves credits in order to back the war. At first, the renegades depended on restricted nearby monetary and military assets until help filled Syria from the Inlet states and different supporters. The household economy had stayed key in supporting the contention even as yield had declined by as much as half and it had been changed into a war economy. This has opened up new open doors for subsidizing for revolutionaries and the military, it was unlawful cross outskirts exchanging, burdening imported what's more, sent out products, security rackets, kidnappings and the illegal abuse of common assets were simply a portion of the center components of Syria's new economy.<sup>43</sup>

In July 2018 the Assad government took most of Syria. During the eight-year strife had entered another stage. The government had increased its power in the south, it was spoken to something other than another score in Basher Al Assad triumph belt. They had left just two residual regions of the nation outside the government control zone in northwest Syria ,where Turkey had built up a military nearness with its Euphrates and Olive Branch activities, Moreover the United States had little, however, it had deliberately significant positions in the town of Manbij a zone running crosswise over upper east and eastern Syria in the areas of Raqqa and Deir Ezzour. In the meantime. the USA directed the vast majority of its tasks against Islamic States. Thusly, out of the blue since the beginning of furnished clash, any further government advanced toward new areas, it was raising a risk to be showdown with US and Turkish powers

The following periods of the war, and the terms of a conceivable political settlement including the future uprightness of the Syrian state were currently legitimately associated with what the United States did on the ground, and whether it was adequately utilized its quality to

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<sup>43</sup> Tokmajayn, Armenak. "The War Economy in Northern Syria". *Shattuck Center for Conflict, Negotiation and Recovery*. (2016): 1-12

propel its bigger strategic and political points. Late advancements had upped the ante of the United States nearness in Syria, yet it had additionally expanded the potential dangers of vulnerability about the motivations behind its job, its goals and its longer-term objectives.<sup>44</sup>

### **3.2.1. The Geneva Process**

United Nation endeavors to compose a Syrian harmony process had been fruitless and seem bound to bomb, incompletely in light of the fact that no endeavor had been made to offer clear intercession between the warring sides, in Damascus there was no change, which military substances did not allow.

In 2012, the Geneva procedure was at first dependent it was understanding among outer entertainers, known as the Geneva Report I, it stipulated the production of a transitional administering body with full official forces. It was made up of both government and restriction representatives. Later in 2015 the Security Chamber embraced new goals. Without annulling the first report, it required another constitution and free decisions as a way to solid, comprehensive and non-partisan governance. It was seen as how covering systems identify with one another had never been completely elucidated.

The Geneva talks had set Syrian government designations against banished nonconformists and revolutionary agents supported by the United States and the European Union. Radical groups supporters were rejected from the discussions because of Turkish complaints. Obviously, Basher Al Assad saw the require of a political change as an interest for government suicide and it would not connect truly with their thoughts. On the other hand, professional resistance countries were solidly married to the idea and it had proclaimed that just a progress as set out in the new goals of UN would lead them to consider Syria legislature authentic, lift authorizes, and it gave post war reproduction<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> Heydemann, Steven. "Rethinking Stabilization in Eastern Syria: Toward a Human Security Framework". *Atlantic Council Rafik Hariri Center for The Middle East*. (2018): 4-18

<sup>45</sup> Lund, Aron. "Syria's Civil War Government Victory or Frozen Conflict?". *FOI*. (2018): 1-6

In Late 2014, the United Nation held the Geneva II Meeting in Syria, where it attempted to take both the administration of Bashar al- Assad and the absolute generally unmistakable resistance gatherings together to the arranging table. It was an unmistakable endeavor to accomplish harmony through a concurred division of control. However, these dealings did not have handy impacts, for both local what's more, worldwide reasons. Locally, Basher Al Assad overlooked the suggestions to consolidate the restriction in the government, while universally, the neighboring nations and some other extraordinary powers also appeared to have less important about piece in Syria.

The Syrian emergency was a stalemate on a provincial chessboard where world powers, the United States and Russia, and incredible local players appear to had depleted their alternatives and had begun looking past their decisions. The government and the military help of Russia has recouped quite a bit of his lost ground regarding an area and military triumphs. The United Stated had bolstered Kurdish gatherings had remained the steadiest power in the eastern region and, other restriction gatherings like the Free Syrian Armed forces had lost huge ground including the loss of Aleppo. Presently, the regime had been announced to a great extent free of the Islamic State and Russia had changed to political dealing with the rebels.

The Basher Al Assad government could talk with the United States and Turkey to bolstered restriction gatherings. Then, Turkey had changed its amusement from propelling a routine change in Syria to debilitating the Kurdish control on the south. Moreover, the nations discussed the earnestness to end the obliteration of Syrian foundation just as to relieve the enduring of the Syrian individuals. They concurred that the foundation of a truce in the nation ought to be the prompt need. At last, it was chosen that decisions concentrating on the draft of another constitution would be held inside year and a half in Syria and it would be the start of harmony talks between the government and restriction gatherings. The criteria for the resistance gathering to be spoken to in the discussions was that it must be from the broadest

conceivable range of restriction gatherings, and some people would be picked by the Syrian individuals and they would speak to their objectives.

The Geneva III occurred in Late 2016 its premise was about the foundation of a truce as essential objective was one of the destinations, aside from building up a governmental change. In this year ISIS was defeated. In this gathering, the resistance groups went under the standard of the United Nations. In spite of the fact that the result was not fruitful, a couple of days after this gathering. The truce was kept up and its parliamentary result were the Basher Al Assad was wining in this battel.

Late in 2017, the Geneva IV was held and it fixated on four arrangements of specialized talks it was to set a responsible administration and to provide a constitution that did not differ races, counter oppression and secure current government. Although Geneva V occurred where the warring sides consented to exchanges dependent on United Nations, which establishes the framework for a political progress dependent on Assad regime, another constitution was drafted with the help of certain governments in United Nation union. In May, Geneva VI happens and the discussions fizzled with no dialogs on the plan which was settled after amid the past talks. The seventh round of Geneva talks held in July, it was met with disappointment.<sup>46</sup>

Regardless of whether nearby truces comprise advance in parts of Syria was exceedingly challenged. Most Syrians and spectators view them as an expansion of the regime war exertion to recover an area and restore its global standing. To be sure, in truce talks the regime was regularly spoken to by state security or paramilitary powers. Results would be in general a mirror to the power uneven characters among the profoundly of an oppressive state.

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<sup>46</sup> Talukdar, Indrani and Anas, Omair. "Astana Process and the Future of Peaceful Settlement of the Syrian Crisis". *Indian Council of World Affairs*. (2018): 8-14

### 3.2.2. Astana Treaty

The commitment of the Astana was to put an end to the Syrian crisis through discretionary exchange that had been perceived by the United Nations and numerous presidents all over the world. The Astana procedure was correlative to the Geneva process, with both planning to resolve the current crisis in peaceful way. Moreover, the Astana treaty appeared when Russia and Turkey consented to the capital of Kazakhstan (Astana) as another setting for discussing the Syrian crisis. In 2016 a meeting was held by the United Nation between the president of Turkey, Iran and Russia to prove the Astana treaty as diplomatic way to resolve the Syrian civil war. Later in December the Syrian resistance and members from the Assad government held the first meeting in Astana for circuitous talks titled the Worldwide Gathering on Syrian Settlement, supported by the Astana members.

As result the Astana meeting was organized through the act that was signed between the government and the resistance to ceasefire. These discussions made by the anti-government forces and Assad government with the assistance of the members of the Astana talks were not in a direct way and the United Nation was only put as an observer to the current situation. These discussions were the first in the Syria that held the rebel's members. The main goal of these discussions was to find an agreement between the three members as to facilitate the peace process in the conflicted zones not like the Geneva talks.

Allover Russia, Iran and Turkey had different goals in Syria but the Astana treaty had put them to find an effective technique to ceasefire in different Syria cities and help the population with supplies and medical attention. Their second goal was to put specific topics in the Astana talks and to be guided by the United Nation by avoiding certain confrontation that had happened in the Geneva process.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid

### 3.3. Syria and Refugee Return

Syrian culture was socially and politically divided from the beginning. Many issues that led to the Syrian crisis was not be settled yet. In any case, throughout the beginning of the conflict the government was framing a picture that Syria was under war and could not be flourished only under Bashar Al Assad. Since the outbreak had started half of the population had fled into Europe and this image was always ignored by the regime. The refuges were seeking only for safe harbor to live in and one day would return to their motherland.

Moreover, the Syrian crisis had raised the number of refuges exceptionally. Host nations were attempting to adapt an effective mechanism to hold financial and political strains. In the meantime, European nations were setting an emergency due to the refuges numbers that could cause an economy crisis and putting more than 11 billion Euro to this issue<sup>48</sup>

Soon enough new approach was adopted by Basher Al Assad government to control the arrival of displaced people and relocated them to their past homes. New political devices were put into this it dealt with authorize measures and economic solutions to prevent defemination. New issues were coming to the refuges due to different policies between Syria and Europe. The current refuge numbers were growing and it was explained by the government as result of the war. In an interview with Basher Al Assad made by RT channel in 2016 he stated the position of the rebels

If you talk about those fighters, the ideological fighters, or terrorists, let's say, who are fighting our army, the only way to deal with them is to fight them and kill them. They are not ready for any dialogue, and you don't have time to engage in dialogue. You want to protect your citizens so

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<sup>48</sup> Batrawi, Samar and Uzelac, Ana. "Four Ways in Which the Syrian Regime Controls Refugee Return". *Clingendael the Netherlands Institute of International Relations*. (2018): 1-2

you have to kill them (Basher Al Assad Online Speech,  
RT .2016)<sup>49</sup>

The Syrian government had come to fulfill a promise to the refugees and their return was authentic articulations in which they were welcomed to come back to zones that had been protected by the national army and cleared from the armed rebels

### **3.4. Syria National Reconciliation**

The ceasefires were adopted in Syria clash, and the government started new era and called it national reconciliation due to conflicted zones had been diminished and the balance of power had been shifted to Basher Al Assad government. Moreover, the government had started relocating certain armed groups to new areas after they had been surrendered and gave back their weapons.

As result the power has been shifted to the government like in Damascus region, the government had profited by the armed rebels fracture, powerlessness then organize strategic attacks that put an end to those rebels .People who follow the rebels become vulnerable to attacks by the government and they could not provide food supplies. Another factor was the Rojava army that was funded by Turkey that had fighting ISIS not the national forces. Most factor was the Russian intervention in Syria that had pushed the national army and put an end to ISIS.

Although peace was a key term that Basher Al Assad was seeking it from the beginning of the civil war, Basher administration had built the national reconciliation since 2012 and it was adopted after 2015. Moreover, the methodology was to isolate the outside warriors from Syria and relocate them to their countries. In addition to the Syrian rebels had to be brought in front of justice and then it might convert them to their senses. Allover some rebels rejected this offer but they would face an imminent threat if they did not surrender. Since 2015 over

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid

20,000 warriors had been captured by the national forces.<sup>50</sup> They had been offered a chance to join the national army and fight the others remaining rebels. Later in 2016 an act was declared by Basher government that announce any one who want to take part from national reconciliation and he must follow the regulation of the law. Many armed groups had feared about their future if they had agreed to the Basher proposal due to the terrorist attacks.

Since 2016, the regime had maintained peaceful negotiation with the rebels and this had pushed them to surrender meanwhile the government had retaking most opposition strongholds like Homs. From 2017 a deal was signed and the national army had secured west Qalamoun until the Lebanon borders were retaken by the government and its alliances. Moreover, all these agreements had served the government to secure more areas and capture many terrorists.<sup>51</sup>

Although the national reconciliation had conveyed compassionate upgrades and nearby harmony that top down endeavors neglected to convey, in meantime Syrian had welcomed this effort to get rid of the war, however there was a long-term issue that the government would face like relocating the rebels and the lack of settlements that hold the prisoners of this war.

The government had only one goal was to restore the authority all over Syria, but in reality, the authority in restored cities was a military one not democratic and mainly subjective. Since 2017 certain cities had made a culture of self-administration not just in zones that were outside of government control, however even in rebels-controlled areas; a culture had to be taken back by the legal government. In most parts that were under legal authority there was a gap between citizens and authority. Many people had found new ways to complete their daily life when the authority.

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<sup>50</sup> Hinnebusch, Raymond and Imady, Omar. "Syria's Reconciliation Agreements" (2017): 1-3

<sup>51</sup> Adleh, Fadi and Favier, Agnes. "Local Reconciliation Agreements in Syria: A Non-Starter for Peacebuilding". *Middle East Directions*. (2017): 11-14



### **3.5. Basher Al Assad Areas Gaining**

Since 2018 Basher Al Assad had retaken most parts of Syria that were under rebels' control. Obviously, the civil war did not yet finish and more rebels were still coming, but the Syria alliances had provided the government with an asset to fight back those radical groups and push them until they had been gone. In mid of 2018 the government had cleared Homs and Damascus.

Moreover, the regime had retaken the Eastern Ghouta, it was five years since the chemical attack. New challenge was raised to relocate all the citizens to these new parts that had been cleared. The last threat to Damascus was eliminated and it was a significant accomplishment for Assad. At long last, Basher Al Assad had retaken the control of Deraa, it was under radical groups control since the start of the war. This was a significant achievement; Deraa was viewed as the mother birth of Syrian manifestation against Basher Al Assad government. Deliberately, recovering every one of these territories had implied that the government had recaptured its outskirts with Israel and Jordan, which would encourage its economy. The regime had taking all big cities furthermore, Russia and United States had started meetings to find a way to rebirth Syria and to retune it into old shape. Many Syrian advisors in the United Nation asserted that Syria battle with radical groups was practically finished and the nation was preparing to back more than 6 million displaced people.

### **3.6. Syria Infrastructure Building after the Civil War**

Since the civil had started, Syria had endured huge material, social, and monetary decimation. Food supplies had been weakening in the period between 2011-2016, it was indicted by certain food association<sup>52</sup>. According to World Bank examination of the current regime funding, it showed that 8 percent of the lodging stock had been completely crushed and another 20 percent damaged. Many hospitals had been destroyed and transformed into prisons by the terrorists, due to this many factious diseases had been spread and the lack of

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<sup>52</sup> Lund, Aron. "Syria's Civil War Government Victory or Frozen Conflict?". *FOI*. (2018): 64-66

medical supervision led to the death of children. Schools had been destroyed by air strikes and this led to the rise of illiteracy of children in more than two years.

In reality to settle the nation and put Syria on the way to recuperation, the legislature should develop new lodging, remake foundation and open administrations, make employments, reestablish the instruction and wellbeing divisions, and figure out how to ground equipped gatherings in a protected and economical way. It was a gigantically costly endeavor, yet subsidizing was no place in sight. According to Basher Al Assad interviewed by SANA agency, he stated that” a reconstruction program could run into the \$200–\$400 billion range far beyond the capacity of the government, whose state budget for 2018 was worth approximately \$7.3 billion (SANA 2018 <https://sana.sy/en/?p=137019>).

Neither Syrian alliances had been happy to offer much in the method for direct monetary help for regular citizen reproduction, however Russia and China had to be anxious to position themselves to get contracts with Basher Al Assad former alliances mainly from the Arab countries and western nations were to give financing to Syria. Many Countries were supporting the current regime, they fund for all intents and purposes to support the Syrian cause to build new country.

Moreover, many countries had refused to give help to Syria including Gulf nations. In 2017 a meeting was held in New York to not give financial help to Syria until Basher Al Assad was out of the presidency chair<sup>53</sup>. This help should include financial improvement and lodging. The financial programs should be directed to the Syrian government and it would automatically raise Basher Al Assad position in front of the world. Western contributors were willing to give financial help but they had to be assured that their money will be invested in rebuilding the infrastructure of Syria meanwhile the United Nation should also draft a paper to give direct help and make certain assurances.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> “Joint Statement from the Ministerial Discussion on Syria,” Office of the Spokesperson, U.S. Department of State. (2017): 1-4

<sup>54</sup> Lund, Aron. “The UN Enters Syria’s Moral Labyrinth”. *Carnegie Middle East Center*. (2016): 1-4

Basher Al Assad had shown that his country not ready to get financial funding but freeing Syria from terrorists was his hope, yet regardless he needed cash and speculations to restore the Syrian economy and continue government approval from other nations<sup>55</sup>.

As result the Basher Al Assad regime had pushed the private sector, he gave his word to welcome any investor who want to come to Syria. Certain laws were declared by the government to empower the confiscation and revenue driven to maintain the redevelopment of important urban territories in Damascus. In any case, these laws were adapted to the interests of the government connected business people that had supported the private sector and these developments could be utilized politically to maintain a safe path for refugee return.<sup>56</sup>

Many countries assumed that the assistance of Russia and Iran to the government of Basher Al Assad had conquered the military danger presented by resistance powers. The United States had observed a chance to prompt social changes in the government by utilizing money related help for the rebuilding the country. In the interim, Russia wished to see a universal finical help offered to Syria without conditions to withdraw Basher Al Assad, meanwhile the government contribution was balancing out the nation. In the meantime, Damascus was preparing for a period of remaking further adjustment by establishing new enactment, strengthening its security and military mechanical assembly and underwriting new era that business man played a big role in rebuilding the infrastructure of Syria<sup>57</sup>.

### **3.7. Russia and Iran Influence in The Syrian Crisis**

Russia and Iran were the main compelling forces that had supported Basher Al Assad and it was expected that both governments would receive the rewards of Syria financial recuperation. Be that as it may, the truth of this dynamic was convoluted. Interest in the Syrian war had come at extraordinary expense to Syria partners. Both countries were

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<sup>55</sup> McDowall, Angus. "Long Reach of U.S. Sanctions Hits Syria Reconstruction". *Reuters*. (2018): 1-4

<sup>56</sup> Lund, Aron. "Dispossession or Development? The Tug of War over Syria's Ruined Slum Dwellings". *IRIN News*. (2018): 1-2

<sup>57</sup> Hatahe, Sinan. "Russia and Iran: Economic Influence in Syria". *Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs*. (2019): 1-7

confronting their very own monetary challenges which had limited their ability and urgently, they were seeking for various plans in Syria. Both governments might share a typical objective in anticipating the military and political breakdown of the Syrian government, however they had accepted various jobs in their associations with the government.

At the beginning there was a quest to keep each one interest in Syria, meanwhile Moscow and Tehran had embraced extraordinary procedures and apparatuses to maintain their approval. Many Russians had sought investment in Syrian territories. It could be said, Moscow trusts its interests were best protected by Basher Al Assad, which requires insignificant speculation and hazard on its part to guarantee security over long period of time. This target suggested restoring Syria would require more help from many different assets including military ones. Furthermore, this procedure required the rebuilding of the administration imposing business model over administration and open administration arrangements just as control of the economy and incomes produced.

Iran had work with new neighborhood accomplices, Syrian national forces had thoughtful to Iran destinations while keeping up its impact over Assad. Through this base up methodology Iran endeavors to join its Syrian neighborhood partners into state capacities including those that oversee security administration and the economy. This methodology was inspired by Iran relations with Russia, more noteworthy impact inside the Syrian state organizations. Occupied with a territorial challenge that neighbor countries would oppose, Iran wished to build up impact on the state level not by changing Basher Al Assad. Iran relations with powerful nearby networks in Lebanon and many Arab countries had permitted it to challenge or disturb its adversaries. The Syrian field had a section to play in this provincial procedure. It was genuine that Teheran appreciates a specific measure of influence over the government, yet Basher Al Assad had not made any change to the investments laws and to fulfilled his promise.

Regardless of these distinctions, both Russia and Iran had hoped to profit by their mediations in Syria. Their individual cooperation in the financial recuperation of Syria was proposed halfway to repay them for their job in supporting the government and mostly to keep up their impact in the crisis time. Russia had increased gigantic benefits and concessions from Damascus with little influence required on its part, while Iran had been kept down by Syrian state debasement, bureaucratic impediments, rivalry with territorial entertainers and Russia, meanwhile the burden of US sanctions had still existed. The expense of Moscow conclusive mediation in Syria was lower than Iran's interest in Basher Assad survival. Russia had not given considerable value or wares to Damascus, while Iran conveyed major money related and monetary commitments to the government notwithstanding its own direct inclusion.

Both countries saw their help for Basher Al Assad as a method for outlining their circles of impact and endeavoring to verify their long period interests in Syria. In any case, this confounded relationship was progressively getting to be tense with respect to recreation and speculation openings. This was basically because of two components, firstly in the manner that the government overseeing monetary recuperation furthermore, the contracting procedure. secondly, the hesitance of organizations in the Russian and Iranian private areas to put resources into the Syrian economy due to the significant security and monetary dangers they might confront.

As of Iran, the Syrian economy comprised a potential target advertise for Iranian items. A huge job in Syria's financial recovery would likewise enable Teheran to fortify the impact of its Syrian neighborhood partners and keep up its influence over Damascus. Since the Syrian crisis had started, Iran had furnished Syria with the import of fuel and different products. In any case, the Iranian mediation in Syria was progressively about accomplishing provincial key objectives than opening up new markets. Its geographic methodology in money related speculation uncovered Iran true will and it was considered as vital resources for its security

and maintainable nearness in Syria. Iran had made arrangements with neighborhood inborn pioneers, in the eastern states of Syria to guarantee its interests.

Moreover, Teheran had established its impact by supporting neighborhood jobs, for instance by giving plenteous creature feed at low costs. It had fabricated medicinal focuses, restored schools and gave power to prevail upon the nearby community. In Aleppo It had also empowered its Syrian neighborhood partners to penetrate nearby business, transportation and the oil exchange.

As for the government, the Russian goal and system of strengthening by empowering Basher Al Assad and keeping him on the chair was significantly more engaging than the Iranian methodology. Pleasing Russia and offering rewarding contracts to Russian businesses came at a lower money related and political cost than Iran, it was a key segment of the Syrian economy since many years. In any case, Teheran remained a significant monetary accomplice to Syria particularly in giving essential wares such as refined oil items and medical products.

In the end Moscow potential was to endeavor as to contain Teheran participation in Syria, such endeavors were just as viable as Russia capacity to disassemble Iran unpredictable net of impact in the nation. In the event that this progresses toward becoming cooperative nations the Russian needed then a huge piece of its future commitment in Syria would keep Iran from increasing gigantic impact over the economy. To accomplish such a target Moscow required expanded outside ventures to balance out the government authority, which was hard to acknowledge as it would require persuading the other countries to contribute without real concessions from Basher Al Assad. This was at the center of Moscow predicament and leaves Iran with the chance to keep up and in the end grow its political and monetary impact in Syria.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid

### 3.8. Syria After Eight Years of The Civil War

Since the beginning of Geneva talks then Astana Treaty, an issue was raised that who would ensure the safety of citizens and making a constitution to both sides that were confronting, there was relative steadiness in the nation as far as security. The security part was controlled to a great extent by the national army.

The Syrian national army was endeavoring to set up the structures expected to protect the nation and to reestablish a portion of the foundations. In various districts the circumstance was obviously improving because of the advancement of some real administration structures. For instance, the Sunni resistance had their own domains in the south and they had settled their own local government. In the meantime, the Kurdish minority were controlling self-ruled district in north east and it was called Rojava. In these regions, the access to basic essential and social administrations was improving marginally, and in certain urban communities all through the area, the remaking of schools and medical clinics had begun. Be that as it may, a great many Syrians were enduring as the greater part of the administrations. Social administration conveyance foundation had been obliterated.

The Idlib city had stayed s a standout amongst the most delicate pieces of the nation. Amid the civil war, the government had extradited its final resistance militates. Portions of it were constrained by non-signatory parties. Because of the absence of outside help, these remaining radical gatherings were unfit to do huge scale assaults and this contention gradually became dull. ISIS kept on directing fear-based oppression on peoples. Numerous warriors had surrendered and either fled or attempted to mix in with the nearby community.<sup>59</sup>

To some degree because of worldwide help, reproduction had begun and the monetary circumstance improved. Be that as it might joblessness rates were high. The gas and oil fields

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<sup>59</sup> Meijnders, Minke and der Lijn, Jaïr van. "Syria in 2019: Four Scenarios Implications for policy planning". *Clingendael Report*. (2019): 1-16

were constrained by the rebels and recreation of but the government had taken it back, however the production rate needed time to be sufficient.

Most cities had become safer and the outpouring of refugees to neighboring nations had reduced. Only Idlib citizens were suffering from instability so they had fled to Turkey. Accordingly, neighboring nations were setting up repatriation programs for Syrian displaced people. While numerous Syrian exiles frantically needed to return home, many had little to come back but if the nation was completely restored the refugees would come back again.

### **3.9. Conclusion**

The Syrian crisis had caused millions of death people and the infrastructure had been destroyed. Many people had fled to neighbors' countries as refugees to seek peace and live in better way than in their homeland. The infrastructure was completely destroyed by air jets attacks and many people lost their homes. Basher Al Assad won the war due the Russian and Iran support by rebuilding Syria and he maintained his legacy throughout 8 years of war.



## General Conclusion

For many years the Arab spring was worldwide issue, but the Syrian conflict was a dominant in all the civil wars. The beginning of the Syrian crisis marked a peaceful manifestation; however, the regime did not respond to people demands, the war was initiated by certain minorities.

The regime had used the military power as a way to stall things in Syria, the Kurdish minority made an isolate area and it started drafting a new constitution. The area was called Rojava and it had its own army or what they called it FSA (Free Syrian Army). Later the conflict marked the western support of certain militia and providing military assets to these radical groups, due to these events, ISIS was appeared and it took Raqqa as capital. Air jets started bombing national forces as way to destroy the government chemical stock and to take ISIS strongholds. This strategy had weakened Basher AL Assad forces.

Russia was a past alliance to Syria since the Soviet Union and Basher had many meetings with Vladimir Putin to find a peaceful solution with the rebels. Russia provided Basher with man power and air crafts to beat the terrorists meanwhile to restore the areas that were controlled by the radical groups. The air base of Khmeimim had pushed the national army to advance and provided it with useful asset. Iran was also a pioneer alliance in the Syrian war by backing up Basher in UN meetings.

The Geneva talks were assigned by Russia and Iran to create a dialogue channel between the regime and the rebels. Later the Astana treaty was provided by the president of Kazakhstan. All these meetings had made certain adjustments to maintain the national reconciliation as way to retrieve the Syrian adversaries that were fighting the regime. Many rebels had withdrawal their weapons and they were welcomed by the government.

Syria infrastructure had been completely destroyed and it needed donations from other countries in order to rebuild it again. Many western countries opposed the decision as long Basher Al Assad was in the president chair. Russia gave Basher with all the new military

asset to regain control in more cities and Russian investors had come to Syria to refresh its economy.

This study has attempted to show that Syria refugees had started to comeback after eight years of war and big cities had life again because of Basher treaty with rebels and its experience had saved Syria from complete destruction. Basher was successful in retaking many parts of Syria after years of war and he did not lost hope. Furthermore, the new challenges kept him undertake better decisions. That being said, since Syria peace was not yet achieved completely, so what would happen if Basher Al Assad had relieved from the president chair? Based on what had been stated before the Syrian crisis had begun, certain countries had provided an asset to the radical groups to face the national forces, however one thing had kept the regime progressing was the Russian and Iran interference in Syria. That being said, since Syria peace was not yet achieved, so what would be if Basher Al Assad was helped by all the world.

During this research, I have faced many issues and problems regarding the lack of resources due to the unavailability of the University library, moreover the topic is new and rare sources had dealt with this dilemma.

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