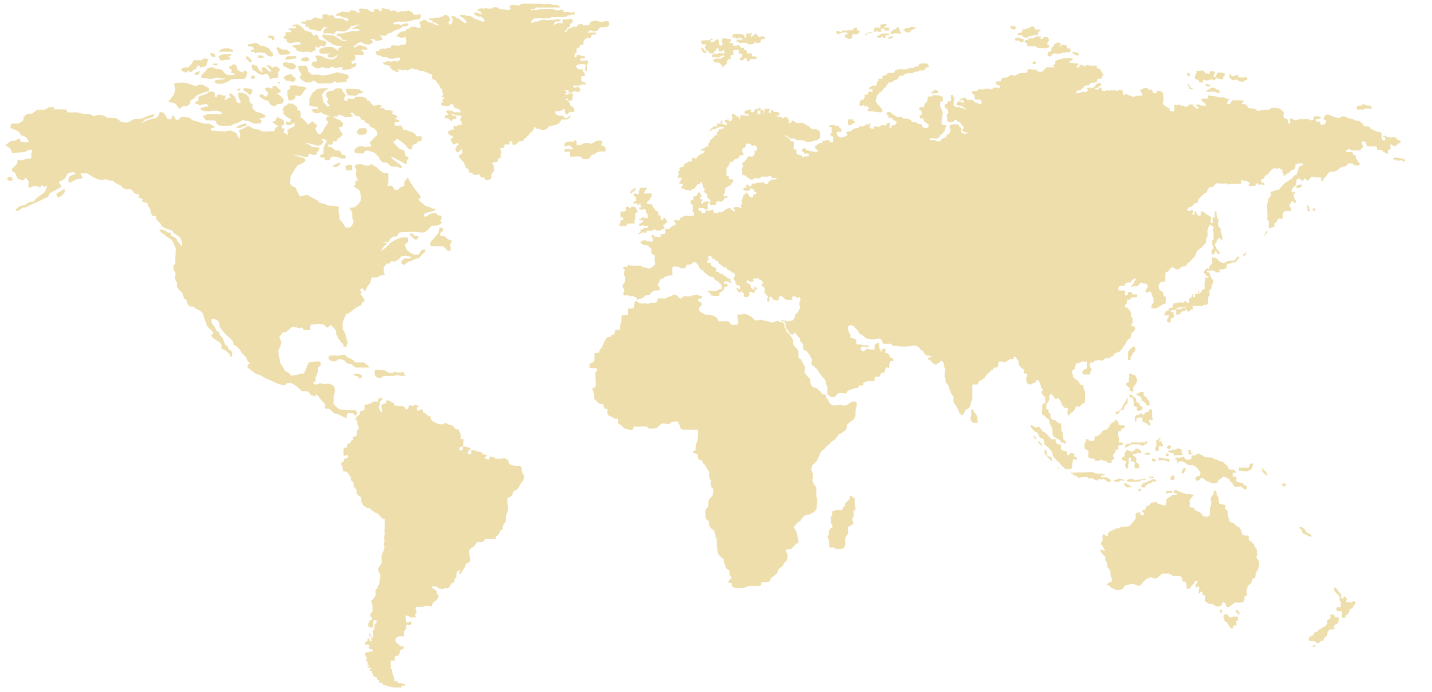


تقرير رصد مراكز الدراسات

THINK TANK MONITORING REPORT

Issue No.18 (1st -15th November 2015)

العدد الثامن عشر (1-15 تشرين الثاني/نوفمبر 2015)



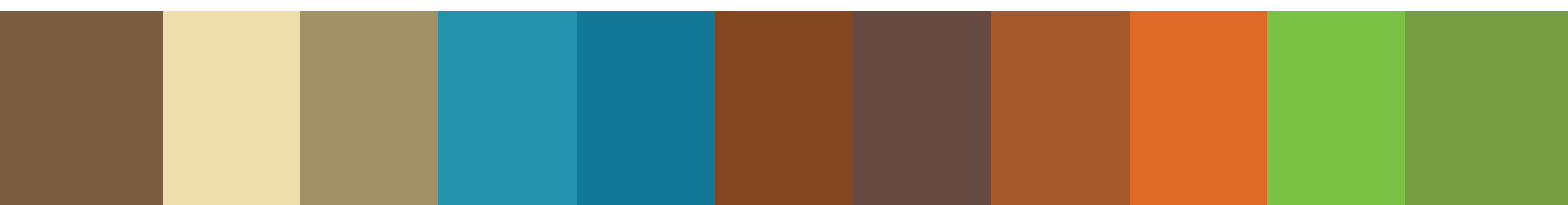
وحدة المعلومات
Information Unit



عمران
للدراسات الاستراتيجية
OMRAN
For Strategic Studies

iu@omrandirasat.org

www.OmranDirasat.org



تشرين الثاني 13، 2015

مركز الجزيرة للدراسات

مركز الجزيرة للدراسات
ALJAZEERA CENTRE FOR STUDIES

الحواس تقيّة

<http://goo.gl/rjzoAX>

خطة بوتين في سوريا: تناقضات استراتيجية وانسدادات سياسية

لا تنحصر عوامل فشل استراتيجية بوتين في خطته التفاوضية بفيينا، بل تتعدى إلى الشروط التي اعتقد أنه تمكّن من توفيرها لإنجاح خطته، وهي إقناع مختلف القوى الفاعلة في الأزمة بأهداف مشتركة، وبقبول تدخله العسكري المباشر الذي يعيد ترجيح كفة النظام في موازين القوى العسكرية. فالأهداف تعاني من تناقضات تعمّق التباعد بين أطراف الأزمة بدلاً من التقريب بينهم، ولا تمتلك روسيا القوة الكافية لفرض ميزان قوى جديد لا يستطيع خصومها تغييره، ويقوّي تدخلها العسكري تنظيم الدولة فيفاقم المخاطر التي وعدت بالقضاء عليها.

تشرين الثاني 03، 2015

مركز الجزيرة للدراسات

مركز الجزيرة للدراسات
ALJAZEERA CENTRE FOR STUDIES

د. جمال عبد الله

<http://goo.gl/CpNZNt>

خيارات دول الخليج لمواجهة التدخل العسكري الروسي في سوريا

روسيا ومن خلال تدخلها العسكري في سوريا، تحاول إعادة رسم خارطة توازنات القوى وفي ضوء السياسة البراغماتية التي تنتهجها دول الخليج العربية على الصعيد الإقليمي والدولي، لا يُتوقع أن تسلك هذه الدول نهجاً تصعيدياً تجاه هذا التدخل. لكن في الوقت ذاته، فإن دول الخليج لن تتردد وفقاً لتحركاتها في تبني سياسة عقلانية تحمي مصالحها الوطنية والإقليمية في إقليم تملؤه الصراعات، لاسيما على خلفية التداخيات المستقبلية المحتملة للأزمة السورية.

تشرين الثاني 05، 2015

مركز دراسات الجمهورية الديمقراطية

العلويون والثورة السوريّة

مركز دراسات الجمهورية الديمقراطية
Democratic Republic Studies Center

رأب شعبو

<http://goo.gl/tMcybf>

تلقي الدراسة الضوء على علاقة النظام بالعلويين، أو قل على جانب من هذه العلاقة، وبفترة زمنية محددة هي الصراع الراهن، نجد أنفسنا معنيين بعرض موجز لتصورنا عن قدرة النظام على الاستيعاب والاستمرار لعقودٍ حافلةٍ بالمتغيّرات.

تشرين الثاني 06، 2015

مركز دراسات الجمهورية الديمقراطية**إحصائية ضحايا جرائم النظام السوري حتى نهاية تشرين أول/أكتوبر 2015**

تمثل هذه الإحصائية عدد ضحايا جرائم النظام السوري في سوريا حتى نهاية تشرين أول/أكتوبر 2015 وذلك طوال 55.5 شهراً / 1,691 يوماً .

قسم الإحصاء

<http://goo.gl/C4eacx>

تشرين الثاني 01، 2015

المركز الإقليمي للدراسات الاستراتيجية**لماذا بدأت الدول الأوروبية في تغيير مواقفها من الأزمة السورية؟**

يبدو أن الدول الأوروبية تتجه نحو إجراء تغيير في سياستها إزاء أزمات المنطقة، خلت الحكومة الفرنسية في خلاف مع البرلمان من أجل إقرار توسيع مجال الحرب على "داعش" لتمتد إلى سوريا بعد أن كانت مقتصرة على العراق، كما بدا أن ثمة انقسامًا داخل مجلس العموم البريطاني بين مؤيد ومعارض للتدخل العسكري. لكن يبقى موقف أوروبي واضح تجاه الأزمة السورية مرتبطاً بحدود التوافق المحتمل بين الأطراف المعنية بالأزمة.

وحدة العلاقات الإقليمية

<http://goo.gl/jeHRJo>

تشرين الثاني 03، 2015

المركز الإقليمي للدراسات الاستراتيجية**كيف يسعى حلفاء الأسد إلى الحفاظ على مصالحهم في سوريا؟**

يطرح استمرار الدعم المالي المقدم لنظام الرئيس السوري بشار الأسد من قبل حلفائه الرئيسيين، لا سيما إيران وروسيا، تساؤلات هامة حول دوره في تماسك الاقتصاد السوري من ناحية، وفي الحفاظ على المصالح الاقتصادية المستقبلية لهذه القوى في سوريا.

وحدة الدراسات الاقتصادية

<http://goo.gl/zXdrqL>

تشرين الثاني 15، 2015

المركز الإقليمي للدراسات الاستراتيجية

وحدة العلاقات الإقليمية

<http://goo.gl/hKDzIk>**كيف تؤثر المبادرة الروسية على جهود تسوية الأزمة السورية؟**

أثارت مبادرة "النقاط الثماني" التي طرحتها روسيا جدلا واسعا بين الأطراف المعنية بتطورات الأزمة السورية، خاصة لجهة مدى إمكانية تحولها إلى محور رئيسي للمباحثات وبصرف النظر عن هذا الجدول ومدى صحة إعلان روسيا عن سحب تلك المبادرة، أو نفي طرحها من الأساس، يمكن القول إنه رغم أنها تهدف إلى تعزيز الجهود المبذولة للوصول إلى تسوية سياسية، إلا أنها تمثل، في الوقت نفسه، مؤشرا يكشف عن صعوبة تحقيق ذلك على الأقل في المدى القريب.

تشرين الثاني 08، 2015

المركز الإقليمي للدراسات الاستراتيجية

وحدة العلاقات الإقليمية

<http://goo.gl/seHeD6>**هل تتدخل واشنطن عسكريا في الأزمة السورية؟**

يبدو أن هناك تحولا نسبيا في الموقف الأمريكي تجاه الأزمة السورية، وهو ما يمكن الاستدلال عليه من قرار واشنطن رفع مستوى دعمها للمعارضة المسلحة، خاصة بعد اتجاه روسيا إلى التدخل عسكريا في الصراع السوري، إلى جانب قبولها بمشاركة إيران في اجتماع فيينا الذي عقد في 30 أكتوبر للمرة الأولى، وضم أطرافا إقليمية ودولية عديدة دون الوصول إلى حلول وسط للخلافات العالقة فيما بينها، فضلا عن إرسال 50 من عناصر قوات العمليات الخاصة إلى شمال سوريا في 31 أكتوبر 2015، وهي المرة الأولى التي ستعمل فيها قوات أمريكية داخل سوريا بشكل علني.

تشرين الثاني 11، 2015

المركز الإقليمي للدراسات الاستراتيجية

وحدة العلاقات الإقليمية

<http://goo.gl/uB146r>**كيف ستتعامل تركيا مع الملفات الإقليمية بعد الانتخابات؟**

رغم أن حزب العدالة والتنمية نجح في استعادة الأغلبية المطلقة في الانتخابات، بشكل جنبه مواجهة استحقاقات داخلية صعبة، وفي الوقت نفسه زاد من احتمالات اتجاه أردوغان إلى تغيير النظام السياسي من برلماني إلى رئاسي، إلا أن ذلك في مجمله ربما لن ينتج، على المدى القريب، تداعيات مباشرة على السياسة الخارجية لتركيا، لا سيما إزاء القضايا الرئيسية، وفي مقدمتها الأزمة السورية.

تشرين الثاني ، 2015

مبادرة الإصلاح العربي**المأزق الروسي - ا إيران في سوريا**

لينا الخطيب

<http://goo.gl/8Owqxu>

يُعدُّ تصعيد التّدخل الروسي في سوريا بداية صيف 2015 تحولاً كبيراً في مسار النزاع. ومع أنه قد يحمل، على المدى المنظور، أنباء جيدة لكل من نظام الأسد والمصالح الروسية، فإن ذلك ليحكم بالضرورة مصير الأمور لأيّ منهما على المدى البعيد. ورغم أنّ التّدخل العسكري الروسي يحمل بصمات طهران، إلا أنه أيضاً لا يفيد مصالحها طويلة الأمد. فما بدأ وسيلةً كي تثبت موسكو نفسها سياسياً سينقلب، على الأرجح، ليصبح مستنقعاً تكابد فيه كل من إيران وروسيا في الشرق الأوسط.

تشرين الثاني 02، 2015

مركز عمران للدراسات الاستراتيجية**جيش الشام حركية الشمال السوري المستدامة**

أحمد أبازيد

<https://goo.gl/2pQagS>

أعلن عن تشكيل جيش الشام في 9/10/2015م، مع اقتحام تنظيم الدولة (داعش) مرة أخرى مناطق ريف حلب الشمالي وسيطرته على مواقع أهمها: مدرسة المشاة وتل قراح وتل سوسين، بعد قرابة شهرين من "تسريبات" مؤسسي الجيش أنفسهم عن تشكيله، وبعد شهور من العمل عليه، فيما بدأ محاولة من التشكيل الجديد أن يعلن عن نفسه عبر معركة لا عبر بيان، فبدأ أول معاركه مع تنظيم داعش باستعادة "تل سوسين" (9/10/2015م) مع فصائل الجيش الحر في حلب، وكانت معركته الأخرى بعد أيام باستعادة "تل جبين" (14/10/2015م) مع ذات الفصائل تقريباً، وقد أصدر ...

تشرين الثاني 09، 2015

مركز عمران للدراسات الاستراتيجية**ظاهرة تعثر المجالس المحلية "محافظة إدلب نموذجاً"**

مركز عمران للدراسات

<https://goo.gl/rnsVzh>

تعمل المجالس المحلية في بيئة تتسم بالتهديدات المتزايدة والتصاعد الهائل للاحتياجات وتوقعات السكان المحليين بتليتها في ظل محدودية موارد المجالس، وفي حين تمكنت أغلب المجالس من تعزيز حضورها كهيكل حوكمة محلية في إدارة شؤون مجتمعاتها فإن بعضها الأخر تعثر، وتظهر نتائج تحليل بيانات رصد المجالس وجود ثلاثة أنماط للظاهرة حيث تساوت نسبة نمطي حل المجالس والاستقالة الفردية ليعقبهما نمط تعليق عمل المجالس، في حين يلحظ تزايد عدد حالات التعثر في 2015 مقارنة بـ 2014، وفيما يتعلق بتوزع الظاهرة إدارياً وجغرافياً، فيلحظ أنها في ...

تشرين الثاني 04، 2015

مركز كارنيغي للشرق الأوسط**"غيتو" ضباط الأسد: لماذا لا يزال الجيش السوري موالياً؟**مركز كارنيغي
للشرق الأوسط

لا يزال سلك ضباط الجيش السوري متماسكاً، على الرغم من الضغوط الهائلة التي تعرّض إليها خلال نحو سنوات أربع من النزاع، وهي حقيقة منعت سقوط نظام الأسد. نظام السكن العسكري عامل حاسم في تحقيق هذا التماسك، إذ هو يتكشّف عن طبيعة العالم الذي يقطنه الضباط السوريون، وعن العلاقات مع النظام والمجتمع السوري الأوسع، وعن أسباب انشقاق قلة منهم حتى الآن.

خضر خضور

<http://goo.gl/qhwiln>

تشرين الثاني 05، 2015

معهد واشنطن**«إعلان فيينا»: الدقة هي المفتاح لتجنب منحدر زلق**

أسفر لقاء متعدد الأطراف عُقد في فيينا في 30 تشرين الأول/أكتوبر عن إصدار تصريح عن «التفاهم المشترك» مؤلف من تسع نقاط حول كيفية وضع حدّ للعنف في سوريا «بأسرع وقت ممكن». ويسعى «إعلان فيينا» الذي يكمل ويشير إلى "بيان جنيف 2012" إلى تأمين آلية أكثر شمولية «للتقليص من مناطق الاختلاف المتبقية وبناء مناطق تفاهم»، وقد يكون ذلك بداية لإشراك مؤيدي المعارضة والنظام.

أندرو جيه

<http://goo.gl/cNjS09>

Journal of Mental Health and Psychosocial

November 2015

Personal perspectives of protracted displacement: an ethnographic insight into the isolation and coping mechanisms of Syrian women and girls living as urban refugees in northern Jordan

The ongoing conflict in Syria has provoked mass exodus on an unprecedented scale, with over four million Syrian refugees now registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Most of these refugees fled across the borders to Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq and Turkey, where the vast majority of Syrian refugees now live outside of the camps, their priorities and coping mechanisms shifting due to their....



AARON STEIN

<http://goo.gl/mdvsfs>**University of Utrecht**

October 2015

Time to Restart: The experience of Syrian refugees in establishing a business in Istanbul

This research found out that the main obstacles for Syrians to start an enterprise in Istanbul are mainly four: insufficient information about the local economy; lack of knowledge of the Turkish language; limited financial resources and restricted experience on the area in which they wanted to open a business. These obstacles can be related with their situation as refugees and the characteristics of their displacement. Since they don't have time to plan their departure, have to leaving suddenly and they bring family members, their financial capital is compromised.



Pereira Valarini, P.F.

<http://goo.gl/SSAQDo>**German Institute of Global and Area Studies**

October 2015

Opposition visions for preserving Syria's ethnic-sectarian mosaic

The excessive violence that has spread across virtually all of Syria since the 2011 uprising against the regime of Bashar al-Assad has so far prevented a serious debate about feasible solutions. Most political factions fear that any talk of a compromise solution will undermine their own position among their followers and benefit the other side by granting it recognition. The opposition refuses to negotiate with a dictator who has too much blood on his hands, while the regime declines to negotiate with "terrorists." Fear of exclusion in a future order...



MAHMOUD RUSTUM

<http://goo.gl/x78WYx>

International Center for Counter Terrorism

October 2015

Foreign (Terrorist) Fighter Estimates: Conceptual and Data Issues

Foreign fighters are not a new phenomenon.¹ However, the present stream of foreign jihadist fighters to the Levant is unprecedented in recent times. Since the caliphate was declared by the so-called “Islamic State” (IS a.k.a. ISIL/ISIS, Daesh or Da’ash) in late June 2014, month after month between 850 and 1,250 new jihadist volunteers have been travelling to Syria and Iraq from abroad.² In the twelve months prior to September 2015, the number of foreign fighters nearly doubled to 28,000, according to the US Assistant Attorney General, John P. Carlin.³



DR. ALEX P. SCHMID

<http://goo.gl/5QDppQ>

University of Eastern Africa Baraton

November 2015

Dislocation in Syria - a stigma of raped women

Crisis in previous century has gradually become supplementary complicated. The events create multi-dimensional and multi-complex situations bearing the term “com-plex emergency”. Syria has become the most high-profile example of modern-day complex emergency presenting for example one of the fastest evolving internal dis-placement crisis in the world the armed conflict causing significant psychological and social suffering. The individual well-being is described community dependant on to what extent individuals’ needs are met...



Tuula J. Marshalls

<http://goo.gl/olxyl6>

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

November 2015

Non-State Armed Groups and the Role of Transnational Criminal Law During Armed Conflict

This article, therefore, examines that U.N. legal position and, concomitantly, the unfrequented legal realm that lies at the crossroads of transnational criminal law and the law of armed conflict – providing an analysis of the emerging field of transnational criminal law and exploring how this burgeoning area of international law interacts with the law of armed conflict. This, in turn, permits an illuminative discussion of how various areas of international law interact with one another and how conflicts between competing areas of law may be resolved.



DAN E. STIGALL

<http://goo.gl/pKBZSP>

Conflict and Health

November 2, 2015

Child health in Syria: recognising the lasting effects of warfare on health

The war in Syria, now in its fourth year, is one of the bloodiest in recent times. The legacy of war includes damage to the health of children that can last for decades and affect future generations. In this article we discuss the effects of the war on Syria's children, highlighting the less documented longer-term effects. In addition to their present suffering, these children, and their own children, are likely to face further challenges as a result of the current conflict. This is essential to understand both for effective interventions and for ethical reasons.



CONFLICT AND HEALTH

DELAN DEVAKUMAR

<http://goo.gl/ckkBsK>

The Institute for National Security Studies

October 2015

“Generation War”: Syria’s Children Caught between Internal Conflict and the Rise of the Islamic State

Mapping the toll of the conflict on Syria's children is especially difficult, as the impact is pervasive, affecting not only their psychological and physical wellbeing or their access to basic health care and education, but also deeply impairing their development, and thus their very future. Hence the concern voiced by United Nations Special Envoy Staffan de Mistura: “We are having a whole generation of Syrians, young kids, who have seen only war.”



BENEDETTA BERTI

<http://goo.gl/sSolQf>

International Politics

November 2015

On the Way to Two, Three, or Four Kurdistans?

Despite the breakup of the multinational states of Eastern Europe, attempts should be made to create forms of autonomy and federalisation that minimise the risk of the disintegration of existing states. The strengthening of municipal autonomy could be a modest step towards recognising the ethnic identity of the Kurds. In Iraq, the ethno-religious nationalisation of the parties and the autonomy of the region inhabited by the Kurds is probably now irreversible. In Syria and Iran, the repression of the Kurds continues uninterrupted. It is an open question....

EGBERT JAHN

<http://goo.gl/G3EX7w>

Global Responsibility to Protect

November 2015

R2P and Turkish Foreign Policy: Libya and Syria in Perspective

This paper analyses the articulation of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) into Turkish foreign policy (TFP) during the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) era. R2P has particularly become significant when the uprisings turned into full-scale civil wars in Libya and Syria. Therefore, this study examines TFP towards Libya and Syria in the framework of R2P. It argues that there is a close correlation between Turkey's support of R2P and recently increasing emphasis on the normative foundations of its foreign policy in general....



VOLKAN ŞEYŞANE

<http://goo.gl/IFqAHr>**Johns Hopkins University**

2015

THE EXPANDING NATURE OF THE SYRIAN CIVIL WAR: FROM POOR POLICY TO REGIONAL CONFLICT

This research examines the way by which domestic management issues in Syria have expanded to become a violent, regional sectarian battle that has the potential to reshape the Middle East. By focusing on three unique topics that are each central to the development of the Syrian Civil War and to the exploits of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), this collection of papers shows the devolution to civil war and then to a larger conflict that may ultimately embroil the entire Arab world. Each of the three chapters within this paper focus on a....



KRISTEN LEIGH DAVIS

<https://goo.gl/9gQ0z7>**Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center**

November 2015

A violent compound: competition, crime and modern conflict

A notable characteristic of several of the most intractable conflicts in the world today is the presence of more than one sort of violence. In cases such as Syria, Mali and Libya the lines between armed conflict and other forms of organised violence have blurred. Conflicts that originated in political divisions have assumed criminal dimensions. At the same time highly criminalised parts of Central America and Mexico have witnessed the coercion of the state and society by groups whose methods resemble the military strategies of an insurgency.



IVAN BRISCOE

<http://goo.gl/4vd9OL>

City University of New York

August 2015

Lessons from the Arab Spring: Pathways to Democracy after the Revolution in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya

The author looks "at the following case studies; Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, where all three nations were able to compel their country's dictator to leave office in a similar process and shared justifications, yet the outcome could not have been more different. These case studies were chosen specifically because of the complete leadership and government changes that took place during the Arab Spring. Bahrain and Syria still have same leadership post revolution as they did before the revolution, albeit with reduced control over the....



MANAL ABD-EL-HAFEZ

<http://goo.gl/adGWAZ>**Center for Strategic and International Studies**

November 14, 2015

Paris, ISIS, and the Long War Against Extremism

The struggle to change this reality will – at best – be a long, long struggle, and there will be many tragedies like Paris to come. Real victory can only be won by years of reform within the Islamic World, and outside aid that does as much as possible to help create governments that rule through success, rather than through repression. Treating the symptoms through counterterrorism does buy time and reduces casualties. Real victory can only come if – and only if – the Islamic world can treat the causes.



ANTHONY H. CORDESMAN

<http://goo.gl/c8HSBj>**Royal United Services Institute**

November 16, 2015

Vive La France. But Keep Calm, and Carry On

The Paris terrorist attacks will impact on France's electoral politics and on the country's counter-terrorism legislation. But the impact need not be as great as currently expected. The best weapon with which French politicians can arm themselves is sang-froid.



JONATHAN EYAL

<https://goo.gl/FQnNiC>

Royal United Services Institute

November 13, 2015

Iran's Policy on Syria: Continuity or Change?

Iran's centres of power appear divided on the fate of Syria's president, Bashar al-Assad. As talks on a political solution to the Syrian crisis reconvene tomorrow in Vienna, these differences are likely to become more apparent.



ANISEH BASSIRI

<https://goo.gl/MT3K4F>
German Institute for International and Security November 2015**Russia's Military Intervention in Syria**

The deployment and use of Russian air forces in Syria could be a turning-point for President Bashar al-Assad's regime. Since the start of the Russian air strikes on 30 September 2015, discussion has been rife in the media and in political circles as to what intentions Russia might be pursuing with its intervention in Syria. However, if one takes into account the force package deployed to Syria, the manner in which the Russian air forces have proceeded, and the Kremlin's official statements after the Assad visit to Moscow, the main features of an....



MARKUS KAIM

<http://goo.gl/fq8YI5>
Brookings

November 2, 2015

Stalemate, not statehood, for Iraqi Kurdistan

Yet a deeper look into the Iraqi Kurdish trajectory reveals a more complicated and interrupted scenario defined by legal, economic, and geopolitical constraints. The KRG may have created new "facts on the ground" that strengthen its internal sovereignty and international recognition, but it remains a land-locked, quasi-state entity lacking external sovereignty.



DENISE NATALI

<http://goo.gl/zCV2bN>

Brookings

November 2, 2015

A SOLUTION FOR SYRIA AND THE KURDS THAT TURKEY AND THE U.S. CAN AGREE ON

How to reconcile the approaches of Turkey and the United States over Syria? There are no easy answers here, but there may in fact be a plausible path forward—a strategy that, if Washington were to adopt it, could assuage many Turkish concerns and lead to gradual progress in the campaign to put real military pressure on both ISIL and the Assad regime. The first element of the new strategy begins with a more realistic framing of the military goals of the international coalition opposing both Assad and ISIL. Washington must take the lead on this. The starting point is to begin with a vision for the future of Syria based on confederation.



ÖMER TAŞPINAR

<http://goo.gl/F6Mz39>**Brookings**

November 14, 2015

Can Turkey use the G-20 Summit to empower Syrian refugees?

The flight of humans from Syria has been rapid, massive and dynamic. The number of refugees has grown from 26,000 in the first year of the war to almost 4.2 million now, four years later. It is time for bold action from the world to support Turkey and the other countries of the region hosting the vast majority of refugees.



ELIZABETH FERRIS

<http://goo.gl/RRBvzS>**Carnegie Middle East Center**

November 4, 2015

Assad's Officer Ghetto: Why the Syrian Army Remains Loyal

The Syrian army's officer corps has remained intact despite the immense pressure of nearly four years of civil and military conflict, a fact that has prevented the fall of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's regime. The military housing system is a crucial aspect of this cohesion: it reveals the world Syrian officers inhabit, their relations with the regime and wider Syrian society, and the reasons why so few have defected so far.



KHEDER KHADDOUR

<http://goo.gl/VLLGTS>

Carnegie Middle East Center

November 9, 2015

Refugees and the Making of an Arab Regional Disorder

The refugee tragedy is a symptom of a wider political crisis. Finding adequate solutions for the refugees and internally displaced populations is primarily a political imperative, but it is also a development challenge that is essential for political stabilization, societal reconciliation, and peace building.



MAHA YAHYA

<http://goo.gl/wMnqMJ>**Middle East Institute**

November 10, 2015

Syria in Vienna: Governance Before Elections

Ten days ago 17 countries called for "credible, inclusive, nonsectarian governance" in Syria followed by a new constitution and elections. It sounds good on paper. However, the key element is not elections, nor is it a new constitution; it is the rule of law. Syria has had no rule of law to speak of under Baath and Assad family rule, and in its absence the Constitution is worth little and fair elections are impossible. Thus, the governance reference in the Vienna statement is the vital element. Only after serious governance changes are made can a new constitution come into real effect and elections be held.



ROBERT S. FORD

<http://goo.gl/IMEh59>**Middle East Institute**

November 10, 2015

Debating Russia's Aims in Syria

There is a debate within U.S. policy circles about Russian president Vladimir Putin's strategy in Syria. While all agree that Putin intervened to shore up the faltering regime of Bashar al-Assad, there are at least two interpretations of what Putin's ultimate objective is.



IBRAHIM AL-ASSIL

<http://goo.gl/TM4Nb6>

Institute for The Study of War

November 14, 2015

ISIS'S GLOBAL STRATEGY

ISIS continues to execute its global strategy to defend its terrain within Iraq and Syria, to foster affiliates in the Middle East, North Africa, and Central Asia, and to encourage and resource terror attacks in the wider world. The October 31 downing of Russia's Metrojet 9268 and the November 14 terror attacks in Paris suggest that ISIS may be prioritizing its campaign launch disruptive terror attacks against its foreign enemies. This is a dangerous development that will have significant implications for European security and the integrity of the EU, as well as for ongoing international talks on the future of Syria.



HARLEEN GAMBHIR

<http://goo.gl/gOezPN>
American Enterprise Institute

November 15, 2015

What to do and to don't in response to the Paris attacks

Europe's proximity to the Middle East and relatively open borders make it much more vulnerable to this sort of attack, but Americans should be very concerned that a group with these capabilities could also penetrate our homeland. We must draw the right conclusions from this incident in the context of regional and world crises if we are to maintain our security in the months and years to come. The following things to do and things not to do are the correct next steps for ensuring our security.



FREDERICK W. KAGAN

<https://goo.gl/p4nGLq>
Chatham House

November 17, 2015

Heat, Light and Power for Refugees: Saving Lives, Reducing Costs

In its current form, energy provision to displaced people undermines the fundamental humanitarian aims of assistance.



GLADA LAHN

<https://goo.gl/ewa2WA>

The Atlantic Council

NOVEMBER 9, 2015

Putin's Victories in Syria

To the great British military analyst Basil Liddell-Hart, it was axiomatic that the purpose of war was a better peace. In other words, for military operations to be successful, they must be correlated with political outcomes and strategic gains. Unfortunately, the idea that the United States can successfully employ military power to achieve clear political objectives seems to be lost upon both the Obama administration and Washington's pundits.



STEPHEN BLANK

<http://goo.gl/ffU6HZ>

Syria Comment

NOVEMBER 9, 2015

Russia in Syria and Putin's geopolitical strategy

The deepening of Russia's military presence in Syria and its direct involvement in aiding the Assad regime during the Syrian crisis is a game changing step in the geostrategic context of the Middle East. This is Russia's third move during the last eight years to change the strategic status quo in the greater Middle East by means of military force.



AVINOAM IDAN

<http://goo.gl/77fTVL>

The Cairo Review of Global Affairs

November 8, 2015

Media Maskirovka: Russia and the Free Syrian Army

"We are ready to support from the air the patriotic opposition, including the so-called Free Syrian Army," Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov recently told Russian state television. But, he said, Moscow is currently unable to do so, since it cannot figure out who leads the Free Syrian Army (FSA) and the United States won't help identify them. Lavrov's comments were met with derision and scorn by Syrian rebels, including many self-declared FSA members, who complain that the Russian Air Force has been bombing them since September 30.



AARON LUND

<http://goo.gl/DMPH71>

Center for Humanitarian Dialogue

November 2015

Peacemaking in the New World Disorder

This report highlights the topics covered at the 13th Oslo Forum on Peace, which occurred in June 2015. Some of the issues discussed include 1) the complexities of the peace process in Colombia; 2) the rapid rise of the so-called Islamic State; 3) Serbia's and Kosovo's attempts to normalize their relations; 4) the nexus between justice and peace; 5) the mediator's role in mediation practice; 6) Nigeria's multifaceted security challenges; 7) the implications of a nuclear deal for stability in the Middle East, and much more.



PAUL DZIATKOWIEC

<http://goo.gl/Q9oo35>

International Affairs Review

November 1, 2015

Partnering with Russia: An Offer Putin Can't Refuse

Though leaders in the United States and Russia may have conflicting interests in regards to the Assad regime, the two nations must work together to defeat ISIS.

JACLYN STUTZ

<http://goo.gl/lzyNVS>

The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

November 2, 2015

Why Now? The Syrian Refugee Flow to Europe

Neighboring countries present dangers, privations, and complications not present in Europe, and after hearing about these problems or experiencing them firsthand, many desperate Syrians have decided to head for the continent.



FABRICE BALANCHE

<http://goo.gl/ZFBRxC>

The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

November 4, 2015

The Not-So-Great Game in Syria, and How to End It

Russia has greatly complicated an already-fraught situation by picking a fight with Syria's majority Sunni rebels and tripping into other regional players' spheres of influence.



ANDREW J. TABLER

<http://goo.gl/4FIPpb>**The Washington Institute for Near East Policy**

November 16, 2015

The U.S. Must Send Ground Forces to Eliminate the Islamic State

A traditional military operation is eluding serious attention for many reasons, but none hold up against the devastation experienced in Syria and Iraq.



JAMES F. JEFFREY

<http://goo.gl/aLc3xG>**Fikra Forum**

November 12, 2015

Will Assad Create a "Useful Syria"?

A "Useful Syria" may or may not emerge out of the Russian intervention -- as a function of the disparity between Russian will and capacity. Its sustainability, were it to be realized, however, in light of the social attrition that has afflicted all of Syria, is highly unlikely. Either "Useful Syria" will be still-born, or, despite all the life support that Russia may be able to provide, it may not be long before it is declared clinically dead.



HASSAN MNEIMNEH

<http://goo.gl/fSH5F9>

Middle East Forum

November 11, 2015

Is Assad's Russian-Backed Offensive in Syria Paying Off?

Backed by heavy Russian airstrikes, government forces and allied militias fighting to support Bashar al-Assad have launched a series of coordinated ground offensives across northwestern Syria since the beginning of October. The hope is to regain territory lost to rebels over the past year and to shore up areas vital to Assad's survival. But while state-run Syrian and Russian media highlight success after success, the results may not be as promising as Assad and his backers would have liked.



AYMENN JAWAD

<http://goo.gl/F1GCfM>

Middle East Forum

November 4, 2015

Arab Countries' Conflicting Views on Russian Intervention in Syria

A pertinent question is: why does the Sisi government support the Assad regime? Arriving at the answer does not require a great deal of effort. First of all, the majority of those applauding the Russian strikes—the most prominent of whom are the members of the Egyptian President—opposed the January 25 revolution. They consider the events of Tahrir Square what Sisi described as a conspiracy to "disassemble and reconfigure the Egyptian state." Thus the defeat of the dictatorial Assad regime could have negative consequences for the Egyptian regime.



MUHAMMAD MANSOUR

<http://goo.gl/BnPcn6>

Arab Reform Initiative

November 2015

Social conditions in southern Syria: a source of strength for change

Southern Syria is vulnerable to both the external and also internal forces threatening it today. A traditional region where tribal and family loyalties matter, it is also torn by sectarian loyalties. Neighbouring countries have sought to influence the population and put pressure on an already unstable situation, as Ghazi Dahman writes.



GHAZI DAHMAN

<http://goo.gl/ONBskR>