

BACKGROUNDER

October 7, 2015

SYRIAN OPPOSITION GUIDE

This reference guide provides a baseline for identifying Syrian opposition groups. The guide aims to permit researchers to track how groups realign as the Russians commence operations. It seeks to inform the development of policies that aim to protect Syrian rebels willing to cooperate with the U.S. in order to defeat ISIS and marginalize al-Qaeda affiliate Jabhat al-Nusra.

The chart characterizes each group's relative strength, its areas of operation, its participation in multi-group operations, and its sources of external financing (derived from other experts' studies). The document carefully identifies those groups that are separable from Jabhat al-Nusra, drawing a sharp distinction between the al-Qaeda affiliate's subcomponents and those groups that have a more transactional relationship. Whereas the Russian military actions will likely drive these groups together, diminishing the influence of al-Qaeda actually requires breaking the groups apart. Targeting rebel groups writ large through military strikes is therefore counterproductive and will lead to entrenchment of al-Qaeda in Syria.

RUSSIA'S IMPACT ON THE OPPOSITION

Russian air operations in Syria impose new pressures on Syrian rebel groups on the ground. Although the Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) claimed that Russian airstrikes focused on ISIS, local reports and the U.S. official statement indicate that the strikes have primarily targeted Syrian opposition groups in areas far from core ISIS-held terrain. Free Syrian Army (FSA)-affiliated rebel groups that receive support from the U.S. are among those that Russian warplanes have hit.

As Russian airstrikes intensify, Syrian opposition factions will likely seek the protection of a strong partner in the fight against the regime and its allies. The majority of the groups that may seek protection already cooperate militarily with Syrian al-Qaeda affiliate Jabhat al-Nusra out of necessity, and this trend is likely to increase as rebels come under greater duress. The pressure of a reinvigorated air campaign in support of the Syrian regime may drive these groups closer to Jabhat al-Nusra and potentially hardline Islamist Ahrar al-Sham in the absence of alternative sources of robust military assistance from countries opposed to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. In fact, between October 2 and October 4, two rebel groups merged separately under Jabhat al-Nusra and Ahrar al-Sham in Hama and Aleppo provinces respectively. This trend damages not only the U.S. anti-ISIS mission, but also the implicit mission to counter al-Qaeda's influence in Syria. It is therefore vital to observe changes in the behaviors and affiliations of Syrian rebels in response to ground events.

RELATIONSHIP TO JABHAT AL-NUSRA

This guide also provides an assessment of rebel groups' relationship to Syrian al-Qaeda affiliate Jabhat al-Nusra. Groups that conduct military operations with Jabhat al-Nusra do not necessarily share its vision, end-state, or values. Many rebel groups cooperate out of military necessity, because Jabhat al-Nusra one of the most capable groups on the battlefield. The relationship between each group and Jabhat al-Nusra has been designated through the following definitions:

Component of Jabhat al-Nusra: Groups that have merged under Jabhat al-Nusra, or groups that ISW assesses to be a sub-unit of Jabhat al-Nusra

Allied: Rebel groups that share interim objectives with Jabhat al-Nusra in Syria in the near term; groups that are close ideological allies to Jabhat al-Nusra; and groups that are ideologically opposed to the Western countries' influence in Syria or to the vision of Western secularism

Separable from Jabhat al-Nusra: Rebel groups that formally coordinate military operations with Jabhat al-Nusra among many other groups through joint military commands, largely out of military necessity. This also includes groups that participate in governance structures that also contain elements of Jabhat al-Nusra.

Independent: These rebel groups currently do not share interim or long term objectives and do not formally coordinate military operations with Jabhat al-Nusra through joint military commands.

IDENTIFYING OUTSIDE FUNDING

The following charts also reflect assessments of the sources of outside funding for each group as provided by the Carter Center¹ and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace² from September 2014 – February 2015. There are three major sources of funding:

Joint Military Operations Command (MOC)

Two covert joint military operations commands (MOC) based in Turkey and Jordan reportedly provide funding and lethal aid to moderate and nationalist Islamist groups in northern and southern Syria. Members of both the Northern and Southern MOCs reportedly provide military assistance including TOW anti-tank missiles to a select set of Syrian rebel groups.

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia provides direct support to Salafist and Islamist groups across all of Western Syria.

Turkey and Qatar

Turkey and Qatar support nationalist Syrian rebel groups, including Salafist and Islamist groups. The Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, currently based in Turkey, facilitates the provision of money and weapons provided by Turkey and Qatar to Syrian armed opposition groups based in northern Syria.

IDENTIFYING POWERBROKERS

The following charts indicates assessed powerbrokers in Syria in addition to groups that could become powerbrokers in the near term upon the receipt of sufficient outside support. These groups could provide a counter-weight to Jabhat al-Nusra, although the Russian military operations reduce the likelihood that they will be willing or able to split from the al-Qaeda affiliate.

Powerbroker: a group that disproportionately determines the success of military operations against either the Syrian regime or ISIS; is strategically located; and/or plays a leading role in governance.

Potential Powerbroker: a group that could achieve significant battlefield effects against Jabhat al-Nusra and/or ISIS in western Syria upon receipt of increased outside support, including securing direct military gains and cohering other smaller brigades into new coalitions.

OPERATIONS ROOMS

The following charts organize opposition groups by their participation in operations rooms, in order to achieve particular, defined objectives. Operation rooms are joint structures limited to a particular geographical area, but they do not maintain a physical headquarters. Syrian opposition groups join "operations rooms" in order to coordinate their military campaigns jointly in an area without merging, thus preserving their status as separate fighting forces. Each operations room is typically launched with an announcement conveying a specific, stated objective and a list of groups that have joined.

ENDNOTES

I. "Syria: Countrywide Conflict Report No. 5," The Carter Center, February 2015, <u>http://www.cartercenter.org/</u> <u>resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/</u> <u>NationwideUpdate-Feb-28-2015.pdf</u>. "Syria: Countrywide Conflict Report No. 4," The Carter Center, September II, 2014, <u>http://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/</u> <u>conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/NationwideUpdate-</u> <u>Sept-18-2014.pdf</u>.

2. Aron Lund, "The Revolutionary Command Council: Rebel Unity in Syria?" The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December I, 2014, <u>http://carnegieendowment.org/</u> <u>syriaincrisis/?fa=57350</u>. Aron Lund, "The Levant Front: Can Aleppo's Rebels Unite?" The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 26, 2014, <u>http://</u> <u>carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=57605</u>.

Layout by Casey Jaquez

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		List	of Milita	ry Operatio	ons Rooms Included In This Document
Op- erations Room	Anti Re- gime	Anti ISIS	Power- broker	Potential Power Broker	Declared Objectives
				A	leppo Province
Aleppo Conquest	X	X	X		To "liberate" Aleppo City from the Syrian regime
Ansar al- Sharia	Х		Х		To seize Aleppo City from the Syrian regime and to develop a joint charter to administer the city under Sharia law
Euphrates Volcano		X	Х		To fight against the "injustice" of ISIS and other Islamist and Kurdish factions
	,				Idlib Province
Jaysh al- Fatah Idlib					To "liberate" Idlib Province from the Syrian regime
Battle of Victory	Х		X		To seize Jisr al-Shughour City from the Syrian regime
]	Hama Province
Jaysh al- Fatah-Idlib	X		X		To seize the Sahel al-Ghab plain of northern Hama from the Syrian regime
Jaysh al- Nasr	Х			Х	To "defend" the Syrian people and "liberate" Syria from the Syrian regime
]	Homs Province
Victory of the Op- pressed	X	X			To defeat the Syrian regime in Homs Province while supporting the local civilian population
				Da	mascus Province
Eastern Ghouta Unified Command	Х	X	X		To break the siege on the Eastern Ghouta suburbs of Damascus, set up a unified legal body, and create an authority for strategic issues in Ghouta
One Flag Alliance	X				To "overthrow" the Syrian regime in Damascus and its countryside
Jaysh al- Fatah Qala- moun	Х				To "liberate" the Qalamoun region from Syrian regime and Hezbollah forces
Gathering of Western Qalamoun	Х			X	To fight the Syrian regime and Hezbollah
Eastern Qalamoun Operations Room	Х	X	X		To "overthrow" the Syrian regime and fight ISIS
				Dera'a	& Quneitra Province
Jaysh al- Harmoun	X				To "eliminate" the Syrian regime southwest of Damascus
Jaysh al- Fatah al- Janoub	Х	X			To "liberate" the Western Ghouta suburbs of Damascus
Southern Front	Х		X		To "liberate Syria from tyranny and extremism" and to "defend the right of the Syrian people to choose a representative government"

REBEL GROUPS INDEX (CLICKABLE LINKS)

ALEPPO	Liwa al-Haqq (Idlib, Hama)					
101st Infantry Division (Idlib)	Liwa al-Houriya al-Islami <i>(Idlib)</i>					
111st Infantry Division (Idlib, Hama)	Liwa al-Jihad fi Sabeel Allah					
13th Division (Idlib)	Liwa al-Sultan Muhammad al-Fatih					
16th Division	Liwa Amna' ar-Raqqa					
60th Infantry Division (Idlib)	Liwa Ansar al-Khilafa					
Abu Amara Brigades	Liwa Ansar al-Sunna					
Ahrar al-Sham (Idlib, Latakia, Hama, Homs, Damascus, Dera'a & Quneitra)	Liwa Fursan al-Haqq (<i>Idlib</i>)					
Al-Izza Gathering (Hama, Idlib)	Liwa Shuhada al-Atarib					
Al-Nakhba Forces	Liwa al-Sultan Murad					
Caucasus Emirate in al-Sham (Latakia)	Liwa Thuwar ar-Raqqa					
Fajr al-Khilafa Brigades	Nour al-Din al-Zenki					
Fajr al-Sham Islamic Movement	Saraya Jarablus					
First Regiment	Sham Legion (Idlib, Hama)					
Fistaqim Kama Umirat	Siraya al-Ma'ad					
Furqan Brigades (Damascus, Dera'a & Quneitra)	Suqour al-Ghab (Idlib, Hama)					
Harakat al-Thahur Baryis	Suqour al-Jabal (Idlib, Hama)					
Harakat Biyan	Tahrir Brigade					
Harakat Mujahidi al-Islam	Thuwar al-Sham Brigades					
Jabhat al-Nusra (Idlib, Hama, Homs, Damascus, Dera'a & Quneitra)	People's Protection Units (YPG)					
Jabhat Ansar al-Din (<i>Idlib</i>)	IDLIB					
Jama'at	101st Infantry Division (Aleppo)					
Jaysh al-Sunna (Idlib, Hama)	111th Infantry Division (Aleppo, Hama)					
Jaysh al-Islam (Idlib, Latakia, Damascus)	13th Division (Aleppo)					
Jaysh al-Mujahideen (<i>Latakia</i>)	Ahrar al-Sham (Aleppo, Latakia, Hama, Homs, Damascus, Dera'a & Queneitra)					
Jaysh al-Qasas	Ajnad al-Sham (Hama, Damascus, Dera'a & Queneitra)					
Jaysh al-Thuwar (Idlib, Latakia, Homs, Hama)	Fursan al-Haqq					
Jund al-Aqsa (Idlib, Latakia, Hama)	Jabhat al-Nusra (Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Damascus, Dera'a &					
Jund Allah	Quneitra)					
Katibat al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (Idlib)	Jabhat Ansar al-Din (Aleppo)					
Kita'ib al-Safwat al-Islamiya	Jama'at Ahadun Ahad (<i>Latakia</i>)					
Kita'ib Shams al-Shamal	Jama'at Ansar al-Islam <i>(Latakia)</i>					
Kitaba al-Suhaba	Jaysh al-Islam (Aleppo, Latakia, Damascus)					
Levant Front	Jaysh al-Sunna (Aleppo)					

Liwa al-Fateh

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Jaysh al-Thuwar (Aleppo, Latakia, Homs, Hama)

Jund al-Aqsa (Aleppo, Latakia, Hama) Junud al-Sham (Latakia) Kata'ib Ansar al-Sham (Latakia) Katiba al-Tawhid wal Jihad (Aleppo) Liwa al-Haqq (Aleppo, Hama) Liwa al-Houriya al-Islami (Aleppo) Sham Legion (Aleppo, Hama) Suqour al-Ghab (Aleppo, Hama) Suqour al-Jabal (Aleppo, Hama) Turkistan Islamic Party (Latakia)

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Ahrar al-Sham (Aleppo, Idlib, Hama, Homs, Damascus, Dera'a & Quneitra) Caucasus Emirate in al-Sham (Aleppo) First Coastal Division Jabhat Ansar al-Din (Idlib) Jama'at Ahadun Ahad (Idlib) Jama'at Ansar al-Islam (Idlib) Jaysh al-Islam (Aleppo, Idlib, Damascus, Dera'a & Quneitra) Jaysh al-Mujahideen (Aleppo) Jaysh al-Mujahideen (Aleppo) Jaysh al-Thuwar (Aleppo, Idlib, Homs, Hama) Jund al-Aqsa (Aleppo, Idlib, Hama) Junud al-Sham (Idlib) Katai'b Ansar al-Sham Liwa al-Adiyat (Hama) Turkistan Islamic Party (Idlib)

HAMA

IIIth Infantry Division (Idlib)
Ahrar al-Sham (Aleppo, Idlib, Latakia, Homs, Damascus, Dera'a & Quneitra)
Ajnad al-Sham (Idlib, Damascus, Dera'a & Quneitra)
Al-Izza Gathering (Aleppo, Idlib)
Jabhat al-Nusra (Aleppo, Idlib, Homs, Damascus, Dera'a & Quneitra)
Jabhat al-Sham
Jaysh al-Sunna (Idlib)
Jund al-Aqsa (Aleppo, Idlib, Latakia)

Liwa al-Adiyat (*Latakia*) Liwa al-Haqq (*Hama, Aleppo*) Liwa al-Inqath al-Muqatila Sham Legion (*Aleppo, Idlib*) Suqour al-Ghab (*Aleppo, Idlib*) Suqour al-Jabal (*Aleppo, Idlib*)

HOMS

Ahrar al-Sham (Aleppo, Idlib, Latakia, Hama, Damascus, Dera'a & Queneitra) Ajnad Homs Jabhat al-Nusra (Aleppo, Idlib, Hama, Damascus, Dera'a & Quneitra) Jaysh Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jama'a Jaysh al-Tawhid Jaysh al-Thuwar (Aleppo, Idlib, Latakia, Hama) Tahrir Homs

DAMASCUS

II Division Special Forces Abu Obaida Battalion Ahrar al-Qalamoun Battalions Ahrar al-Sham (Aleppo, Idlib, Latakia, Hama, Homs, Dera'a & Quneitra) Ajnad al-Sham (Idlib, Hama, Dera'a & Quneitra) Al-Sarkha Battalions Asoud al-Sunna Battalions Originality and Development Front (Aleppo) Battalion 215 Damascus Martyrs Brigade (Dera'a & Quneitra) Friends of the Prophet Mohammad Battalion Furgan Brigades (Aleppo, Dera'a & Quneitra) Fursan al-Sunna Battalion (Dera'a & Quneitra) Hamad Brigade Hawsh Arab Martyrs Gathering Ilwiya wa Kita'ib al-Sahaba (Dera'a & Quneitra) Jabhat al-Nusra (Aleppo, Idlib, Homs, Homa, Dera'a & Quneitra) Jabhat Ansar al-Islam (Dera'a & Quenitra) Jaysh al-Ababil (Dera'a & Quenitra)

	WIFER GAFARELEA AND GENEVIEVE GASAGRANDE OCTOBER /, 2015
Jaysh al-Islam (Aleppo, Idlib, Latakia, Dera'a & Quneitra)	Ansar al-Huda Gathering
Jaysh al-Qalamoun	Ansar al-Sunnah
Jaysh Tahirir al-Sham	Damascus Martyrs Brigade (Damascus)
Kata'ib al-Ansar	Fajr al-Islam Division
Katiba al-Mutahabeen Billah	Fajr al-Tawhid Division
Katiba Shaid Mamoud Murad	Fallujah Houran Division
Katiba Shuhada al-Nabek	First Army
Katiba Shuhada al-Sarkha	First Artillery Regiment
Katiba Yousef al-Sadiq	First Brigade
Kita'ib Aknaf Beit al-Maqdis (Dera'a & Quneitra)	First Corps
Liwa Ahrar Hafir	Firqat Usoud al-Sunnah
Liwa al-Izz	Furqan Brigades (Aleppo, Damascus)
Liwa Muatasim Billah (Dera'a & Quneitra)	Fursan al-Sunna Battalion (Damascus)
Liwa Rijal Allah	Hamza Division
Liwa Seif al-Haq	Harakat Muthanna al-Islamiya
Liwa Suqour al-Qalamoun	Harakat Shuhada al-Sham al-Islamiya
Liwa Suqour al-Umawayeen	Ilwiya wa Kita'ib al-Sahaba (Damascus)
Liwa Tahrir al-Qalamoun	Jabhat al-Nusra (Aleppo, Idlib, Hama, Homs, Damascus)
Liwa Tawhid al-Asima (Dera'a & Quneitra)	Jabhat al-Sham al-Muwahida
Liwa Thura al-Sha'ab	Jabhat Ansar al-Islam (Aleppo, Idlib, Latakia Damascus)
Martyr Lieutenant Ahmed Abdou Brigades	Jaysh al-Ababil (Dera'a & Quenitra)
Marwan Hadid Briagde	Jaysh al-Islam (Aleppo, Idlib, Latakia, Damascus)
Men of Qalamoun Battalion	Jaysh al-Yarmouk
Rahman Corps	Katibat Aswad al-Aqsad
Saif al-Islam Battalion	Katibat Fadayeen Houran
Sheild of Qalamoun Brigade	Kita'ib Aknaf Beit al-Maqdis (Damascus)
	Liwa Ahaya al-Jihad
DERA'A & QUNEITRA	Liwa Ahrar Inkhil

24th Infantry Division 69th Special Forces Division Abu Obaida Battalion Ahrar al-Sham (Aleppo, Idlib, Latakia, Hama, Homs, Damascus) Ahrar Nawa Division Ajnad al-Sham (Idlib, Hama, Damascus) Al-Sarkha Battalions (Damascus)

Alwiyat al-Omari

Liwa Ahrar Inkhil Liwa Ahsa'ar al-Lajat Liwa al-I'tisam Billah Liwa al-Mughawir al-Awli Liwa al-Sayyid al-Messiyah Liwa al-Shahid al-A'qeed Ahmed al-Omar Liwa al-Umarayn al-Islami Liwa Amoud Houran Liwa Ansar al-Haqq

Liwa Fursan Houran Liwa Jaydour Houran Liwa Jebel al-Sheikh Liwa Khayalat al-Zaydi Liwa Mua'taz Billah Liwa Muatasim Billah (Damascus) Liwa Muhajireen wal-Ansar Liwa Omar bin al-Khatab Liwa Osama bin Zaid Liwa Shabab al-Sunnah Liwa Shuhada al-Islam Liwa Shuhada Houran Liwa Tawhid al-Asima (Damascus) Liwa Tawhid al-Janub Liwa Usoud al-Tawhid Liwa Tawhid Kita'ib Houran March 18 Division Martyr Lieutenant Ahmed Abdou Brigades (Damascus) Mashrou Benaa Umma Salah al-Din Division Seif al-Sham Brigades Shahid Ra'ed al-Masri Siyad al-Usoud Battalion Syrian Revolutionaries Front - Southern Sector Tahalaf Suqour al-Janoub Tajamu al-Mujahideen Nawa Usoud al-Harb Operations Room

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	Aleppo										
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes				
Aleppo Conquest				Х							
	Jama'at						Jabhat al-Nusra subunit				
	Fajr al- Khilafa Brigades						Also active in Ansar al-Sharia Operations Room				
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х	Х		Turkey & Saudi Arabia	Also active in Ansar al-Sharia Operations Room				
		Abu Amara Brigades					Also active in Ansar al-Sharia Operations Room				
	Harakat Mujahidi al- Islam						Also active in Ansar al-Sharia Operations Room				
		Harakat Bayarik al-Islam									
	Jaysh al- Sunna		Х				Also active in Idlib and Hama				

Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

	Aleppo (cont.)										
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes				
	Jaysh al- Mujahideen		Х	Х		Northern MOC; Qatar	Also active in Latakia				
	Fistaqim Kama Umirat										
	Jaysh al- Islam		Х			Saudi Arabia					
	Levant Front			Х		Turkey & Qatar	Levant Front absorbed Harakat Hazm fighters after the group, which received U.S. support, disbanded in Feb 2015				
		Islamic Front- Aleppo				Turkey & Qatar					
		Katiba al-Assir					Formerly component of Abu Amara brigades				



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

	Aleppo (cont.)										
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes				
	Originality and Development Front		Х			Saudi Arabia	Subunits receive support from a variety of actors, to include Qatar, Turkey, and the northern MOC				
	First Regiment			Х			Also active in Ansar al-Sharia Operations Room				
	Sham Legion		Х	Х		Turkey & Qatar					
	Liwa al- Sultan Murad				X	Northern MOC	Also active in Ansar al-Sharia Operations Room				
	16th Division		Х								



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

	Aleppo (cont.)										
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes				
	Furqan Brigades		Х				Damascus-based. Exact contributions unknown				
	Liwa al- Haqq		Х				Based in Idlib				
	Liwa Ansar al-Khilafa						Also in Ansar al-Sharia Operations Room				
	Nour al- Din al- Zenki			Х		Northern MOC					
		Harakat al-Zahir Baybars					Unknown group				
	Liwa Fursan al- Haqq		Х			Northern MOC & Qatar	Also active in Idlib				
	101st Infantry Division		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Idlib				
	Suqour al- Jabal		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Idlib				
	13th Division		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Idlib				
	Suqour al- Ghab		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Idlib				
	Al-Izza Gathering		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Hama and Idlib				

Allied

Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

	Aleppo (cont.)										
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes				
	Liwa Ansar al-Sunna					Northern MOC					
	Thuwar al- Sham Brigades										
	Liwa al- Fateh										
	Liwa al- Sultan Muhammad al-Fatih										
	IIIst Infantry Division						Based in Idlib and Hama				
	al-Nakhba Forces										



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

Aleppo (cont.)									
Kita'ib al- Safwat al- Islamiya									
Harakat Biyan									
Liwa al- Houriya al- Islami		Х				Based in Idlib			
Liwa Shuhada al- Atarib									
60th Infantry Division						Unknown group			



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

				A 1 (()		
				Aleppo (
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Ansar al- Sharia				Х			
	Jabhat al- Nusra		Х	Х			
		Jaysh al – Muhajireen wal- Ansar	Х				Also Active in Idlib
		Katibat al – Tawhid wal- Jihad	Х				Also Active in Idlib
	Jabhat Ansar al- Din		Х				Also Active in Idlib
		Fajr al-Sham Islamic Movement					
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х	Х		Turkey & Saudi Arabia	Also in Aleppo Conquest Operations Room
		Abu Amara Brigades					Also in Aleppo Conquest Operations Room



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

	Aleppo (cont.)										
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes				
	First Regiment			Х			Also in Aleppo Conquest Operations Room				
	Liwa al- Sultan Murad				Х	Northern MOC	Also in Aleppo Conquest Operations Room				
	Harakat Mujahidi al-Islam										
	Fajr al- Khilafa Brigades						Also in Aleppo Conquest Operations Room				
	Liwa Ansar al-Khilafa						Also in Aleppo Conquest Operations Room				
	Siraya al- Ma'ad						Unknown group				
	Kitaba al- Suhaba						Unknown group				
	Jund Allah						Unknown group				



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

				,			
				Aleppo (e	cont.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Euphrates Volcano				Х			
	Islamic Front- Aleppo			Х			Component of Levant Front
		Tawhid Brigade - Northern Sector					It is unclear if the Tawhid brigade- northern sector is a component of the Islamic Front-Aleppo and therefore of the Levant Front.
	Jaysh al- Thuwar		Х		Х		
		Jabhat al- Akrad					
	People's Protection Unit (YPG)		Х				
	Kita'ib Shams al- Shamal						
	Liwa Thuwar ar- Raqqa						



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

			Aleppo	(cont.)			
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	Liwa al- Jihad fi Sabeel Allah						
	Saraya Jarablus						
	Tahrir Brigade						
	Jaysh al- Qasas						Unknown group
	Liwa Amna' ar-Raqqa						Unknown group
Free Floating Rebel Groups							
	Jund al- Aqsa		X				Also active in Latakia, Hama, and Idlib
	Caucasus Emirate in al - Sham		X				Also active in Latakia



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

				Idl	ib		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Jaysh al- Fatah Idlib				Х			Also active in Hama Province
	Jabhat al- Nusra		Х	Х			
	Jund al- Aqsa		Х	Х			Also active in Latakia, Hama, and Aleppo
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х	Х		Turkey & Saudi Arabia	
		Suqour al- Sham					Fully merged with Ahrar al-Sham
	Jaysh al- Sunna		Х				Also active in Hama
	Ajnad al- Sham		Х		Х		Also active in Hama, Damascus, Dera'a, and Quneitra
	Sham Legion		Х		X	Turkey & Qatar	Also active in Aleppo and Hama
	Liwa al- Haq		Х				Also Active in Aleppo and Hama



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

			Idlib	(cont.)			
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Battle of Victory							
	Jabhat al- Nusra		Х	Х			
		Jaysh al-Mujahireen wal - Ansar	X	Х			
		Kata'ib al Tawhid wal Jihad	Х				Also active in Aleppo
	Ahrar al- Sham		X	Х		Turkey & Saudi Arabia	
		Suqour al-Sham					Fully merged with Ahrar al-Sham
	Jabhat Ansar al- Din		Х				Also active in Aleppo
		Harakat Sham al-Islam					
	Junud al- Sham		X	Х			Also active in Latakia
	Kata'ib Ansar al- Sham		X				Also active in Latakia

Allied

Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

			Idlib	(cont.)			
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	Jama'at Ansar al- Islam		X				
	Turkistan Islamic Party		X				
	Jaysh al- Islam		Х		Х		
Free Floating Rebel Groups							
	Jama'at Ahadun Ahad		Х				Also active in Latakia
	Liwa al- Houriya al-Islami		X				Also active in Aleppo Conquest
	111th Infantry Division		X				Also active in Aleppo Conquest
	Jaysh al- Thuwar		X		Х		
	Suqour al-Ghab		X		Х	Northern MOC	Also active in Aleppo

Allied

Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

	Idlib (cont.)											
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power-broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes					
	101st Infantry Division		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Aleppo					
	13th Division		Х		Х	Northern MOC	Also active in Aleppo					
	Fursan al- Haqq		Х			Northern MOC & Qatar	Also active in Aleppo					
	Suqour al-Jabal		Х		Х	Northern MOC	Also active in Aleppo					
	Al-Izza Gathering		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Aleppo and Hama					



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Independent

Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

				Latakia			
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power-broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Free Floating Rebel Groups							
	Jaysh al- Mujahireen wal - Ansar		Х				
	Junud al- Sham		Х	Х			
	Jabhat Ansar al- Din		Х				
		Harakat Sham al-Islam					
	Kata'ib Ansar al- Sham		Х				
	Turkistan Islamic Party		Х				Also active in Idlib
	Jama'at Ahadun Ahad		Х				Also active in Idlib
	Katai'b Ansar al- Sham		Х				Also active in Idlib

Allied

Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

			Lat	akia (cont.)			
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power-broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	Jama'at Ansar al- Islam		Х				
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х			Turkey & Saudi Arabia	
	Jund al- Aqsa		Х				Also active in Idlib and Hama
	Caucasus Emirate in al-Sham		Х				Also active in Aleppo
	Jaysh al- Mujahideen		Х			Northern MOC & Qatar	Also active in Aleppo
	Jaysh al- Islam		Х			Saudi Arabia	
	Jaysh al- Thuwar		Х		Х		
	First Coastal Division					Northern MOC	
	Liwa al- Adiyat		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Hama



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Independent

				Hama			
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Jaysh al- Nasr					X		
	Suqour al- Ghab				X		Also active in Idlib and Aleppo
	Liwa al- Adiyat		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Latakia
	Jabhat al- Sham					Northern MOC	
	Suqour al- Jabal				X	Northern MOC	Also active in Idlib and Aleppo
	Liwa al- Inqath al- Muqatila						
	Al-Izza Gathering		Х			Northern MOC	Also active in Idlib and Aleppo
Jaysh al- Fatah Idlib				Х			
	Jabhat al- Nusra		X	Х			
	Ahrar al- Sham		X	Х		Turkey & Saudi Arabia	



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Independent

			Hama (o	cont.)			
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power-broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
		Suqour al-Sham					Fully merged with Ahrar al- Sham. May no longer operate as distinct entity
	Jund al-Aqsa		Х				Also active in Idlib and Latakia
	Jaysh al- Sunna		Х				Also active in Aleppo and Idlib
	Ajnad al- Sham		Х				Also active in Idlib and Damascus, Dera'a, and Quneitra
	Sham Legion		Х			Turkey & Qatar	
	Liwa al- Haqq		Х				Also active in Idlib and Aleppo
Free Floating Rebel Groups							
	111th Infantry Division						Also active in Aleppo Conquest
	Jaysh al- Thuwar		Х		Х		

Allied

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Independent

				Homs			
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Victory of the Oppressed Joint							
	Jabhat al- Nusra		Х	Х			
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х	X		Turkey & Saudi Arabia	
		Liwa al-Haqq (Homs)					
	Ajnad Homs		X				
	Jaysh Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jama'a						
	Jaysh al- Tawhid					Turkey & Qatar	
		Kita'ib Saif al- Islam Khtab					
		Liwa 313 Jund Badr					

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Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

			Hor	ns (co:	nt.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Powe r- broke r	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
		Liwa Hama al- Aqida					Component group of Ahrar al-Sham
		Liwa Suqour Talbisa					
		Liwa Suyuf al- Haq					
		Liwa Talbisa					
		Liwa Ussoud al- Islam					A leader of the group allegedly joined ISIS. Component group of Sham Legion
		Tajamu' Ilwiya al- Iman Ballah					
Free Floating Rebel Groups							
	Tahrir Homs						Governs in Rastan alongside Jabhat al-Nusra
	Jaysh al- Thuwar						



Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

				Damascu	S		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power-broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Eastern Ghouta Unified Military Command				Х			Only operates in Eastern Ghouta
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х			Turkey & Saudi Arabia	
	Jaysh al- Islam		Х	Х			
	Ajnad al- Sham		Х				Also active in Idlib, Hama, Dera'a, and Quneitra
		Liwa Fajr al- Umma					
	Rahman Corps			Х			
		al-Habib al- Mustafa Brigade					
One Flag Alliance							Only operates in Western Ghouta
	Jabhat al- Nusra		Х	Х			
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х	Х		Turkey & Saudi Arabia	

Allied

Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

			D	amascus (cc	ont.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power-broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	Ajnad al- Sham		Х	Х			
	Ilwiya wa Kita'ib al- Sahaba						Also active in Dera'a and Quneitra
	Fursan al- Sunna Battalion						Also active in Dera'a and Quneitra
	Jabhat Ansar al-Islam		Х			Southern MOC	Also active in Dera'a. Member of the Southern Front
	Kita'ib Aknaf Beit al-Maqdis						
	Liwa al-Izz						
	Liwa Tawhid al-Asima						
	Islamic Front		Х				

Allied

Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

			-	Damascus (cont.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power-broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Jaysh al- Fatah Qalamoun							
	Jabhat al- Nusra		Х				
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х			Turkey & Saudi Arabia	
	Liwa Muatasim Billah						
	Jaysh al- Qalamoun						Unverified.
	Marwan Hadid Briagde						Unverified. Appears linked to the Abdullah Azzam Brigades



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Independent

			-	Damascus (cont.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power-broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Gathering of Western Qalamoun							Unverified. Is a component of the Southern Front. It is unclear if currently active but last posted to Facebook on 7/26/15.
	11 Division Special Forces					Southern MOC	Component of the Southern Front
	Abu Obaida Battalion						
	Ahrar al- Qalamoun Battalions						
	Rahman Corps				Х		
		al-Habib al- Mustafa Brigade					
	Al-Sarkha Battalions						
	Asoud al- Sunna Battalions					Southern MOC	Component of the Southern Front

Allied

Separable from Jabhat Al-Nusra

Independent

			ſ										
	Damascus (cont.)												
	Rebel	Local	Cross-		Potential								
Operations	Group	components	Province	Power-broker	Power-	Financed by	Notes						
Room	Group	of group			broker								
	Battalion												
	215												
	Friends of												
	the Prophet												
	Mohammad												
	Battalion												
	Hamad												
	Brigade												
	Hawsh Arab												
	Martyrs												
	Gathering Katiba al-												
	Mutahabeen												
	Billah												
	Kata'ib al-												
	Ansar												



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Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

			Dam	ascus (c	cont.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	Katiba Shuhada al- Nabek						
	Liwa Ahrar Hafir						
	Liwa Rijal Allah						
	Liwa Seif al- Haq						
	Liwa Suqour al-Qalamoun						
	Liwa Suqour al-Umawayeen						
	Liwa Tahrir al-Qalamoun						
	Jaysh Tahirir al-Sham						Component of the Southern Front
	Liwa Thura al- Sha'ab						



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Independent

			Dam	ascus (c	cont.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	Men of						
	Qalamoun Battalion						
	Saif al-Islam						
	Battalion						
	Sheild of						
	Qalamoun Brigade						
	Katiba Shaid						
	Mamoud						
	Murad						
	Katiba						
	Shuhada al-						
	Sarkha Katiba Yousef						
	al-Sadiq						
Eastern							
Qalamoun				Х			
Operations				Λ			
Room							
	Jabhat al- Nusra		Х				
	Ahrar al-Sham		Х			Turkey & Saudi Arabia	



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Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

			Dam	ascus (c	cont.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	Rahman Corps			Х			
	Jaysh al-Islam		Х	Х			
	Martyr Lieutenant Ahmed Abdou Brigades				Х	Southern MOC	Component of the Southern Front
	Originality and Development Front		Х				Also active in Aleppo
		Jaysh Asoud al- Sharqiya					
Free Floating Rebel Groups							
	Furqan Brigades		Х			Southern MOC	Component of the Southern Front
	Damascus Martyrs Brigade		Х				Component of the Southern Front
	Jaysh al-Ababil						Component of the Southern Front



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			Dera'	a & Qui	neitra		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Jaysh al- Harmoun							Active in Southwestern Damascus Countryside and Northern Quneitra Countryside
	Jabhat al- Nusra		Х	X			
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х	X		Turkey & Saudi Arabia	
	Fursan al- Sunna Battalion						Also active in Damascus
	Harakat Shuhada al-Sham al-Islamiya						
	Liwa al- Sayyid al- Messiyah						
	Liwa Jabal al-Sheikh						
	Liwa Omar bin al-Khatab						

Allied

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Independent

			Dera'a &	Quneit	ra (cont.))	
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	Liwa Tawhid al- Asima						
	Liwa Osama bin Zaid						
	Siyad al- Usoud Battalion						
Jaysh al- Fatah Southern Sector							
	Jabhat al- Nusra		Х	X			
	Ahrar al- Sham		Х	X		Turkey & Saudi Arabia	Also a signatory to the Fatah al- Sham Operations Room
		Suqour al-Sham	Х				Also a signatory to the Fatah al- Sham Operations Room



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Independent

Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

			Dera'a &	k Quneitra	(cont.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	Fatah al- Sham Joint Operations Room						
		Harakat Muthanna al- Islamiya					
		Kita'ib Aknaf Beit al-Maqdis					
		Jaysh al-Islam	Х		Х		
		Ajnad al-Sham	Х		Х		Also active in Idlib, Hama, Dera'a, and Quneitra
		Abu Obaida Battalion					
		Ilwiya wa Kita'ib al-Sahaba	Х				Also active in Damascus
		Ansar al-Huda Gathering					
		Jama'at Basha'ir al-Islam					
		Katibat Aswad al- Aqsad					A component of Ahrar al- Sham
		Liwa al-I'tisam Billah					

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]	Dera'a &	Quneitra	a (cont.)		
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
		Liwa al-Shahid al- A'qeed Ahmed al- Omar					
	T · A1	Mashrou Benaa Umma					
	Liwa Ahaya al-Jihad Liwa al-						
	Umarayn al-Islami						
	Liwa Ansar al-Haqq						
	Liwa Usoud al-Tawhid Tajamu al-						
	Mujahideen Nawa						



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Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

			Dera'a	& Qunei	tra (cont.))	
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
Southern Front				Х			
	Furqan Brigades		Х			Southern MOC	Damascus-based. Exact contributions unknown
	Jabhat Ansar al- Islam		Х			Southern MOC & Turkey	Also active in Damascus
	First Army			Х		Southern MOC	
		Hamza Division				Southern MOC	
		First Artillery Regiment				Southern MOC	
		Syrian Revolutionaries Front - Southern Sector				Southern MOC	
	Tahalaf Suqour al- Janoub				Х	Southern MOC	
		March 18 Division				Southern MOC	
		Fallujah Houran Division					



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Backgrounder Syrian	Opposition	Guide Jennifer	Cafarella and Ge	enevieve Casagrande	October 7, 2015
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			Dera'a	& Quneit	ra (cont.))	
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
		Jaysh al- Yarmouk				Southern MOC	Group's leader Bashar Zoubi appears to have been sidelined by the MOC
		Firqat Usoud al-Sunnah				Southern MOC	
		Liwa Tawhid al-Janub					
	Usoud al- Harb Operations Room				X	Southern MOC	
		Liwa Mua'taz Billah				Southern MOC	
		Alwiyat al- Omari				Southern MOC	
		Liwa Shabab al-Sunna				Southern MOC	
		Liwa Tawhid Kita'ib Houran				Southern MOC	
	First Corps				Х	Southern MOC	
		Fajr al-Tawhid Division				Southern MOC	



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Independent Component of Jabhat al-Nusra

			Dera'a	ı & Qunei	tra (cont.)	
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
		8th Infantry					
		Brigade 19th Infantry Brigade					
		21st Infantry Division					
		99th Infantry Division					
		Furqat Nasr Salah al-Din Division				Southern MOC	
		Liwa al- Haramayn al- Shurayfayn					
		Liwa Fursan al- Houriya					
		Liwa Asafa al- Jaboub al-Har					
		Liwa Sajoul Liwa Jasahr al- Houran					
		55th Infantry Brigade					
		Liwa Saraya al- Karama					



Independent

			Dera's	a & Qune:	itra (cont.	.)	
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
		Liwa Shuhada al-Harra					
	Seif al- Sham Brigades				X	Southern MOC	
	24th Infantry Division						
	Ahrar Nawa Division						
	Fajr al- Islam Division					Southern MOC	
	Liwa al- Mughawir al-Awli						
	Liwa Jaydour Houran						
	Shahid Ra'ed al- Masri						
	Jabhat al- Sham al- Muwahida					Southern MOC	

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			Dera'a	& Qunei	tra (cont	.)	
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes
	69th Special Forces Division					Southern MOC	
	Damascus Martyrs Brigade		Х				Component of the Southern Front
	Jaysh al- Ababil						Also active in Damascus
	Liwa Ahrar Inkhil						
	First Brigade						
	Liwa Muatassim Billah						
	Liwa Muhajireen wal-Ansar					Southern MOC	
	Liwa Amoud Houran					Southern MOC	
	Katibat Fadayeen Houran						



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	Dera'a & Quneitra (cont.)									
Operations Room	Rebel Group	Local components of group	Cross- Province	Power- broker	Potential Power- broker	Financed by	Notes			
	Liwa Khayalat al-Zaydi									
	Liwa Ahsa'ar al- Lajat									
	Ansar al- Sunnah									
	Liwa Fursan Houran									
	Liwa Shuhada al-Islam					Southern MOC				
	Liwa Shuhada Houran									



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Component of Jabhat al-Nusra