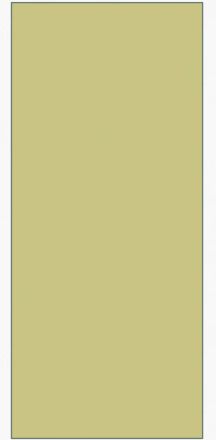


**THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB  
SPRING THREE YEARS LATER, THE  
PROMISES AND THE FAILURES**

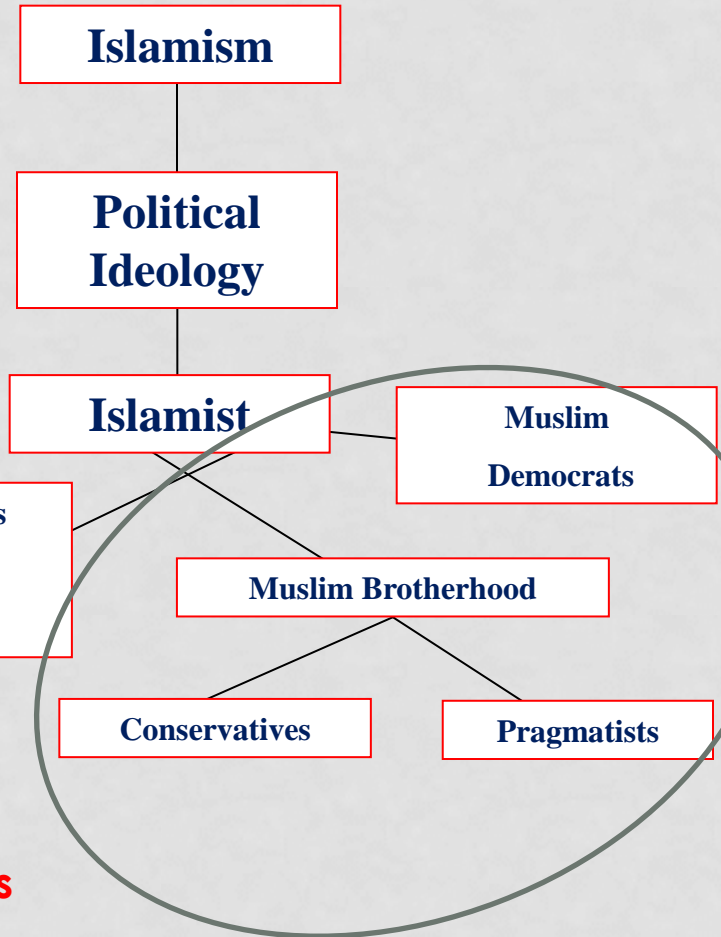
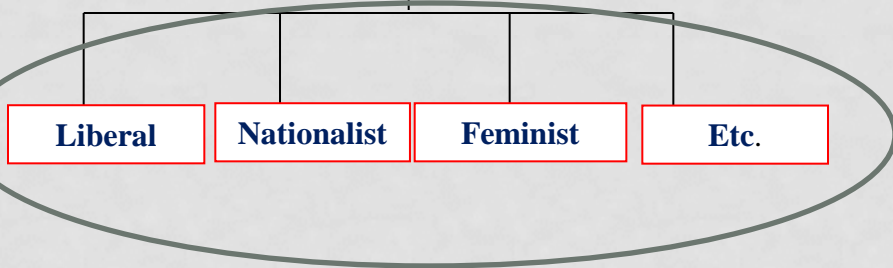


# A COMPLEX REALITY

- A vast region
- The Arab Spring: A common reality
- Diversity (ethnic, religious, linguistic)

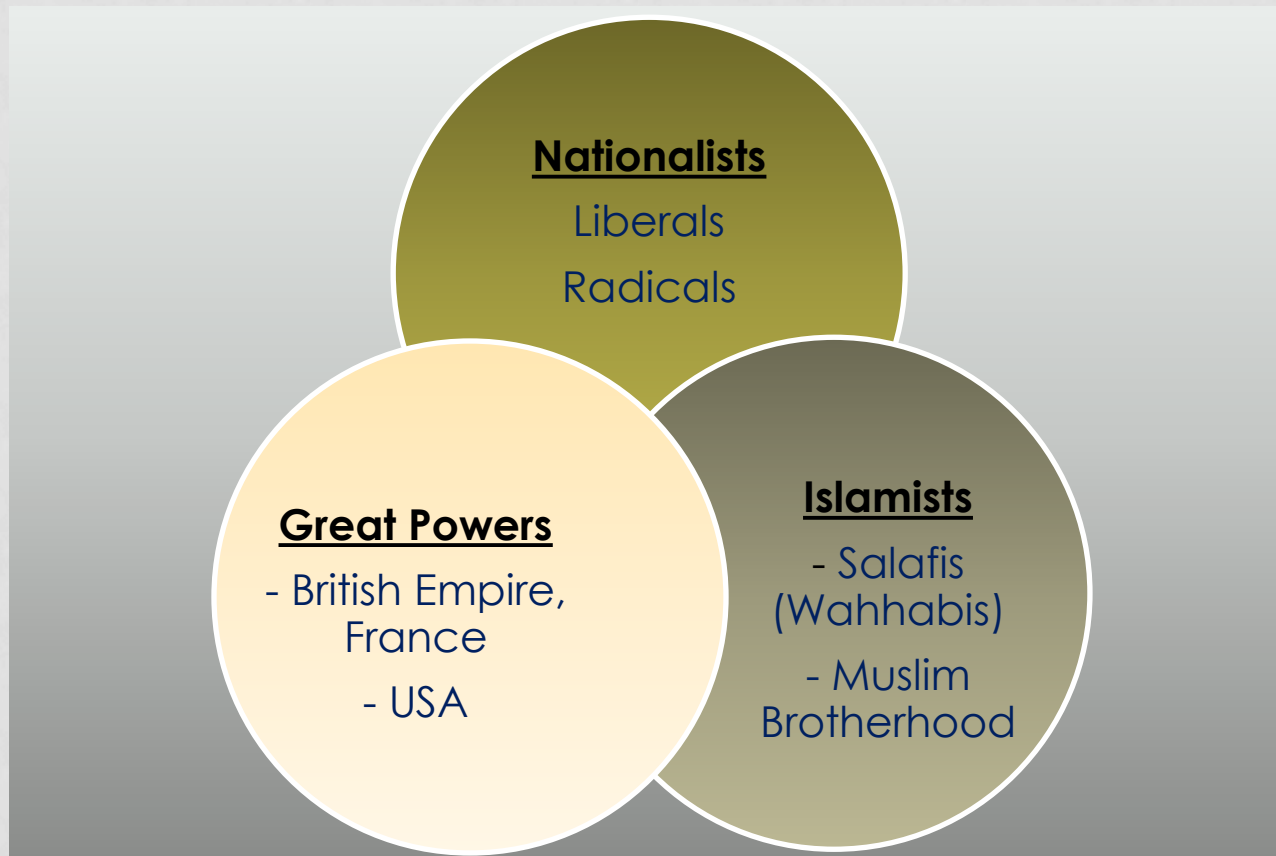


# DIVERSITY IN THE MIDDLE-EAST

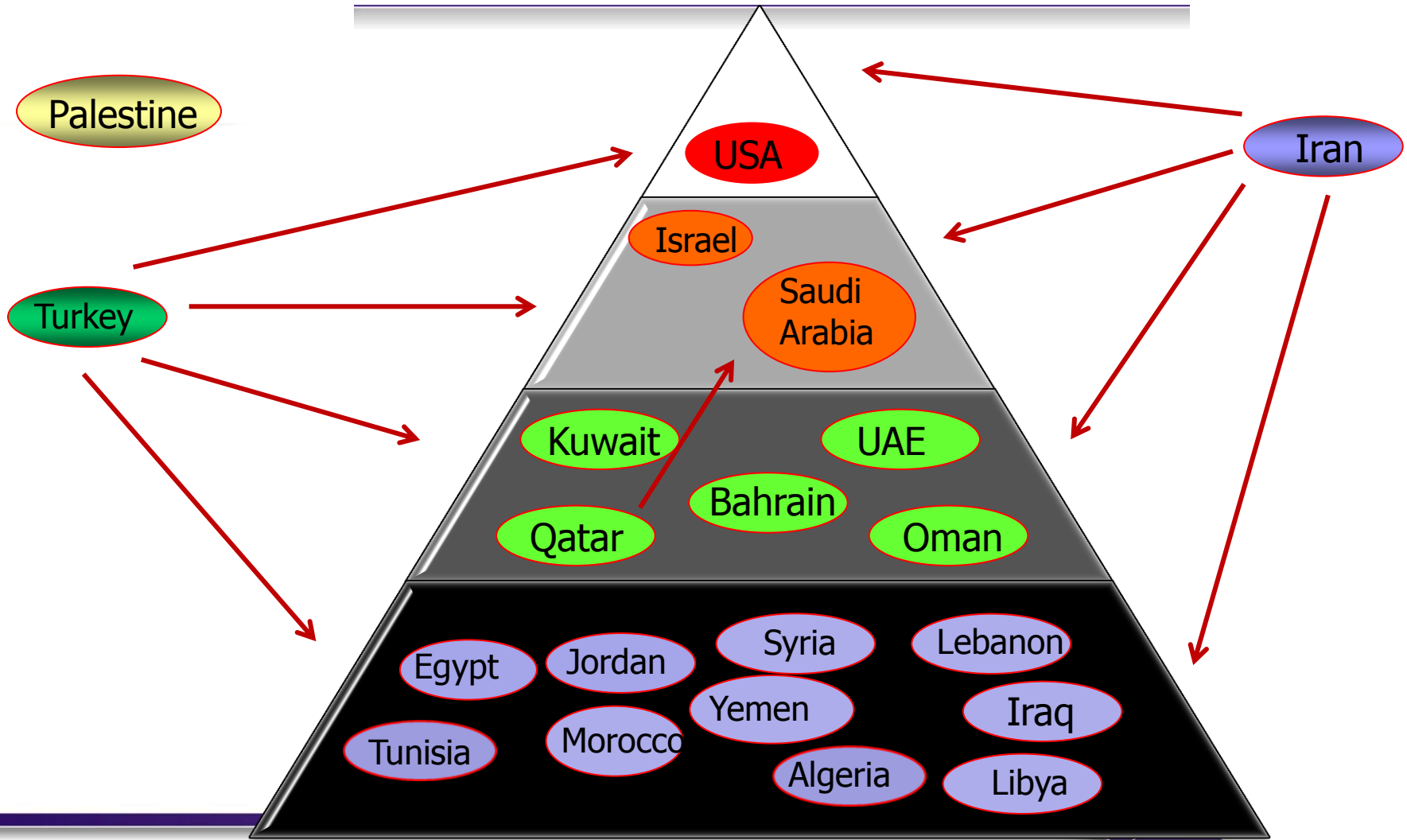


- Democratic rules accepted
- Liberal Values ?

# ACTORS AND RIVALRY SINCE WW1



# Pax Americana in the Middle-East : A Conflictual Regional Order



# WHAT DEFINES THE ARAB SPRING?

- **Massive demonstrations**
- **Peaceful demonstrations**
- **A professionalized military**
- **Post-ideological slogans**
- **The surprise effect**



- **Regime change  
(Egypt, Tunisia)**
- **Strong ideological  
polarisation**

# TRAGEDY IN SYRIA

- Graffiti in Dar'a
- Repression
- Demonstrations
- Counter-demonstrations
- Regime's resistance
- Repression on a large scale

## Insurrection / Civil War

- + 100 000 fatalities
- 5 millions/20 internally displaced
- 700 000 refugees
- ½ million homes destroyed



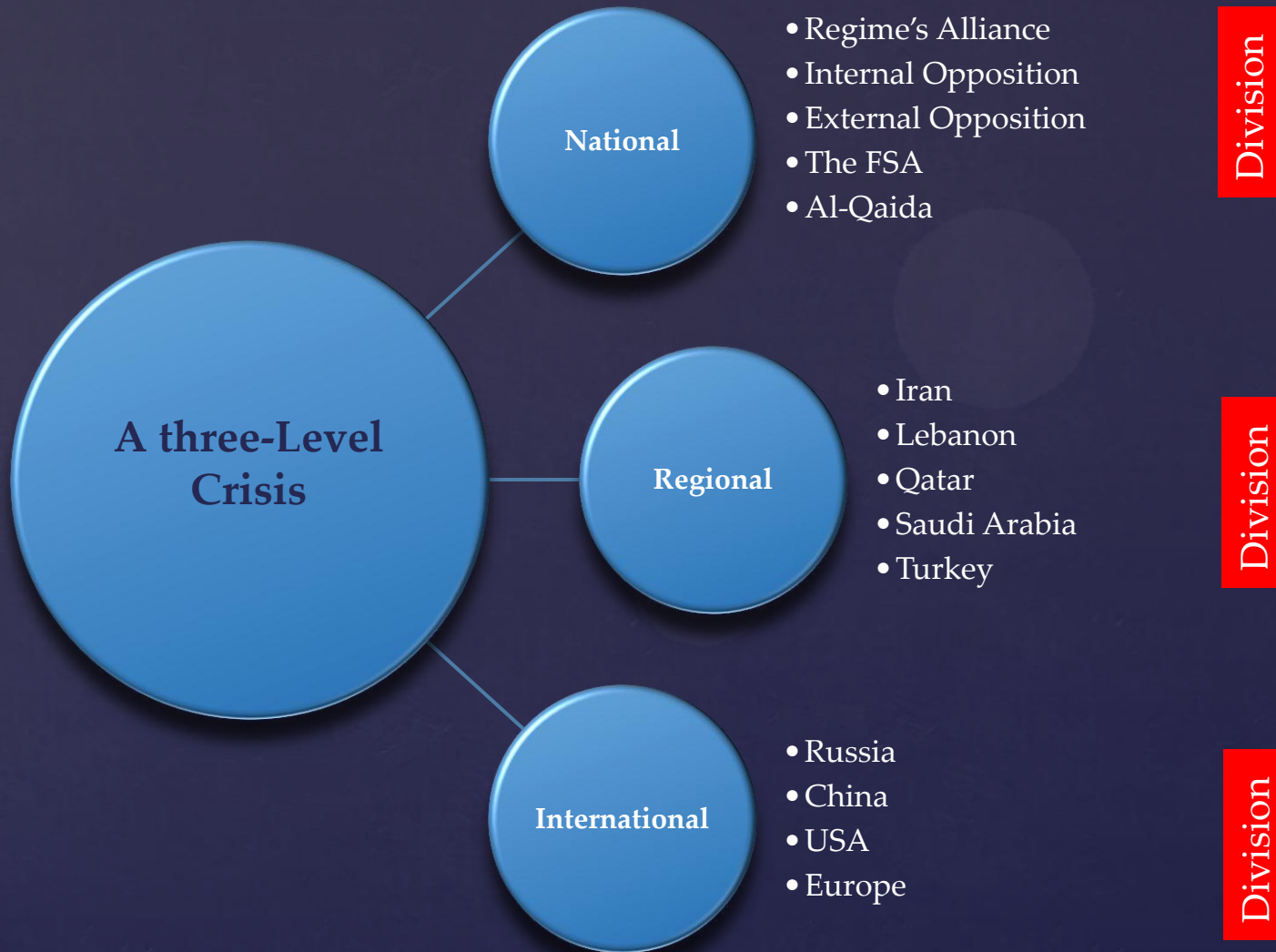
# THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SYRIAN CASE

- **An authoritarian regime: Lack of good governance, corruption, nepotism, a repressive apparatus, lack of freedom, etc.**

**BUT**

- **A fragile ethno-religious structure:**
  - **75% Sunni Muslims (Arabs, Kurds, Circassians, Chechens)**
  - **15% Alawite and Druzes Muslims**
  - **10% Christians of various rites**
- **Regional allies: Iran, Hezbollah et Lebanese nationalists, Palestinians.**
- **Stable relations: Other countries and the West**





# The National Level

Regime	Internal Opposition	SNC- NCF	FSA	Jihadits
Ongoing Reforms	Independent (nationalists, Leftists)	Supporters: West, Qatar, Turkey	Former officers	Al-Qaida
Plot against Syria	Opposed to military action	Muslim Brotherhood	Umbrella org	Legitimized by NCF and FSA
Terrorism	Opposed to intervention	Liberal figures	Lack of C and C	Extremist Agenda
	Opposed to religious extremism	Intervention (Libya)	Islamists fighters (sunnis)	
	Minorities	No authority (armed groups)	Foreign fighters	Foreign fighters
	Dialogue	Representation problem		

# The Regional Level

Iran	Turkey	Qatar, Saudi Arabia	Israel
Defending an ally	Intervention (Libya)	Intervention (Libya)	Pressure on Iran
Hezbollah	Will to power	A perpetual cold war	Status quo on Palestine
Shia populations	Neo-ottomanism	Exporting conflicts (SA)	
Conflict with the US		Islamist order (Qatar)	
		A non-democratic agenda	

# The International Level

Russia	France, UK	USA
The only ally	Intervention (Libya)	Weakening Iran
Non-interference	Will to power	Double-containment
Intervention (Libya)	Arm the opposition	Religious extremism
Religious extremism		The memory of Iraq

# IS THERE A SOLUTION?

- **A risk of ethnic cleansing**
  - The emblematic case of Christians (1.5 millions)
  - Systematically threats in center Syria
  - 90% Homs Christians (10 000 people) Expelled from their homes
- **The Kofi Annan Plan**
  - Dialogue among Syrians
  - Condition: Pressures on all actors
  - Geneva II

**Thank You**