

JAN

2014

Boot-Heel or Achilles Heel? Turkey's Hatay Province



[TRADOC G-2 Intelligence Support Activity](#)
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Complex Operational Environment and
Threat Integration Directorate (CTID)





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Purpose

- To deepen Soldiers' and leaders' understanding of operational environments in the Mediterranean/North Africa (MENA) Region.
- To inform the Army training community of tribal loyalties in Turkey that frame local opinions about the Syrian civil war, and how these loyalties can impact national allegiances.
- To explain how a native-born leftist threat actor is undermining Alawite allegiance to the Turkish government.
- To show the linkage between notorious massacres of civilians in northwestern Syria on 2-3 May 2013 and the twin car bombings in Reyhanli, Hatay Province, Turkey a week later.
- To emphasize the potential for the sectarian divide in the Syrian civil war to assume the guise of an ethnic cleansing campaign that could pit Turkish nationals in Hatay Province against local Alawites sympathetic to the Syrian regime of Bashar al Assad.

Executive Summary

- Ethnic Arab Alawites living in Hatay Province typically subscribe to an eccentric offshoot of Shia Islam that scorns Sunnis, especially including refugees from the ongoing Syrian civil war and supporters of the anti-Assad Free Syrian Army (FSA). Meanwhile, the current regime in Turkey is moderately pro-Sunni.
- Mihraç Ural, a Turkish-born Alawite long connected with militant leftist and separatist organizations, also leads a pro-Assad Shabiha militia unit that operates inside Syria. He has publicly advocated "cleansing" the Turkish-Syrian Alawite coastline of Sunni enclaves.
- Ural is suspected of perpetrating massacres of Sunnis in Baniyas Province, Syria on 2-3 May 2013, as well as twin car bombings in downtown Reyhanli, Turkey about a week later.ⁱ His alleged involvement in both of these terrorist attacks underscores the danger that the Syrian civil war could jump international boundaries to enter a new phase characterized by a prolonged cycle of ethnic cleansing.

Cover photo: Image grab taken 5 May 2013 from a video uploaded on [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com) showing burning vehicle in Al Bayda, Syria.

ⁱSpelling conventions for Baniyas vary according to source. This Threat Report uses the spelling convention reflected in the United Nations General Assembly "[Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic](#)," 16 August 2013.



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- Between 300,000 and 500,000 Alawites of Arab descent currently reside in Hatay Province, near Turkey's southern border with Syria. Some of them harbor an intense sympathy for the regime of Bashar al Assad.
- Prior to 1939, Turkey's Hatay Province was an integral part of Syria. Syria has never officially accepted the international mandate that compelled it to relinquish its former northern province.

Map



Figure 1. Map of Turkey showing Hatay Province highlighted in red

Introduction

Turkey, like the state of Missouri in North America, has a geographical “boot-heel.” In contrast to its American counterpart, however, Turkey's southernmost province came into the national fold only after intense diplomatic wrangling that played out just before the outbreak of World War II. In June 1939, in the aftermath of a referendum boycotted by local Alawites and plagued by allegations of voting irregularities, Hatay, formerly part of Syria, swung decisively into Turkey's political sphere of influence. Since the annexation, conflicted loyalties vexing Hatay's population have been problematic for the Turkish state.

The Syrians viewed the loss of their former territory as an affront to national sovereignty. They argued that Hatay was inextricably bound to Syria by the provisions of a Franco-Syrian Treaty of Independence, signed in 1936. Although border tensions between Turkey and Syria eased over time, the latter steadfastly refused to sanction Turkish acquisition of the former Syrian province. To this day, Syrian maps persist in showing Hatay as part of Syria, even as mapmakers on the other side of the border depict it as a Turkish possession. In this regard, the Syrian civil war has opened old wounds and exacerbated the problems of divided national loyalties.



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Turkey's unique mix of religious sects and ethnic groups further complicates matters. Alawites of Arab descent constitute about 30% of Hatay Province's population. A minority within a minority, they represent only a small fraction of the country's 75 million citizens, who are overwhelmingly ethnically Turkish and Sunni Muslim. Within Hatay Province, Alawites coexist with Alevis, who throughout Turkey comprise just over 10% of the entire country's population. Other than the semantic coincidence of having similar sounding names, Alawites and Alevis actually have very little in common, especially in the context of religious beliefs. Technically, Alevis are neither Sunnis nor Shiites, but adhere to a strong secular tradition that espouses separation of religion and government, tends to be supportive of gender equality, and embraces an unstructured interpretation of Islam historically tolerant of non-Muslims. Alevism is a unique, Turkish brand of Islam. Members of this sect are the only Muslims in the world who worship in a language other than Arabic.

While Alevis are ethnically Turkish, most Alawites are Arabs who profess an eccentric offshoot of Shia Islam that enforces male dominance, maintains a rigid and secretive hierarchy, and only remotely resembles the brand of Islam associated with Iran. Despite the core differences between Alawites and Alevis, Turks and outsiders alike sometimes tend to confuse them, most often simply because of their similar sounding names. In reality Alevis are no more Alawites than Protestants are protestors.

Since the outbreak of the civil war in Syria, some members of the Arab Alawite minority in Hatay Province have sided with far-left organizations in objecting to the rising tide of (mostly Sunni) Syrian refugees, and protested against the Turkish government's stance supportive of the Free Syrian Army. The regime of Turkish Prime Minister Recip Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) is well known for its pro-Sunni leanings, to the extent that the country's opposition parties have accused it of trying to make Turkey a symbol of Sunni Muslim hegemony in the MENA region. Erdogan has been hard-pressed to convince the fractious elements within Hatay Province that the Turkish state has their best interests at heart, and that all concerned are, after all, fellow countrymen. "Turkification" remains a work-in-progress in Hatay Province.¹ At times, the opposition to Prime Minister Erdogan's policies has turned violent.

Ethnic Tensions and Border Violence

In part, the violence is grounded in a tendency among some local Alawites in Hatay Province to view the rebel cause in neighboring Syria as a farce, amounting to little more than a conspiracy that seeks to consolidate Sunni power in the Middle East. They regard the regime of Bashar al Assad as a bulwark against a militant brand of Sunni Islam bent on conquering the MENA region. Alawites tend to turn a blind eye to atrocities perpetrated by the neighboring Syrian government in its drive to eliminate elements of the Free Syrian Army and their sympathizers.

Local pro-Syrian sympathizers in Hatay Province have been known to cross the line from strident political dissent to subverting government authority. The impulse to condone anti-Sunni violence became painfully apparent in a spate of incidents that afflicted the Turkey-Syria border region in the spring of 2013. Most significant among them was a massive car-bombing that inflicted heavy civilian casualties in downtown Reyhanli, Turkey. This terrorist IED attack became the focus of an article published in the September 2013 issue of the CTID *Red Diamond*, titled "[War Comes to Reyhanli: Terrorist Attack of 11 May 2013](#)."² Although no group stepped forward to claim responsibility for this attack, Turkish authorities suspected involvement by the Syrian intelligence agency, *Mukhabarat*, in league with one or more leftist organizations.



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Mihraç Ural as Syrian Proxy and Turkish Nemesis

The Reyhanli twin car bombings, deemed by one observer to be Turkey's first large-scale "Middle Eastern-style" massacre of civilians, made it impossible for Turks to ignore the civil war virtually at their doorstep.³ Though strategically important in its own right, the attack was actually the second of two major incidents that underscored both the common culture and permeability of the Turkish-Syrian borderland. Mirhaç Ural, a radical leftist Alawite native to the region, embodies a unique ethnic mix that sometimes inspires outsiders to look upon Hatay Province as a microcosm of Syria inside Turkey. He is also a tangible example of how conflicted national loyalties hold high potential for surfacing in sinister ways. Ural was once a member of Turkey's People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C), a Cold War-era revolutionary communist organization whose origins date to the early 1970s. Engin Erkiner, a former leading member of the same group, alleges that Ural had his own set of priorities that skewed the way he viewed the strategies and goals pursued by the DHKP/C. While the latter sought to topple the Turkish government and replace it with the kind of "workers' paradise" once prevalent in Soviet bloc countries, the motivation that drove Ural's priorities was a desire to see Hatay Province returned to Syria.

Over time a DHKP/C schism ensued when Ural organized a splinter faction called Acilciler, or the "Urgent Ones," a name derived from a separatist manifesto titled "Urgent Problems of Turkey's Revolution."⁴ Ural's former colleagues also allege that from the very beginning of his association with the DHKP/C, he exploited the organization according to plans formulated by the Syrian intelligence community. Some authorities inside Turkey have always accepted the notion that once the Cold War ended, the Mukhabarat retained sleeper cells inside Turkey that could be activated in future contingencies if Syria ever found itself in need of insurgent support.

Ultimately, according to this scenario, the Syrian civil war acted as a catalyst that again allowed Ural and Acilciler to make a comeback as players on the regional political stage.⁵

After the Arab Spring created conditions favorable for fomenting civil strife in Syria, Turkish journalists began drawing public attention to the potential threat posed by leftist organizations operating inside their own country. They especially noted Mihraç Ural as the current leader of Acilciler, or the "Hatay Liberation Army," as his organization is known inside Syria.⁶

After Ural fled to Syria in 1980, the Assad regime granted him Syrian citizenship, and he eventually married into the Assad family. He reportedly operates out of Latakia, Syria, and in addition to Ancilciler, also leads a number of Shabiha militia units. Collectively called the Syrian Resistance, they actively engage in suppressing FSA rebels prosecuting the civil war against Assad. Mihraç Ural's present purpose in life, according to one Turkish journalist, is to "stir up sectarian conflict in Hatay and other provinces with the hope that the Turkish government will abandon its anti-Assad Syrian policy."⁷



Figure 2. Reyhanli residents surveying damage from the 11 May 2013 IED attack



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Two Atrocities, One Perpetrator?

The potentially game-changing scale of casualties inflicted by the Reyhanli twin car bombings almost immediately came under scrutiny by NATO analysts. Authorities in Turkey lost little time in discerning a connection between that terrorist attack and another one perpetrated only days earlier (2-3 May 2013) in Baniyas, a province within Tartus, a Syrian governate. Referring to Reyhanli, Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu declared on 12 May 2013 that “those who committed the Baniyas massacre are also responsible for these attacks.”⁸ Details of the Reyhanli bombings need not be discussed here, since as mentioned earlier, they received coverage in a previous CTID publication.

The causes of the massacre in Baniyas Province are partly geographic, partly ethnic, and partly a reflection of a type of radicalized Alawite leadership embodied in the person of Mihraç Ural. Although little noted at the time by an American media still mesmerized by the Boston Marathon terrorist attack of 15 April 2013, the Baniyas incident soon became such a focus of international attention that it spawned an investigation conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. According to UN sources, the Assad regime has taken little if any action to rein in violence directed against rebel sympathizers by pro-government Alawite militias during Syria’s current civil war.⁹

What is called the Baniyas massacre, the most notorious example of Assad’s inability or unwillingness to control his pro-government militias, actually consisted of two separate incidents that occurred only one day apart in neighboring villages. In the pre-dawn hours of 2 May 2013, Syrian army forces sealed off the main roads leading into and out of the small village of Al Bayda. Shortly thereafter a barrage of indirect fire ensued, forcing many locals to flee into nearby surrounding farmlands. By about 7 a.m. approximately 60-70 Syrian army personnel were fanning out through the village to take up sniping positions overlooking the town square. At this point members of the National Defense Forces (pro-Assad militia) made their appearance. According to the findings of a United Nations (UN) report of investigation published in September, “hundreds of civilians were arrested while some were executed in various locations. Evidence indicates that between 40-60 bodies were laid out in one room, a mobile phone shop, near the square.”¹⁰ The perpetrators apparently herded the victims into the town square, and then executed them before removing their remains to a nearby location where they were set ablaze. Some bodies showed signs of blunt force trauma. Witnesses reported finding dozens of corpses strewn randomly throughout the village streets, and that an aggregate of between 150-250 noncombatants of both sexes lost their lives in this massacre.



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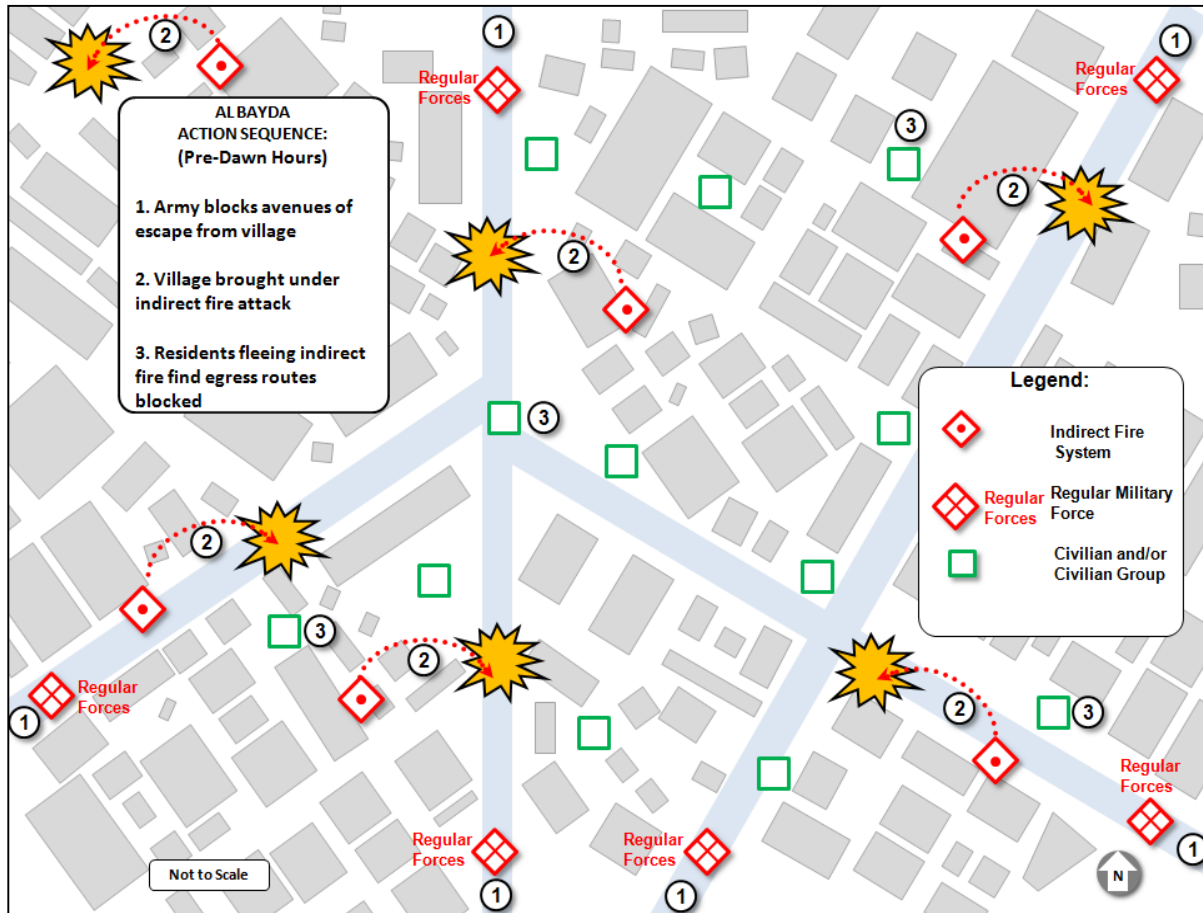


Figure 3. Al Bayda Massacre, phase 1 (pre-dawn hours): Syrian army elements block avenues of escape and bring the village under attack by indirect fire

cordon and search – A technique of conducting a movement to contact that involves isolating a target area and searching suspect locations within that target area to capture or destroy possible enemy forces and contraband.



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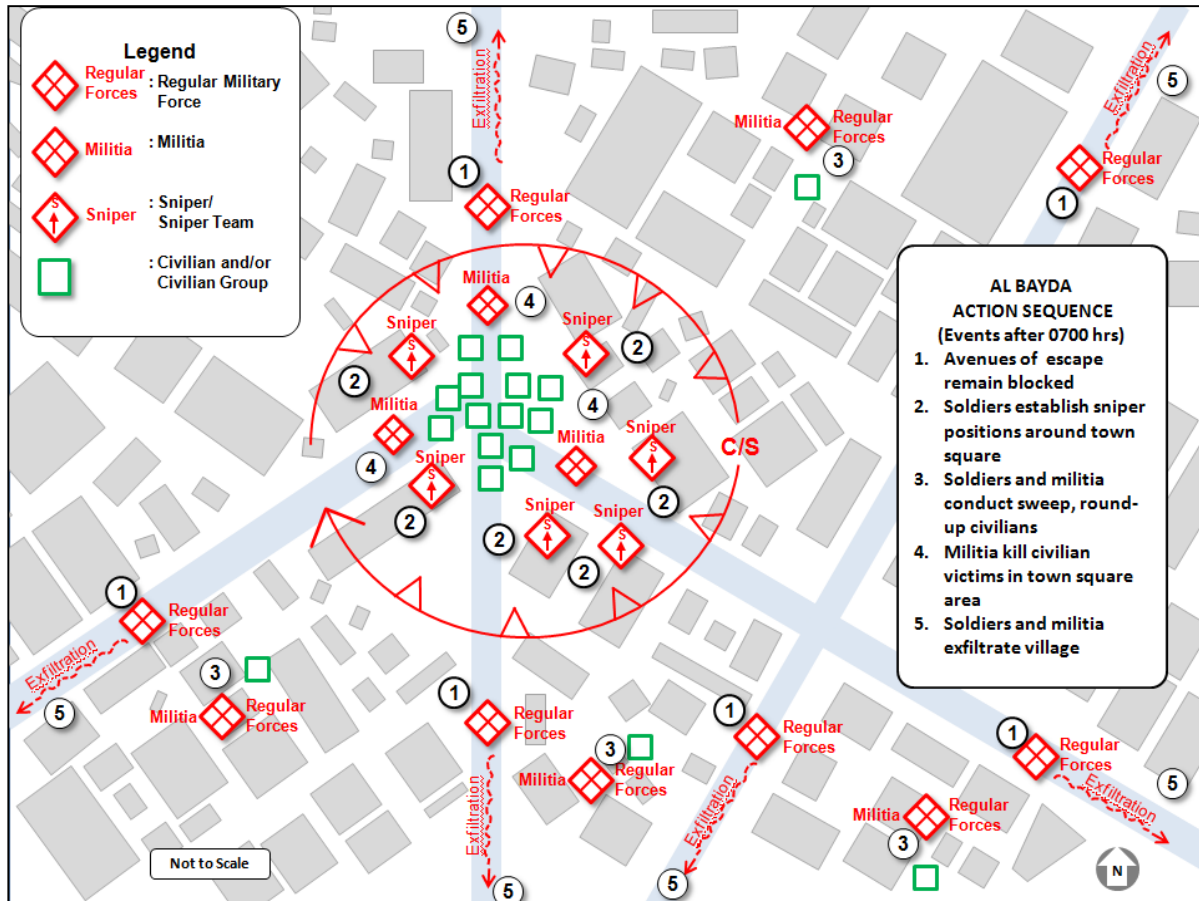


Figure 4. Al Bayda Massacre, phase 2 (after 0700 hours): First, militia and army units cordon-off town square and herd residents into village center. Then, militia elements kill civilian residents in the cordoned-off area.

The following day, on 3 May, forces loyal to the Syrian government committed a similar atrocity in the neighboring village of Ras Al Nabe'. Events unfolded in much the same way as they had the day before in Al Bayda. First, government troops sealed off escape routes, then a barrage of indirect fire followed, and finally, pro-Assad forces killed an additional 150-200 civilians. The Baniyas massacres, incidentally, occurred on the first-year anniversary month of a similar series of Shabiha massacres in Homs Province. As stated in "[The Shabiha of Syria](#)," an OEA Team Threat Report published in July 2012, "on 25-26 May 2012, Taldou was the scene of one of the most brutal attacks on civilians seen in Syria."¹¹ The civilian casualty count for the two massacres in Baniyas, however, far exceeded that registered a year earlier in the Taldou incident.

UN investigators, though denied access to Syria, nevertheless traveled to the region, where between 15 May and 15 July they collected first-hand accounts of the massacres from witnesses who had fled the country. Investigation findings clearly placed the blame for the Al Bayda and Ras Al Nabe massacres on the Syrian regime, specifically mentioning the National Defense Forces that are known to be comprised



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of Shabiha militia units. As explained in “[The Shabiha of Syria](#)” Threat Report, the Shabiha provide Assad’s regime a cover of plausible deniability—in this instance the practice of using militias as proxies to perform distasteful tasks, enabling the Syrian government to formally deny involvement in atrocities committed by its own supporters.¹²

The UN report findings further indicated that no armed opposition was present in or around Al Bayda or Ras Al Nabe that could have resisted pro-government forces either before or during the massacres. Both towns, typical of the smattering of Sunni villages located along Syria’s Mediterranean coastline, are like islands in a cultural sea of dominant Alawite influence. The Syrian civil war placed them in a precarious position. They were culturally bound to the rebel opposition, but surrounded by Alawite communities loyal to Assad. Although Al Bayda and Ras Al Nabe became havens for Syrian army defectors and prospective recruits for the rebel Free Syrian Army, prior to May 2013 the government exercised some restraint in persecuting local residents there, usually detaining only specific individuals suspected of having ties with rebel groups. The early May massacres marked a turning point that entailed the use of mass punishment as a means of retaliating against rebels seeking to expand their geographic influence to include Syria’s coastal areas. “It’s a reminder,” declared one citizen, “that the coast is a red line. That if [the rebels] so much as think they can attack the coast, this is what will happen to the pockets of Sunnis here.”¹³

Confronting the dual specter of ethnic cleansing coupled with a Syrian threat to its southern frontier, the Turkish government did not have to look very far in its search for suspects. Mihraç Ural, though born in Turkey’s Hatay Province, is currently believed to reside with his family in Latakia, Syria, the capital of a governate that shares the same name. Latakia governate is bounded on the north by Hatay Province, Turkey, and on the South by Tartus, the same governate where the Baniyas massacres occurred.ⁱⁱ

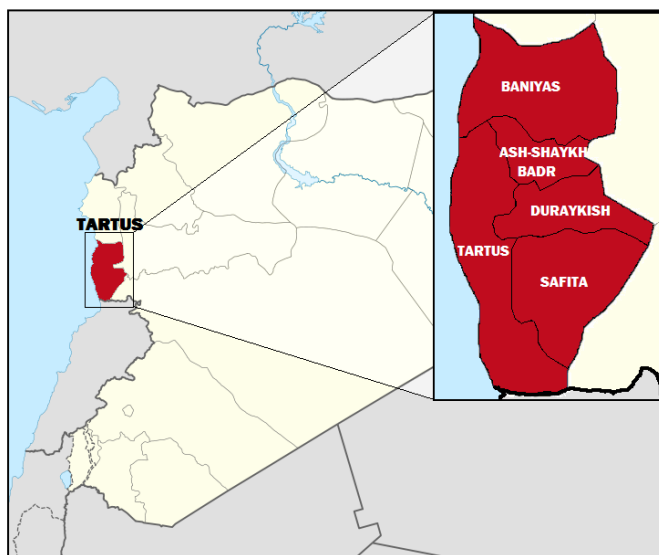


Figure 5. Map showing provinces within Tartus Governate, Syria

ⁱⁱBaniyas, where the massacres occurred, is the northernmost district of Tartus Governate. Latakia governate, where Mihrac Ural operates, lies between the Tartus Governate and the southern boundary of Turkey.



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A few days after the massacres at Al Bayda and Ras Al Nabe, but before the twin car bombings across the Turkish border in Reyhanli, a YouTube video emerged wherein Ural indulged in what amounted to self-incrimination.¹⁴ The video showed Ural, seated beside an Alawite cleric, advocating violence against Sunni enclaves in Baniyas. Referring to the Free Syrian Army, Ural said, “Baniyas is the only passage to the sea for those traitors . . . we must quickly besiege it, and I mean it, and start the cleansing . . . we will go to the battlefield in Baniyas this week, if we have to, and fulfill our national duty.”¹⁵ Ural’s pronouncements, coming as they did only days after the massacres, left little doubt in the minds of Turkish authorities that he (and the Shabiha militia detachments under his control) played a key role in planning and carrying out the atrocities.



Figure 6. [YouTube](#) screengrab image of Mihraç Ural

Strategic Implications of Mihraç Ural’s Handiwork

Turkish intelligence already knew that Ural was operating out of two Acilciler camps established in Latakia Governorate, Syria during the latter part of 2012. Since that time, he and approximately 2,000 of his militiamen have been stirring up sectional discord on both sides of the Syrian border and in Turkey’s Hatay Province, enlisting Alawite recruits for the Syrian army.¹⁶ Speaking less than a week after the Baniyas massacres, Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu discerned a strategic design in Syrian policy. Without mentioning Mihraç Ural by name, Davutoglu cited the Baniyas incidents as proof that the Syrians were now pursuing a new strategy of “ethnic cleansing” along their Mediterranean coastline. He accused the Assad regime of trying to open “a space or corridor for a certain sect” (meaning Alawites) that presumably would create an all-Alawite zone that potentially could extend from the Syrian city of Homs southward to Lebanon.¹⁷



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Three days after Foreign Minister Davutoglu made these allegations, a pair of car-bombs detonated in the downtown area of Reyhanli, killing over 50 people and injuring well over one hundred, at a Hatay Province location barely inside Turkey's southwestern border with Syria. The day following the Reyhanli terrorist attack, Davutoglu appeared live on television, telling a Turkish audience that "those who committed the Baniyas massacre are also responsible for these [Reyhanli] attacks."¹⁸ Both the Syrian government and Mihraç Ural denied the foreign minister's allegations. It was probably more than coincidence, however, that in the days following the bombings, Turkish authorities rounded up over a dozen individuals belonging to leftist organizations, including Acilciler, known for their past links to Syrian intelligence. Mihraç Ural, however, remained at large.

Analyst Assessment

US observers tended to view the Baniyas massacres and the Reyhanli car-bomb incident as merely the two latest episodes in the spiral of violence that has plagued Syria since the early days of its civil war. An American press still enthralled with April's Boston Marathon bombing largely overlooked both atrocities. Despite this oversight, to examine what Turkish authorities regard as the overarching cause-and-effect relationship between the Reyhanli IED attack and the earlier massacres in Baniyas may hold important insights for forces eligible for future deployments to the MENA region.

Concerns over the dangers posed by Mihraç Ural and his pro-Syrian separatist group, Acilciler, are well-founded. If Syrian proxies like Ural's secure a foothold in Hatay Province, the outcome could lead to rebellion within the southernmost territory of Turkey, rendering the country's political leadership as well as its armed forces vulnerable to violence potentially capable of spreading throughout the entire MENA region. Assad himself recently threatened as much in an interview with CBS News. He warned his enemies to "expect everything. Not necessarily from the [Syrian] government . . . You have different parties, you have different factions, and you have different ideologies. You have everything in this region now. So you have to expect every action, everything."¹⁹ Mihraç Ural's Acilciler remains an active threat to the established government in Hatay Province, Turkey.

Both the DHKP/C and Acilciler have given ample indications in recent months that they are indeed capable of everything, as Assad phrased it. The National Counterterrorism Center indicates that between 2008 and 2010, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) was behind 60% of the terrorist attacks carried out in Turkey, while only 5% were attributed to groups affiliated with the DHKP/C or militant Islamist factions. Since March 2013, however, a tenuous ceasefire arranged between Kurdish separatists and the Turkish government has held, significantly lowering the level of PKK violence, at least for a time.²⁰ Meanwhile, the Assad regime's motives for punishing the Turkish government for pursuing its anti-Syrian policies remain as strong as ever. Regional destabilization through the use of proxies is a viable tool inside the Syrian kitbag, and Acilciler wages a continuous information war against the Turkish state up and down a sizeable length of the Mediterranean coastline. Now that PKK violence has waned, the DHKP/C and Acilciler still have much to offer Syria as potential resources for terrorism.

The longer the situation inside Syria remains in flux, the greater the potential that Syria as a nation-state may fracture, leaving sizeable geographic enclaves of minorities to fend for themselves. This is as true for the country's ruling Alawite faction as it is for any other group. Some people on the ground, naturally anxious about what the future holds, are sorting through possible contingencies and alternative courses of action. One plausible scenario would involve establishing a mini-state in the Alawite heartland, a



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mountainous region that parallels the Mediterranean coast, and runs southward from Turkey's border with Syria and onward well into Lebanon. Such an "Alawite Fortress" would give Syria's anti-Sunni minority faction a natural "perimeter" from which to defend itself against Sunni reprisals in case the current regime collapses.²¹

The problem faced by Turkey is that fracturing of nation-states can become contagious. The topography of the border region that separates Turkey and Syria tends to render currently existing international boundaries irrelevant, or even nonexistent, as a matter of practicality. The director of the Turkish Research Program at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy recently described the border as relatively flat, "with nearly no physical barriers. The more the political boundary dissipates, the more northern Syria and southern Turkey will merge into each other."²² Such a merger, though perhaps a dream come true for Mihraç Ural and his supporters, could have dire implications for Turkish sovereignty as well as regional stability.

The regional effects of a fraying Syrian state could have major strategic consequences for the United States and its allies, including scenarios that might require deployment of US forces. Simply put, instability along the mountainous Mediterranean coastline—the geographical area that includes Turkey's Hatay Province and Syria's northwestern governates—acts as a magnet for non-state threat actors hostile to US interests. During the same months in which the Baniyas massacres and the Reyhanli car bombings occurred, Sunni cleric Yusuf Quaradawi of Qatar declared that destruction of the Assad regime was a Sunni "religious duty." Such inflammatory statements caused Gary Grappo, a retired senior Foreign Service officer and former Ambassador to Oman, to predict that religious war was on the horizon in Syria, and that "other Muslim nations with large Sunni majorities, including . . . Turkey, would inevitably be sucked into the tempest."²³



Figure 7. Turkish Riot Police in action



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Meanwhile, any increased potential for lack of governance in a particular region increases the chances that the United States could be drawn into the conflict. Thus to the extent that Mihraç Ural, Acilciler, and other separatist threat actors destabilize the situation in the Turkish-Syrian border areas, the greater the likelihood that American forces might be compelled to deploy in order to restore governance and protect a NATO ally. In such a contingency, understanding the human terrain of MENA's Mediterranean coastline could mean the difference between success and failure, and provide deployed forces a hedge against the law of unintended consequences.²⁴

Training Implications

- Training scenarios should recognize the potential for Sunni-Shiite religious violence continuing to erode the stability of Middle Eastern governments for the foreseeable future.
- Raising Soldiers' and leaders' awareness of how cultural dynamics can affect local perceptions of foreign forces can contribute to unit force protection efforts during deployments.
- CTCs and home station training environments are well-suited for using as role players to impersonate proxies and non-state threat actors.
- Training scenarios that portray the potentially strategic consequences of local incidents involving cultural insensitivity or misunderstandings can deepen Soldier and leader understanding of operational environments that may hold relevance for future deployments.
- Training scenarios that explore the capability of local threat actors to exploit indigenous populations can expose Soldiers to the information warfare arena and convince them of its tactical, operational, and strategic significance.

Related Products

Follow these links to view related products:

- CTID *Red Diamond*, "[War Comes to Reyhanli: Terrorist Attack of 11 May 2013](#)," November 2013.
- CTID OEA Team Threat Report, "[The Shabiha of Syria](#)," July 2012.

See also other articles in the [Red Diamond Newsletter](#) publication, which covers a variety of topics useful to both soldiers and civilians ranging from enemy TTP to the nature and analysis of various threat actors.

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Figure Credits

- Figure 1. Map of Turkey showing Hatay Province highlighted in red. [Wikimedia Commons](#), 30 July 2011.
- Figure 2. Reyhanli residents surveying damage from the 11 May IED attack. [RAPID Weekly News Update](#), vol.3 no. 20, 17 May 2013.
- Figure 3. Al Bayda Massacre, phase 1: Syrian army elements block avenues of escape and bring the village under attack by indirect fire. CTID Graphic, December 2013.
- Figure 4. Al Bayda Massacre, phase 2: First, militia and army units cordon off town square and herd residents into cordoned area. Then, militia element kills residents in the town square area. CTID Graphic, December 2013.
- Figure 5. Map showing provinces within Tartus Governate, Syria. Berkaysnklf, Project EUPOIA, [commons.wikimedia.org](#), 26 December 2010.
- Figure 6. Youtube screengrab image of Mıhrac Ural. [Youtube.com](#), 7 May 2013.
- Figure 7. Turkish riot police in action. [OE Watch](#), Foreign Military Studies Office, Fort Leavenworth. August 2013.



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End Notes

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