

4.2. Areas under the control of the Syrian National Army (SNA)

For information regarding security trends in the areas controlled by Turkish-backed forces prior to November 2024, see sections 2.2., 2.7., 2.8. of the [EUAA COI Report Syria – Security Situation \(October 2024\)](#).

As of February and early March 2025, the Turkish-backed militias (i.e the Syrian National Army - SNA) controlled northern and eastern rural Aleppo, including the area between A'zaz, Al-Bab and Jarablus (operation Euphrates Shield area). The SNA also controlled a stretch of territory further east⁶⁷³ that is known as the operation Peace Spring area, roughly delimited by the Tall Abyad area (Raqqah) in the west and Ras Al-Ain (Hasaka) in the east, with some SNA presence mapped as far east as Tall al-Amir (Hasaka).⁶⁷⁴ Meanwhile, control of northwestern Aleppo's Afrin area, previously occupied by SNA factions since 2018, was transferred to the transitional administration as its security forces entered Afrin city in early February 2025.⁶⁷⁵

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ISW and CTP, Interactive Map: Assessed Control of Terrain in Syria [Map], last updated 3 March 2025, [url](#); Carter Center (The), Exploring Historical Control in Syria [Map], n.d., [url](#). Set filters to February 2025.

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☐ (a) Operation Dawn of Freedom and Euphrates shield areas

Amid the Syrian armed opposition's military offensive,⁶⁷⁶ the SNA on 30 November 2024 launched its own concurrent Operation Dawn of Freedom⁶⁷⁷ in northern and eastern rural Aleppo.⁶⁷⁸ Its immediate aim was to push the SDF troops east of the Euphrates River.⁶⁷⁹ The SNA took several towns in northern Aleppo⁶⁸⁰ and conquered the city of Tall Rifaat,⁶⁸¹ areas located south of A'zaz and Al-Bab, as well as the city of Manbij and its surroundings. Meanwhile, mapping resources disagreed on whether Aleppo city and its eastern surroundings were under HTS control⁶⁸² or partly controlled by the SNA.⁶⁸³

After capturing the city of Tall Rifaat (northern Aleppo)⁶⁸⁴ and then seizing Manbij⁶⁸⁵ following a US-brokered temporary ceasefire that allowed for a withdrawal of the SDF from the city,⁶⁸⁶ the SNA advanced towards the Kurdish-majority border city of Kobane⁶⁸⁷ on the eastern Euphrates riverbank.⁶⁸⁸ On 24

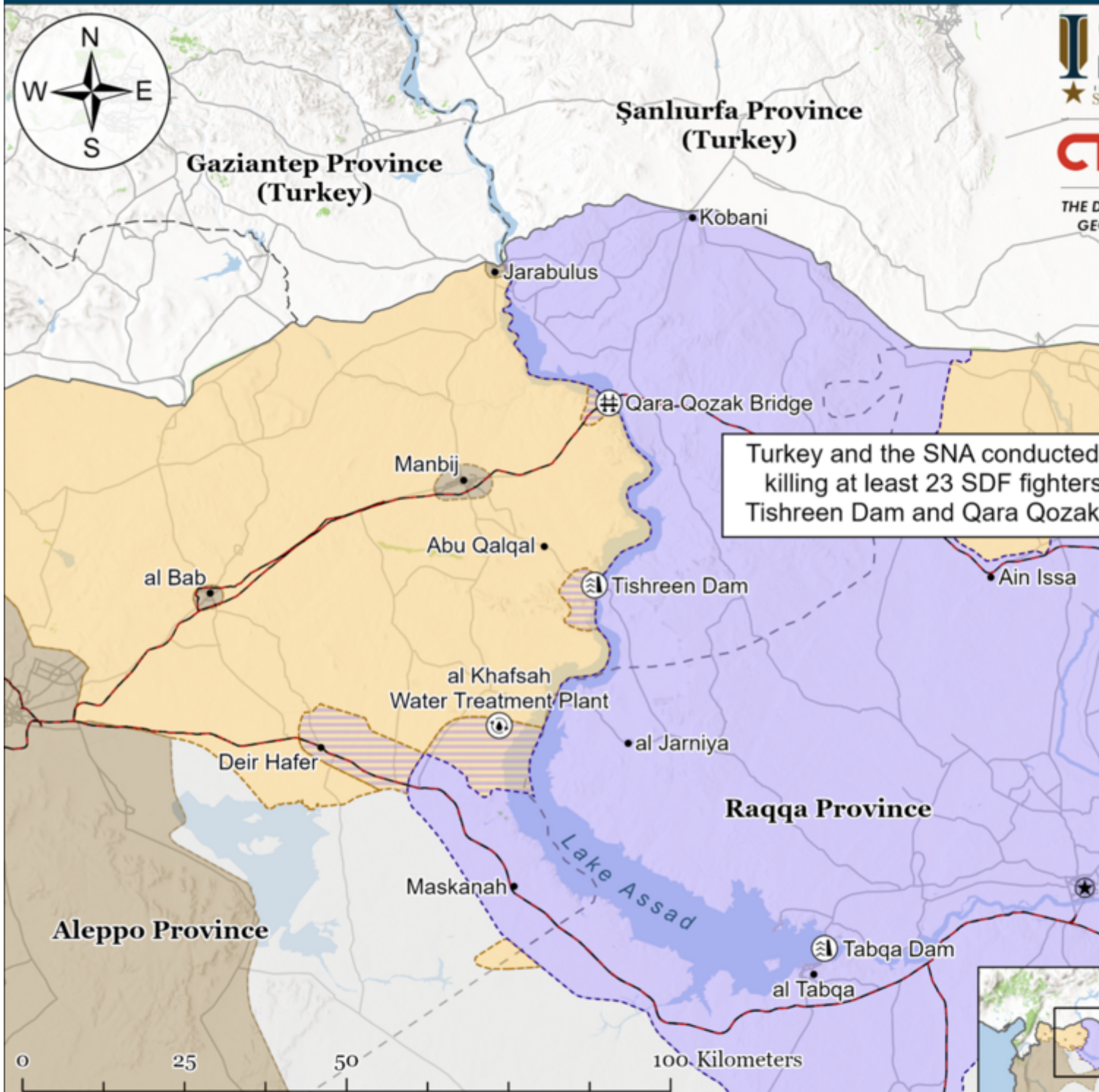
December 2024, the SDF announced a counteroffensive aiming to retake territory lost to the SNA⁶⁸⁹ as it made some territorial gains in eastern rural Aleppo.⁶⁹⁰

Heavy clashes between the SNA and the SDF were reported in January and February 2025 at the frontlines around the strategic Tishreen Dam and Qara Qozak Bridge on the Euphrates River,⁶⁹¹ in villages in rural Manbij⁶⁹² and around the city of Kobane.⁶⁹³ The violent clashes using medium and heavy weapons, among which rocket-propelled grenades, in the area around the dam, lead to 116 fighters and 20 civilians killed within 15 days. Clashes around the Tishreen Dam and in Manbij countryside continued throughout January 2025.⁶⁹⁴ Besides combatants, dozens of civilians were killed or injured during exchanges of artillery and rocket fire between Turkish/Türkiye-backed forces and SDF/Kurdish forces.⁶⁹⁵

The area around Manbij city witnessed continued violence in the months following the fall of Assad.⁶⁹⁶ As of late December 2024, amid clashes following SDF attempts to retake Manbij city, the security situation was described as ‘very tense’ and lacking clarity.⁶⁹⁷ Between late December/early January 2025 and early February 2025, the Manbij area was struck by seven car bombings.⁶⁹⁸ These included two unclaimed car bomb explosions reported on 1 February (causing four civilian deaths)⁶⁹⁹ and 3 February (hitting a vehicle transporting women agricultural workers and resulting in at least 19 civilian deaths).⁷⁰⁰

Assessed Control of Terrain around Manbij

March 4, 2025 at 2:00 PM EST



Map by George Barros, Daniel Mealie, Mitchell Belcher, Tom Thacker, Harrison Hurwitz, Derik Durbin, David Schulert, Brian Carter, Johanna Moore, Andie Parry, Kelly Campa, Carolyn Moorman, Siddhant Kishore, Annika Ganzeveld, Alexandra Braverman, Katherine Wells, Ria Reddy, and Ben Rezaei

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Map 4: Assessed Control of Terrain around Manbij, © Institute for the Study of War and AEI's Critical Threats Project, 4 March 2025

Amid what SOHR refers to as ‘escalating security chaos’ in areas controlled by Türkiye and its proxy groups, [702](#) further civilians were killed by unidentified gunmen in Manbij city [703](#) and its countryside, [704](#) as well as in eastern Aleppo’s Jarablus countryside. [705](#) In late December 2024 and early January 2025, there were also several explosions of booby-trapped motorbikes in northern and eastern Aleppo (including one in Tall Rifaat and two in Manbij city), some of which caused civilian casualties. [706](#) SNA factions were also reported to have subjected civilians to kidnapping, beating, and looting in the Al-Bab countryside (eastern Aleppo). [707](#)

According to ACLED data, the areas under the control of SNA/disputed in Aleppo governorate which were the most affected by security incidents (battles, explosions/remote violence, violence against civilians) during the reporting period were Ain Al Arab/Kobane (401 incidents) and Manbij districts (212 incidents), amounting to around 49 % of the total number of security incidents recorded in Aleppo governorate. [708](#)

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SOHR, Security chaos | Two civilians shot dead in Manbij and its countryside, 7 January 2025, [url](#)

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SOHR, Security chaos | Child killed and two injured in an armed attack in Manbij countryside, 24 December 2024, [url](#); SOHR, Horrific crime | Family of five executed by unidentified gunmen in village in Manbij countryside, 20 December 2024, [url](#)

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□ (b) Operation Peace Spring area

Localities in northern Syria that are part of the Operation Peace Spring area, including in western Raqqa⁷⁰⁹ (e.g., the Ain Issa and Tall Abyad areas)⁷¹⁰ and Hasaka (Ras Al-Ain)⁷¹¹ witnessed heavy clashes between the Turkish forces/SNA and the SDF, involving the use of heavy weaponry,⁷¹² rocket fire,⁷¹³ drone warfare,⁷¹⁴ and infiltrations,⁷¹⁵ as well as Turkish forces and Türkiye-backed SNA factions bombarding villages.⁷¹⁶

Civilian casualties in the Operation Peace Spring area included two women who were shot dead by Military Police (Sulouk area in the Raqqa countryside), a girl injured by a shell fired by Turkish forces (western rural Tall Abyad in northern Raqqa)⁷¹⁷ and the killing and wounding of seven civilians in an explosion at a military headquarters in the Ras Al-Ain countryside following an infiltration by SDF special forces.⁷¹⁸ The Ras Al-Ain area also experienced growing 'security chaos', including thefts, robberies, and infighting between armed factions⁷¹⁹ linked to militiamen intending to leave the Operation Peace Spring area⁷²⁰ (such relocations into SDF territory have been facilitated by SDF).⁷²¹ Turkish-backed Military Police and militias conducted security campaigns targeting individuals attempting to leave the area.⁷²² Several members of Turkish-backed militias have been killed in this context.⁷²³

According to ACLED data, the areas under the control of SNA/disputed in Raqqa and Hasaka governorates which were the most affected by security incidents (battles, explosions/remote violence, violence against civilians) during the reporting period were Raqqa's Tall Abyad (193 incidents), and Hasaka's Ras Al Ain (111) districts, amounting to around 51 % and 27 % of all security incidents recorded in Raqqa and Hasaka governorates, respectively.⁷²⁴

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