

Syria: Humanitarian Crisis Debate on 29 March 2018

Summary

On 29 March 2018, the House of Lords is due to debate a motion moved by Lord Roberts of Llandudno [Liberal Democrat] “that this House takes note of the humanitarian crisis in Syria”.

The Syrian civil war, which began in 2011, has now entered its eighth year. The war has caused vast physical devastation across the country and the humanitarian impact of the conflict has been far-reaching. Millions of people have been displaced from their homes and continue to require humanitarian assistance, both in Syria and throughout the region. The UK and other members of the international community have supported ongoing aid programmes. However, despite efforts toward a negotiated political settlement and a 2018 UN Security Council resolution calling for a cessation of hostilities to allow humanitarian access to those in need, the conflict has recently intensified in several regions.

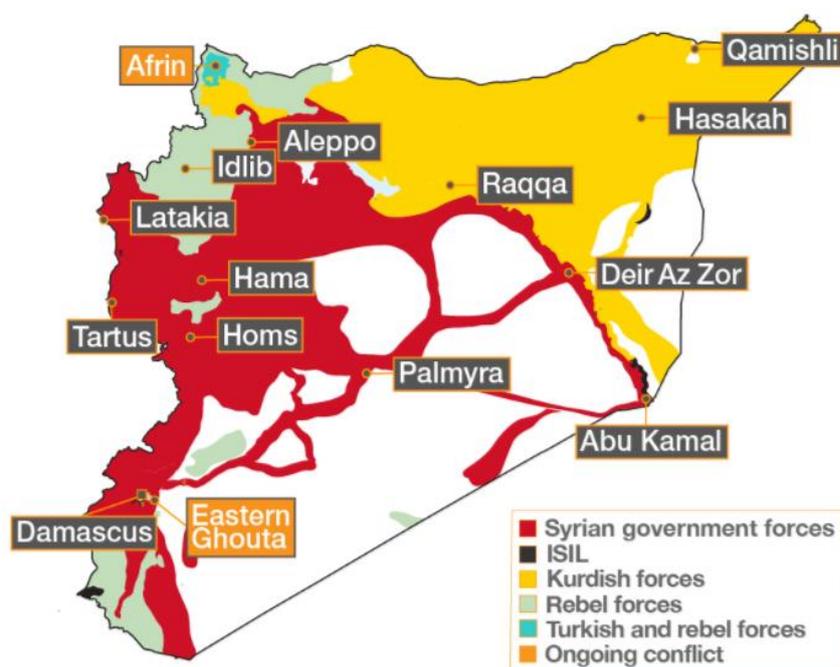
Background

Syria descended into civil war following anti-government protests that first began in March 2011.¹ Since then, forces loyal to the Government of President Bashar al-Assad have battled a range of insurgent groups—some of which have been described as moderate and some, such as so-called Islamic State, as extremist—with these groups also often in conflict with each other.² Efforts toward a political solution to the conflict have been hampered by the changing situation on the ground, with different factions enjoying advantage over others at different times.³ In addition, the conflict has been complicated over the years by the intervention of a range of global and regional powers, including Russia, Iran, Turkey, the US, Saudi Arabia and Israel.⁴ The Syrian conflict has also been marked by the use of chemical weapons, shelling, airstrikes and siege tactics in civilian areas, which has exacerbated the impact of the war on civilians.⁵

In terms of the balance of power as at early 2018, US analysts Christopher Blanchard et al have noted that the collapse of the so-called Islamic State in most of Syria has been matched by significant military and territorial gains by forces loyal to the Syrian Government, aided by Russian and Iranian support.⁶ Rebel forces continue to hold territory in the northwest and southwest of the country, although Syrian government forces have recently stepped up campaigns in areas with a rebel presence, notably the Damascus suburb region of Eastern Ghouta and the northwest region of Idlib. In addition, Kurdish forces control significant swathes of territory in the northeast of the country and hold areas elsewhere in the north.⁷ However, recent moves by Turkish and Turkish-supported forces have weakened the Kurdish position in some northern areas, notably Afrin in the northwest.⁸ It has been reported that Saudi Arabia has provided arms to rebel forces, and that Israel has conducted airstrikes on what it has described as Iran-affiliated targets in the southwest of the country.⁹ The US Secretary of Defense, James Mattis, has described Syria as “one of the most complex battlefields you could ever imagine”.¹⁰

In February, Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, noted that airstrikes in Eastern Ghouta and Idlib, areas with a rebel presence, had led to “one of the bloodiest periods of the entire conflict”, with significant numbers of civilian casualties.¹¹ It has been reported that Syrian government forces now control 80 percent of Eastern Ghouta, from which thousands of people have fled in recent days and where 1,100 civilians are estimated to have been killed since the latest campaign began a month ago.¹² In addition, Turkish military operations against Kurdish forces in Afrin, in the northwest, are a notable recent development.¹³ On 18 March 2018, it was reported that Turkish-led forces had taken full control of the centre of Afrin. Kurdish activists have estimated that around 280 civilians had died in the campaign, though this is denied by Turkey.¹⁴

Map of Syria: Zones of Control



(Source: Al Jazeera, [‘Syrian Civil War Map: Who Controls What?’](#), 18 March 2018)

Developments across Syria continue to be fast moving. Despite ongoing negotiations on a political solution to the conflict, the continuing violence and changing situation in many areas, together with the complexity arising from the often-competing interests of the many actors involved, mean that the civil war is likely to persist in 2018.¹⁵

Casualties

The conflict in Syria has been devastating for the country’s population. The precise human cost of the war is difficult to estimate for a number of reasons. These include the significant methodological challenges inherent in conducting and reporting casualty counts on the ground, which can lead to inconsistent and unreliable figures from monitoring efforts.¹⁶ In 2016, for example, estimates of the number of deaths during the civil war ranged between 250,000 and 470,000.¹⁷

In March 2018, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, a UK-based monitoring group with a network of sources in the country, indicated that it had documented the deaths of 353,900 people, including 106,000 civilians.¹⁸ This figure did not include 56,900 people who it categorised as missing and presumed dead. The group also estimated that an additional 100,000 deaths had not been documented. In contrast,

the Violations Documentation Centre in Syria, a Swiss-based monitoring body, indicated that it had documented 185,980 battle-related deaths by February 2018, including 119,200 civilians.¹⁹ The UK Government and the European Commission have both recently indicated that, in their view, more than 400,000 Syrians have lost their lives since March 2011.²⁰ António Guterres, the United Nations Secretary-General, has recently stated that more children were killed in Syria last year than during any other year since the war began.²¹

Humanitarian Situation

Situation in Syria

The conflict in Syria continues to be the principal driver of humanitarian needs in both that country and the region.²² The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) has stated that the civilian population in many parts of the country are exposed to significant risks which threaten life, dignity and wellbeing on a daily basis. In total, it has estimated that 13.1 million people in Syria are in need of humanitarian assistance as a result of the crisis, 5.6 million of whom are in acute need.²³ Many of these 13.1 million people have needs in a number of areas, including, but not limited to: protection; health; food security; access to washing facilities; education; and shelter.²⁴

UNOCHA defines people in need as those whose “physical security, basic rights, dignity, living conditions or livelihoods are threatened or have been disrupted, and whose current level of access to basic services, goods and protection is inadequate to re-establish normal living conditions within their accustomed means without assistance”. It defines people in acute need as those “facing more severe forms of deprivation in terms of their security, basic rights and living conditions and [who] face life-threatening needs requiring urgent humanitarian assistance” (UNOCHA, [Humanitarian Needs Overview 2018: Syria](#), 20 November 2017, p 6).

Of the 13.1 million people classified as being in need or in acute need, 6.7 million are thought to be female and 6.4 million male. Of these, 5.3 million are thought to be children, with 1.4 million estimated to be aged 0–4 and 3.9 million aged 5–17. In addition, 600,000 are thought to be aged over 59 and 2.9 million people are thought to have at least one disability.²⁵

Furthermore, 2.98 million people are estimated to be in hard-to-reach areas. This figure includes 419,000 in UN-declared besieged areas.²⁶ UNOCHA has noted that the needs of these individuals “continue to be exceptionally severe due to arbitrary restrictions on the freedom of movement of the civilian population; the inability to access basic commodities, services or humanitarian assistance; physical insecurity; and persistent challenges to deliver humanitarian assistance”.²⁷

In addition, UNOCHA estimates that 6.1 million people have been internally displaced by violence.²⁸ In a country with an estimated population of 18 million, this represents a third of the population.²⁹ UNOCHA has called this the “world’s largest displacement crisis”.³⁰ It has stated that violence continues to fuel large-scale displacement, with an average of 6,550 people being displaced each day between January and September 2017. These individuals share acute humanitarian needs with the estimated 750,000 people living in ‘last resort sites’, which are defined as sites used when all other options have been exhausted.³¹

UNOCHA has expressed concern about the high levels of civilian casualties that continue to be reported, and the 8.2 million people who are thought to be exposed to explosive hazards in the country. In addition to humanitarian needs caused by displacement and the destruction of living accommodation in urban environments, UNOCHA has noted that a number of other factors have

contributed to socio-economic hardship and the disruption of livelihoods. These include, but are not limited to: the widespread destruction and contamination of agriculture-related infrastructure and value chains such as markets and bakeries; depletion of productive assets and savings; increasing debt; and limited economic opportunities. Over 50 percent of Syrians are estimated to be unemployed and 69 percent of the population is thought to live in extreme poverty, with 90 percent of households spending more than 50 percent of their annual income on food.³²

Refugees

In addition to the 13.1 million people estimated to be in need within Syria, the UN has recorded that 5.6 million refugees have fled the country due to the civil war.³³ Of these, 5.3 million reside in neighbouring countries.³⁴ Turkey hosts the highest number of Syrian refugees, sheltering over 3.5 million. This is followed by Lebanon (990,000); Jordan (660,000); Iraq (250,000); and Egypt (130,000).³⁵ UNOCHA has stated that 970,000 Syrians have applied for asylum in Europe.³⁶

The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) has reported that the vast majority of Syrian refugees in neighbouring countries live in urban areas, with around only 8 percent accommodated in refugee camps. However, refugees in these countries face many challenges. UNHCR estimates that around 70 percent of refugees in Lebanon live below the poverty line, with this rising to 93 percent for those residing in Jordan.³⁷ Only a very limited number of Syrian refugees have returned to their home country.³⁸

Responses

International Response

Multilateral humanitarian assistance in response to the Syrian crisis includes the [Regional Refugee Resilience Plan](#) (3RP), which brings together plans developed by regional governments, such as those of Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt, and responses by UN agencies such as UNHCR and the UN Development Programme.³⁹ The 3RP for 2018 set out a funding requirement of US\$4.4 billion, 64 percent of which was for a refugee component and 36 percent for a resilience component.⁴⁰ There is also a UN Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP), which operates in parallel with the 3RP to address the crisis inside Syria. It focuses on humanitarian assistance, civilian protection, and increasing resilience and livelihood opportunities.⁴¹ The HRP for 2018 sought US\$3.5 billion: US\$193 million has so far been raised, leaving 94.5 percent of the target currently unmet.⁴² The three largest donor countries to the HRP in the current funding period have been Germany (US\$101 million), Canada (US\$45 million) and Belgium (US\$16.5 million).⁴³ The UK was third, behind the US and Germany, in the amount of funding given to both plans by national governments in 2017. However, the overall funding shortfall for the 3RP and HRP last year was still 46.1 and 48.2 percent, respectively.⁴⁴

The EU and its member states, including the UK, have mobilised more than €10.4 billion for humanitarian assistance efforts since the start of the conflict.⁴⁵ The US has donated almost US\$7.7 billion to humanitarian relief efforts in connection with the Syria crisis since 2012.⁴⁶

UK Response

The Government has stated that it has committed £2.46 billion in response to the Syria crisis since 2012. It has described this as the UK's "largest ever response to a single humanitarian crisis".⁴⁷ Of this total, 60 percent has been given to relief efforts in the region and 40 percent to humanitarian projects operating inside Syria or across borders (£897 million). According to the Department for International Development (DFID), funding outside of Syria has been allocated as follows: Lebanon (£543 million);

Jordan (£441 million); Turkey (£319 million); Iraq (£19 million); and Egypt (£2 million).⁴⁸

Between 2012/13 and 2017/18, funding for humanitarian projects in Syria was allocated as follows: UK organisations (£53.4 million); UN agencies (£487 million); international organisations (£37.3 million); and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (£280.4 million).⁴⁹ The Government has stated that it has agreed not to publicly disclose the identities of its NGO partners, aside from the UN and the International Committee of the Red Cross, in order to protect their staff.

DFID has set out four objectives for Syria:

- Meet the needs of the most vulnerable groups including in hard-to-reach areas.
- Build resilience at individual, community and institutional levels to enable people to cope in the short term and provide the foundation for a future political transition.
- Strengthen the moderate opposition’s capacity to provide governance and basic services and thereby provide an alternative to extremist groups such as ISIL and to the Assad regime.
- Improve the effectiveness of the overall international response to the crisis.⁵⁰

In working to meet these objectives, DFID funded 14 humanitarian agencies implementing projects in Syria last year. These included UN agencies, international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the Red Cross. DFID has stated that, in 2016/17, 53 percent of DFID funding in Syria was channelled through UN agencies “as they are best able to provide humanitarian aid effectively at large scale”. In addition, 26 percent “went through NGOs as they are able to reach some areas that the UN cannot, and are especially effective in reaching the areas not controlled by the Assad regime [and] 11 percent went through the Red Cross and Red Crescent as they have specialist expertise in protecting civilians from harm”.⁵¹

Regarding refugees, the Government has stated that it is “on track” to deliver on former Prime Minister David Cameron’s pledge to accept 20,000 Syrian refugees by 2020.⁵²

Proposed Solutions to the End the Conflict

The UK Government has stated that the only way to end the conflict, and by extension ease the humanitarian situation, is through a negotiated political settlement.⁵³ However, efforts toward such a settlement have been hampered by the changing fortunes of different groups on the ground.

Since 2012, the UN has brokered negotiations between the Syrian Government and opposition groups under the framework of the [Geneva Communiqué](#). The document called for the establishment of a transitional governing body in Syria with full executive powers.⁵⁴ In 2015, the UN Security Council endorsed a ‘road map’ for a political settlement in Syria, including the drafting of a new constitution and the administration of UN-supervised elections. However, the Geneva talks have made little progress in recent years due to differences in interpretation. The latest round of talks, facilitated by UN Special Envoy Staffan de Mistura, closed in late January of this year.⁵⁵

Peace talks sponsored by Russia, Iran and Turkey, known as the Astana process after the Kazakh capital in which they have largely taken place, have run in parallel with the Geneva process since January 2017. In May 2017, Russia, Iran and Turkey announced the establishment of three ‘de-escalation areas’ in Syria. These were in Idlib province; parts of Homs province; and the Damascus suburb region of Eastern Ghouta. However, violence has since escalated in some areas, with the humanitarian situation deteriorating as a result.⁵⁶

On 24 February 2018, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2401, which called for a cessation of hostilities in Syria to enable delivery of humanitarian assistance. Following the adoption of this resolution, the UK's acting Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN, Stephen Hickey, called on all Council members to ensure that a cessation of hostilities was implemented on the ground "in full, without delay".⁵⁷

On 15 March 2018, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Boris Johnson, and the Secretary of State for International Development, Penny Mordaunt, issued a joint statement in which they said:

Despite promises of de-escalation, the violence continues and the civilian death toll continues to rise. Last month the UK supported UN Security Council Resolution 2401 calling for a ceasefire. Yet in Eastern Ghouta—which Russia itself declared to be a de-escalation area—the regime, with Russian support, has continued to bombard and besiege the population, turning it into a hell on earth. Over 1,100 people are estimated to have been killed there since 18 February alone [...]

The suffering will only end when there is a political solution to the conflict. We will continue to use our position on the UN Security Council to pursue this, as well as to unlock humanitarian access and protect civilians. The UN is ready to mediate a settlement. The opposition have declared their readiness for negotiations without preconditions. But the regime continues to obstruct progress. The international community must commit to a ceasefire and a political process that ends this conflict for good.⁵⁸

Russian officials have described accusations that Russia had been involved in airstrikes on Eastern Ghouta as "groundless accusations".⁵⁹

The UN Special Envoy for Syria has estimated that reconstruction of the country would cost at least US\$250 billion.⁶⁰

Further Reading

International Response to the Humanitarian Situation in Syria

- UNOCHA, '[Syrian Arab Republic](#)'; and '[Humanitarian Atlas: Syria](#)', March 2018
- UNOCHA, '[2018 Humanitarian Needs Overview: Syrian Arab Republic](#)', 21 November 2017
- UNOCHA, '[2018 Syria Humanitarian Response Plan: Funding Overview](#)', 28 February 2018; '[Regional Funding Update: Syria Crisis](#)', 1 March 2018; and '[Financial Tracking Service: Syria Humanitarian Response Plan 2018](#)', March 2018
- UNOCHA, '[OCHA Flash Update: Syria Crisis—East Ghouta](#)', 17 March 2018; and '[Turkey-Syria: Latest Developments in Afrin District](#)', 19 March 2018
- UN Refugee Agency, '[Syria Emergency](#)', March 2018
- UN Refugee Agency, '[Operational Portal: Refugee Situation—Syria](#)', 15 March 2018; and '[2018 Planning Summary: Syrian Arab Republic](#)', 19 November 2017
- Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan, '[Strategic Overview](#)'; and '[Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan 2018–19](#)', February 2018
- UNICEF, '[Syrian Arab Republic](#)', 3 January 2018
- UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, '[Syrian Arab Republic: Humanitarian Response Plan 2018](#)', January 2018

- World Health Organisation, [‘Syrian Arab Republic Humanitarian Response Plan 2018’](#), March 2018

Briefings and Articles

- House of Commons Library, [‘Syria: What Next?’](#), 12 March 2018
- House of Commons Library, [‘ISIS/Daesh: What Now for the Military Campaign in Iraq and Syria?’](#), 7 March 2018
- House of Commons Library, [‘Syria and Iraq: Update July 2017’](#), 21 July 2017
- Congressional Research Service, [‘Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response’](#), 27 February 2018
- BBC News, [‘Why is there a War in Syria?’](#), 15 March 2018

Parliamentary Questions, Statements and Debates

- [‘Oral Question on ‘Syria’](#), HL Hansard, 20 March 2018, cols 179–81
- [‘Statement on ‘Syria: Protection of Civilians in Afrin’](#), HL Hansard, 13 March 2018, cols 1560–8
- [‘Statement on ‘Syria: Humanitarian Situation’](#), HL Hansard, 26 February 2018, cols 482–6
- [‘Private Notice Question on ‘Syria: Eastern Ghouta’](#), HL Hansard, 22 February 2018, cols 270–2
- [‘Private Notice Question on ‘Syria: Chemical Weapons’](#), HL Hansard, 5 April 2017, cols 1055–8
- [‘Debate on ‘Syrian Refugee Crisis’](#), HC Hansard, 23 March 2017, cols 373–90WH
- [‘Private Notice Question on ‘Syria: Aleppo’](#), HL Hansard, 20 December 2016, cols 1551–4

¹ BBC News, [‘Why is there a War in Syria?’](#), 15 March 2018. For further information, see: Congressional Research Service, [‘Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response’](#), 27 February 2018.

² Council on Foreign Relations, [‘Who’s Who in Syria’s Civil War’](#), 28 April 2017. See also: House of Lords Library, [‘Recent Developments in the Middle East and North Africa’](#), 15 September 2015, p 1.

³ Al Jazeera, [‘Syria Diplomatic Talks: A Timeline’](#), 15 September 2017.

⁴ BBC News, [‘Why is there a War in Syria?’](#), 15 March 2018.

⁵ *ibid*; [‘Syria Profile: Timeline’](#), 7 February 2018; and [‘Syria War: Families Struggle to Survive in Eastern Ghouta, Under Siege’](#), 22 February 2018.

⁶ Congressional Research Service, [‘Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response’](#), 27 February 2018, p 1.

⁷ Al Jazeera, [‘Syrian Civil War Map: Who Controls What?’](#), 18 March 2018.

⁸ Congressional Research Service, [‘Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response’](#), 27 February 2018, p 1.

⁹ BBC News, [‘Why is there a War in Syria?’](#), 15 March 2018; [‘Syria War: Israel ‘Strikes Damascus Military Complex’](#), 7 February 2018; and Congressional Research Service, [‘Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response’](#), 27 February 2018, p 1.

¹⁰ Congressional Research Service, [‘Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response’](#), 27 February 2018, p 34.

¹¹ Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, [‘UN Rights Chief Urges International Action as Violence Soars in Syria’](#), 10 February 2018.

¹² BBC News, [‘Syria War: President Assad’s Frontline Visit’](#), 19 March 2018; and [‘Syria War: Thousands Flee Eastern Ghouta as Army Advances’](#), 15 March 2018.

¹³ Congressional Research Service, [‘Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response’](#), 27 February 2018, p 1.

¹⁴ BBC News, [‘Syria War: Turkish-led Forces Oust Kurdish Fighters from Heart of Afrin’](#), 18 March 2018.

¹⁵ European Commission, [‘Factsheet: Syria’](#), 19 January 2018.

¹⁶ For further information, see: Congressional Research Service, [‘Counting Casualties in Syria and Iraq: Process and Challenges’](#), 12 April 2016.

¹⁷ *ibid*, p 1.

- ¹⁸ BBC News, [‘Why is there a War in Syria?’](#), 15 March 2018.
- ¹⁹ *ibid*; and Violations Documentation Centre in Syria, [‘Our Story’](#), accessed 20 March 2018.
- ²⁰ [HL Hansard, 26 February 2018, col 482](#); and European Commission, [‘Factsheet: Syria’](#), 19 January 2018.
- ²¹ UN Secretary-General, [‘Secretary-General’s Oral Report to the Security Council on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 2401 \(as delivered\)’](#), 12 March 2018.
- ²² UNOCHA, [Humanitarian Needs Overview 2018: Syria](#), 20 November 2017, p 4.
- ²³ *ibid*; and UNOCHA, [‘Syrian Arab Republic’](#), accessed 20 March 2018 (figures as at February 2018).
- ²⁴ UNOCHA, [Humanitarian Needs Overview 2018: Syria](#), 20 November 2017, p 8.
- ²⁵ *ibid*, p 6.
- ²⁶ *ibid*, pp 4 and 7.
- ²⁷ *ibid*, p 4.
- ²⁸ UNOCHA, [‘Syrian Arab Republic’](#), accessed 20 March 2018 (figures as at February 2018).
- ²⁹ CIA World Factbook, [‘Syria’](#), accessed 20 March 2018.
- ³⁰ UNOCHA, [Humanitarian Needs Overview 2018: Syria](#), 20 November 2017, p 11.
- ³¹ *ibid*, p 4.
- ³² *ibid*, p 22.
- ³³ UNOCHA, [‘Syrian Arab Republic’](#), accessed 20 March 2018 (figures as at February 2018); and UNHCR, [‘Operational Portal: Refugee Situation—Syria’](#), 15 March 2018.
- ³⁴ UNOCHA, [Humanitarian Needs Overview 2018: Syria](#), 20 November 2017, p 11.
- ³⁵ UNHCR, [‘Operational Portal: Refugee Situation—Syria’](#), 15 March 2018 (figures rounded to nearest 10,000).
- ³⁶ UNOCHA, [Humanitarian Needs Overview 2018: Syria](#), 20 November 2017, p 11.
- ³⁷ UNHCR, [‘Syria Emergency’](#), accessed 21 March 2018.
- ³⁸ UNOCHA, [‘2018 Humanitarian Needs Overview: Syrian Arab Republic’](#), 21 November 2017.
- ³⁹ Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan, [Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan 2018–19](#), February 2018.
- ⁴⁰ *ibid*, p 4.
- ⁴¹ UNOCHA, [Humanitarian Response Plan: January–December 2017](#), March 2017; [2018 Syria Humanitarian Response Plan](#), 28 February 2018; and Congressional Research Service, [Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response](#), 27 February 2018, p 16.
- ⁴² UNOCHA, [‘Financial Tracking Service: Syria Humanitarian Response Plan 2018’](#), accessed 21 March 2018.
- ⁴³ *ibid* (figures rounded).
- ⁴⁴ UNOCHA, [Regional Funding Update: Syria Crisis](#), 1 March 2018.
- ⁴⁵ European Commission, [‘Factsheet: Syria’](#), 19 January 2018.
- ⁴⁶ USAID, [Syria: Complex Emergency](#), 9 March 2018, p 1.
- ⁴⁷ Department for International Development, [Syria Crisis Response Summary](#), 20 February 2018, p 1 (note: spend figures up to 2017 exclude UK Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) spending under the Conflict, Stability and Security Fund); and House of Commons, [‘Written Question: Syria: Overseas Aid’](#), 31 January 2018, 124697.
- ⁴⁸ Department for International Development, [Syria Crisis Response Summary](#), 20 February 2018, p 1.
- ⁴⁹ House of Commons, [‘Written Question: Syria: Overseas Aid’](#), 28 February 2018, 128886.
- ⁵⁰ Department for International Development, [Syria Crisis Response Summary](#), 20 February 2018, p 1.
- ⁵¹ Department for International Development, [DFID: Syria–Turkey](#), July 2017, p 2.
- ⁵² [HL Hansard, 13 March 2018, col 1567](#).
- ⁵³ *ibid*, col 1561.
- ⁵⁴ Congressional Research Service, [Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response](#), 27 February 2018, p 14.
- ⁵⁵ *ibid*, p 15.
- ⁵⁶ *ibid*, pp 15–16.
- ⁵⁷ Foreign and Commonwealth Office, [‘UN Security Council: Explanation of Vote on the Syria Resolution’](#), 24 February 2018.
- ⁵⁸ Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Department for International Development, [‘7 Years of Conflict in Syria: Statement by International Development Secretary and Foreign Secretary’](#), 15 March 2018.
- ⁵⁹ Congressional Research Service, [Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and US Response](#), 27 February 2018, p 10.
- ⁶⁰ *ibid*, p 5.

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