



## **MUN Session Saturday 25.5.2013: Study Guide: The crisis in Syria**

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### **1. Introduction:**

With the self-immolation of Tarek al-Tayeb Mohamed Bouazizi on 17. December 2010 in Tunisia began a series of violent uprisings in the entire arabic and islamic world which soon should be labelled as “Arab spring”. In Syria, where the Alawite family of the Al-Assads is ruling since the 1960s these insurgencies started in March 2011 with initially peaceful demonstrations which swiftly turned into a downright civil war. The subsequent interventions of foreign governments as well as different foreign paramilitary groups have turned the situation in Syria into a regional crisis, threatening the stability and the peace of the entire Middle East.

### **2. The crisis in Syria – events since 2011**

The first protests against the regime in Syria began in March 2011 in Damascus and Deraa and were calling for the release of political prisoners. Subsequently protests were also taking place in Banyas and Homs. Immediately, Syrian security forces tried to quell the protest violently. Approximately 5000 people were killed in the first months of the insurgency.

The Syrian President Bashar al-Assad refused to halt the violence and to meet the demands of the protesting people. Instead, Assad blamed the protesting, armed groups for the fights, calling them “terrorists”. However, in June, Assad pledged to start a national dialogue on reform.

Soon, the rebels organized opposition groups. In November 2011, the Arab League voted to suspend Syria, accusing it of failing to implement an Arab peace plan, and imposed sanctions against Syria.

In June 2012, Syria shot down a Turkish plane that strayed into Syrian territory. Turkey declared that if Syrian troops approached Turkey's borders this would be seen as a military threat, to which Turkey would respond accordingly. Soon afterwards, the Free Syrian Army blew up three security chiefs in Damascus and seized Aleppo in the north. In November 2012, Israeli military fired on Syrian artillery units after several months of occasional shelling from Syrian positions across the Golan Heights. In April 2013, the news of chemical weapons in Syria spread around the world.

### **The opposition groups**

One of the rebel groups is the **Syrian National Council (SNC)**, which is supported by Turkey. The SNC is opposed to a military intervention but nevertheless is calling for international support to protect Syrian citizens. The **National Co-ordination Committee (NCC)**, a left-leaning group, is strongly opposed to any kind of military intervention. Instead they are calling for further sanctions and stronger diplomatic pressure on the Assad regime. They are the only opposition group that agrees to have a dialog with the government under certain conditions.

The **Free Syrian Army** was formed in August 2011 by army deserters based in Turkey and led by Riyad al-Asaad, a former air force colonel. Col. Asaad claims to have as many as 40,000 men under his command. However, analysts believe there may be no more than 10,000. They are also still poorly armed, and many have only basic military training. Nevertheless, a growing number of defections, partly caused by sectarian division, is weakening the military, strengthening the FSA and increasing the violence. Most soldiers within the FSA are Sunni, while Assad is Alawite, who are closely connected with the (Iranian) Shiites.

The wide variety of political groups in Syria - exiled dissidents, grassroots activists and armed militants - have been unable to agree on a various issues, starting from, for instance, how to overthrow President Bashar al-Assad. The rebels continued to fight against the Syrian army, who is a lot better equipped and has much more soldiers to defend their positions. The Syrian resistance remains highly fractured both politically and militarily. However, in November 2012, several opposition factions came together to form an umbrella group known as the **National Coalition of Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces**. The alliance, formed after months of division among competing groups, opened the door to greater foreign financing and military

aid. The group, which replaced the troubled **Syrian National Council** is committed to several principles including national sovereignty and independence, unity of country and people, ousting the Assad regime, and civil and democratic society. The coalition has been recognized by more than 100 nations, including most world powers, with the exception of Russia and China. The coalition took the Assad regime's seat at the Arab League summit in Dubai and opened its first embassy in Qatar in March 2013.

### **Syria and its allies in the region:**

Bashar al-Assad is supported by two important actors in the Middle East: Iran and the Lebanese Hezbollah. Hassan Nasrallah, the leader of Hezbollah stated: "Syria has real friends in the region and the world that will not let Syria fall in the hands of America, Israel or Takfiri groups."

Hezbollah fighters have been engaged in Syria helping the government from early on in the 25-month uprising. While initially their presence had been officially denied by the Syrian Government, it has become by now more openly as well as large-scale. Funerals of killed Hezbollah fighters are now a regular occurrence in Lebanon.

Iran is often called Syria's closest ally. Tehran's ties with Damascus have historically been based on shared strategic interests, including thwarting U.S. and Israeli power in the Middle East. Both countries have also relied on each other to balance their relation to other Arab states. The Syrian-Iranian alliance has largely lacked an ideological or religious dimension. The Syrian regime is dominated by members of the Alawites, which is distantly related to the Shi'a religion, which is dominant in Iran.

## **3. International reactions**

### **United States**

Under the Obama Administration the United States have been calling for Assad's resignation since August 2011, and have pressed the United Nations Security Council to condemn the Syrian government. They also have recognized the National Coalition of Revolution and Opposition Forces (SOC) as the legitimate representative of the Syrian people and provide nonlethal assistance to the Coalition and an affiliated Supreme Military Command Council (SMC). Furthermore, the US provides humanitarian aid to international organizations supporting Syrian civilians and nonlethal support to unarmed and armed elements of the Syrian opposition.

The Obama Administration believes that a negotiated political settlement is required and has prepared military plans to secure Syria's stockpiles of chemical weapons, if necessary.

In May 2013 Obama reiterated his objective as to continue the efforts to increase pressure on the Assad regime, to provide humanitarian aid, to strengthen the moderate opposition and to prepare for a democratic Syria without Bashar al-Assad.

Fawaz Gerges, director of the Middle East Centre at the London School of Economics, recently explained that “the United States is operating on two levels - the first level is to basically try to see whether America and Russia can reach a political settlement ... to ease Assad out of power as opposed to a frontal attack, as has been the case, to remove Assad by force. We should make no mistake about the second level on which the American government is operating - that is to keep up the pressure on the Assad government, to increase its support for the armed opposition and the political opposition.”

### **Russia**

Russia, as a close ally of the Syrian regime under President Bashar al-Assad remains refusing to sanction tougher action against Damascus by using its veto powers on the UN Security Council. Despite the international condemnation of the Syrian regime, Russian President Vladimir Putin has so far displayed no sign that Moscow is preparing to abandon its ally.

In May 2013, John Kerry, US secretary of state, and Putin agreed to establish an American-Russia peace conference. In the same month Sergei Lavrov, the Russian foreign minister, said that Russia was completing its delivery of surface-to-air missiles to Syria. However, he emphasized that “Russia is not planning to sell, Russia has sold a long time ago, and is completing supplies of the equipment - which is anti-aircraft systems, according to the already signed contracts”. Lavrov said earlier that Moscow did not plan to sell its advanced S-300 air defence system to Syria, but left open the possibility that it could ship such systems to Damascus under an existing contract. Moscow has long been accused of propping up Assad and supplying Damascus with military hardware.

Russia is said to oppose a draft resolution, which on Wednesday, May 15 2013, the UN General Assembly is about to vote on. The draft resolution includes condemning Syrian authorities and accepting the opposition Syrian National Coalition as a party to a potential transition.

### **United Kingdom**

Together with the US the UK wants to increase the pressure on Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. After a recent meeting with President Obama, the British Prime Minister David Cameron

said that he ruled out tougher action in Syria but pledged to double non-lethal aid to the Syrian opposition. Cameron also declared that he fully backed the outcome of a meeting between the top US and Russian diplomats this week who agreed to make a joint effort in search of a solution. According to Cameron the UK's ultimate aim is that of halting the bloodshed, allowing the Syrian people to elect a government and preventing a growth in extremism.

### **People's Republic of China**

China, which along with Russia, has vetoed three UN Security Council resolutions criticising Assad's government, strongly condemns the ongoing violence in Syria. However, China warns against foreign action in Syria and says that the abandonment of Mr. Kofi Annan's six-point-peace plan (see below) could plunge the country "into the abyss of full-scale war". In a recent statement China's foreign ministry emphasized once more that China opposes the use of military force and believes any country's sovereignty should be respected. Also China wants to maintain restraint and avoid any actions that would escalate tensions.

### **France**

France has with Britain sought to lead European diplomacy on Syria, notably with proposals to drop an existing EU arms embargo on the country to allow arms supplies to the rebels. It's priority is to find a political solution to the Syrian crisis and wants to prevent Bashar al-Assad from remaining in power. This involves establishing a transitional government with full executive powers, formed on the basis of mutual consent. France also welcomes the outcome of the meeting between U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Russian President Vladimir Putin, in order to make progress toward a process aimed at achieving a negotiated settlement of the Syrian crisis.

### **UN resolutions and failed resolutions**

An overview of the most recent UN Security Council resolutions can be found in Appendix A below. Nevertheless it should be mentioned again that all three attempts to pass a strong resolution which could have led to sanctions against Syria were vetoed by the Chinese and the Russian delegations in the Security Council. This happened on the 4 October 2011, 4 February 2012 and on the 19 July 2012.

See for instance: [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/world/middleeast/russia-and-china-veto-un-sanctions-against-syria.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/world/middleeast/russia-and-china-veto-un-sanctions-against-syria.html?_r=0)

## **Peace initiatives**

Following the General Assembly resolution A/RES/66/253 of 16 February 2012, Kofi Annan was named Joint Special Envoy for the United Nations and the League of Arab States. On March 16 Annan presented a six-point peace plan to the UN Security Council in order to end the violence and resolve the crisis. On March 27, the envoy's office said that the Syrian government had accepted the peace proposal, and would be working to implement it. While some members of the Syrian opposition have rejected the proposal as not going far enough, others have said that they are willing to accept it if the government follows through on promises.

The proposal calls for a commitment to work with him to commence a political dialogue between the Syrian Government and "the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition" and to appoint an empowered interlocutor when called upon by him to do so. On humanitarian access, the proposal calls for the immediate implementation of a daily two-hour pause in fighting. It also calls for freedom of movement throughout the country for journalists and for accelerated release of arbitrarily detained persons. The full text of the Six Point Plan can be read under: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sc10583.doc.htm>

## **Lakhdar Brahimi and the Geneva Plan**

On June 30 2012 the United Nations Action Group on Syria forged an agreement outlining the steps for a peaceful transition in the Middle Eastern country, in Geneva. The Group called for all parties to immediately re-commit to a sustained cessation of armed violence, to fully cooperate with UN monitors, and to implement the six-point plan (as explained above) put forward by Mr. Annan without waiting for the actions of others.

The Group also agreed on a set of principles and guidelines for a Syrian-led transition that meets the aspirations of the Syrian people, which includes the establishment of a transitional governing body that would exercise full executive powers and that would be made up by members of the present Government and the opposition and other groups. Furthermore, they agreed on actions that they would take to implement the steps and measures outlined in the statement, and to support Mr. Annan's work in bringing the relevant parties together<sup>1</sup>.

On August 17 2012, Lakhdar Brahimi, an Algerian diplomat, was appointed as the new UN-Arab League special envoy for Syria after his predecessor Kofi Anan resigned, who found himself unable to bring the warring parties to the negotiating table. Lakhdar Brahimi said his

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<sup>1</sup> For the members (p. 1) and the action group agreement see: <http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Syria/FinalCommuniqueActionGroupforSyria.pdf>

task was “nearly impossible”. In an interview with Al Jazeera Brahimi hinted it was time for Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to step down, and called on the UN Security Council to work much harder. Brahimi continuously stresses that the “situation is really bad” and that the Council needs to take some action. Recently there have been rumours of Brahimi resigning as a special envoy. On April 19 2013 Brahimi stated that “for the moment” he hasn’t resigned but “everyday I wake up I think I should resign. But I haven’t so far.”

#### **4. Refugees, human rights violations**

Since the beginning of the Syrian civil war in March 2011, UNHCR reports a number of 1,367,413 million refugees (April 2013; about 6% of the estimated Syrian population in 2011) that have been registered or assisted as such, with the number of refugees having increased extremely since the beginning of 2013. Syria’s neighboring countries, namely Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt, are especially affected by the enormous flow of Syrian refugees who cause serious problems to these countries’ political and economic situation as the international humanitarian response capacity has already been overstretched. Still, thousands of people are crossing the borders every day.

Recently, an increasing number of refugees, mostly families, has returned home to their villages close to the border for several reasons, although the security situation in these areas is volatile with armed conflicts still going on and insufficient supply with everyday needs being a problem.

The Syrian population suffers from serious human rights violations since the outbreak of the civil war. According to Human Rights Watch, these include torture, illegal killings, enforced disappearances, indiscriminate and widespread air and artillery attacks on housing areas and systematic targeting of civilians. Human rights violations are reported to be committed both by the Assad regime and its troops and the opposition forces. On 22 August 2011, the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic was established (UN Human Rights Council Resolution S-17/1) to fully investigate the human rights violations committed. On 11 March 2013, this Commission reports that the reckless procedure of the conflict parties and the lack of shelter areas both in Syria and abroad have become the main problems. The full report:[http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/CoISyria/PeriodicUpdate11March2013\\_en.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/CoISyria/PeriodicUpdate11March2013_en.pdf). Effective action such as an accusation at the International Criminal Court is prevented by the veto powers of Russia and China at the moment.

## 5. Chemical Weapons

A primary concern for US and other international policymakers is the Syrian military's apparently waning control over large conventional and unconventional weapons stockpiles, including biological and chemical weapons. The Syrian chemical weapons program was presumably built up with the help of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s and includes for instance stocks of mustard gas and Sarin. Along with five other countries<sup>2</sup> Syria has furthermore never signed the Chemical Weapons Convention.

Western states have been reluctant to consider military action against Assad, but U.S. President Barack Obama has reiterated in December 2012 the use of chemical weapons would cross a "red line" and trigger a strong response. In July 2012, Syrian government spokesperson Jihad Maqdis said "any chemical or bacterial weapon will never be used—and I repeat will never be used—during the crisis in Syria regardless of the developments. These weapons are stored and secured by Syrian military forces and under its direct supervision and will never be used unless Syria faces external aggression." Syrian Deputy Prime Minister Qadri Jamil has accused Western powers of "looking for a pretext to intervene militarily."

In March 2013, Syria's government and opposition called for an inquiry into an alleged chemical weapon attack in Khan al-Assal in the north of Syria which killed at least 27 people, with both sides blaming each other.

In order to ascertain the truth, a 15-strong team of United Nations experts charged with investigating these allegations was deployed to Cyprus and is awaiting Syrian government permission to enter the country. However, the Assad regime only wants a UN investigation to focus on government claims of alleged chemical weapons usage. In response, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon has demanded "unfettered access" to all alleged sites, saying, "I urge the Syrian government to be more flexible, so that this mission can be deployed as fast as possible. We are ready, it is a matter of time." Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov warned against jumping to conclusions by repeating the "Iraqi scenario" in which claims that Saddam Hussein's government possessed so-called weapons of mass destruction were the basis of the US-led invasion. Lavrov accused other nations of "politicizing the issue." Further, he criticized how international investigators looking into an alleged use of chemical weapons in Aleppo had demanded access to all facilities in Syria and to have the right to interview any Syrian. Since the use of chemical weapons is difficult to confirm it remains unclear if the Syrian Government or the military opposition have used these weapons so far.

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<sup>2</sup> The other five countries are: Angola, South Sudan, North Korea, Egypt and Somalia.

### Appendix A: Recent UN SC Resolutions concerning Syria since 2012

Name (Date)	Voting <sup>3</sup>	Main content
<b>2084</b> (19.12.2012) The situation in the Middle East	15:0:0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Calls upon the parties concerned to implement immediately its resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973;</li> <li>• Calls on all parties to cooperate fully with the operations of UNDOF (Golan Heights)</li> <li>• Calls on the parties to exercise maximum restraint and prevent any breaches of the ceasefire and the area of separation between Israel and Syria</li> </ul>
<b>2059</b> (20.07.2012) Extends mandate of the UN Supervision Mission in Syria	15:0:0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extended the mandate of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) for 45 days and demanded verifiable compliance that — within 10 days — the Syrian authorities cease the use of heavy weapons against civilians, or face sanctions</li> </ul>
<b>Draft Resolution</b> (19.07.2012)	11/2/2 <b>VETO<sup>4</sup></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Would have extended the mandate of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS).</li> <li>• Would have threatened sanctions on Syria if demands to end the spiralling violence were not met</li> <li>• Would have demanded that Syrian authorities pull back military concentrations from population centres and cease the use of heavy weaponry against them.</li> </ul>
<b>2052</b> (27.6.2012) The situation in the Middle East	15:0:0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Renewed until 31 December 2012 the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), which monitors the ceasefire in the Golan Heights between Israel and Syria</li> <li>• Expressed grave concern at recent violations by Syrian Armed Forces in the UNDOF Force's area of operations.</li> </ul>
<b>2034</b> (21.4.2012) Establishes the UN Supervision Mission in Syria	15:0:0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Established, for an initial 90-day period, a supervision mission (UNSMIS), comprising an initial and expeditious deployment of up to 300 unarmed military observers, including an appropriate civilian component and air transportation assets, to monitor a cessation of armed violence "in all its forms by all parties" as well as the full implementation of the United Nations Joint Special Envoy's (Mr. Kofi Annan) six-point proposal to end the conflict.</li> </ul>
<b>2042</b> (14.4.2012) Syria observer force resolution	15:0:0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authorized a team of up to 30 unarmed military observers "to liaise with the parties and to begin to report on the implementation of a full cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties". It underlined the importance of pulling back military forces and urgently implementing in full the six-point plan proposed by Kofi Annan, Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States.</li> </ul>

<sup>3</sup> In Favour / Abstain / Against

<sup>4</sup> 11 Countries in favour, 2 abstain (South Africa, Pakistan), 2 against (Russian Federation, China)

<b>Draft Resolution</b>  (04.2.2012)	13:0:2  <b>VETO</b> <sup>5</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demanded that all parties in Syria — both Government forces and armed opposition groups — stop all violence and reprisals</li> <li>• Called for an inclusive Syrian-led political process conducted in an environment free from violence, fear, intimidation and extremism, and aimed at effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the Syrian people.</li> </ul>
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## Appendix B: Glossary

**Alawites:** are a religious group centred in Syria. Today they represent 12% of the Syrian population and for the past 50 years the political system has been dominated by an elite led by the Alawite Assad family. Alawites are self-described **Shi'ite** Muslims, and have been recognized as such by Shi'ite authorities such as Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran.

**Free Syrian Army:** is an armed opposition structure operating in Syria during the Syrian civil war. Composed of defected Syrian Armed Forces personnel and volunteers, its formation was announced on 29 July 2011. Its Commander, Riad al-Asaad, stated in October 2011 that the Free Syrian Army (FSA) has no political goals except the removal of Bashar Assad as president of Syria. Its size is estimated to 140,000 fighters.

**Hezbollah:** is a **Shia** Islamic militant group and political party based in Lebanon. It receives financial and political support from Iran and Syria. Hezbollah, which started out with only a small militia, has grown to an organization with seats in the Lebanese government, a radio and a satellite television-station, and programs for social development. The organization has been called a state within a state. Hezbollah has long been an ally of the Ba'ath Party government of Syria, led by the Al-Assad family and helps the Syrian government in its fight against the Syrian opposition in the ongoing Syrian civil war.

**National Coalition of Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces:** The Syrian resistance remains highly fractured both politically and militarily. However, in November 2012, several opposition factions came together to form an umbrella group known as the National Coalition of Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces. The alliance, formed after months of division among competing groups, opened the door to greater foreign financing and military aid. The group, which replaced the troubled Syrian National Council, is committed to several principles including national sovereignty and independence, unity of country and people, ousting the Assad regime, and civil and democratic society. The coalition has been recognized by more than 100 nations, including most world powers, with the exception of Russia and China. The coalition took the Assad regime's seat at the Arab League summit in Dubai and opened its first embassy in Qatar in March 2013.

**Shi'ites:** Adherents of the Shia Islam, which represent a schismatic sect in Islam, accounting for 10-20% of the world's normative body of Muslims. The Shia majority countries are Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan and Bahrain. 15-20 percent of the Syrian population are Shi'ites. The history of **Sunni**-Shia relations has often involved violence, dating back to the earliest development of the two competing sects.

**Sunnites:** Adherents of the Sunni Islam, which is the largest branch of Islam accounting for 75 - 90% of the Muslim population worldwide.

**UN–Arab League Joint Special Representative for Syria:** appointed by the UN Secretary-General to help find a resolution to the ongoing conflict in Syria. From 23 February until 31 August 2012 former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan served as Special Representative. On 17 August 2012, Lakhdar Brahimi was appointed as the new peace envoy to Syria.

**UNDOF (United Nations Disengagement Observer Force):** was established by UN Security Council Resolution 350 on 31 May 1974 to observe the ceasefire between Israel and Syria following the Yom Kippur War and the

<sup>5</sup> 13 Countries in favour, 0 abstain, 2 against (China, Russian Federation)

subsequent signing of the "Agreement on Disengagement" between Israeli and Syrian forces. The Agreement provided for a buffer zone (on the Golan Heights) and for two equal areas of limitation of forces and armaments on both sides of the area.

**UNSMIS** (United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria): is a UN peacekeeping mission in Syria, set up in 2012 as a result of UN Security Council Resolution 2043 (April) in response to the Syrian uprising. On 20 July 2012, the Security Council extended UNSMIS for a final period of 30 days (SC Res. 2059). The UNSMIS mandate came to an end at midnight on 19 August 2012 – all observers were withdrawn by this date.

**Appendix C: “First Glance Section”:** Please use the linked article as starting point for your country-research.

Argentina: <http://www.buenosairesherald.com/article/122406/syria-argentina-heavyhanded-again>

Australia: <http://www.news.com.au/national-news/bob-carr-reveals-plan-to-take-lead-role-in-aid-for-syrian-refugees/story-fncynjr2-1226625447328>

Azerbaijan: <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2013/03/18/the-syrian-crisis-a-view-from-azerbaijan/>

Guatemala: <http://www.guatemalaun.org/bin/documents/SCMESiria-Jan31-2012.pdf>

Israel: [http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139373/efraim-halevy/israels-man-in-damascus?cid=soc-facebook-in-snapshots-israels\\_man\\_in\\_damascus-051015](http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139373/efraim-halevy/israels-man-in-damascus?cid=soc-facebook-in-snapshots-israels_man_in_damascus-051015)

Lebanon: <http://www.rawstory.com/rs/2013/04/06/lebanons-new-prime-minister-insists-on-neutrality-in-syrian-conflict/>

Luxembourg: <http://www.mae.lu/en/Mini-Sites/New-York/News/Le-Luxembourg-intervient-au-debat-public-du-Conseil-de-securite-sur-la-protection-des-civils-en-periode-de-conflit-arme/%28language%29/eng-US>

Morocco: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201303270610.html>

Pakistan: <http://dawn.com/2013/04/29/syrian-deputy-foreign-minister-calls-on-president-zardari/>

Republic of Korea: <http://un-report.blogspot.co.at/2013/01/uk-france-luxembourg-korea-australia.html>

[http://www.mofa.go.kr/ENG/countries/middleeast/countries/20070824/1\\_24423.jsp?menu=m\\_30\\_50](http://www.mofa.go.kr/ENG/countries/middleeast/countries/20070824/1_24423.jsp?menu=m_30_50)

Rwanda: <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/index.php?i=14952&a=52108>

Togo: <http://www.untogo.org/News/Crisis-in-Syria/No-other-issue-but-the-political-one>

<http://www.newafricanmagazine.com/features/politics/togo-growing-influence>

Turkey: [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/05/13/opinion/turkey-syria-reyhanli-hakura/?hpt=hp\\_c1](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/05/13/opinion/turkey-syria-reyhanli-hakura/?hpt=hp_c1)

Appendix D: Maps

