

**Forum:** The Disarmament Commission

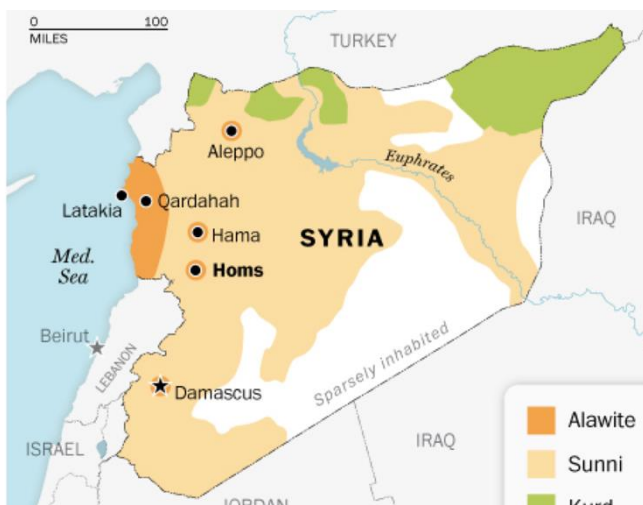
**Issue:** Facilitating the aftermath of the Syrian civil war

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**Position:** Chair of the Disarmament Commission

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## Introduction



*Figure 1: Ethnic spread of Syria*

The Syrian civil war is fought between the Ba'ath government, led by Bashar al-Assad with support from Russia, Iran and the Hezbollah from Lebanon, against the Syrian opposition forces who want to remove the government, supported by the United States, Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

The death of then-President of Syria, Hafez al-Assad, left the country devoured by corruption, high unemployment and lack of political freedom. Because of the authoritarian regime, all the power

laid with the “power brokers” - those affiliated to the government who used their influence to their own advantage. Politically, within the regime, corruption is also prevalent on many levels. Without the concept of a modern state and democracy, Syria’s political system was not popular during the Arab Spring, as citizens of individual nations affected by the Arab Spring vied for democracy. After the death of his father, Bashar al-Assad replaced his father, Hafez al-Assad as the President of Syria.

The Syrian civil war was one of many conflicts sparked by the Arab Spring, a string of revolutions and uprisings in the Middle-East. Countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Algeria, Iraq, Kuwait, Jordan, Morocco and Oman have all experienced or are still experiencing the devastating domino effect that created power vacuums in the nations of the Middle East and North Africa. In Syria, civilian protests erupted in January 26, 2011, demanding civil rights denied by the terms of ‘state of emergency’ since Syria gained independence. Later in that year, al-Assad made empty



*Figure 2: Bashar al-Assad, the current Syrian President*

promises, which prompted for the creation of a National Council was established by George Sabra, to lead the revolution, similar to those seen throughout the Arab Spring.

Over the past few years, the conflict has morphed into something distinctly different from a two-sided civil war; there has been notable foreign intervention from the United States, Russia, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, as well as Israel. The United States' intervention in the Syrian civil war meant their support towards Syrian opposition groups and the Federation of Northern Syria, as well as fighting against the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL), and the al-Nusra Front from 2014, for which Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) joined the United States as well. This adds on to the complexity of the issue by expanding the scope of the conflict to not only between the opposition groups and the Ba'athist government but also the counter-terrorism efforts of the intervening nations.

The issue has not only caused collateral damage within the borders of Syria but has also indirectly caused deaths of those attempting to flee on refugee ships, especially to cross the Mediterranean Sea. 6 million have been internally displaced and an approximate 5 million refugees have been forced to leave Syria due to the conflict, according to the United Nations (UN). Innocent people, who are not in any way affiliated to the government or opposition groups, are dying on and off the coast of Syria. It is imperative that problems faced within Syria are minimized to its greatest extent such that the Syrian people can return to their homes and live there safely.

## Definition of Key Terms

### Civil War

A civil war is a war fought between two or more parties who are citizens within the same country. It is usually a violent conflict between a state and one or more organized non-state actors in the state's territory. Civil wars are thus distinguished from interstate conflicts, in which states fight other states, violent conflicts or riots not involving states, sometimes labeled intercommunal conflicts, and state repression against individuals who cannot be considered an organized or cohesive group, including genocides, and similar violence by non-state actors, such as terrorism or violent crime. The Syrian civil war is a civil war only in name, however, due to the extensive foreign intervention in the conflict.

### Aftermath

The period that follows an unpleasant event or accident, and the effects that it causes. In this case, the aftermath stands for political, social and economic impacts of the Syrian civil war.

### Foreign Intervention

Foreign intervention refers to the use of the discretionary power of a government in one society to address perceived problems in foreign independent states. The purpose of foreign intervention is often to pursue the respective intervening state's national interests while striving to ensure the peace and security of the state that is in turmoil. Foreign intervention in the Syrian civil war is abundant, especially from the United States, Russia, Iran and Saudi Arabia. The main intention of the United States in its intervention in Syria is to establish its name as part of counter-terrorism (against ISIL) as well as fighting against the use of chemical weapons against civilians.

### **Proxy war**

A war instigated by a major power that does not itself become involved. In this case, Russia and the United States may somewhat be considered as the instigators. The United States sent non-lethal supplies, such as food and other necessities, to rebel groups, provided training for selected groups, and supplied certain rebel generals with intelligence. Russia, is also providing military analytics for the al-Assad's government.

### **Militias**

A military force that is raised from the civil population to supplement a regular army in an emergency. In the Syrian civil war however, these militias are exclusively military forces that engage in rebel or terrorist activities, typically in opposition to a regular army, the Syrian army, led by Bashar al-Assad,

### **Jihadists**

Jihadists are people who believe in or participate in fighting against the enemies of Islam. In the Syrian civil war, these people are those who fight against the foreign fighters that have come under international foreign intervention.

## **General Overview**

### **The Arab Spring**

Beginning December 2010, the Arab Spring was triggered by the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia, when a Tunisian street vendor Mohammed Bouazizi set himself on fire in protest against the arbitrary seizure of his stand over an expired permit. This acted as a catalyst for the Jasmine Revolution that had already been in the making. Protests erupted in the state capital, Tunis, and prompted authoritarian president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali to abdicate his position and flee to Saudi Arabia. He had ruled the country with an "iron fist" for more than 20 years.

Tunisia's first democratic parliamentary elections were held in October 2011, while rebels from neighbouring countries hoping for an uprising watched and were inspired. Eventually, they began to protest against their respective authoritarian regimes. One of such is the Tahrir Square uprising in Cairo, Egypt, as well as in Bahrain. Some of these, however, morphed into full-scale civil war, like those in Syria, Yemen and Libya. The Arab Spring acted as a catalyst for outbreaks of opposition in Syria because the opposition groups were inspired by the successes of overthrowing authoritarian regimes and replacing them with democracies.

### Anti-Government Protests

Since January 26 2011, pro-democracy protests for political reforms erupted in the southern city Deraa and conflict between the Syrian army and protestors sparked. In July, 136 people were killed when Syrian army tanks stormed several cities to put down the protests. Such chaos spread throughout the country and supporters of opposition parties armed themselves to protect their families as well as to eradicate security forces within the area, deployed by President Assad, which then escalated to domestic civil unrest.

### Developments in Syria

As foreign intervention becomes more prevalent, intervening countries have been accused of “fostering hatred” between the Sunni majority and the Shia sect, which is endorsed by the Bashar al-Assad himself. Between the chaos and the conflict, Syria has grown to be a nesting place for jihadist groups like the Islamic State (IS), al-Qaeda and al-Nursa. The reason for this is that the civil war attracted many foreign fighters from Afghanistan, Turkey and many more Arab states. Jihadist groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) exploited the chaos and division during the Syrian civil war, especially when al-Qaeda joined forces with Bashar al-Assad in 2011, and found a safe haven with access to weapons. In 2013, al-Qaeda took advantage of the United States' exit from intervention and widespread Sunni anger towards the Shia-led government to start seizing areas of Syria, which they were now renamed as the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL)

### Opposition Groups

#### *Syrian Kurdish-Islamist conflict: Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG)*

Additionally, Kurds residing in North-eastern Syria and those among the 40,000 foreign fighters who have entered Syria, according to the US State Department, have also joined the civil war, adding one more party to it. The conflict plays a big part within the civil war because the conflict entails the fact that the Kurds are fighting against ISIL from seizing more land from mainly in North-eastern Syria. In this concurrent conflict, the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG) are made up of Kurds who have lived in the Rojava region of Syria for thousands of years and is an armed

division of the Kurdish Democratic Union Party (PYD), the largest group that claims representation for the Syrian Kurds. In Syria specifically, the YPG has joined forces with the Free Syrian Army (FSA) to fight against ISIL.

### *Free Syrian Army (FSA)*

The Free Syrian Army (FSA), founded on July 29<sup>th</sup>, 2011, is a loose faction in the Syrian civil war, made up of officers who defected from the Syrian Armed Forces and conglomerated in aim to overthrow al-Assad's authoritarian regime. At first, they were a formal organization, but by July 2012, the organization was lost to ill-discipline, infighting and lack of funding. As this was one of the main moderate opposition groups, Islamic groups grew dominant within the armed opposition. The name "FSA" has been used twice already, each time by separate organizations. In 2016, Turkish military intervention in Syria brought an informal group of Turkish-backed Arabs and Turkmen that was established with the name "Free Syrian Army". The group had been backed by Turkish ground troops as well as British airpower.

In the civil war, the FSA is an ally to the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG) to fight against ISIL under the name of the Syrian Democratic Forces.

### *FSA and YPG relations*

Both groups are opposed to ISIL but on several occasions, we have seen clashes between the two groups. On 19<sup>th</sup> November 2012, after the FSA seized Ras al-Ayn, reportedly alongside the YPG, the FSA launched an assault on the YPG checkpoint in Ras al-Ayn that left 6 rebels dead initially, but also caused the death of the President of the local Kurdish council when a sniper shot him dead. Although the situation escalated in the Ras al-Ayn area, the FSA and YPG eventually signed a truce. Following that, the FSA and YPG have clashed again on multiple occasions, such as the Siege of Kobani that marked the beginning of US intervention in Syria. Even then, the FSA was marginalized between "for" US partnership or "against" it. In October 2015, the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) was formed and segments of FSA continue to work with YPG.

### *National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces (SNC)*

This was formed in Qatar in November 2012 and was not supported by the Arab League. Shortly after that in December, the United Nations, Britain, France Turkey and the Gulf states formally recognized the National Coalition as the legitimate representative of the Syrian people. The SNC's goals are mainly to replace Bashar al-Assad's government and to support the Free Syrian Army (FSA) mutually. The SNC is recognized both nationally and internationally, recognized by at least twenty states as either "the" authority or "an" authority representing the Syrian people.

## Foreign Intervention

### *Russia*

A military ally with Syria since 1956, Russia has been in support of Assad's government and has been continuously supplying Assad's army with munition, advisers and engineers. Advisers trained Syrian military officials to use the Russian-made weapons, while engineers helped repair and maintain the weapons that had been supplied. In June 2012, the Russian president Vladimir Putin said that Russia did not support "any side in the conflict from which the threat of civil war may emerge." In the same year, many sources claim that some Russian military advisers disguised as Syrian operators, manned anti-aircraft equipment from the ground, which defended them from US intervention in their airspace. However, it is important to note that Russia's involvement in supporting Assad's regime is, although often criticized by Western politicians, not in violation any international law.

By the end of 2013, Russia had supplied even more tanks, armoured vehicles, surveillance equipment, radars, electronic warfare systems, spare parts for helicopters and various missiles and bombs including guided bombs for planes.

There are several reasons for Russia's keen intervention in the Syrian civil war. First and foremost, to support an ally, Bashar al-Assad's government, which they fear that if the regime had fallen to the jihadists, it would be "inimical" to the interests of Russia, as well as the United States. By combatting Assad's opposition groups, Russia could claim that they play a role in counter-terrorism. However, their definition for "terrorism" does not fall under the United Nations' definition which includes the Islamic State and al-Qaeda, but instead the Russians define it as any opposition groups that Assad faces. Last but not least, Russia considers itself a contender for the role of the world superpower. If challenging the United States' role of the global superpower is the within intentions of Russian foreign policy, then they have to learn from its previous mistakes. The fall of Gaddafi in Libya was the result of the UN resolution which then allowed the Right to Protect Use of Force in Libya, initiated during the Obama Administration. Russia did not want to see a friendly government fall, like Gaddafi's.

The end of September 2015 marked Russia's upper house granting the execution of airstrikes over Syria. Although the Russian defence ministry stated that the airstrikes were targeted at IS bases, claiming that they were exercising "counter-terrorism" measures, most Western European analysts say that these missiles mostly targeted less extreme opposition groups. What was ignored was the civilian casualties and collateral damage that was to be inflicted on the innocent Syrians on the



streets. In March 2016, Russian airstrikes killed 4,408 people, including 1,733 civilian deaths, according to the Syrian Observatory of Human Rights.

Russian troops pulled out of Syria by 14<sup>th</sup> March 2016, after Putin met with his ministers in Kremlin. However, arms and funds provided to the Assad's government still remains and is still circulated in Syria, causing civilian casualties through the conflict.

### *Iran*

The intervention of Iran in the Syrian civil war is to preserve their 'the Syrian government as part of the "axis of resistance"', a longstanding alliance between Iran, Syria and Lebanon's Hezbollah. The aim of Iran is to set a deterrence against harming the Syrian government to all those intervening in the civil war. Iran's main interest in Syria is also the city of Zabadani, the logistical hub for the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), which supplies to the Hezbollah in Lebanon. When the Arab Spring radiated to Syria, Iran provided the Assad regime with financial aid, arms shipment and communications jamming equipment. In 2014, during the rise of the Islamic State In Syria (ISIS), Iran deployed more forces into Syria, sending troops from Qud, the special forces unit of the IRGC. At one point, the number of troops reached 2,500. As of December 2013, the Syrian Opposition Interim Minister of Finance and Economy claims that Syria has received more than 15 billion USD from Iran, not forgetting the 6 billion USD that Iran has spent on maintaining Assad's government in Syria. By 2013, the IRGC fighting in Syria have lost 4,000 troops, in which 2,100 of them were Iranian soldiers and officers.

### *United States*

After the protests broke out in Syria, the then-President of the United States, Barack Obama, called out on Bashar al-Assad to resign, saying it was "for the sake of the Syrian people". In April 2011, the US government issued Executive Order 13572 that blocked property of Syrian officials and others responsible for human rights abuses, including repression, within Syria. The US subsequently imposed additional sanctions against his regime in August 2011 that, according to the US Department of State, included blocking of property of the Government of Syria, provided extra authority for designating individuals and entities, prohibited new investments in Syria by USA persons, prohibited the exportation or sale of services to Syria by USA persons, prohibited the importation of petroleum or petroleum products of Syrian origin, and prohibited USA persons from involvement in transactions involving Syrian petroleum or petroleum products. In short, it imposed economic sanctions on petroleum trade and foreign investment. Numerous allies of the US such as President Nicolas Sarkozy of France, Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and Prime Minister David Cameron of the United Kingdom have called on Assad to resign as well.

Additionally, the USA is a party to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), and therefore is firmly against the use of chemical weapons against civilians. The USA established this stance in the Syrian civil war in August 2012 when then-President Obama described chemical weapons use against civilians as the “red line” for US military intervention in Syria, against the Assad regime:

*“We have been very clear to the Assad regime, but also to other players on the ground, that a red line for us is we start seeing a whole bunch of chemical weapons moving around or being utilized.”*

However, despite the repeated warnings, a brutal chemical attack, orchestrated by Assad’s regime, hit Damascus in August 2013 and killed approximately 1500 civilians, including children. Almost immediately, the President called for a ‘limited intervention’ in Syria and requested for Congress to authorize the attack, acknowledging that he was “mindful that I’m the president of the world’s oldest constitutional democracy.”

During the Obama Administration, the US attempted air strikes on Syria, but the proposal was not passed by Congress when proposed by President Obama. In 2014, Obama again requested for Congress to approve arming rebel forces in Syria and providing training to them as well, this time, to fight ISIL, which Congress approved with “bipartisan support” from both Democratic and Republican parties. The US also carried out airstrikes in Syria, against ISIL, together with an international coalition of the USA, Jordan, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Bahrain.

In April 2017, the Trump administration condemned a chemical attack, which the Turkish officials claim was sarin, that killed dozens of people. The Administration viewed it as a breach of the 2013 treaty and sees it as the “red line” for military intervention against the Assad regime. Subsequently, Trump ordered airstrikes on April 6 2017.

## Refugees

The airstrikes and conflict has caused significant collateral damage to Syria and refugees have scrambled to nearby countries, resulting in some becoming stranded on refugee boats in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea.

During the course of the civil war, over 700,000 civilians have been killed, with an estimated of 13 million displaced, most of whom migrate to welcoming countries in Europe like Germany. As refugees take their never-ending journey to developed countries all over the world, the death toll continues to increase. In late January 2018, thirteen bodies of Syrian refugees were found along the mountainous border with Lebanon. They were found frozen after the area was hit by a blizzard. According to BBC reports, the thirteen refugees were abandoned by smugglers, who make profits by illegally relocating refugees, often at a high price.



Other than that, since the eruption of the civil war, there has been an influx of Syrian refugees on refugee boats sailing across the Mediterranean Sea. Towards the end of 2016, the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) reported that the death toll on the Mediterranean Sea had reached over 3,700. “This is the worst we have ever seen,” said UNHCR spokesperson William Spindler. “From one death for every 269 arrivals last year, in 2016 the likelihood of dying has spiralled to one in 88.”

In order to deal with the refugee crises, more needs to be done to accommodate these refugees, especially in refugee camps.

Additionally, there is also a crucial need for rebuild in infrastructure in order to support the influx of population for the possibility of the return of the refugees to Syria. The rebuilding would mean that these returning citizens would have a comfortable environment to live in. War-torn Syria has little functional infrastructure due to abandonment and conflict and is in dire need of repair and reconstruction.

### Infrastructure and Economy

According to a 2017 World Bank report, 226 billion USD of infrastructure and lost economic growth plays a part in the colossal damage that the civil war has been bringing to Syria. Bearing in mind the fact that entire nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was only 53.6 million USD in 2011. The vast infrastructural and economic damage is more than four times the GDP of Syria even before the civil war.

The main reason for disarmament is to have peace. But in order to attain peace, an economy is one of the cornerstones of development of a country; without a stable and sustainable economy, Syria will have great difficulty returning to the global market, stabilising the nation and achieving disarmament.

Existing projects targeting at improving infrastructure in Syria have already been working on water accessibility, electricity and rebuilding of houses, most notably, by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Free trade agreements and foreign direct investment deals would be more easily acquired when the infrastructure is reconstructed to improve foreign confidence in the economy of Syria.

### Water Accessibility

In 2010, according to research surveys conducted by BioMed Central (BMC), less than 90% of Syrians had access to potable or improved drinking water. This has worsened since the civil war began in 2011, and currently, an estimated number of 12 million people require what are called the WASH services, which stands for water, sanitation and hygiene.

Geographically, Syria is unfortunately a semiarid country, which means that it has scarce water resources. The Ministry of Housing and Construction (Syria) (MHC) is responsible for “proposing, planning and executing” the Syrian government’s projects on water supply and sanitation, as well as related services. However, because of the aforementioned corruption and “empty promises” that the authoritarian regime committed, these tasks have not been completed.

Water accessibility ensures the health of the Syrian people and without disarmament, Syria will not be able to develop its infrastructure and improve hygiene conditions for its people.

## UN Involvement, Relevant Resolutions, Treaties and Events

The UN contributes towards the peacekeeping of the Syrian civil predominantly through the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS), adhering to the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2043.

On 14 April 2012, the UN Security Council deployed 30 unarmed observers to report on the implementation of the ceasefire, through the adoption of Resolution 2042.

Since 21 April 2012 after United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolution 2043 was passed.

On 22 July 2012, the Security Council extended the UNSMIS in Syria for 30 more days and stated that any further extension would only be entertained if the ceasefires occurred in order to facilitate its mandate, which it did not. Thus, at midnight on August, 19 2012, the UNSMIS mission was terminated.

Below are the relevant resolutions to this area:

S/RES/2042 14 April 2012: Authorizes the advance of 30 unarmed observers to survey Syria for ceasefire implementation

S/RES/2043 21 April 2012: The establishment of the UN Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS)

Even prior to the UNSMIS, the UN Human Rights Council created the Commission of Inquiry on Syria to inspect for any human rights violations in the Syria, amidst the civil war, and the ripple of the Arab Spring. This Commission, alongside the General Assembly (GA) repeatedly urged the Syrian Arab Republic to halt its human rights abuses against innocent civilians.

## Timeline

Date	Description of event
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17 July 2000	Bashar al-Assad assumes his father's position as President of Syria.
December 2010	Spark of the Arab Spring, the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia.
26 January 2011	Pro-democracy protests for political reforms erupted in the southern city Deraa and conflict between the Syrian army and protestors sparked
29 July 2011	The Free Syrian Army was founded
July 2012	Fighting spreads to Aleppo, Syria's largest city and former commercial capital.
20 August 2012	Obama says the use of chemical weapons against civilians is the "red line" for military intervention.
November 2012	National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces is established in Qatar
19 March 2013	The Syrian government and opposition trade accusations over a gas attack that killed some 26 people, including more than a dozen government soldiers, in the town of Khan al-Assal in northern Syria. A U.N. investigation later finds that sarin nerve gas was used, but does not identify a culprit.
May 2013	Lebanon's Hezbollah group joins the conflict with government forces attacking and later capturing the border town of Qusair.
August 2013	Chemical attack in the eastern Ghouta suburbs kills hundreds of civilians. The US blames Assad for this and Obama threatens punitive strikes but does not succeed in getting approval from Congress.
27 September 2013	UN Security Council orders Syria to account for and destroy all chemical weapons stockpile, following a US-Russia joint agreement, thus averting US airstrikes.
14 October 2013	Syria becomes a signatory of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), therefore prohibiting it from producing , stockpiling or using chemical weapons.

End of 2013	Russians send in more supplies such as food, armoured vehicles and more ammunition.
30 June 2014	Islamic State declares caliphate in areas they controlled in Iraq and Syria.
End September 2015	US airstrikes in Syria against the Islamic State, as well as Russian airstrikes approved by upper house of parliament, executed in support of Assad's regime.
4 April 2017	At least 58 people are killed in what doctors say could be a nerve gas attack on the town of Khan Sheikhoun in the rebel-held Idlib province. Witnesses say the attack was carried out by either Russian or Syrian Sukhoi jets. Moscow and Damascus deny responsibility.
6 April 2017	The USA fires a barrage of cruise missiles into Syria in retaliation for the Khan Sheikhoun attack, in the first direct American assault on the Syrian government.
May 2017	Rebels withdraw from the last neighbourhood they controlled in the city of Homs, once dubbed the capital of the revolution.
February 2018	Syrian government forces launch a massive operation to drive rebels from eastern Ghouta.

## Possible Solutions

Both sides, Assad's regime and the opposition forces as well as foreign fighters, need to sign a ceasefire agreement that should also be closely monitored by non-partisan third party observers. With the ceasefire agreement, it would be a relief for Syrian civilians who still reside in Syria, who currently still live under heavy bombings, be it airstrikes or tomahawk missiles. An incentive that they could provide to Assad's regime and the opposition forces is that none of the parties will have pay for reconstruction of Syria, but would be funded by the UN instead.

Since the beginning of ISIL's spread through Syria, many countries have come to intervene in the civil war in the name of "counter terrorism", but mostly only for their own interests rather than reducing death tolls and restoring peace to Syria and their people. A UN counter-terrorism convoy in the areas would be internationally legitimate and non-aligned military giants who have been fighting independently against terrorism will be more willing to join the UN, since they will not be fighting as independent forces, but

instead, all under the UN flag. This counter terrorism campaign should include more ground troops, instead of pre-dominant airstrikes causing mounts of collateral damage. However, without airstrikes, pre-existing accuracy and the advantageous position of drones in the sky would be lost, which means that precision attacks on enemy force base camps would be significantly more difficult.

Similarly, chemical weapons should also be removed from Syria. Efforts have previously been put in to this cause, but as demonstrated in the April 2017 sarin attack orchestrated by Assad's regime, these efforts have not come to fruition. Again, the efforts for removal of chemical weapons from Syria, a proper UN investigation team should be established, with experts in the area, those free of national interests. This group should be able to conduct free investigation and reports regarding their findings, if not, compliance measures such as sanctions should be imposed on Assad's regime. Once the results have surfaced, a UN envoy should be responsible to devise a resolution to enforce the removal of chemical weapons. Exploring ways of incentivizing Syria to open up their chemical weapon arsenal, left from the 2014 disarmament by US, Russia and OPCW, should prevent what happened in DPRK from repeating, when inspectors were expelled from such facilities. The import of other arms should be monitored using stringent border security through physical borders, such as airports, seaports, and more; and cyber borders, which means the sales of weapons online. Meanwhile, the Syrian government should always report to the UN about international arms corporations (IAC), and definitely sign and ratify the UN Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) by providing incentives such as infrastructure rebuilding.

According to Al-Khatteeb in her work on ISIL's gains from oil in Iraq and routes passing Syria, ISIL is no longer in need of donations because it has now created an "ad-hoc" black market over the territory they have seized. Their black market takes up approximately 60 percent of Syria's oil reserve, including seven oil production assets in Iraq. Their networks include middlemen from neighbouring countries to trade for crude oil for cash. As a result, their total revenues a day is about \$2 million, from smuggling 30,000 barrels of oil, each valued between \$25 to \$60 every day. To eradicate ISIL from the region, their funding sources have to be cut through means including blocking these oil routes and having counter-terrorism groups to seize those relevant areas containing oil producing assets.

Microfinances in these refugee camps could work since microfinancing requires low investment capital with low interest rates to pay the bank. This would mean that it is financially easier for those refugees to start a business and earn a living for themselves in the refugee camps. Ultimately, refugee camps are only short term accommodation for them while the conflict is ongoing; by setting up a business, they could acquire wealth and take that with them to seek asylum in foreign countries.

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