The Syrian Network for Human Rights (SNHR), founded in June 2011, is a non-governmental, independent group that is considered a primary source for the OHCHR on all death toll-related analyses in Syria.

The Syrian Regime, Which Is Accused of Stealing and Looting Humanitarian Aid, Obstructing Its Access, and Besieging and Starving Entire Areas, Cannot Be Trusted

UN Aid to Northern Syria, Which Is Neutral, Absolutely Essential, and Delivered with the Approval of the Controlling Forces, Does Not Need Permission from the Security Council

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I. Security Council Resolution 2165 on the Surface Is Supportive of UN Aid, While Its Essence Is the Expansion of Security Council Powers Arbitrarily:

After the popular uprising, that began in March 2011 against the Syrian regime, turned into an internal armed conflict, many areas began coming under the control of the armed opposition; some of these areas were surrounded by other areas controlled by the Syrian regime, such as the Eastern Ghouta in Damascus Suburbs, Darayya and Mu’adamiyet al Sham, while some areas in the north, south or east were located on the borders of neighboring countries. All of the areas controlled by the armed opposition have been subjected to exceptionally violent retaliatory attacks by the Syrian regime, especially through use of its air force, particularly helicopters and warplanes. These attacks did not distinguish between civilians and combatants, and in many cases deliberately targeted vital facilities such as hospitals and markets. In addition, thousands of Syrian citizens from areas controlled by the Syrian regime fled to opposition-controlled areas for fear of arrest, enforced disappearance and torture.

While the besieged areas, or those located on the borders under almost daily bombardment, were and are in dire need of humanitarian aid, the United Nations did not deliver the aid across the borders, instead preferring that the aid be brought in with the approval of the Syrian regime responsible for the siege, with the aid first taken to Damascus, and then distributed to the other areas, no matter how distant these are from Damascus. The United Nations, represented by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), has been subjected to one of the worst forms of extortion, looting and humiliation in the twenty-first century due to the shameful behavior of the Syrian regime, whose aim from the start has been to increase the suffering of the population in areas outside its control, as a form of collective punishment, by deliberately delaying aid for long weeks and months, controlling the quantity of aid distributed and the areas of aid distribution, establishing organizations affiliated with the Syrian regime and its security services, and imposing requirements that all aid deals be conducted through them. Many organizations and former United Nations employees have detailed the Syrian regime’s looting and control of humanitarian aid, but despite this and all of the regime’s other aforementioned actions, the United Nations has not switched to delivering aid across the border. A coalition of senior legal experts, lawyers and human rights defenders ruled in April 2014 that there is no legal obstacle preventing the United Nations from delivering humanitarian aid across the border, since the United Nations meets the conditions for humanitarian action in having the necessary humanitarian, neutral, impartial and unbiased character, with the approval of the controlling forces on the other side of the border (the armed opposition) being guaranteed, and the population there desperately needing aid, while it is unacceptable for the parties to withhold approval except on the grounds of legitimate legal reasons, not for arbitrary ones.

In response to this ruling and to the many articles and statements supporting this approach, the UN Security Council took the initiative to disregard the advice of legal experts and human rights defenders, instead adopting Resolution No. 2165 in July 2014, under which the United Nations and its partners were allowed to deliver aid through four border crossings without the approval of the Syrian regime; despite the fact that this may seem to have been a step towards contributing to the promotion of law and human rights, it includes in its essence the expansion of - the Security Council’s powers and of its control over issues outside its competence, as there is no rule in international law stating that the UNOCHA’s cross-border aid delivery is illegal. The Security Council has monopolized this humanitarian mission, and included it within its powers, with humanitarian aid having become subject to blackmail and political horse-trading regardless of the needs of millions of Syrians, and potentially of non-Syrians in other countries; all legal experts around the world must confront the hegemony of the Security Council over the issue of cross-border aid delivery.
We issued a report in July 2020, in relation to this crucial issue when Russia exploited the Security Council resolution to use it to its advantage in order to blackmail the UNOCHA and the donor countries, in which we stated clearly that: The United Nations Should Continue Cross-Border Aid Delivery Even If Russia Vetoes the Extension of the Security Council Resolution.

II. Additional Reasons Why It’s Essential to Ensure Delivery of Cross-Border Aid Is Free of Syrian Regime Influence or Security Council Intervention:

The Syrian regime, its Russian ally and their defenders describe the provision of cross-border aid as a violation of territorial integrity, and we believe that this general argument is unacceptable. And therefore the delivery of UN neutral cross-border humanitarian aid cannot be considered an illegal act for the following main reasons:

One: Prohibited intervention is coercion (not necessarily military, any coercive intervention is prohibited), and we do not believe that the delivery of necessary humanitarian aid is coercive intervention. UN relief workers are unarmed and impartial, with international law clearly stating in the Additional Protocol I, Articles 64\(^1\) and 70\(^2\) that “relief actions shall not be regarded as interference in the armed conflict or as unfriendly acts” (this also applies to internal armed conflict), and that a distinction must therefore be made between “humanitarian intervention”, which is not recognized by international law when it is carried out in a unilateral manner, and “aid activities and humanitarian actions” carried out by impartial humanitarian organizations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

In 1986, the International Court of Justice clarified\(^3\) the criteria that help in distinguishing between humanitarian action and interference in its report ‘Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America)’, in which it affirmed the principle of non-interference in state affairs, but affirmed that: “the provision of strictly humanitarian aid to persons or forces in another country, whatever their political affiliations or objectives, cannot be regarded as unlawful intervention, or as in any other way contrary to international law.”

The International Court of Justice also noted that humanitarian assistance should be limited to: “the purposes allowed in the practice of the Red Cross, namely to prevent and alleviate human suffering,” and “to protect life and health and to ensure respect for the human being; it must also, and above all, be given without discrimination to all in need.”\(^4\)

The Institute of International Law also emphasized in the Santiago de Compostela Resolution\(^5\) that: “A State acting in breach of its obligations in the sphere of human rights cannot evade its international responsibility by claiming that such matters are essentially within its domestic jurisdiction.” This resolution explicitly stated that “diplomatic, economic and other measures” taken by States in response to human rights violations “cannot be considered an unlawful intervention in the internal affairs of that State”, and this description fully applies to the practices of the Syrian regime.


Two: Humanitarian aid passes through Turkey or Iraq, with both countries agreeing to allow the entry of aid to Syria, with aid reaching areas under the control of the Armed Opposition forces or the Syrian Democratic Forces, and the controlling forces welcoming the entry of aid, as it is humanitarian aid provided to areas that contain millions of forcibly displaced persons, and therefore it is not a violation of territorial integrity⁶, and it is carried out with the approval of the controlling authorities, as it is not a coercive intervention.

Fadel Abdul Ghany, Director of the Syrian Network for Human Rights, says:

We must always remember that those in need of UN aid are internally displaced persons who have been forcibly displaced from their homes as a result of aerial bombardment by Russia and the Syrian regime, and who are unable to return home for fear of revenge attacks by the Syrian regime and its militias, meaning that Russia not only helped to destroy their homes and to displace them, but also wants to withhold aid from them, despite IDPs being the poorest and most needy members of society. The Security Council’s authoritarian hand must be lifted from the issue of impartial and essential UN aid.

Three: Necessity is the main reason for seeking humanitarian aid, with the necessity in northern Syria being the most acute:

The 2001 International Law Commission Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts (ASR)⁷, and the Draft Articles on Responsibility of International Organizations (ARIO)⁸, recognize six circumstances precluding the wrongfulness of an act that would violate an international obligation, namely: consent; self-defense; countermeasures; force majeure; distress; and necessity. The issue of necessity is most relevant to the issue of humanitarian aid⁹. The following is a list of the most prominent UN and international reports and statements during the past three months about the extent to which the population needs UN humanitarian aid in northwestern and northeastern Syria:

On March 10, UNICEF issued a press release stating that 90 percent of children in Syria are in need of humanitarian assistance, a 20 percent increase in the past year alone, with more than half a million children under the age of five in the country suffering from stunted growth as a result of chronic malnutrition.

On May 26, Mark Lowcock, the UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and UN Emergency Relief Coordinator, briefed the Security Council on the humanitarian situation in Syria, stating that Security Council authorization for UN cross-border assistance into the north-west would expire in just over six weeks from that date, adding “Without an extension, monthly food deliveries for 1.4 million people, millions of medical treatments, nutrition assistance and educational supplies, will peter out.” Lowcock addressed the Security Council, saying: “We look to this Council to ensure that that lifeline is not severed.”

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On June 3, Mark Cutts, U.N. deputy regional humanitarian coordinator for Syria, stated that “Millions of people in northwest Syria face disaster if the United Nations fails to approve an extension of cross-border humanitarian operations next month,” due to Russia’s calls to close the Bab al Hawa crossing and the delivery of UN aid through the areas under the control of the Assad regime.

On June 7, Stéphane Dujarric, Spokesman for the UN Secretary-General, stated in his daily briefing that the United Nations remains “very concerned about the deteriorating humanitarian situation for 13.4 million people in need throughout the country”, adding that the cross-border humanitarian operation with Turkey “is the last lifeline preventing a humanitarian catastrophe.” In the same context, Dujarric explained that there are 3.4 million people in need in northwest Syria, describing them as the most vulnerable: “More than 90 percent of those [people] are assessed by the UN to be in extreme or catastrophic need, particularly the 2.7 million internally displaced men, women and children.”

On June 10, Human Rights Watch (HRW), in its report entitled “Russian Veto Would Shut Down Last Aid Lifeline”, called on the Security Council to reauthorize full cross-border operations into the region and to authorize a resumption of aid flows from Iraq to northeast Syria, adding that “Millions of Syrians risk losing access to lifesaving aid, including during the Covid-19 pandemic, if Russia vetoes reauthorizing the only remaining UN aid corridor from Turkey into opposition-held northwest Syria.”

On June 11, a group of 42 NGOs warned in a statement that if the UN Security Council failed to renew Resolution 2533, they would be unable to deliver food supplies provided by the World Food Programme to 1.4 million Syrians each month through the Bab al Hawa crossing, and that these supplies would run out by September 2021. The statement added that the failure to renew the resolution would also put a halt to the UN-led COVID-19 vaccination campaign for people living in Northwest Syria.
On June 15, the G7 summit statement called on the UN Security Council to ensure that humanitarian aid can reach all people in need in Syria, including through cross border and cross line operations.

On June 15, 30 States submitted a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations calling for the reauthorization of cross-border aid delivery. In their letter, the States warned that “the reauthorization of cross-border mechanism is essential to ensure the direct and continuous distribution of vaccines to all Syrians through the Covax system,” stressing that failure to renew would have devastating repercussions on millions of Syrians.

On June 18, seven10 Heads of international humanitarian agencies, including Mark Lowcock, the Emergency Relief Coordinator and Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), issued a joint statement stressing that the entry of cross-line convoys into the north-west are “critical for the expansion of the overall response” and warned that “the failure to do so would immediately stop UN delivery of food, COVID-19 vaccines, critical medical supplies, shelter, protection, clean water and sanitation, and other life-saving assistance to 3.4 million people, including 1 million children.”

The statement added that even if deployed regularly, the convoys could not replicate the size and scope of the cross-border operation, stressing that there is simply no alternative, and that a large-scale UN cross-border response for an additional 12 months remains essential to avert a humanitarian catastrophe in northwest Syria.

On June 18, Doctors Without Borders issued a statement calling on the United Nations Security Council to renew the cross-border resolution (UNSCR 2533), adding that more than 4 million people residing in this area, more than half of whom are internally displaced people (IDPs), risk losing access to desperately needed humanitarian and medical aid if the resolution is not renewed. The statement quoted the organization’s Field Coordinator for Syria as saying, “The Bab Al-Hawa crossing is currently the only lifeline for Idlib governorate, in northwest Syria. If this lifeline is cut off, we would face many forms of death.”

On June 23, UN Secretary-General António Guterres, at the UN Security Council session, called on members of the Council to reach consensus on allowing cross-border operations as a vital channel of support for another year, and noted, “We must recognize that they will never be able to replace cross-border assistance at the present levels.” He added, “A failure to extend the Council’s authorization would have devastating consequences […] 13.4 million people need humanitarian assistance; 12.4 million people are food-insecure.” In his speech, the Secretary-General also reiterated that the solution to the Syrian tragedy can only be political.

On June 23, Acting Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Mr. Ramesh Rajasingham, called on the Security Council to help ensure that the United Nations and its humanitarian partners have every opportunity to assist people in need by extending the cross-border authorization for 12 months. He emphasized that “While the UN and partners use all possible means to reach people in northwest Syria, operations across front-lines from within the country have not been possible, though consultations continue. However, these operations would complement, and not replace, the cross-border mechanism” adding, “When it comes to delivering life-saving aid to people in need across Syria, all channels should be made, and kept, available. The stakes are simply too high otherwise.”

10 Mark Lowcock, Emergency Relief Coordinator and Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), António Viterino, Director General, International Organization for Migration (IOM); Natalia Kone, Executive Director, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA); David Beasley, Executive Director, World Food Programme (WFP); Filippo Grandi, High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Henrietta H. Fore, Executive Director, United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), and Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, Director-General, World Health Organization (WHO)
On June 25, World Food Programme spokesperson Tomson Phiri explained during a regular briefing in Geneva that 2.4 million people depend entirely on cross-border assistance for their basic needs including food. The majority of these people are women and children, many of whom have been displaced multiple times. He added, “Those living in Idlib in Syria’s northwest – which is the last opposition stronghold after more than a decade of war - are among the most vulnerable.” Mr. Phiri added, “Of greatest concern today is northwest Syria, where nearly 30 per cent of the people WFP assists, live. Similarly, 30 per cent of the food WFP ships into Syria is through the single remaining border crossing.”

On June 25, Amnesty International said in its report that: “More than a million people in north-west Syria risk being cut off from food, water, Covid-19 vaccines and life-saving medication if the UN Security Council (UNSC) does not renew authorization for UN cross-border delivery of humanitarian aid through the Bab al-Hawa crossing at the Turkish border.”

III. Russia’s Use of Its Veto on Three Occasions to Prevent the Delivery of UN Humanitarian Aid Is an Additional Disgrace to the Security Council and a Further Indication of the Need to Lift the Hand of the Security Council from UN Aid:

In July 2014, the Security Council passed Resolution No. 2165\textsuperscript{11}, which allowed the United Nations to deliver cross-border aid through four border crossings, namely, al Ramtha, al Ya’rubia, Bab al Salam and Bab al Hawa, without the permission of the Syrian regime. This resolution has been extended on five consecutive occasions through the following Security Council resolutions:

- 2191\textsuperscript{12} of 2014,
- 2258\textsuperscript{13} of 2015,
- 2332\textsuperscript{14} of 2016,
- 2393\textsuperscript{15} of 2017,
- 2449\textsuperscript{16} of 2018.

The first veto in the face of the delivery of UN aid, limiting it to two crossings:

On December 20, 2019, Russia and China used the veto against the extension of Security Council Resolution 2449, which required the re-authorization of the United Nations to deliver aid into Syria using border crossings that are not controlled by Syrian regime forces, which was due to expire on January 10, 2020.

On January 10, 2020, the UN Security Council agreed to extend the delivery of cross-border humanitarian aid mechanism to Syria, but for a period of six months only, and only through two border crossings with Turkey exclusively.


The second veto in the face of the delivery of UN aid, limiting it to two crossings:
On July 7, 2020, Russia and China used the veto against a German-Belgian draft resolution to continue delivering humanitarian aid into Syria through the Bab al Salam and Bab al Hawa crossings for a period of one year. Meanwhile, Russia submitted a draft resolution on July 9, calling for the delivery of humanitarian aid through one crossing instead of two, which is Bab al Hawa crossing for a period of six months only, which was not adopted due to insufficient votes.

The third veto in the face of the delivery of UN aid, limiting it to one crossing:
On July 10, Russia and China again used the veto against a draft resolution submitted by Germany and Belgium to deliver aid through the Bab al Salam and Bab al Hawa crossings, but for a period of only six months. On the same day, Russia submitted a draft resolution calling for the delivery of humanitarian aid through the Bab al Hawa crossing for a period of 12 months, with the draft resolution calling on the Secretary-General to provide a report by the end of August on the “direct and indirect impact of unilateral coercive measures imposed on Syria on its socio-economic situation and humanitarian deliveries from outside Syria”. The draft resolution was suspended after seven members, including three permanent members, objected.

On July 11, 2020, the Security Council adopted Resolution No. 253317 to extend the delivery of cross-border humanitarian aid mechanism to Syria through Bab al Hawa crossing only, for a period of one year until July 10, 2021.

IV. A Call to the General Assembly to Confront the Paralysis and Blackmail of the Security Council on the Issue of Humanitarian Aid:
The UN General Assembly, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, democratic countries and countries supporting the Syrian people are in an exemplary situation to demand that the Security Council stop controlling the decision on cross-border aid, and permanently get rid of the periodic blackmail by Russia and the Security Council by threatening to use their veto in the face of extending the decision to approve the delivery of cross-border aid, which we believe, as we mentioned earlier, is a decision outside the jurisdiction of the Security Council. Serious work must be done to permanently get rid of the Russian threat on this crucial issue, and the General Assembly of the United Nations can take a step forward18 in light of the paralysis of the Security Council and this misuse of the arbitrary veto to protect the Syrian regime, which is involved in committing crimes against humanity, including the crime of forced displacement, which has been carried out systematically and in a widespread manner, and in building on the draft resolution adopted by the Third Committee of the General Assembly in October 2020, which emphasized that the cross-border humanitarian mechanism is a life-saving channel, catering to the humanitarian needs of a large part of the Syrian population, and which called for the continuation of cross-border humanitarian support beyond July 2021; this decision must be built upon, issuing a clear decision that UN humanitarian cross-border aid does not need a decision from the Security Council or require the permission of the state in the event of arbitrary withholding of aid affecting the basic human rights of citizens, the foremost of which is the right to life.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations:

- Under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, States have the responsibility to seek to provide assistance to their residents, but the Syrian regime has not only besieged entire cities and villages, but has withheld consent for aid provision, obstructed the delivery of humanitarian aid and looted it, controlling the distribution areas through its loyalists.
- Also, all civilians in situations of armed conflict must be able to obtain all necessary assistance under customary international law.
- In the event that the concept of sovereignty is invoked and the consent of the state that displaced and stole the aid is required, then all of the above-mentioned laws are rendered worthless. Any state that has displaced its residents and caused them to endure the worst forms of suffering will, obviously, never allow aid to be delivered to them.
- This report clearly shows that there is no need to obtain permission from the Security Council or approval from the Syrian regime in order for the United Nations to continue delivering cross-border aid to millions of Syrian citizens who desperately need it.

Recommendations:

UN Security Council:
- Remove the UNSC’s authority over control of the entry of UN cross-border aid, as this issue falls within the remit of the United Nations General Assembly and the OCHA.
- Do not invoke the concept of sovereignty and intervention in order to expand the arbitrary powers of the Security Council at the expense of international law, and in particular humanitarian aid.
- Completely end use of the veto in opposition to international human rights law, especially in cases when crimes against humanity, such as the crime of forced displacement, are committed.

UN General Assembly:
- In light of the paralysis of the Security Council, the use of the veto is fundamentally inconsistent with human rights, while the expansion of the powers of the Security Council is taking place at the expense of human rights, including humanitarian aid; additional steps must be taken towards a resolution allowing the delivery of cross-border aid in cases of necessity where aid is being arbitrarily withheld.

OCHA and the International Committee of the Red Cross:
- Continue cross-border aid delivery and ignore the Russian veto which is arbitrary and contrary to international law.
- Should not submit to the blackmail of the Syrian regime and must expose the looting and seizing control of aid.
- Return to delivering aid through al Ya’rubiya and Bab al Salam crossings as soon as possible.

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UN Aid to Northern Syria, Which Is Neutral, Absolutely Essential, and Delivered with the Approval of the Controlling Forces, Does Not Need Permission from the Security Council

- Coordinate and cooperate more with local humanitarian organizations, especially those that have proven themselves to be highly professional, impartial and independent.

The international community, particularly those states which are ‘Friends of the Syrian People’:
- Support the United Nations Office of Humanitarian Affairs’ cross-border humanitarian aid delivery, regardless of the Security Council resolution, which is seen as a matter beyond its mandate.
- Provide more direct assistance to local Syrian organizations, especially those that have proven themselves to be effective, independent and impartial.
- Work towards finding a coordination mechanism among donor countries in order to avoid or minimize to the greatest possible degree the confiscation and looting operations carried out by the Syrian regime of aid that is delivered through it.
UN Aid to Northern Syria, which is neutral, absolutely essential, and delivered with the approval of the controlling forces, does not need permission from the Security Council.