



Syria 2011 - 2021 Ten years without peace

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Introduction

Armadilla is a social cooperative which is primarily engaged in the field of international cooperation: (www.armadilla.coop).

It also carries out training and information activities on the topics of the 2030 Agenda, proposed by the United Nations for the defense of human rights and the achievement of the 17 goals for sustainable human development: https://www.unric.org/it/agenda-2030.

In this context, these Notebooks want to contribute to disseminating information, critical analysis, and possible answers to the priority problems faced among students and public opinion which Armadilla addressed. The collection of all Notebooks, from 2015 till now, can be found at: http://armadilla.coop/quaderni/

In this Notebook we propose a reflection, after ten years of war in Syria where has been destroyed and the future has been taken away from an entire generation. And an invitation to continue to call for peace and adequate humanitarian support for the suffering population.

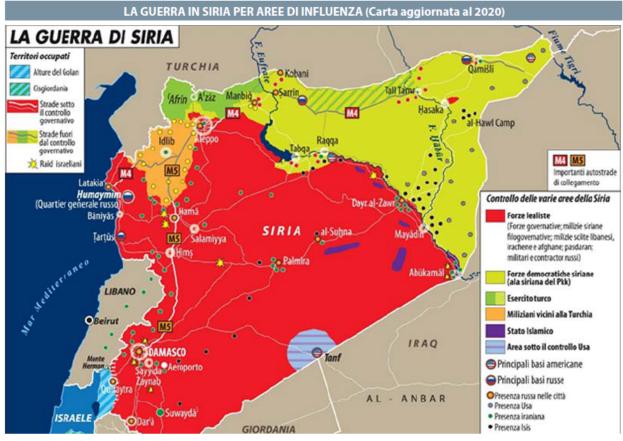
Over half a million dead, 12 million displaced. Towns and villages turned into permanent piles of rubble. Schools bombed (with children inside), the same fate for hospitals (with sick people inside) and open-air markets. A devastated country has scarred far beyond the limit of tolerable. The UN estimates that 90% of the population lives in conditions of extreme poverty. The economy is in free fall inflation is out of control. There is a shortage of both food and fuel for heating. While, the Covid19 pandemic is spreading far beyond the official numbers, with a health system in which there are no more adequate machinery, lack doctors and nurses. The remaining beds are perpetually occupied. Surreal to imagine the existence of adequate equipment of masks or tampons: oxygen is lacking, in many areas, and even drinking water is lacking too. A situation that defines dramatic is little. And the end of the tunnel is still not in sight. And in this context, the United Nations stubbornly pursues the strategy of regional and international reconciliation. The European Union and



the United Kingdom returned to the unrealistic positions of ten years ago by calling for a change of government and continuing to forget the demographic priority of the region of Damascus where humanitarian aid was denied to a population that considered itself politically opposed.

According to the estimates contained in the Humanitarian Response Plan 2020, drawn up by the international community operating in Syria and coordinated by UN agencies, to date, there are about 8 million people in conditions of "food insecurity" in Syria and almost 11.5 million people in need of various types of care (health, education, or access to other essential services). Syria is a nation devastated by a decade-long conflict that has caused over 500 thousand deaths and millions of displaced persons. The level of criticism, experts warn, is now "alarming". From the results of a study carried out at the end of 2020 by the WFP (World Food Programme), it emerges that about 60% of the population is "in a food insecurity situation, and is by far "the worst data ever recorded" since the beginning of the conflict. In an inhabited nation, by about 20 million people, 83% of the population, according to United Nations estimates, lives below the poverty line. Ten years of civil war, jihadist violence, the refugee emergency, international sanctions, galloping inflation, even in neighboring Lebanon, have brought the country to its knees, and the most affected, as pointed out by the Maronite Archbishop of Damascus, are the most fragile, the sick, children and the elderly in the context of a crisis never seen before: "The last few months have been very hard for the Syrians, because the national lira has fallen a lot. Before the new coronavirus the ratio was one to 1500, now we are at 3600 lire for a dollar. An average salary is 25/30 dollars, while commodity prices have greatly increased due to inflation. The government gives out bonuses a couple of times a year, but it is of little use. A family, in many cases, is forced to survive with a dollar a day or even less. The Syrian people are in terrible conditions, hopeless for the future, without a light at the bottom of the tunnel. We need cooperation at all levels. We need to loosen sanctions and guarantee the possibility of travelling, investing in the reconstruction and construction of the rule of law and democracy".





Fonte: Limes, cfr. https://www.limesonline.com/siria-bashar-al-assad-hafez-rivolta-2011-proteste-suwayda-aleppo-damasco/118662

1. Ten years of proxy war

The Syrian war is anything but civil, which began in April 2011 on the wave of the so-called "Arab Spring"; with protests demanding freedom, dignity, work, and reforms, pointing the finger at the authoritarianism and privileges of a small group that managed all powers. But it immediately became the space for a long proxy war for control and geopolitical and economic hegemony between claims of regional power and "imperial" affiliations.

The United States, Russia, Great Britain, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and terrorist groups of various natures played a direct role and historical responsibilities in this conflict. The only geopolitical result achieved was to have increased instability in the region, destroyed a country, and erased the hope of the future for an entire generation of Syrians.

Over the past ten years, humanitarian agencies have provided food assistance to some 5 million people inside Syria every month, using every means available to reach those in need. Several humanitarian agencies are also



assisting to more than 1.5 million Syrian refugees in the neighboring countries of Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt, which together host more than 5.6 million Syrians. They are the largest group of refugees in the world. There are 5.5 million Syrian refugees in more than 130 countries around the world reports a document from UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency. 70% of them live in total poverty without access to food, water, and basic services for survival. The most vulnerable subjects are children and young people. 45% of refugees are under 18 years old, 1.6 million refugee children are under ten years old, among these 1 million was born in exile; an entire generation marked that, in addition to suffering hunger and cold, is often denied the right to education.

Within the Syrian borders, humanitarian needs remain enormous: 6.1 million internally displaced persons, half of whom have been away from their homes for more than five years; over 11 million people need humanitarian assistance and protection; 5.9 million people live in conditions of housing emergency. The health situation is also dramatic: only 58% of hospitals and 53% of medical centers that carry out basic services are fully functional. And almost 9 out of 10 Syrians live below the poverty line. UNHCR reiterates the urgency of raising funds for its interventions in support of Syrian refugees:"in 2020, we supported almost 800,000 more people through direct economic assistance, to meet essential needs, but decisive action is needed, because, in 2020 ,only 53% of those in precarious situations reached by aid".

Civilian buildings and infrastructure, including hospitals, were attacked again in 2020. Thousands of people have been killed or injured and hundreds of thousands forced to leave their homes, making Syria the sad record of a country with the largest population of internally displaced people in the world, more than 6 million. Today the economic crisis and the pandemic are further deteriorating the situation.

The year 2020 began with the prosecution of a major military offensive in the northwest of the country, which displaced about a million people. The Covid-19 pandemic has further worsened the already precarious health situation, first and foremost massively affecting health workers; the consequence, in addition to the direct effects on people's health, is a further reduction in access to services, which is already extremely limited.

Meanwhile, the economic crisis continues and the unprecedented devaluation of the Syrian currency (as of March 2021, the informal dollar-lira exchange



rate is approx. 4,500 compared to 1,250 set by the Central Bank of Syria) translates into the inability to access necessities such as housing, food, health care, and fuel. The restrictions on the purchase of gasoline, whether for cars or heating homes, are particularly onerous for the population, making daily life impossible.

Refugees in some neighboring countries are also affected by the economic crisis in the host countries, especially in Lebanon, where the collapse of the banking system, the devastating economic crisis and tensions between sectarian groups, fuelled by desperate conditions and unscrupulous leaders, risks to explode dramatically in the country.

Today, a decade later, the conflict in Syria is far from over, and the population continues to suffer. Over the years, the war between the insurgents and the regime has become something else: with the entry on the scene of extremism, terrorism, opposing religious factions (the irreconcilable rift between Shiites and Sunnis), foreign powers with objectives that often do not concern Syria directly, but "cross" it: conflicts within conflicts, sometimes overlapping, sometimes parallel.

Syrian governorates such as Deir e-Zor and Al-Hasaka, which border Iraq and Turkey, have some of the largest oil and gas fields in the entire Arab Republic. The "Syrian Democratic Forces" (SDF), supported by the United States, control most of these territories. Among the major oil fields, it is important to mention the Rmeilan field, located in Al-Hasaka province, in the area of responsibility of the SDF, a territory that has more than 1322 oil wells and 25 wells for the production of natural gas. The field with the highest productivity is the Al-Omar field, located in Deirel-Zor province, and controlled by Kurdish forces.

This field represents a very important resource as it has a potential of 100 thousand barrels of crude oil per day. Central has been the role of this military alliance in the fight against the Islamic State in Syria. Until October 2015, only the Kurdish SDF militias supported the war against Isis militiamen in eastern Syria.

UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres called the conflict a "nightmare" and reiterated the need for a political solution.

Guterres' words have come on March 10, 2021, during a press conference held at UN headquarters in New York, during which he pointed out that after



ten years of conflict and during the Coronavirus pandemic, the front pages of newspapers no longer talk about Syria, but the country's conditions continue to deteriorate. The violent repression of peaceful demonstrations, the Secretary said, has slid Syria into an "atrocious" war that has left hundreds of thousands dead people. While millions of Syrians, have been forced to be displaced. Syrians, Guterres said, are victims of "widespread and systematic" human rights violations, including bombings perpetrated using chemical weapons. While the belligerent parties have repeatedly violated humanitarian law standards and gone unpunished.

To this are added hunger, famine, and siege conditions by groups classified as terrorists by the UN Security Council.

In this context, the Secretary-general examined a number of factors that have exacerbated the Syrian crisis, including the collapse of the economy and a state of poverty aggravated by conflict, corruption, sanctions, and the Covid-19 pandemic. About 60% of the population is at risk of hunger during 2021, in light of increasing food insecurity and a lack of access to the basic resources needed. In the face of this, Guterres highlighted the need to provide more humanitarian aid, including through cross-border points, an issue on which the Security Council is called upon to find consensus.

In this context, the United Nations expressed its readiness to support a political solution to the Syrian crisis, to be reached through negotiations, in line with Security Council Resolution 2254, which outlined a *road map* towards a Syrian-led political transition.

As Guterres stated, concrete progress within the Constitutional Committee, composed of delegates from all parties involved in the crisis, could represent a positive first move. This Committee is an opportunity to find points of convergence, to respond to the expectations of the Syrian people, create favorable conditions for the return of displaced persons and refugees and respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of Syria. To do this, all Syrians should be involved in the process, supported by the international community, which is called to overcome internal differences through diplomatic dialogue. If all this does not happen, the risk, Guterres said, is that the Syrian population will continue to be the victim of further despair.

The fifteenth round of the so-called "Astana talks" began on Tuesday, February 16, 2021, in the southern Russian city of Sochi, with the



participation of delegates from both the Government of Damascus and opposition groups, as well as several international actors.

These are talks concerning the Syrian crisis, in which Turkey, Russia, and Iran play the role of guarantors, while delegations from Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan participate as observers.

The main objective is to find a permanent solution to the ongoing civil conflict in Syria, touching also issues such as the drawing up a constitution for the "post-war", the political transition, security, and the return of refugees. The first meeting was held in January 2017 in Turkey, to further strengthen the Geneva peace talks, promoted by the United Nations.

As reported by the Al-Araby Al-Jadeed newspaper, UN Special Envoy Geir Otto Pedersen was also among the participants in the new round of talks held on February 16th, despite the failure of the last meetings of the Constitutional Committee. The various foreign countries are mostly represented by Deputy Foreign Ministers.

Russia has, instead, sent its special envoy for Syria, Alexander Lavrentiev, who said that during the meetings, will also be considered the consequences of the sanctions imposed by Washington on June 17, 2020, concerning the so-called Caesar Act.

According to the Moscow delegate, the latter has helped to put Syria and the government of Damascus in a condition of further isolation at both political and economic levels. This is why it is expected that the parties involved in the talks will highlight the economic damage caused by the sanctions imposed by the USA and other Western countries. According to Lavrentiev, another topic to discuss is the return of Syrian refugees to their regions of origin. While Moscow has expressed its willingness to hold talks with opposition factions to encourage them to move away from "extremist groups".

The British special envoy to Syria, Jonathan Hargreaves, in an interview with al-Jazeera, said that the United Kingdom and its allies are working to facilitate an end to the conflict in Syria and to ensure that it does not last another decade. The only viable path, Hargreaves said, is a political solution, led by the Syrians under the aegis of the United Nations, and based on UN Security Council Resolution 2254. French President Emmanuel Macron and Turkish head of state, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, also expressed their support for a political solution in Syria.



2. Syria and the European Union

The EU and its Member States suspended diplomatic relations with Syria in 2012, and closed its delegation in Damascus in December 2012 following the closure of the embassies of the Member States at the beginning of 2012. He focused on those who wanted a change of government and supported military forces that of Democrat had little and then merged, for the most part, with ISIS terrorists.

In 2011, the European Council adopted sanctions against Syrian persons and entities accused of being involved in the repression of civilians and subsequently strengthened them but stated that these sanctions provide humanitarian derogations.

The Commission has expressed strong concern for 12.000 foreign citizens, most of whom are suspected of having direct or indirect links to ISIS/Daesh, who are held in seven prisons managed by the FDS in north-east Syria; 9.000 of them are held in the Al-Hol camp, the largest in Syria, which hosts in total about 64.000 people, for the most part, families with ties to ISIS/Daesh, of which 94% are women and children, including EU citizens.

The EU has denounced the continuing attacks on health structures that have decimated the Syrian health system, leaving citizens in difficulty in meeting the challenges posed by the crisis in COVID-19; less than 64% of hospitals and 52% of basic health care centres in Syria are operational; According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 70% of health workers have fled the country.

It is recalled that since 2011, the EU and its Member States have mobilized more than €20 billion in humanitarian aid and stabilization and resilience assistance for Syrians inside Syria and neighboring countries. The EU has been the driving force behind the donors' conferences in support of Syria, held in Brussels for four consecutive years (2017-2020), and the fifth Brussels conference held on 29 and 30 March 2021; this Brussels conference

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/95999/co-chairs-statement-brussels-v-conference-supporting-future-syria-and-region_en on ``Supporting the Future of Syria and the Region'', chaired by the European Union and the United Nations, the international community pledged 5.3 billion euros for 2021 and beyond for Syria and neighboring countries hosting Syria's largest



refugee population. Of this amount, €3.7 billion has been announced by the EU, with €1.12 billion coming from the European Commission and €2.6 billion from the EU Member States. The EU as a whole remains the largest donor with €24.9 billion of humanitarian assistance, stabilization, and resilience collectively mobilized since the start of the crisis in 2011 to address its consequences.

The EU has expressed in official documents its support for the democratic aspirations of the Syrian people, who ten years ago, on 15 March 2011, demonstrated peacefully in Deraa, Damascus, and the rest of the country calling for democratic reforms; pays tribute to the 500,000 victims of repression and conflict in Syria since the beginning of the popular uprising; Believes that the future of Syria must remain in the hands of the Syrian people; expresses its support for the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Syrian State and its people;

Expresses its deep concern at the continuing political stalemate and welcomes the efforts of the UN Special Envoy, Geir O. Pedersen, to find a political solution to the conflict; shares the Special Envoy's concerns about the lack of progress; reiterates that a sustainable solution to the Syrian conflict cannot be achieved militarily; also expresses its concern about the economic collapse and the disastrous humanitarian crisis in Syria;

Reiterated its support for the resolution 2254 (2015) of the Security Council of the United Nations, establishing a process of constitutional reform, led by Syria; expresses deep regret at the lack of commitment on the part of the Syrian regime, despite the reiterated commitment and the willingness expressed by the representatives of the Syrian opposition to negotiate with the Syrian regime because of the elaboration of a new Constitution in Syria; highlights in this regard the need to establish a mechanism for monitoring, verifying, and reporting the ceasefire under the auspices of the United Nations;

Opposes any normalization of diplomatic relations with the Syrian regime as long as they have not achieved on the field of fundamental advances in Syria, with a clear, consistent and credible commitment to an inclusive political process; Believes that the forthcoming Syrian presidential elections are foreseen in 2021 lack any credibility in the eyes of the international community in the current context; strongly condemns the visits of Members



of the European Parliament to the Syrian regime and stresses that the Members in question do not represent the European Parliament.

It deplores the fact that some actors have further divided a fragmented Syrian opposition, hindering the Geneva process. It strongly condemns all atrocities and violations of human rights and international humanitarian law perpetrated in Syria by all parties involved in the conflict.

Calls on Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah to withdraw all forces, including those delegated under their command, with except for those participating in international peacekeeping or stabilization under the mandate of the Security Council of the United Nations; deplores the role of Russia and Iran in support of the total repression against the civilian population and to have assumed control of the political process and economic resources in Syria.

Calls on Turkey to withdraw its troops from northern Syria, a territory it occupies illegally and without a mandate of the United Nations; the condemnation of illegal transfers of Syrian Kurds from the occupied territory in the north of Syria to Turkey for detention and prosecution, in violation of international obligations owed to Turkey in the framework of the Geneva Conventions; urges to repatriate immediately to the occupied territories of Syria of all Syrian prisoners transferred to Turkey; is concerned that the ongoing displacements in Turkey could amount to ethnic cleansing against the Syrian Kurdish population; Stresses that the illegal invasion and occupation of Turkey have undermined peace in Syria, in the Middle East and the Eastern Turkey's intervention Mediterranean: Stresses that has weakened international efforts against ISIS/Daesh; strongly condemns Turkey's use of Syrian mercenaries in conflicts in Libya and Nagorno-Karabakh in violation of international law.

He firmly believes in the religious and ethnic diversity of Syria; deplores the discrimination that the Syrian regime has long been responsible against Syrian Kurds; Condemns targeted attacks against dissidents such as Ali Ferzat, winner of the European Parliament Sakharov Prize for his criticism of President Assad, as well as the attacks on 124 Christian churches documented by the Syrian Network for Human Rights (SNHR); Strongly condemns the killing of members of religious minorities perpetrated by ISIS/Daesh and, in particular, the genocidal crimes against Yazidis, Shiite Muslims, and Christians



that occurred in 2014-2018; It deeply regrets the persecution of minorities by armed opposition groups.

Stresses that the ISIS/Daesh is still active in the region and has not defeated; expresses its concern about the difficulties encountered in preserving and gaining access to evidence of crimes committed and in discovering the fate of persons abducted; calls for support for efforts on the ground to document and preserve evidence of such crimes; welcomes the pursuit of the citizens of the EU and the third countries that have joined the ISIS/Daesh.

The EU is concerned about the growing tensions in Iraqi Kurdistan, which in recent years has enjoyed a greater stability more than Syria and has offered a safe zone to Syrian refugees. Reiterates that those responsible for serious international crimes must be duly prosecuted, including by the EU Member States in the absence of other international or national transitional justice processes; stresses the essential importance of resolving the issue of persons detained and disappeared by all parties involved in the conflict, as a fundamental element of any transition process aimed at achieving peace.

Expresses deep concern about the continuing suffering of the Syrian people, ten years after the beginning of the conflict; is particularly concerned that humanitarian needs in Syria have increased by a fifth only in the last year and that other 4,5 million Syrians are currently living in food insecurity, while the 90% lives below the poverty line; believes that humanitarian access should continue to be a fundamental priority for the EU in Syria and that the growth of needs requires a greater financial and political response from the EU.

Calls on the international community to meet urgently to the entity by the unprecedented humanitarian needs of the Syrian people inside and outside the country; encourages the EU, as the organizer of the fifth international donor Conference on Syria in Brussels, to mobilize other international donors to increase support to the Plan in response to the humanitarian assistance in Syria in favor of the health care sector, through more flexible and multi-annual funding covering the long-term needs of the population; calls on international donors to invest specifically in programmes aimed at repairing, restoring and strengthening damaged or destroyed health structures, as well as other civilian facilities that have been affected;

Urges the UN Security Council to include explicit calls to safeguard health workers in forthcoming resolutions and official UN discussions; to offer



political support and operational backing to UN-led initiatives and investigations to establish accountability to ensure respect for international law;

Detects that the trust fund Madad EU response to the Syrian crisis will expire by the end of 2021; calls on the Commission to ensure financial resources for the EU's humanitarian response to the Syrian crisis under the Neighborhood Instrument, development cooperation and international cooperation and to ensure the smooth functioning of its projects;

3. Armadilla in Syria

Armadilla has been working in Syria for more than 17 years to help promote the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the population living in the southern periphery of Damascus, an area characterized by conditions of poverty and poor access to basic services. Armadilla carries out its activities in close collaboration with the local Association Zahret Al Madaen (ZAM), which from 2004 manages a development centre that provides social and health services to the most vulnerable categories of the population, in particular women and disabled children.

Through the realization of projects co-financed from the European Union and private Foundations, Armadilla has promoted the strengthening of the capacity of intervention of the local partner, making the ZAM Center an important territorial reference in the field of the physical and cognitive rehabilitation of children with disabilities, and vocational training for women, aimed at promoting income support activities, as well as psychosocial interventions aimed at increasing the emotional well-being of women. These development operations were carried out in the framework of agreements signed with the competent authorities, in particular, the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Health. Starting in 2012, the worsening crisis has also begun to have an impact on the Damascus area. The already vulnerable families of the ZAM Center have been dramatically affected, and the



exponential increase of the needs that required an immediate response has led Armadilla to increase efforts to meet the emerging needs while continuing to support the development processes initiated with the local partner. A humanitarian assistance programme has been launched and is active, with funding from UNOCHA, funds from the eight per thousand of the Waldensian Church, and Italian cooperation (humanitarian emergency initiatives). It focused mainly on distribution activities of basic necessities: food, hygiene kits, blankets, etc. An integral part of the humanitarian assistance program is protection intervention and psychosocial support for women and minors. Due to the commitment of Armadilla and ZAM, rehabilitation services for disabled children and the promotion of the role of women's have not been discontinued, despite the reduction of funds for development activities. The humanitarian action of Armadilla in the current context of crisis is recognized by the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Health, and the Syrian Arab Red Crescent (SARC). Until November 2012, the activity took place at the Hajar Al Aswad Center. When the armed conflict reached the southern suburbs of Damascus in November 2012, almost all the families (those who had been living there for some time and those who arrived during the crisis) were forced to flee in search of safer accommodation. Since 2016, Armadilla and Zareth Al Madan, due to a contribution from Unicef, have begun to implement a program of Protection and coordination of territorial services to develop organically and structurally way interventions aimed for the protection of the beneficiary community. This pilot project, which is part of the so-called NLG - No-Lost Generation Initiative, intends to create excellent practices for operators working with children (social workers, health workers, volunteers, teachers, etc) in collaboration with the Ministries of Social Affairs, Health, and Education. Specific models of "procedures" (Individual Attention Plans) will be developing to be adopted according to specific users (e.g. children with motor disabilities, with autism, with cognitive disabilities, at risk of social exclusion etc.). The project is carried out by Armadilla and Zareth Al Madan, with the support of an Italian Scientific Committee, made up of excellences of the socio-educational and socio-health sector (Department of Educational Sciences of the University of Bologna, Open Group Cooperative, ASPHI Foundation, we cancel the distance onlus).



In 2018 Armadilla promoted an agreement between the Universities of Modena, Reggio Emilia, and Latakia on the topic of Occupational Therapy. It provides for the definition of teaching, space, and technology necessary for the completion of the degree course to provide hours of teaching to young professionals in the sector, to offer concrete examples of the importance of the approach of occupational therapy in the rehabilitation of people with disabilities. The project action, coordinated by the Armadilla cooperative and financed by UNDP Syria, foresees a multiannual commitment in the country, through the visit of Italian teachers to the University of Manara for teaching of specific teachings, consultancy for the design of laboratories for practical teachers and, in the future, the exchange of students between the two universities.

The three-year course, taught by Unimore professors to Syrian students and professors, will not only provide an innovative educational opportunity for young graduates but will also help to alleviate much suffering as a result of Syria's long-running conflict, as well as build a lasting and concrete relationship between the Syrian and Italian academic worlds. Occupational therapy (OT), also known as ergo therapy, is a rehabilitative discipline that uses evaluation and treatment to develop, recover or maintain the skills of the daily and working life of people with cognitive, physical, and mental disabilities through activity. It also deals with the identification and elimination of environmental barriers to increase autonomy and independence and participation in daily activities, and social work.

Armadilla has repeatedly reiterated, since 2011, the impossibility of resolving the conflict by increasing military presence and war investments. Only diplomatic mediation and gradual change were the real possibilities of achieving peace and a possible democratic transition in Syria. Armadilla has recently requested certain points, consistent with what the United Nations has proposed in recent years:

- •Respect for Syrian sovereignty. Resolution 2254 is explicitly predetermined and by the strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity, and territorial integrity of Syria and clarifies that what is proposed in the resolution must be guided by the Syria to which ownership belongs.
- "Expresses its support for a Syrian-led political process facilitated by the United Nations, establishing a reliable, inclusive, non-sectarian government



and establishing a program and procedure for the drafting of a new constitution. And also expresses its support for free and fair elections, as stipulated by the new constitution, to be held under the supervision of the United Nations, in a way that is satisfactory to the government and that are characterized by the highest international standards of transparency and reliability, with the participation of all Syrians, including members of the diaspora... "Resolution 2254.

- Recognizes the close relationship between a cease-fire and a parallel political process, and expresses its support for a national cease-fire in Syria to go into effect as soon as representatives of the Syrian government and opposition have taken the first steps toward a political transition under UN auspices.
- Recognize the need for all parties to take steps to build mutual trust to achieve a political process and a lasting truce and calls on all states to do their utmost to the Syrian government and opposition to promote the peace process, confidence-building measures and progress towards the truce;
- Inviting the parties immediately to allow humanitarian agencies free, rapid, and secure access throughout Syria via the most direct and effective routes, to bring humanitarian aid to anyone in need, particularly in besieged and difficult-to-reach areas, and to release all illegally detained persons, particularly women and children, and calls on states to do everything possible to achieve these objectives...
- Launch a constitutional debate in the context of one of the most tragic, brutal, cruel, and ruthless armed conflicts of this century. The Syrian people must therefore be empowered independently and democratically to determine their own future, which is called popular sovereignty. For this reason, this Council -in the same resolution- gave the UN the mandate to convene the political process and the programme for the drafting of a new constitution..."

