



Jemaa Al Halayal, 35, holds his two-year-old daughter Amina, outside the tent in which they now live in an informal settlement for Syrian refugees in north Bekaa Valley in Lebanon on September 10 2015. Photo: Sam Tarling/Oxfam

SOLIDARITY WITH SYRIANS

Action needed on aid, refuge, and to end the bloodshed

The arrival of tens of thousands of Syrians to Europe's borders and the shocking deaths of women, children and men on their perilous journey has been a sharp reminder to the international community of the tragedy engulfing the people of Syria. Syrians put themselves and their families at so much risk only out of sheer desperation.

The international community has failed so far to address the spiralling catastrophe in Syria. Oxfam is calling for urgent and immediate action by the international community to deal with this deepening crisis: to fully fund the aid response, to offer refuge to those who have fled the country including through resettlement of a fair share of the refugee population, to halt the transfer of arms and ammunition and to revive concerted efforts towards a resolution of the crisis.

INTRODUCTION

The arrival of tens of thousands of Syrians to Europe's borders in recent weeks and the shocking deaths of women, children and men on their perilous journey has been a sharp reminder to the international community of the tragedy engulfing the people of Syria.

Syrians put themselves and their families at so much risk only out of sheer desperation.

The war in Syria is characterized by disregard for human life and dignity. Since 2011, more than 250,000 people have been killed in Syria and more than one million injured.¹ Arms continue to be used to commit terrible violations. Indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks by all parties to the conflict, including through the use of barrel bombs, mortar attacks and other explosive weapons in populated areas, remain by far the primary cause of civilian deaths and injuries.² Siege is used as a tactic of war. Ten million people in the country do not have enough to eat. More than half of Syria's hospitals have been destroyed or badly damaged, and Syria's human development indices have been rolled back 38 years.³ The water supply has decreased to less than 50 percent of its pre-crisis levels and is increasingly being used as a weapon of war by all parties to the conflict.⁴

Well over half the entire pre-crisis population of Syria have had to flee their homes.⁵ Syria is the largest displacement crisis in the world today: 7.6 million people are internally displaced and more than 4 million people registered as refugees in neighbouring countries of Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, and Egypt. But as the number of people in need grows, aid from humanitarian agencies is being drastically reduced due to funding shortages, and the violence in Syria remains endemic and all-encompassing.

Neighbouring countries have shown extraordinary hospitality in hosting refugees from Syria, but they have seen their resources and infrastructure overstretched, leading to increasingly restrictive government policies aiming to stem the flow of asylum seekers. Maintaining valid residency papers and registration, or being allowed to work and have an income, has become ever more challenging for refugees, increasing the risk of being fined, arrested or even deported.

The international community has failed to address this spiralling catastrophe. Most wealthy countries are not contributing their fair share to the aid response – appeals are now funded at 44 percent only. They have also failed to provide safe and legal routes for Syrians to their territory, including not doing enough to ensure that vulnerable refugees are offered resettlement and other forms of humanitarian admission in sufficient numbers. Several countries – including Iran, Qatar, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and the United States – are also fuelling violence and violations of the laws of war in Syria through arms and ammunition transfers to parties to the conflict. UN Security Council members, as well as other key states, have consistently failed to set aside political difference in order to resolve this conflict.

The increasing desperation and hopelessness of Syrians help to explain why, this year, more than 250,000 felt that their only chance of safety and dignity was to risk their lives in an attempt to reach Europe.⁶ Oxfam is calling for urgent and immediate action by the international community to deal with this deepening crisis and help alleviate the suffering. This should involve fully funding the aid response, offering a safe haven to refugees including through resettlement of a fair share of the refugee population, halting the transfer of arms and ammunition, and reviving concerted efforts towards a resolution of the crisis, however difficult it may be.

SUPPORT A FALTERING AID RESPONSE

The international community has failed to provide adequate financial support for Syrians in desperate need. Ten months into the year, aid appeals for the Syria crisis for 2015 – for people still in Syria and for those who sought refuge in neighbouring countries – are funded at 44 percent only, while many more people are in dire need. In 2015 alone, an additional two million people have been displaced, within and outside Syria.

As in previous years,⁷ Oxfam has calculated what would be a fair share of financial support for the humanitarian response to the Syria crisis, based on the size of the economy of each of the world's wealthier countries.⁸ Some countries have contributed above their fair share, such as the Netherlands (227 percent), the UK (229 percent) and Kuwait (538 percent). However, Oxfam's analysis reveals a significant drop in funding from other Gulf countries. Saudi Arabia has only contributed 6 percent of its fair share, Qatar 17 percent and the United Arab Emirates 38 percent (compared with 98 percent, 186 percent and 121 percent respectively in September 2014). Some countries continue to contribute well below their fair share year after year: France ranks at 22 percent compared with 33 percent last year, Japan has contributed only 24 percent and Russia remains at 1 percent. It is useful to compare this with Jordan, which as a host country is estimated to spend \$870m a year⁹ in relation to the crisis. If it were treated as a traditional donor, this would mean that Jordan would have contributed 5,622 percent of its fair share.

Behind these statistics are drastic aid cuts in food, healthcare, and roofs over people's heads – the difference between life with a measure of dignity and destitution for millions of people. Humanitarian agencies have had to significantly cut both the number of Syrian people they are helping and the amount of assistance they can provide. For instance, the World Food Programme (WFP) had to reduce its food assistance program to refugees in host countries, either by dropping some of them from its lists of beneficiaries or by reducing the value of its assistance.

Box 1: Ahmed and his family heavily impacted by WFP cuts

Ahmed, his wife, and their five young daughters fled their hometown of Homs in January 2013. One afternoon they were caught in clashes and a bullet grazed the top of the head of Ahmed's 11-year-old daughter, Malak. This was the final straw for the family and they made their way to Jordan shortly after, where they spent a few days in Za'atari refugee camp before moving to Zarqa city where they rent an apartment.

Ahmed initially found casual work in construction, but grew wary of continuing to work illegally when his brother-in-law was caught working without a permit and ran into problems with the authorities. He and his family were living largely off WFP vouchers and support from other agencies, including some cash assistance from Oxfam in 2014. However, with humanitarian funds decreasing, the assistance provided to Ahmed and his family is no longer enough to cover their food needs (food vouchers have been reduced to \$14 (10JD) a month per person) nor the rent (the rent alone is \$240 (170 JD) per month), and Ahmed is not allowed to work to make ends meet for his family. Last August, Ahmed's landlord let him skip a month's rent. But Ahmed does not know how he will pay the rent in September or survive if assistance further decreases. Ahmed is even thinking about making his way to Turkey and then Europe in order to ensure that his children can have a better future.

The funding shortage also impacts the governments and the often poor communities that host refugees. Lack of funding translates into long queues at health centers, overcrowded classrooms, and falling water quality and sanitation for the poorest people affected by the crisis.

Rich and developed countries must provide humanitarian funding commensurate with the scale of need, as well as providing economic aid packages to neighbouring countries to help them cope with the effects of the crisis. Recent pledges¹⁰ must be quickly disbursed and become real aid.

Table 1: Funding fair share analysis

This chart details funding committed to the Syria crisis response up to 29 September 2015. Based on an estimated total need of \$ 8.9bn, the analysis shows that only 44 percent of the funding needed has been received.

The estimated total needs are calculated by adding the combined UN appeals on the Syria crisis for 2015, as well as those by the ICRC and IFRC.

Country	2015 contributions (\$m) (Incl. CERF/ECHO share)	Fair share (\$m)	% Fair share contributed	Key
Australia	44.3	119.2	37%	<50% contributed
Austria	10.7	46.7	23%	<50% contributed
Belgium	25.5	56	46%	<50% contributed
Canada	146.3	181.8	80%	50–90% contributed
Czech Republic	6.6	34.1	19%	<50% contributed
Denmark	37.4	30.6	122%	>90% fair share contributed
Finland	22.4	26.4	85%	50–90% contributed
France	67.9	308.8	22%	<50% contributed
Germany	334.7	446.3	75%	50–90% contributed
Greece	7	34.4	20%	<50% contributed
Iceland	0.1	1.6	9%	<50% contributed
Ireland	15.3	21.9	70%	50–90% contributed
Italy	55.1	258	21%	<50% contributed
Japan	138.0	584	24%	<50% contributed
Korea, Republic of	4.4	203.8	2%	<50% contributed
Kuwait	304.7	56.6	538%	>90% fair share contributed
Luxembourg	8.4	3.8	220%	>90% fair share contributed
Netherlands	214.9	94.6	227%	>90% fair share contributed
New Zealand	1.8	16.5	11%	<50% contributed
Norway	76.3	41	186%	>90% fair share contributed
Poland	9.2	106.6	9%	<50% contributed
Portugal	8.3	33.2	25%	<50% contributed
Qatar	9.4	57.1	17%	<50% contributed
Russia	6.9	683.6	1%	<50% contributed
Saudi Arabia	18.5	317.6	6%	<50% contributed
Slovakia	1.6	17.1	9%	<50% contributed
Spain	41.9	185.1	23%	<50% contributed
Sweden	52.7	48.4	97%	>90% fair share contributed
Switzerland	62.1	58.1	107%	>90% fair share contributed
UAE	42.5	113.2	38%	<50% contributed
United Kingdom	679	296.8	229%	>90% fair share contributed
United States	1483.3	2062.3	72%	50–90% contributed
TOTAL	3944		n/a	

Note: The analysis includes members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and high-income non-DAC countries. Each country's fair share is calculated as a percentage of total need based on each country's share of total, combined gross national income (GNI). Each country's contributions include both bilateral and imputed multilateral funding. Information is drawn from publicly available sources including EDRIS and FTS and checked with government representatives where possible.

RESETTLEMENT FOR 10% OF REFUGEE POPULATION BY END OF 2016

While showing solidarity and offering support to Syrian refugees – and indeed to refugees beyond Syria – is a responsibility of all states, Oxfam continues to call for a greater commitment from rich and developed countries to offer refuge to those fleeing Syria's terrible conflict. There are many ways to do this, as outlined in Box 2. But one vital way is for rich countries to offer resettlement or humanitarian admission to 10 percent of the total Syrian refugee population registered in neighbouring countries by the end of 2016.

Box 2: Resettlement, humanitarian admission and asylum: what's the difference?¹¹

Resettlement is an option whereby a third country (i.e. not the one the refugee has fled from, or the country of first asylum or habitual residence) offers refugee status in its territory to an individual. For example, this could mean a refugee from Syria living in Jordan being offered status, and related reception and integration support, in the United States of America.

Humanitarian admission programmes are similar, but normally involve expedited processing, and may provide either permanent or temporary stay depending on the legislation or policy of the state offering this option.

Other forms of admission could include allowing Syrian refugees legal access to third countries by relaxing requirements for entry visas to work and study, not necessarily based upon their vulnerabilities.

Asylum: Civilians facing persecution or other risks resulting from armed conflict or massive violations of human rights have a right to flee to safety across international borders and request asylum in another country. States have specific obligations towards asylum seekers under international law, particularly the obligation not to forcibly return them to harm.

Relocation refers to the movement of asylum seekers from one European Union (EU) member state to another. It is an intra-EU process, in which member states help other member states which are receiving a larger number of asylum seekers on their territory.

Public and political attention to the Syrian crisis increased in Europe this summer, spurred by the tragic deaths and arrival of thousands of asylum seekers. The European Union (EU) is debating how to manage these arrivals, including through relocation of some asylum seekers from so-called 'frontline' EU countries to other member states.

These asylum seekers must be afforded their rights under international law; most importantly to have access to territory to claim asylum. Border restrictions – whether those imposed by neighbouring or European countries – are not the answer to the Syrian displacement crisis.

In addition to abiding by their obligations to respect the right of people to seek asylum, Oxfam is calling for resettlement and humanitarian admissions for the most vulnerable refugees in the region. The UNHCR has estimated that approximately 10 percent of the refugees in neighbouring countries are acutely vulnerable individuals and need resettlement elsewhere. This includes people who fall within globally agreed resettlement criteria, such as survivors of torture, refugees with serious medical conditions or women left alone with several children to care for and without family support.¹² Resettling 10 percent of the total refugee population by the end of 2016 as a minimum is well within the capacities of rich countries. In contrast, the number of refugees hosted by Lebanon amounts to a quarter of its population.

There has been some limited progress in recent months and rich countries have now committed to offer safe haven to many more refugees registered in neighbouring countries than a year ago. Some countries have been generous with their offers, such as Germany (112 percent of its fair share by the end of 2016) and Norway (293 percent).

However, the response overall still falls significantly short of what is necessary. Many countries have not offered their fair share – such as France (5 percent), the Netherlands (7 percent), the United Kingdom (26 percent) and the United States (8 percent).

Only approximately 17,000 refugees have actually made it to a third country via various resettlement or humanitarian admission initiatives,¹³ due to the lack of political will to implement pledges. Wealthy countries should do much more to make sure pledges translate into action as part of an overall increase of their resettlement quotas. All countries should also ensure that resettlement for Syrians does not result in the denial of places for Afghans, Congolese, Eritreans, Iraqis, Somalis, or refugees from elsewhere.

Resettlement will not solve the Syria refugee crisis, but it should be one of a number of safe and legal options for vulnerable individuals and families to access safety and protection in a third state. It would also express solidarity with and alleviate the pressure on poor communities in neighbouring countries that together host four million refugees.

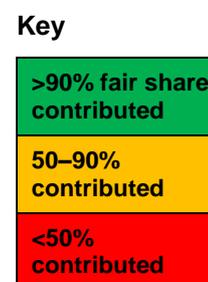
In addition to the rich countries analyzed, Oxfam is calling on all countries to open up alternative ways for Syrians to access their territories and remain there. This could include work-based immigration opportunities, family reunification programmes, university places, community sponsorship and other arrangements. Gulf countries in particular, who have yet to sign the 1951 Refugee Convention, should prioritize these options for the most vulnerable Syrians, while guaranteeing their rights in line with the Convention – such as legal protection, other assistance and social rights.¹⁴

Table 2: Resettlement and humanitarian admissions

Oxfam is calling for 10 percent of the population of refugees registered in neighbouring countries, equivalent to 408,806 people, to be resettled or offered humanitarian admission in rich countries that have signed the UN Refugee Convention by the end of 2016.

This chart looks at admissions and pledges from these countries since 2013 against a fair share calculated on the basis of the size of their economy. To date, only 96,787 places have been pledged by the world's richest governments, some in an unclear timeframe.

Country	Number of places pledged	Fair share (no. of persons) (rounded up to the nearest whole number)	% of fair share contributed
Australia	11,124	8,968	126%
Austria	1,500	3,406	44%
Belgium	475	4,054	12%
Canada	11,300	13,551	83%
Czech Republic	70	2,374	3%
Denmark	390	2,209	18%
Finland	1,150	1,909	60%
France	1,000	22,034	5%
Germany	35,000	31,321	112%
Greece	0	2,621	0%
Iceland	0	100	0%
Ireland	721	1,507	48%
Italy	350	18,281	2%
Japan	0	42,279	0%
Korea, Republic of	0	14,145	0%
Luxembourg	60	320	19%
Netherlands	500	6,675	7%
New Zealand	500	1,205	41%
Norway	9,000	3,068	293%
Poland	100	7,451	1%
Portugal	93	2,383	4%
Russia	0	29,778	0%
Slovakia	0	1,224	0%
Spain	260	13,624	2%
Sweden	2,700	3,835	70%
Switzerland	3,500	4,109	85%
United Kingdom	5,571	21,295	26%
United States	11,423	145,080	8%
TOTAL	96,787	408,806	n/a



Note: information is drawn from publicly available sources including the UNHCR and checked with government representatives where possible.

Australia: Oxfam has assumed that the government's pledge in September 2015 to resettle 12,000 Iraqi and Syrian refugees will be split 50/50 between both nationalities.

The UK: This number includes a notional figure of 5,355 to take account of the UK's commitment, announced in September, to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees by the end of the current Parliament in 2020, as well as those already resettled via the Vulnerable Relocations Scheme.

The USA has pledged to accept at least 10,000 Syrian refugees in fiscal year 2016 within an overall admission ceiling of 85,000 refugees. The US is the world's largest resettlement country, and this annual cap will rise to 100,000 in fiscal year 2017. The USA arrival numbers are accurate as of August 2015.

END THE BLOODSHED IN SYRIA

In 2014, the UN Security Council passed a number of resolutions on the humanitarian situation in Syria, calling for an end to the violations of the laws of war, an increase in humanitarian access and progress on implementation of the 2012 Geneva Communiqué.

Oxfam and other organizations highlighted in a March 2015 report¹⁵ how these resolutions have essentially been ignored by the parties to the conflict. Civilians in Syria are experiencing ever-increasing destruction, suffering and death. As world attention has focused on the arrival of Syrian refugees in Europe, the violence in Syria has continued unabated. On 16 and 17 August 2015, for example, government air raids in Douma resulted in one of the bloodiest attacks since the conflict began, killing at least 96 civilians and injuring more than 200 others.¹⁶ Non-state armed groups carried out numerous mortar attacks in Damascus' densely populated civilian areas in June 2015¹⁷ and fired shells on Aleppo city, killing 38 – including 14 children and 3 women on 15 September 2015.¹⁸ According to unconfirmed reports, chemical agents were used in attacks in some areas in May 2015.¹⁹

In Oxfam's view this violence is being facilitated by the inaction or open support of members of the international community, particularly through the continued military support to parties to the conflict. Oxfam has long called for a complete halt to the transfers of arms and ammunition to Syria. The opposite has happened. Russia for instance, prior to launching airstrikes in Syria, had acknowledged that it sent advisers and military equipment to Syria,²⁰ as has Iran.²¹ Some Gulf countries continue to finance arms and ammunition transfers to the opposition, in coordination with, among others, the United States.²²

In addition to fuelling violations, the continued supplies of arms, spare parts and ammunition are also undermining the prospects of a political solution to the crisis. While UN Security Council members and key states have individually expressed commitment to a political settlement, political divisions and differences have characterized the diplomatic approach toward Syria. States have also prioritized counter terrorism and security objectives above a search for a political solution.²³

It is the endemic, all encompassing violence which is forcing people to move repeatedly. As long as violence rages in Syria, fuelled by arms transfers, civilians will continue to seek to escape it. The refugee crisis must be dealt with at source. The international community must cease arms transfers, press all parties to respect international humanitarian law, and revive concerted efforts towards a resolution of the conflict.

CONCLUSION

No single measure will solve this displacement crisis. But displaced Syrians everywhere – from those living in collective shelters and camps inside the country, those living in tents and overcrowded accommodation in Lebanon and Jordan, to those stopped by the sudden border closures in Europe – need a change of approach from the international community; one which puts their safety and dignity first.

Europe is now feeling the ripple effects of the crisis in Syria. This will only increase if the suffering and violence are left unaddressed. As the scale of the crisis is unprecedented, members of the international community must rise to the challenge by contributing their fair share.

Fully funding the humanitarian response and increasing long-term development support to neighbouring countries is part of the solution, as is offering to resettle 10 percent of the refugee population by the end of 2016 and opening up other safe and legal routes to third countries.

Ultimately, however, the source of the sprawling crisis needs to be addressed – the violence and bloodshed inside Syria must come to an end.

RECOMMENDATIONS

All countries must

- Uphold the right of civilians to seek safety and international protection from the conflict in Syria without discrimination.

Rich and developed countries must

- Urgently contribute their fair share of funding to appeals;
- Commit to long-term development funding which will support neighboring countries in providing quality and equitable public services benefiting host communities and refugees alike. Job opportunities created by this funding must be accessible to refugees and host communities;
- Offer safe and legal routes to their territory for Syrians seeking protection through:
 - Resettlement or humanitarian admission to a fair share of 10 percent of the total refugee population by the end of 2016. This should be non-discriminatory and based on vulnerability alone;
 - Support to host governments in the region, the UNHCR, the International Office for Migration other UN agencies and international organizations to scale up resettlement programmes;
 - Alternative ways for Syrians to access – and remain in – their territories. For example: expedited family-based immigration processes, community sponsorship arrangements, academic scholarship opportunities, labor-based immigration opportunities and other options, while guaranteeing their rights in line with the Refugee Convention.

Countries neighboring Syria should

- Develop clear, appropriate and affordable administrative procedures that allow refugees to obtain and retain residency and civil documentation;

- Work with donor countries to seek investment in key economic sectors and inclusive livelihood programming, to increase employment opportunities for refugees and poor members of host communities;
- Create procedures under which refugees from Syria can access basic livelihoods without being penalized, including reducing barriers to work in sectors where there is a demand in the labour market.

The UN Security Council and UN member states with influence in Syria should

- Push for the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions related to the humanitarian situation inside Syria. In particular, there should be an immediate halt to the use of barrel bombs, mortars and artillery in civilian areas, and an end to all deliberate or indiscriminate attacks on civilians. Parties to the conflict should abide by international human rights law and international humanitarian law;
- Impose a complete halt to the transfer of arms and ammunition into Syria;
- Revive political commitment and concerted efforts towards a resolution of the crisis.

NOTES

All links were accessed in September 2015 unless otherwise stated.

- 1 UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, <http://www.unocha.org/syria>
- 2 UN Security Council (2015) 'Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolutions 2139 (2014), 2165(2014) and 2191 (2014), August 2015', http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2015/698
- 3 "Syria's war economy", European Council on Foreign Relations, April 2014, http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR97_SYRIA_BRIEF_AW.pdf
- 4 'Severe Water Shortages Compound the Misery of Millions in War-Torn Syria', http://www.unicef.org/media/media_82980.html
- 5 According to OCHA, 11.7m Syrians are IDPs or registered as refugees in neighbouring countries, with Syria's pre-crisis population being estimated at 22m.
- 6 'Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response', Mediterranean, UNHCR, <http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/regional.php>
- 7 See "Top donor countries failing ordinary Syrians affected by the conflict with Syria appeals falling short by US\$2.7bn", Oxfam, 19 September 2013, <https://www.oxfam.org/en/pressroom/pressreleases/2013-09-19/top-donor-countries-failing-ordinary-syrians-affected-conflict>; Oxfam (2014) 'A fairer deal for Syrians', <https://www.oxfam.org/en/research/fairer-deal-syrians> ; Oxfam (2015) 'Syria Crisis Fair Share analysis 2015', March 2015, https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/syria-fair-share-analysis-300315-en.pdf
- 8 The analysis includes members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and high-income non-DAC countries (the World Bank defines high-income countries as those with a GNI per capita of over USD\$12,480 in 2012). Each country's fair share is calculated as a percentage of total need based on each country's share of total, combined gross national income (GNI) as of 2013. Each country's contributions include both bilateral and imputed multilateral funding (from the Central Emergency Response Fund of the UN and EU member states through ECHO, the European Commission's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Department). DAC countries are allocated 60% of total need and non-DAC (including host countries) are allocated 35 %. Five percent is left unallocated to account for other funding, including from middle- and low- income non-DAC countries and private donors. For a more detailed explanation of the methodology, see https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/oxfam-fair-share-analysis-un-syria_appeal-17sept2013.pdf
- 9 A study estimated in 2013 that Jordan would spend \$870m for a refugee population of 635,000 (<http://dai.com/news-publications/news/calculating-fiscal-cost-jordan-syrian-refugee-crisis>). We assume similar spending for 2015, as the refugee population in Jordan is now 628,000 people.
- 10 See announcements by the European Council, the G7 and Gulf States towards the end of 2015 that additional money would be provided to UN agencies and host countries (the amount is still unclear, as some of these commitments in part reflect earlier pledges).
- 11 Adapted from p4 of "Resettlement of refugees from Syria", <https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bp-syria-refugee-resettlement-geneva-en.pdf>
- 12 "Governments at Geneva Meeting agree to Take in 100,000 Refugees" <http://www.unhcr.org/548737926.html>
- 13 Phone call with UNHCR September 2015.
- 14 The number and legal status of Syrians in Gulf countries is unclear. According to the UNHCR, there are roughly 500,000 Syrians living in Saudi Arabia, though they are not classified as refugees and it is not clear when the majority of them arrived in the country. Saudi Arabia, which has not signed the 1951 Refugee Convention, claims that it hosts 100,000 Syrian students and 2.5 million Syrian refugees (see 'Syria's Refugees Feel More Welcome in Europe Than in the Gulf', Bloomberg, 4 September 2015, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-09-04/syria-s-refugees-feel-more-welcome-in-europe-than-in-the-gulf> and 'Saudi: 'We have taken in 2.5m Syrian refugees'', 14 September 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/21059-saudi-we-have-taken-in-25m-syrian-refugees>).
- 15 'Failing Syria: Assessing the impact of UN security council resolutions in protecting and assisting civilians in Syria', Joint NGO report, March 2015, https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/bp-failing-syria-unsc-resolution-120315-en1.pdf
- 16 UN Security Council (2015) op. cit.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Syrian Observatory for Human Rights.
- 19 'Humanitarian Bulletin', Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, June 2015.
- 20 'Russia Defends the Presence of Its Military Advisers in Syria', *New York Times*, 9 September 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/10/world/middleeast/russia-syria-military-advisers.html>
- 21 'Assad: Iran is sending arms to Syria', Al Arabiya, 16 September 2015, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/09/16/Assad-Iran-is-sending-arms-to-Syria.html>
- 22 "New Approach in Syria", International Crisis Group, September 2015, footnote 41, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/middle-east-north-africa/syria-lebanon/syria/163-new-approach-in-southern-syria.aspx>
- 23 See for instance airstrikes in Syria by a large number of countries in the past year and more recently by Turkey, Australia France and Russia.

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