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The International and UN Response to the Earthquake Disaster in Northwestern Syria

The Stalemate and the Absent Alternative



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«مركز نما للأبحاث المعاصرة»

مؤسسة بحثية مستقلة غير ربحية تُعنى بتقديم الدراسات والأبحاث السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية حول القضية السورية، لإسناد صناع القرار والمجتمع بالمعلومات والتحليلات العلمية المساهمة في اتخاذ القرارات العقلانية، وزيادة الوعي وتحقيق التنمية السياسية للوصول إلى تمكين المجتمع.

تأسس المركز في أيلول 2019 في الشمال السورية كمؤسسة ريادية في تقديم الدراسات والأبحاث المعمقة لصناعة سياسات أكثر فاعلية من خلال استجلاب المعلومة الصحيحة وإخضاعها لعملية تحليلية علمية للوصول إلى النتائج المنطقية التي يمكن الاستناد إليها في عملية

صناعة القرار الرشيد.

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Contents

Introduction	4
UN and international approach to disasters	6
European Civil Protection Mechanism as a Model for International Mechanisms	9
UN and international reaction to earthquake	11
The Turkish Case	11
Northwest Syria	13
European Civil Protection Mechanism as a model for dealing with earthquake	15
The Stalemate	16
Deficit mechanisms	17
Existing alternative	18
Results and Conclusions	21

Introduction

A devastating 7.7-magnitude earthquake struck southeastern Turkey, near the border with Syria, in the early hours of Monday, February 6, 2023, followed by several aftershocks, killing thousands of people and injuring a lot more in Turkey and Syria. While the death toll continues to rise⁽¹⁾, this earthquake is by far the largest earthquake Turkey and Syria have seen in a century.

Although the earthquake has led to destruction in dozens of cities and towns in northwestern Syria, its catastrophic results were mainly concentrated Jendiris, Harem, Salqin and Atarib⁽²⁾. And despite the horror of the tragedy caused by the shock of the disaster, the Syrian Civil Defense Organization (The White Helmets) showed, in cooperation with the local community, a highly-appreciated response. The Syrian society has shown great integrity and solidarity amidst a prevalent chivalry spirit in all areas. Instead of the cross-border or via-airports aid, convoys were launched from the least affected cities, towns and villages in response to the appeal of the most affected ones. In addition, young men and women volunteered in the rescue and humanitarian response teams, while the humanitarian organizations mobilized their teams to provide shelter for the afflicted.

With the first moments of the earthquake, public bodies, civil society organizations and activists appealed to the United Nations and civil society to respond to this disaster. Correspondingly, The Syrian Interim Government and the Syrian Civil Defense (The White Helmets) declared

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(1) The biggest earthquake Turkey has seen in a century. More than 12,000 dead, wounded and families under the rubble," 62023-2- <https://cutt.us/qmwr8>

(2) Statistics on the number and distribution of victims can be reviewed through the report of the Assistance Coordination Unit entitled «Humanitarian Situation in Northwest Syria, The Devastating Earthquake», 92023-2- <https://cutt.us/gKoGn>

the areas of Northwest Syria a disaster area.⁽¹⁾

However, as the first convoy of UN aid entered on the fifth day, the tardy response of the United Nations and the international community raised dozens of questions and inquiries among Syrian citizens in northwestern Syria about the reasons for this situation. Convoys of Syrian victims' corpses entering through the border crossings without restrictions have increased Syrians' doubts.



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<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=559773086188051&set=pb.100064660933698.-> (1)
 2207520000.&type=3

UN and international response to disasters

Disasters are serious disturbances in the functioning of society beyond its ability to adapt using its own resources. These disasters can be caused by natural, technological, and man-made hazards, as well as various factors that affect a society's vulnerability. Disasters can also be caused by many different types of hazards such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, landslides, tsunamis, avalanches, floods, heat waves, cold waves, wildfires, droughts, hurricanes, epidemics, pandemics, technological and biological hazards, and hailstorms.⁽¹⁾

With more than 70,000 people killed, more than 1.4 million injured and some 23 million displaced, the disasters of 2005-2015 took a heavy toll and affected the well-being and safety of people, communities and countries as a whole. Overall, more than 1.5 billion people have been affected by disasters in various ways, with women, children and vulnerable groups affected the most, while overall economic losses exceeded \$1.3 trillion.

Despite the horror of the tragedies caused by disasters, the United Nations had not had a special body to deal with this file. Therefore, the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR) was established in December 1999 to ensure the implementation of the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (General Assembly resolution 54//219)⁽²⁾ This office is part of the United Nations Secretariat and supports the implementation and review of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction adopted by the Third United Nations World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction in Sendai, Japan. The Sendai Framework is a voluntary, 15-year approach (2015-2030-) focused on

(1) What is a disaster?, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies <https://cutt.us/swnPC>

<https://cutt.us/41iLM> (2)

people-centered disaster risk reduction, and is an update of the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005 - 2015

The vision of the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction is based on the four priorities for action set out in the Sendai Framework⁽¹⁾, and is chaired by the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Disaster Risk Reduction. This representative coordinates international efforts in the field of disaster risk reduction and provides reports on the implementation of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction.

On 1 May 2019, the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction officially changed its acronym to UNDRR (from UNISDR) to better reflect its name. The previous acronym was not changed because the office was called 'the International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction'. A review of both the Hyogo Framework and the Sendai Framework shows that both frameworks have dealt with the file of direct responsibility for disasters, as the responsibility of States and not of the United Nations, which does not have an implementing body to deal with or respond to such disasters. Article I and II of the Framework Guidelines stated:

Each State has primary responsibility for disaster risk prevention and reduction, including through international, regional and sub-regional cooperation, cross-border cooperation and bilateral cooperation. Disaster risk reduction is a common concern of all States, and through sustained international cooperation, the capacity of developing countries to effectively promote and implement national disaster risk reduction policies and measures in the context of each country's circumstances and capacities can be strengthened.

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 was adopted at the Third United 2030-The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015 (1)
 Nations World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction, held from 14 to 18 March 2015 in Sendai City,
 Miyagi Prefecture, Japan

Disaster risk reduction requires the sharing of responsibilities between central governments, competent national authorities, sectors and stakeholders, commensurate with their national circumstances and their management system.⁽¹⁾

Accordingly, States have sought to form interdisciplinary response mechanisms to deal with disasters, for example, the European Civil Protection Mechanism.



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(1) Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2005-2015, United Nations, p.13
https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/what/civil-protection/eu-civil-protection-mechanism_en

The European Civil Protection Mechanism as a Model for International Mechanisms

In October 2001, the European Commission established the EU Civil Protection Mechanism, which aims to strengthen cooperation between EU countries and the eight countries involved in civil protection to improve prevention, preparedness and response to disasters.⁽¹⁾

This mechanism exists to deal with emergencies that overwhelm a country's response capacity in Europe and beyond, and therefore this country can request assistance through this mechanism, as the Committee plays a key role in coordinating disaster response worldwide. This mechanism includes EU countries, as well as eight participating countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iceland, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Norway, Serbia and Turkey). Since its establishment in 2001, the EU Civil Protection Mechanism has responded to more than 600 requests for assistance inside and outside the EU⁽²⁾. Any country in the world, as well as the United Nations and its agencies or any relevant international organization, can request assistance from the European Union Civil Protection Mechanism. In 2021, the mechanism was activated 114 times.

Ballaz Ogvari, a spokesman for the European Commission for Humanitarian Aid, said: "Any country, not just member states, can ask for the activation of the EU's civil protection mechanism."⁽³⁾

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https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/what/civil-protection/eu-civil-protection-mechanism_en (1)

https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/what/civil-protection/eu-civil-protection-mechanism_en (2)

Europe's environmental disasters. How does the «Civil Protection Mechanism» work in the (3)
[eu-environmental-/29/07/https://arabic.euronews.com/my-europe/2021-7-Union?9-disasters-make-civil-protection-mechanism-vital-for-everyone](https://arabic.euronews.com/my-europe/2021-7-Union?9-disasters-make-civil-protection-mechanism-vital-for-everyone)

After any European or non-European country submits a request for assistance through the Civil Protection Mechanism, the European Union Emergency Response Coordination Centre (ERCC) begins requesting assistance from the Member States of the Mechanism and the rapid mobilization of specialized teams and equipment such as forest-fighting aircraft, as well as search and rescue teams and emergency response medical teams. Member States of the Mechanism shall offer assistance to the affected State. Once it accepts European offers, the mechanism coordinates the delivery of aid, and the EU deploys expert teams to provide assistance.⁽¹⁾



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 -2-After Syria's request for its support. What is the European Civil Protection Mechanism?, 8 (1)
<https://cutt.us/cBhui> ,2023

UN and international reaction to the earthquake

The Turkish Case

Since the first hours of the earthquake, the UN and international response has been very large and rapid

- ◆ The White House announced less than two hours later that Biden had directed U.S. aid agencies to assess possible assistance to relieve the afflicted in Syria and Turkey⁽¹⁾
- ◆ The Swedish Foreign Minister stated that Turkey would be assisted through the European Union.⁽²⁾
- ◆ The British Foreign Secretary said that Britain is ready to provide assistance to Turkey.
- ◆ Russian president said "We are ready to provide the necessary assistance to Turkey after the violent earthquake"
- ◆ German Chancellor: "We express our shock at the earthquake in Turkey and Syria and confirm our readiness to send aid".
- ◆ French President: "We express our readiness to send aid to Turkey after the earthquake".
- ◆ Director of the World Health Organization: "Activating the participation of medical teams to aid the injured in the areas affected by the earthquake."⁽³⁾

These statements were followed by the activation of response mechanisms, including the European Civil Protection Mechanism. The

(1) Washington offers to provide «necessary assistance» following the earthquake, 62023-2-, <https://cutt.us/AlMdx>

(2) Al Jazeera 62023-2- Telegram Channel

(3) Same source

Austrian Chancellor said: "We will provide 3 million euros in assistance to the victims of the earthquake and we will send 80 soldiers to participate in rescue operations". The French Interior Minister stated that 139 members of the Civil Protection headed to Turkey today as part of the European Solidarity Mechanism. The European Union sent 10 rescue teams after seven hours, while it has allocated a satellite for help. According to the European Union Commissioner for Crisis Management, 27 search and rescue teams and medical teams from 19 European countries were mobilized.

The Turkish vice president also mentioned that in the first 24 hours after the earthquake, rescue teams from 14 countries arrived and began to work in the field, and teams from 70 countries will arrive in the coming hours, including rescue teams equipped with precision devices to rescue those trapped under the rubble in Kahramanmarash , a member of the German relief team also told Al Jazeera. According to a Pentagon spokesman, the aircraft carrier USS George Bush headed to Turkey to meet possible requests for support⁽¹⁾. Therefore, it can be said that international and UN statements were followed by actions to translate these statements on the ground.



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Same source (1)

Northwest Syria

From the first hours, the US Secretary of State stated the following, "We express our deep sadness at the tragic loss of life and destruction caused by the earthquake in Turkey and Syria," and that the Washington-backed humanitarian organizations¹⁶ in Syria are dealing with the effects of earthquake. The Qatar Prince also affirmed that the State of Qatar stands with the brotherly peoples of Turkey and Syria and provides all necessary support to mitigate the effects of the earthquake. The UN Special Envoy to Syria said: "Syrians are in dire need of international assistance and I encourage everyone to support them". The US State Department stated: "Our assistance will not be limited to relief efforts but also funding recovery efforts from the effects of the earthquake", while the European Union said that they are ready to support those affected in Syria through humanitarian assistance programs. The Australian foreign ministry said it would provide an initial \$10 million in humanitarian aid to those affected by earthquake in Turkey and Syria.

These positions and statements were clear in terms of the UN and international effort that dealing with the situation in western Syria will not be through direct intervention, but by providing and supporting humanitarian response programs for survivors of the earthquake disaster.

The international and UN response was in line with the statements, as the effort was focused on the entry of humanitarian aid to the victims of the earthquake, and not to contribute to rescue operations. However, the United Nations did not enter this aid during the first days under the pretext of the presence of logistical obstacles on the road to the Bab

al-Hawa crossing, which is the only internationally-permitted crossing for the entry of international aid.⁽¹⁾ According to the head of the Syrian Negotiation Commission, Turkey, on the third day after the earthquake, allowed the entry of aid from the Bab al-Salama, al-Rai and the Bab al-Hawa crossings, and on the fourth day, the first UN aid convoy entered through the Bab al-Hawa crossing into northwestern Syria, and a non-UN aid convoy sent from the Kurdistan region of Iraq entered through the Bab al-Salama crossing, and these convoys included materials that meet some of the needs of the afflicted.



Regional Humanitarian Coordinator for Syria: «We only use the Bab al-Hawa crossing between (1)
«Turkey and Syria to deliver aid

European Civil Protection Mechanism as a model for dealing with earthquake

On February 6, Turkey activated the EU's Civil Protection Mechanism two hours after the first earthquake, subsequently, asking for help to obtain shelter materials. Immediately after the request, 20 EU member states, as well as Albania, Montenegro and Serbia, offered assistance. The assistance included providing Turkey with 31 search and rescue teams and 5 medical teams through the European Union's Civil Protection Mechanism, consisting of more than 1,650 rescuers and 100 search and rescue dogs, in addition to providing blankets, tents and generators. Furthermore, the EU has mobilized its strategic reserves for the rescue unit to provide Turkey with 500 temporary accommodation units⁽¹⁾, 2,000 tents, and 10,500 beds from emergency stocks hosted by Sweden and Romania. The EU will also provide an initial amount of €3 million in emergency humanitarian assistance to scale up the country's response efforts.⁽²⁾

As for Syria, on the third day, the Assad government requested assistance through the European Union's Civil Protection Mechanism, including search and rescue teams, shelter, medicines, medical devices, generators and ambulances. Italy and Romania have provided family tents, sleeping bags, mattresses, beds, food, winter clothes and more in support of the Syrian people. The EU has also mobilized €3.5 million in emergency humanitarian assistance to Syria. The funding will help

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Tents can provide quick relief, each hosting 4 people. Prefabricated temporary housing units (1) can hold up to 5 people each, and are designed to provide emergency shelter for people who have lost their homes in the earthquake for longer. The financial value of the rescue unit's assistance is approximately 5 million euros

https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/where/europe/turkiye_en (2)

people in need access:⁽¹⁾

1	shelter	2	water and sanitation
3	health and the various items they currently need	4	support of search and rescue operations

Stalemate

Earthquakes are considered dual-impact disasters in terms of generating those affected by this disaster, as there are two categories:

The first category affected, which is the most critical and most dangerous, are the non-survivors whose buildings collapse above their heads. This category needs an immediate response since time is the decisive factor for this category and the first 72 hours after the earthquake is the golden period to save them where response is through rescue programs. The average of the living of this category versus those who lose their lives after divine providence and the nature of the conditions for the victims under the rubble depends on the quantitative and qualitative size of the rescue teams and the nature of the health services provided to them after their rescue.

The second category is the group that is affected by the negative consequences of the earthquake without being stuck under the roofs of buildings, as this category suffers from the loss of shelter, food, heating means and other human needs. This category is more flexible for the time factor than the first category.

Since the first hour of the earthquake, the Syrian Civil Defense (The White Helmets) has announced that it urgently needs support and asked everyone to help save thousands of the souls trapped under the rubble. The Director of the Civil Defense (The White Helmets) in northwest Syria told Al Jazeera that "the situation is very difficult in our areas and we demand international support and assistance as we face very

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https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/where/middle-east/syria_en (1)

large challenges in terms of the number of mechanisms and logistical capabilities." This means that the Civil Defense (The White Helmets) is looking for assistance for the first category.

However, the UN efforts were focused on the second category, which prompted Civil Defense Director, Raed Al-Saleh to state that "the United Nations is not up to the occasion and has not provided the necessary assistance, as the UN assistance does not include equipment for search and rescue teams and the recovery of those trapped under the rubble, and that we are disappointed at the time we are in dire need of equipment to help in rescue."⁽¹⁾

Deficit mechanisms

Countries adopt in their inter-state dealings a set of rules that have become known as international law, and the main pillar of these rules is that the legal personality responsible for engaging in acts of a legal nature is the states, followed by the international organizations. In the event of disasters, states represented by their governments that occupy the legal status of the states are responsible for requesting aid and assistance from other countries, which is what the Turkish government has done and consequently received a great response from the international community and the United Nations. On the Syrian side, the Syrian regime received direct aid to support rescue efforts, mainly from countries close to the regime. The Russian Ministry of Defense announced that more than 300 Russian military personnel are participating in removing the repercussions of the earthquake in Syria. The Iraqi government as well announced an air bridge to Syria to send urgent relief aid, while Iran announced the dispatch of rescue teams.⁽²⁾

Hence, the traditional mechanisms for requesting international aid and

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 Syrian Civil Defense to Al Jazeera: Medical facilities have become very weak and unable to (1)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-6hbXlic5rE> ,2023-2-receive the injured, 10

2023-2-Al Jazeera Telegram Channel, 6 (2)

support based on the existence of a state and a legal government that receives this aid are considered a mechanism that is unable to deal with the reality experienced by more than 4.5 million Syrians in northwestern Syria.

Existing alternative

States are aware that they have a legal dilemma in dealing with areas outside the control of governments, especially if these countries are in conflict with these governments, as is the case in the Syrian case, where the international community has worked through two mechanisms:

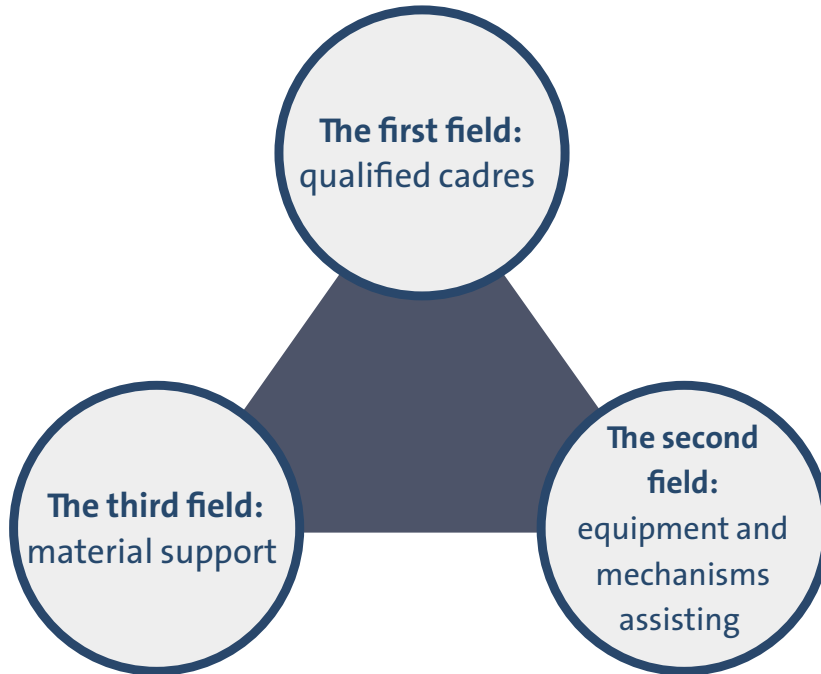
The first mechanism: Exceeding sovereignty by allowing the delivery of UN aid across borders without the permission of the regime government, taking into account that this aid meets the so-called emergency humanitarian response and early recovery programs.

The second mechanism: direct or indirect support to non-governmental mediators, where assistance programs are implemented through non-governmental organizations, either international or local, and countries can provide directly from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or through the financial and development institutions of each country such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The Syrian Civil Defense Organization (The White Helmets) is considered a model for civil society organizations that receive such support, and it is an organization specialized in rescue operations and responding to dangers. Many countries have contributed to the establishment and support of the activities of the Syrian Civil Defense, including America, Britain, Qatar, the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany. At the level of funding by relief institutions, it receives funding from various humanitarian and relief institutions, including the Turkish Red Crescent, the Turkish Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH), Qatar Charity, and charitable institutions working in Canada and Europe.⁽¹⁾ Hence, the

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 Restructuring of the Syrian Civil Defense. Causes and repercussions in the field, Syria TV, (1) 26.12.2022, <https://cutt.us/ivP0K>

support mechanism would be available if there were the will to activate it.

It can be said that the Syrian Civil Defense Organization has identified the main needs in the field of rescue in three main areas:



The first field: qualified cadres⁽¹⁾ in rescue operations "rescue teams." Although humanitarian considerations in periods of disasters should be a priority over any other considerations, political and security considerations have affected making such a matter achievable. No country has made the decision to send specialized rescue teams of its citizens towards northwestern Syria. The only country that has the possibility to easily bypass these considerations is Turkey. However, the scale of the tragedy in Turkey has left the country powerless to play this role.

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At the end of last year, the Syrian Civil Defense Organization dissolved 13 centers in (1) northwestern Syria, including the centers of Bab al-Hawa, Sahl al-Roj, Ram Hamdan, Taftanaz, Hiwar Kilis and Bza'a, as a result of a reduction in financial support provided to the Civil Defense Organization.

The second field: equipment and mechanisms assisting in the removal of rubble and the search for the missing under the rubble, where the Syrian Civil Defense (The White Helmets) stated a deficit at this level.

The Director of the Syrian Civil Defense explained that the needs of the workers in all affected governorates are determined first and foremost in providing advanced equipment for rescue, especially "thermal cameras" that help monitor the bodies of people trapped under the rubble, and rescue them before it is too late.⁽¹⁾

The response of States to this need has been non-existent despite its priority, and several States have been able to contribute to this matter. For example, the government of the United States can directly or through the United States Agency for Development transfer such aid to the Kurdistan region of Iraq and then run the aid convoy and deliver it to the Civil Defense on the Turkish side of the border so that the Civil Defense can enter this aid. In 2008, after the earthquake in China, USAID made a similar effort, with USAID providing more than \$815,000 in disaster relief assistance to China, including electric saws, hand rescue tools, hydraulic lifting equipment, concrete cutters, generators, and personal



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<https://cutt.us/UY5m3> (1)

safety equipment.⁽¹⁾

The third field: material support to provide logistical requirements to ensure the continuity of work, and this field is considered the most responsive one by countries. Raed Al-Saleh, said that the United States communicated with the Syrian Civil Defense Management and provided material assistance, adding that the Qatari government also provided assistance to the White Helmets to support rescue operations for further lives under the rubble.

The British government has also announced that it is going to provide additional funding to the Syrian Civil Defense organization "White Helmets" to cope with the effects of the earthquake. The BBC has reported that the British government has decided to give the White Helmets an additional aid of £800,000 (\$963,000). The network has explained that the aid comes on top of the £2.25m the UK gives the organization each year.⁽²⁾

Britain's Foreign Office said London has pledged at least £3 million (\$3.65 million) in additional funding to support search and rescue operations and emergency aid in Syria following devastating earthquakes in the region. "In light of the strength of the earthquakes and the difficulty of reaching affected areas in northwest Syria, the UK will provide the White Helmets with additional funding to support its key search and rescue operations", Britain said in a statement.⁽³⁾

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content_121103.htm/22/05-http://www.bjreview.com/special/txt/2008 (1)

<https://cutt.us/pViGQ> 2023-2-Britain provides aid to the Syrian «White Helmets», 8 (2)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L030nZFdRq4> (3)

Findings and Conclusions

The northwestern region of Syria has witnessed a disaster which countries can hardly bear its burden. The Syrian society in this region has proven its boldness in dealing with this disaster. The Civil Defense Organisation (The White Helmets) has also proven its worth, efficiency and dedication in performing its humanitarian tasks. Scrutinizing the past days and the developments that accompanied this disaster leads to several results that need meditation, these are:

First: Western and Qatari support for the Civil Defense Organisation during the past years was a crucial element in building this Organisation as a professional institution, capable of responding to the risks that were facing the Syrian society as a result of the bombings. However, this institution was not equipped to deal with disasters of the magnitude which the region has been exposed to. Yet, its performance during the past days showed the efficiency of this institution, as it was able to mobilize local resources efficiently.

Second: The supporting countries have failed the Civil Defense in providing the necessary equipment for the search and rescue operations, despite the existence of mechanisms that can be utilized in meeting the needs of this area, which had direct effects on the rescue operation.

Third, the catastrophic situation in Turkey posed the biggest challenge to that in northwestern Syria, as the country most capable and qualified to meet the needs of the region was afflicted and unable to meet its own needs.

Fourth: The delay in the cross-border aid delivery is unjustified, but it was not a decisive element for those under the rubble. If the UN aid had entered on the first day, the result of the rescue mission would not have been different because of the nature of the assistance included in the aid convoys. These convoys are mainly linked according to the United Nations

programs in Syria to provide food, medicine and shelter assistance, not search and rescue assistance.

Fifth: UN and international statements show that there are clear and effective efforts to respond to the humanitarian disaster, which will be reflected as programs in the northwestern region of Syria through partner non-governmental organizations. However, such disasters are usually followed by reconstruction programs, a field that is still mainly linked to the path of political settlement. Therefore, no support for the reconstruction process of what has been destroyed is expected, but rather only an increase in early recovery projects.

Sixth: What happened is a catastrophe by all standards, and this disaster requires a reconsideration of the humanitarian costs of adopting a single crossing for the entry of aid to northwestern Syria. Therefore, it can be said that the West has the opportunity today to pressure Russia to reactivate new crossings with northwestern Syria.

Seventh: The regime strives to take advantage of every development in its favor. After the earthquake, the regime led a public relations campaign to circulate that US sanctions are one of the reasons for its inability to meet the needs of citizens affected by earthquakes. Hence, it demanded the United States of America must lift these sanctions although they do not affect the aspect of providing humanitarian aid. This effort from the regime requires that there be a counter-effort to expose the regime's narrative and pressure to prevent the adoption of the regime as an entry point to receive aid destined for the northwestern region of Syria.

Eighth: The international and UN response to the reality of the earthquake in northwestern Syria was shameful and can be branded with a stigma at the humanitarian level. This response must have a negative added impact on the awareness of Syrians in terms of their experience with the United Nations and the international community. This awareness has developed over more than a decade during which Syrians have been frequently failed.



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