

Bibliography

- Abboud, Samer. 2013. "Syria's Business Elite: Between Political Alignment and Hedging Their Bets", SWP Comments 22, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, August.
- Abboud, Samer. 2015a. *Syria*. Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity.
- Abboud, Samer. 2015b. "Syria: An interview with Samer Abboud", *Jadaliyya*, December 30.
- Abdul-Ahad, Ghaith. 2012. "Syrian rebels sidetracked by scramble for spoils of war", *Guardian*, December 27.
- Ackerman, Spencer. 2014. "Foreign jihadists flocking to Iraq and Syria on 'unprecedented scale' – UN", *Guardian*, October 30.
- AFP/Washington. 2015. "'More than 90%' of Russian airstrikes in Syria have not targeted Isis, US says", *Guardian*, October 7.
- Afzal, Madiha. 2013. "Drone Strikes and Anti-Americanism in Pakistan", Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., February 7.
- Africa Watch. 1991. *Evil Days: 20 Years of War and Famine in Ethiopia*, New York, Washington, Los Angeles and London.
- Ahmad, George. 2013. "Order, Freedom and Chaos: Sovereignties in Syria", *Middle East Policy*, 2, summer.
- Ahmed, Nafeez. 2013. "Syria intervention plan fueled by oil interests, not chemical weapon concern", *Guardian*, August 30.
- Airwars.org
- Ali Ali. 2015. "The Security Gap in Syria Individual and Collective Security in 'Rebel-held' Territories", *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, 4, 1, July 16. www.stabilityjournal.org/articles/10.5334/sta.gd/
- Allison, Roy. 2013. "Russia and Syria: explaining alignment with a regime in crisis", *International Affairs*, 89, 4, pp. 795–823.
- Alrifai, Tamara. 2013. Human Rights Watch, "Syria's Humanitarian Blackmail is a War Crime", July 22. www.hrw.org/news/2013/07/22/syria-s-humanitarian-blackmail-war-crime
- Amnesty International. 2015a. "Syria: US Ally's Razing of Villages Amounts to War Crimes", London, October 13.

- Amnesty International. 2015b. "We had nowhere else to go": Forced Displacement and Demolitions in Northern Syria", London, October.
- Amnesty International. 2016. "'Torture was my Punishment': Abductions, torture and summary killings under armed group rule in Aleppo and Idleb, Syria", July.
- Amnesty International. 2017a, "Human Slaughterhouse: Mass Hangings and Extermination at Saydnaya Prison, Syria", London.
- Amnesty International. 2017b. "Syria: Expert analysis shows US-led coalition use of white phosphorous may amount to a war crime", London, June 16.
- Amor, Salwa and Ruth Sherlock. 2014. "How Bashar al-Assad created the feared shabiha militia: an insider speaks", *Telegraph*, March 23.
- Anagnostos, Emily. 2017. "Warning Update: Iraq's Sunni Insurgency Begins as ISIS Loses Ground in Mosul", Institute for the Study of War, Washington, D.C., February 7.
- Anderson, Mary B. 1999. *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace – Or War*, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.
- Andersson, Ruben. 2014. *Illegality Inc.: Clandestine Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe*, Oakland: University of California Press.
- Anzalone, Christopher. 2016. "The Multiple Faces of Jabhat al-Nusra/Jabhat Fath al-Sham in Syria's Civil War", *Insight Turkey*, 18, 2, Spring.
- Aubrey, Meg, Rosie Aubrey, Frances Brodrick and Caroline Brooks. 2016. "Why Young Syrians Choose to Fight", *International Alert*, London. May.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1979. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Harvest (first published in 1951).
- Ashford, Emma. 2016. "Not-So-Smart Sanctions", *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2016, pp. 114–123.
- Asia News Monitor. 2013. "Syria: Conflict in Syria 'a war on terror', Deputy Prime Minister tells UN General Assembly", October 7.
- Associated Press. 2009. "US accuses Afghan militants of using phosphorous", *Guardian*, May 11.
- Attree, Larry. 2016. "Blown back: Lessons from counter-terror, stabilisation and statebuilding in Yemen", Saferworld, London. www.saferworld.org.uk/oldsite/resources/view-resource/1033-blown-back
- Atree, Larry. 2017. "Shouldn't YOU be countering violent extremism?", Saferworld, London, March. <https://saferworld-indepth.squarespace.com/shouldnt-you-be-countering-violent-extremism>
- Atwan, Abdel Bari. 2015. *Islamic State: The Digital Caliphate*, London: Saqi Books.
- Bacik, Gokhan and Bezen Balamir Coskun. 2011. "The PKK Problem: Explaining Turkey's Failure to Develop a Political Solution", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 34, pp. 248–65.
- Baczko, Adam, Robin Beaumont, Felix Legrand and Arthur Quesnay. 2014. "Sectarian Strategies, National Settings and the War Economy in Syria and Iraq", NORIA (Network of Researchers in International Affairs), July. www.noria-research.com/sectarian-strategies-national-settings-and-the-war-economy-in-syria-and-iraq/

- Balanche, Fabrice. 2016a. "The Battle of Aleppo is the Center of the Syrian Chessboard", Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington, D.C., February 5.
- Balanche, Fabrice. 2016b. "Kurdish Forces Bolster Assad in Aleppo", Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington, D.C., July 29.
- Barfi, Barak. 2016. "Ascent of the PYD and the SDF", Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Research Notes no. 32, Washington, D.C., April.
- Barkey, Henri. 2014. "Turkey's Syria Predicament", *Adelphi Series*, 54:447–448, pp. 99–122, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London (published online December 15).
- Barnard, Anne. 2013. "Stick Figures and Stunted Growth as Warring Syria Goes Hungry", *New York Times*, November 2.
- Barnard, Anne. 2015a. "As Refugee Tide Swells, Lebanon Plans a Visa Requirement for Syrians", *New York Times*, January 2.
- Barnard, Anne. 2015b. "Assad's Forces May be Aiding New ISIS Surge", *New York Times*, June 2.
- Barnard, Anne. 2017. "U.S.-Led Forces Said to Have Used White Phosphorus in Syria", *New York Times*, June 10.
- Barnard, Anne, Sergio Pecanha and Derek Watkins. 2016. "What Russia Accomplished in Syria", *New York Times*, March 18.
- BBC World Service, 2015. Newshour, July 26.
- BBC News. 2016a. "Syrian Conflict: UN first air drop delivery aid to Deir al-Zour", February 24, bbc.co.uk. www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-35654483
- BBC News. 2016b. "Syria conflict: US says Russia driving rebels into extremists' camp", October 2016. www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-37525655
- BBC. 2017. "Syria conflict: Manbij militia to hand villages to army", March 2, www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-39140880
- Beals, Emma and Nick Hopkins. 2016. "Guardian briefing: the key questions around aid and Syria", *Guardian*, October 28.
- Beaumont, Peter. 2012. "Syrian forces pound Homs as first UN monitors set to arrive", *Guardian*, April 15.
- Berdal, Mats. 2003. "How 'New' are 'New Wars?' Global Economic Change and the Study of Civil War", *Global Governance*, 9, 4, pp. 477–502.
- Berdal, Mats and Keen, David. 1997. "Violence and Economic Agendas in Civil Wars: Considerations for Policymakers", *Millennium*, vol. 26, no. 3.
- Betts, Alexander and Paul Collier. 2017. *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System*, London: Allen Lane.
- Birke, Sarah. 2013. "How al-Qaeda Changed the Syrian War", *New York Review of Books*, December 27. www.nybooks.com/daily/2013/12/27/how-al-qaeda-changed-syrian-war/
- Birke, Sarah. 2015. "How ISIS Rules", *New York Review of Books*, February 5. www.nybooks.com/daily/2014/12/09/how-isis-rules/
- Bitar, Nadia. 2012. "Syrian War Profiteers Cash In on Insurgency", *Spiegel Online*. June 6.

- Black, Ian. 2015. "Wake-up call on Syrian army weakness prompted Russian intervention", *Guardian*, October 1.
- Bonsey, Noah. 2016. "What Comes After the Bloody Battle for Aleppo?", International Crisis Group, Commentary, December 15.
- Bonsey, Noah. 2017a. "What's at Stake in the Syrian Peace Talks in Astana?", International Crisis Group, Commentary, January 24.
- Bonsey, Noah. 2017b. "Will the Americans Abandon Us?", International Crisis Group, Commentary, July 17.
- Borger, Julian and Mona Mahmood. 2013. "EU decision to lift Syrian oil sanctions boosts jihadist groups", *Guardian*, May 19.
- Butter, David. 2016. "Salvaging Syria's Economy", Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs), March.
- Cafarella, Jennifer and Genevieve Casagrande. 2016. "Syrian Armed Opposition Forces in Aleppo", Institute for the Study of War, Washington, D.C., February 13.
- Cafarella, Jennifer, Harleen Gambhir, and Katherine Zimmerman. 2016. "U.S. Grand Strategy: Destroying ISIS and al-Qaeda, Report Three: Jabhat al-Nusra and ISIS: Sources of Strength", February.
- Cafarella, Jennifer, Kimberly Kagan, and Frederick Kagan. 2017. "U.S. Grand Strategy: Destroying ISIS and al-Qaeda, Report Four: America's Way Ahead in Syria", Washington, D.C., March.
- Callimachi, Rukmini. 2017. "Freed from ISIS, but in shock", *New York Times*, July 27.
- Cameron, Hazel. 2015. "The French Connection: Complicity in the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda", *African Security*, 8, 2, pp. 96–119.
- Candar, Cengiz. (2017), "Operation Euphrates Shield: A post-mortem". Al-Monitor/Reuters, April 5.
- Caris, Charles and Samuel Reynolds. 2014. "ISIS Governance in Syria", Middle East Security Report 22, Institute for the Study of War, Washington, D.C., July.
- Channel 4. 2017. "ISIS and the battle for Iraq", Dispatches, April 6.
- Charap, Samuel. 2013. "Russia, Syria and the Doctrine of Intervention", *Survival*, 55, 1, pp. 35–41.
- Chulov, Martin. 2013. "Syrian Kurds continue to flee to Iraq in their thousands", *Guardian*, August 18.
- Chulov, Martin. 2015. "Amid the ruins of Syria, is Bashar al-Assad now finally facing the end?", *Guardian*, May 24.
- Chulov, Martin. 2017. "Moroccan Isis terrorists 'pose a threat on Europe's doorstep'", *Guardian*, August 20.
- Chulov, Martin, Jamie Istanbul, Jon Swaine. 2017. "Isis faces exodus of foreign fighters as its 'caliphate' crumbles", *Guardian*, April 26.
- Churkin, Vitaly. 2016. Press conference. UN Web TV, September 17, <http://webtv.un.org/watch/vitaly-churkin-russian-federation-on-syria-security-council-media-stakeout-17-september-2016/5130085776001>
- Cockburn, Patrick. 2016a. "How the West's Economic Sanctions are Inflicting Suffering on Ordinary Syrians", *Counterpunch*, October 11.

- Cockburn, Patrick. 2016b. "If Assad takes eastern Aleppo he'll think he's won the war", *Independent*, December 12.
- Cordall, Simon Speakman. 2014. "How Syria's Assad Helped Forge ISIS", *Newsweek*, June 21.
- Cooper, Helene, Eric Schmitt and Anne Barnard. 2015. "Battered but Unbowed, ISIS Is Still on Offensive", *New York Times*, March 13.
- Cornell, Svante E. 2016. "The fallacy of 'compartmentalisation': the West and Russia from Ukraine to Syria", *European View*, pp. 98–109.
- Cronin, Audrey. 2006. "How al Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups", *International Security*, 31, 1, pp. 7–48.
- Cutler, Peter. 1989. "The Development of the 1983–85 Famine in Northern Ethiopia", Ph.D, University of London.
- Czuperski, Maksymilion, Eliot Higgins, Frederic Hof, Ben Nimmo and John Herbst. 2016. "Distract, Deceive, Destroy: Putin at War in Syria", Atlantic Council, Washington, D.C. <http://publications.atlanticcouncil.org/distract-deceive-destroy/>
- Dalacoura, Katerina. 2012. "The 2011 uprisings in the Arab Middle East: political change and geopolitical implications", *International Affairs*, 88, 1, pp. 63–79.
- Danner, Mark. 2013. "Syria: Is There a Solution?", *New York Review of Books*, November 7.
- Darwisheh, Housam. 2013. "Syria and the Arab Spring: Unraveling the Road to Syria's Protracted Conflict", Asian Institute for Policy Studies, Issue Brief 44, January 17. <http://en.asianinst.org/contents/issue-brief-no-44-syria-and-the-arab-spring-unraveling-the-road-to-syrias-protracted-conflict/>
- De Luce, Dan, Paul McLeary and John Hudson. 2016. "Doubts Run Deep Among U.S. Officials over Deal with Russia", *Foreign Policy*, September 12. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/12/doubts-run-deep-among-u-s-officials-over-deal-with-russia/>
- De Waal, Alex. 2015. *The Real Politics of the Horn of Africa: Money, War and the Business of Power*, Cambridge: Polity.
- de Young, Karen and Liz Sly. 2017. "Pentagon plan to seize Raqqa calls for significant increase in U.S. participation", *Washington Post*, March 4.
- Dickinson, Elizabeth. 2014. "The Case Against Qatar", *Foreign Policy*, September 30. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/09/30/the-case-against-qatar/>
- Dodge, Toby and Becca Wasser. 2014. "The Crisis of the Iraqi State", chapter 1 in *Middle Eastern Security, the US Pivot and the Rise of ISIS*, Adelphi, vol. 447–8, December 6, pp. 13–38.
- Droz-Vincent, Philippe. 2014. "'State of Barbary' (Take Two): From the Arab Spring to the Return of Violence in Syria", *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 68, no. 1, winter, pp. 33–58.
- Dunn, Andrew. 2016. "Obama envoy: 70 percent of Russian strikes don't hit ISIS", *The Hill*, October 2.
- Economist*. 2016. "The ceasefire unravels; Syria's widening war", September 24.
- Efron, Sonni. 2014. "In Syria, Try Banks Before Bombs", [uk.Reuters.com](http://uk.reuters.com/article/us-syria-banks-before-bombs-idUKBRE97S17220130829), August 29, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/us-syria-banks-before-bombs-idUKBRE97S17220130829>

- Ezzi, Mazen. 2017. "How the Syrian Regime is Using the Mask of 'Reconciliation' to Destroy Opposition Institutions", Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs), June.
- Favier, Agnes. 2016. "Local governance dynamics in opposition-controlled areas in Syria", in Luigi Narbone, Agnes Favier and Virginie Collombier (eds.) *Inside Wars: Local Dynamics of Conflicts in Syria and Libya*, European University Institute, Florence <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/8908922a-5d8e-4eef-afe4-d242af4175a4/language-en>
- Field, Jessica. 2016. "The Syrian Arab Republic and the Civil War", Humanitarian Effectiveness Project. http://humanitarianeffectivenessproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Syria_Jessica_Field_HAT.pdf
- Financial Action Task Force/OECD. 2015. "Financing of the terrorist organisation Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)". www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/Financing-of-the-terrorist-organisation-ISIL.pdf
- Fisk, Robert. 2016. "There is more than one truth in the heartbreaking story of Aleppo", *Independent*, December 13.
- France24/AFP. 2012. "Syrians march in support of Jabhat al-Nusra militants", December 16. www.france24.com/en/20121216-syria-march-support-jabhat-nusra-militants-us-terrorist
- Freedland, Jonathan. 2016. "If they really wanted to Stop the War in Syria, they'd target Russia", *Guardian*, October 14.
- Frelick, Bill. 1997. "Unsafe Havens: Reassessing Security in Refugee Crises", *Harvard International Review*, Spring, 19, 2, pp. 40–43 and pp. 68–69.
- Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed and Nathaniel Barr. 2016. "The CIA's Syria Program and the Perils of Proxies", *The Daily Beast*, January 19.
- Gebeily, Maya. 2015. "Blast, fierce clashes rock Syrian regime Aleppo base", April 13, AFP.
- Gerges, Fawaz. 2005. *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gerges, Fawaz. 2015. "The rise of IS – and how to beat it", BBC News, January 12. www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-30681224
- Gerges, Fawaz. 2016. *ISIS: A History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Goldman, Russell. 2016. "Airdrops Called Too Risky a Way to Help Starving Syrians", *New York Times*, January 19.
- Gordon, Stuart. 2011. "Winning Hearts and Minds? Examining the Relationship between Aid and Security in Afghanistan's Helmand Province", Tufts University, Boston. April.
- Gordon, Michael and Eric Schmitt. 2018. "Airstrikes by Russia Buttress Turkey in Battle v. ISIS", *New York Times*, January 8.
- Graham-Harrison, Emma. 2016a. "Reality Check: are US-led airstrikes on Syrians as bad as Russia's?", *Guardian*, October 12.
- Graham-Harrison, Emma. 2016b. "Aleppo airstrikes restart as Russia announces major Syria offensive", *Guardian*, November 15.

- Guardian*/AFP. 2015. "More than 90% of Russian airstrikes in Syria have not targeted Isis, US says", 7 October 2015.
- Guardian*/Reuters in Moscow. 2016. "Aleppo: Russia ready to 'fight together' with US in shattered Syrian city", *Guardian*, 16 August.
- Gutman, Roy. 2014. "Islamic State seizes major Syrian oil fields, aids Assad regime", McClatchy DC Bureau, July 18. www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/article24770707.html
- Gutman, Roy. 2016a. "Exclusive: The UN Knew for Months that Madaya Was Starving", *Foreign Policy*. January 15. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/15/u-n-knew-for-months-madaya-was-starving-syria-assad/>
- Gutman, Roy. 2016b. "America is Silent as Aleppo is Massacred", *Foreign Policy*, May 6. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/05/06/america-is-silent-as-aleppo-is-massacred/>
- Haddad, Bassam. 2012. "Syria, the Arab uprisings, and the political economy of authoritarian resilience", *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*, 4, 1, pp. 113–130, May.
- al-Hakkar, Firas. 2013. "The Mysterious Fall of Raqqa, Syria's Kandahar", al-Akhbar, November 8.
- Haid, Haid. 2016. "Airdropping aid to starving Syrians is doable", *Now*, January 26.
- Hallaj, Omar Abdulaziz. 2015. "The balance-sheet of conflict: criminal revenues and warlords in Syria", NOREF (Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre), May.
- Hamidi, Ibrahim. 2015. "The Russo-Iranian struggle for Syria", *Now*, March 2 (updated March 3). <https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/commentaryanalysis/564905-the-russo-iranian-struggle-for-syria>
- Hamilton, Fiona. 2016. "Europol warning over Isis threat to Britain", *Times*, December 3.
- Harling, Peter and Sarah Birke. 2014. "The Arab World Into the Unknown", International Crisis Group, January 14. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/arab-world-unknown> (originally published in *The Arabist*).
- Harrell, Peter, Tom Keatinge, Sarah Lain and Elizabeth Rosenberg. 2017. "The Future of Transatlantic Sanctions on Russia", Center for a New American Security, Washington, D.C., June 15.
- Harris, Shane and Nancy Youssef. 2015. "Exclusive: 50 Spies Say ISIS Intelligence Was Cooked", *The Daily Beast*, September 10. www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/09/09/exclusive-50-spies-say-isis-intelligence-was-cooked.html
- Hartberg, Martin. 2015. "Failing Syria: Assessing the impact of UN Security Council resolutions in protecting and assisting civilians in Syria", ACTED (and 20 other aid agencies).
- Hersh, Seymour. 2016. "Military to Military", *London Review of Books*, Vol 38, No 1, 7 January, pp 11–14
- Hill, Fiona. 2016. "Understanding and Deterring Russia: U.S. Policies and Strategies", Testimony to the House Armed Services Committee, February 10.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2012. "Syria: from 'authoritarian upgrading' to revolution?", *International Affairs*, 88, 1, pp. 95–113.
- Hokayem, Emile. 2013. *Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant*, Adelphi Series, 438. May 31.

- Hokayem, Emile. 2014. *Iran, the Gulf States and the Syrian Civil War*, Adelphi Series, 54, 447–448, pp. 39–70.
- Hopkins, Nick and Emma Beals, 2016. “UN pays tens of millions to Assad regime under Syria aid programme”, *Guardian*, August 29.
- House of Commons. 2016. “The Report of the Iraq Enquiry, Executive Summary”, Report of a Committee of Privy Counsellors. July 6. www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/247921/the-report-of-the-iraq-inquiry_executive-summary.pdf
- House of Lords (UK). 2017. “The Middle East: Time for New Realism”, Select Committee on International Relations, 2nd Report of Session 2016–17, May 2.
- Human Rights Watch. 2011a. “We’ve Never Seen Such Horror’: Crimes against Humanity by Syrian Security Forces”, June 1. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/06/01/weve-never-seen-such-horror/crimes-against-humanity-syrian-security-forces>
- Human Rights Watch. 2011b. “Syria: Defectors Describe Orders to Shoot Unarmed Protesters”, July 9.
- Human Rights Watch. 2014. “Under Kurdish Rule: Abuses in PYD-run Enclaves of Syria”, June 19.
- Human Rights Watch. 2016a. “EU: Don’t Send Syrians Back to Turkey”, June 20.
- Human Rights Watch, 2016b. “France: Exclude Russian Arms Dealers from Paris Show”, October 15.
- Human Rights Watch. 2017a. “Death by Chemicals: The Syrian Government’s Widespread and Systematic Use of Chemical Weapons”, May 1.
- Human Rights Watch. 2017b. “Syria: Key Concerns for Raqqa Battle: Detainee Rights, Indiscriminate Attacks, Treatment of Displaced People”, June 13.
- Ibrahim, Arwa. 2016. “The Kurdish ‘frenemies’ aiding Assad in Aleppo”, Middle East Eye, November 30. www.middleeasteye.net/news/what-role-are-kurdish-ypg-forces-playing-aleppo-554547107
- Ignatius, David. 2016. “Why America was bound to fail in Syria”, *Washington Post*, December 15.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2012a. “Syria’s Mutating Conflict”, Middle East Report 128, August 1.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2012b. “Tentative Jihad: Syria’s Fundamentalist Opposition”, October 12.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2013a. “Syria’s Kurds: A Struggle Within a Struggle”, Middle East Report 136. January 22.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2013b. “Syria’s Metastasising Conflicts”, June 27.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2014. “Flight of Icarus? The PYD’s Precarious Rise in Syria”, May 8.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2016. “Steps Toward Stabilising Syrian’s Northern Border”, Briefing no. 49, Middle East and North Africa, April 8.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2017a. “Implementing the Iran Nuclear Deal: A Status Report”, Middle East Report No. 173, January 16.

- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2017b. "Fighting ISIS: The Road to and beyond Raqqa", Middle East Briefing No. 53, April 28.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). 2017c. "The PKK's Fateful Choice in Northern Syria", Middle East and North Africa Report 176, May 4.
- ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross). n.d. "Customary IHL [international humanitarian law]: Practice Relating to Rule 18. Assessment of the Effects of Attacks", https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/customary-ihl/eng/docs/v2_rul_rule18
- IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Networks). 2012. "Donors not walking the talk on humanitarian aid to Syria", September 19, Dubai. www.irinnews.org/report/96336/analysis-donors-not-walking-the-talk-on-humanitarian-aid-to-syria
- IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Networks). 2013. "Analysis: Syrian government increases restrictions on medical aid", August 7, www.irinnews.org/report/98537/analysis-syrian-government-increases-restrictions-on-medical-aid
- Jacinto, Leela. 2017. "Turkey's Post-Coup Purge and Erdogan's Private Army", *Foreign Policy*, July 13.
- Johnson, Dominic and Dominic Tierney. 2006. *Failing to Win: Perceptions of Victory and Defeat in International Politics*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Johnson, Jenna. 2015. "Trump promises to 'bomb the hell out of ISIS' in new ad", *Washington Post*, November 18.
- Jones, Seth and Martin Libicki. 2008. "How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons from Countering al Qaida", RAND Corporation, www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG741-1.pdf
- Kabbani, Nader and Noura Kamel. 2007. "Youth Exclusion in Syria: Social, Economic and Institutional Dimensions", Wolfensohn Center for Development, Dubai School of Government, September.
- Kagan, Kimberly, Frederick Kagan and Jessica Lewis. 2014. "A Strategy to Defeat the Islamic State", Middle East Security Report 23, Institute for the Study of War, Washington, D.C., September.
- Kagan, Frederick and Kimberly Kagan. 2016. "The Syrian Ceasefire is a Big Win for Russia, Assad, and Iran", AEIdeas, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., February 12, www.aei.org/publication/the-syrian-ceasefire-is-a-big-win-for-russia-assad-and-iran/
- Kahl, Colin, Ilan Goldenberg and Nicholas Heras. 2017. "A Strategy for Ending the Syrian Civil War", Center for a New American Security, Washington, D.C., June 7.
- Kaldor, Mary. 1998. *New and Old Wars*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2004. "The Paradox of Terrorism in Civil War", *Journal of Ethics*, 8, 1, pp. 97-138.
- Keen, David. 1993. *The Kurds in Iraq: How Safe is their Haven Now?*, Save the Children, London.
- Keen, David. 1994. *The Benefits of Famine: A Political Economy of Famine and Relief in Southwestern Sudan, 1983-89*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Keen, David. 1998. "The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars", Adelphi paper no. 319, Oxford: Oxford University Press and International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Keen, David. 2000. "War and Peace: What's the Difference?", *International Peacekeeping*, 7, 4, Winter, pp. 1–22.
- Keen, David. 2005. *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*, Oxford: James Currey/International Peace Academy.
- Keen, David. 2012. *Useful Enemies: When Waging Wars is More Important than Winning Them*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Keen, David, with Larry Attree. 2015. "Dilemmas of counter-terror, stabilisation and statebuilding: A discussion paper", London: Saferworld. www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/875-dilemmas-of-counter-terror-stabilisation-and-statebuilding
- Kepel, Gilles. 2002. *Jihad: The Trial of Political Islam*, London: I. B. Tauris.
- Khatib, Lina. 2015. "The Human Dimension of Life Under the Islamic State", Carnegie Middle East Center, March 4.
- Khalaf, Rana. 2014. "Beyond Arms and Beards: Local Governance of ISIS in Syria", in Timothy Poirson and Robert Oprisko (eds.) *Caliphates and Islamic Global Politics*, E-International Relations (Bristol, UK), December, www.e-ir.info/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Caliphates-and-Islamic-Global-Politics-E-IR.pdf
- Khalaf, Rana. 2015. "Governance without Government in Syria: Civil Society and State Building during Conflict", *Syria Studies*, 7, 3, pp. 37–72, <https://ojs.st-andrews.ac.uk/index.php/syria/article/view/1176/911>
- Khalaf, Rana. 2016. "Governing Rojova: Layers of Legitimacy in Syria", Middle East and North Africa Programme, Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs), London, December.
- Kilcullen, David. 2009. *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*, London: Hurst & Co.
- Kirkpatrick, David. 2013. "In parts of Syria, lack of assistance 'Is a catastrophe'", *New York Times*, March 8.
- Kozak, Chris. 2016. "The Competing Campaigns against ISIS in Northern Syria", Institute for the Study of War, Washington, D.C., June 10.
- Kozak, Chris. 2017. "Iran's Assad Regime", Institute for the Study of War, Washington, D.C., March.
- Le Billon, Philippe. 2003. "Buying Peace or Fuelling War: The role of corruption in armed conflicts", *Journal of International Development*, 15, 4, pp. 413–26.
- Leenders, Reinoud. 2016. "UN's \$4bn aid effort in Syria is morally bankrupt", *Guardian*, August 29.
- Lister, Charles. 2014. *Assessing Syria's Jihad*. Adelphi Series, vol. 54, no. 447–448, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, December, pp. 71–98.
- Lister, Charles. 2016. "The Free Syrian Army: A decentralized insurgent brand", Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. November, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/iwr_20161123_free_syrian_army.pdf

- Lister, Charles. 2017a. "Al-Qaeda Is Starting to Swallow the Syrian Opposition", *Foreign Policy*, March 15, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/15/al-qaeda-is-swallowing-the-syrian-opposition/>
- Lister, Charles. 2017b. "Testimony: Syria After the Missile Strikes: Policy Options", The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., April 27 (testimony presented to the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs on 27 April 2017).
- Loveluck, Louisa. 2016. "Hammond: 'Disturbing evidence' that Kurds are coordinating with Syrian regime and Russia", *Telegraph*, February 23.
- Lynch, Colum. 2016 "The War Over Syria's War Dead", *Foreign Policy*, January 13. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/13/the-war-over-syrias-war-dead/>
- Lyme, Rune Friberg. 2012. "Sanctioning Assad's Syria: Mapping the economic, socioeconomic and political repercussions of the international sanctions imposed on Syria since March 2011", Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen.
- MacFarquhar, Neil and David Sanger. 2016. "Russia Sends Bombers to Syria Using Base in Iran", *New York Times*, August 16.
- Magone, Claire, Michael Neuman and Fabrice Weissman (eds.). 2011. *Humanitarian Negotiations Revealed: The MSF Experience*, London: Hurst & Co.
- Makiya, Kanan. 1998. *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq*, Berkeley: University of California.
- Mann, Michael. 2003. *Incoherent Empire*, London: Verso.
- Martinez, Jose Ciro and Brent Eng. 2016. "The unintended consequences of emergency food aid: neutrality, sovereignty and politics in the Syrian civil war, 2012–15", *International Affairs*, 92, 1, 153–173.
- Mason, Rowena. 2016. "Theresa May resists calls for UK to accept more Syrian refugees", *Guardian*, September 19.
- Mathews, Jessica. 2014. "Iraq Illusions", *New York Review of Books*, August 14. www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/08/14/iraq-illusions/
- McFate, Jessica Lewis. 2015. "The ISIS Defense in Iraq and Syria: Countering an Adaptive Enemy", Middle East Security Report 27, Institute for the Study of War, Washington, D.C., May.
- McNaught, Anita. 2012. "The business of detention in Syria", *al Jazeera*, August 2.
- Meininghaus, Esther. 2016. "Humanitarianism in intra-state conflict: aid inequality and local governance in government- and opposition-controlled areas in the Syrian war", *Third World Quarterly*, 37, 8, pp. 1454–1482.
- Merz, Fabien. 2014. "Adversarial Framing: President Bashar al-Assad's Depiction of the Armed Syrian Opposition", *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 5, 2, pp. 30–44.
- Mitton, Kieran. 2015. *Rebels in a Rotten State: Understanding Atrocity in Sierra Leone*, London: Hurst & Co.
- Moret, Erica. 2015. "Humanitarian impacts of economic sanctions on Iran and Syria", *European Security*, 24, 1, pp 120–140.
- Morrison, David. 2016. "Who broke the Syria ceasefire?", openDemocracy, October 17. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/david-morrison/what-russia-and-rest-of-us-are-doing-in-syria>

- Mroue, Bassem. 2015. "Syrian Rebels Attack Government Intelligence Centre in Aleppo", AP, April 14 (worldpoliticsreview.com)
- Naame Shaam, 2014, "Iran in Syria: From an Ally of the Regime to an Occupying Force", first edition, September. www.naameshaam.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/report_iran_in_syria_201411.pdf.
- Nakhoul, Samia. 2014. "Al-Qaeda hijacks spirit of Syria revolt three years on", Reuters, March 11.
- National Coalition of Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces memo. 2014. "ISIS and the Assad Regime: From Marriage of Convenience to Partnership", February 10. www.etilaf.us/isis_assad
- Neumann, Peter. 2014. "Suspects into Collaborators", *London Review of Books*, 36, 7, April 3, www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n07/peter-neumann/suspects-into-collaborators
- NPR (National Public Radio, US). 2013. "How could a drought spark a civil war", September 8. www.npr.org/2013/09/08/220438728/how-could-a-drought-spark-a-civil-war)
- O'Brien, Stephen. 2016. "Stephen O'Brien: Statement to Security Council on Syria", January 27.
- O'Brien, Stephen. 2017. "The Worsening Humanitarian Crisis in Syria", Inter Press Service/United Nations, May 31 (from a statement to the UN Security Council on May 30).
- OCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs). 2015. "Humanitarian Bulletin Syria", Issue 52, January.
- OCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs). 2016. "Syrian Arab Republic: Humanitarian Snapshot (as of December 31 2016)", <http://reliefweb.int/report/syrian-arab-republic/syrian-arab-republic-humanitarian-snapshot-31-december-2016-enar>
- OCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs). 2017a. "Syria Crisis: Ar-Raqqa. Situation Report No. 10 (19–26 June 2017)".
- OCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs). 2017b. Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Stephen O'Brien Statement to the Security Council on the Humanitarian Situation in Syria, 27 July 2017 (delivered by Ursula Mueller). July 27.
- OCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs). 2017c. "Whole of Syria Monthly Humanitarian Response", August 15.
- OCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs). 2017d. "Syrian Arab Republic: 2017 UN Inter-Agency Humanitarian Operations (as of 16 August 2017)".
- OCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs). 2017e. "Syrian Arab Republic: 2017 UN Inter-Agency Humanitarian Operations (as of 14 December 2017)".
- ODI (Overseas Development Institute) public event, 15 March 2016, "Five Years On, What Next for Syria?: Panel Discussion", <https://www.odi.org/events/4337-five-years-what-next-syria>

- Pendle, Naomi. 2017. "Laws, landscape and prophecy: The art of remaking regimes of lethal violence amongst the western Nuer and Dinka (South Sudan)", PhD, LSE (London School of Economics).
- Physicians for Human Rights. 2017. "Access Denied: UN Aid Deliveries to Syria's Besieged and Hard-to-Reach Areas", March.
- Pierini, Marc. 2016. "In Search of an EU role in the Syrian war", Carnegie Europe, Brussels, August 18.
- Powell, Jonathan. 2015. *Talking to Terrorists: How to End Armed Conflicts*, London: Vintage.
- PressTV. 2016. "Aleppo liberation victory for Syria, Iran, Russia: President Assad", December 22.
- Preston, Matthew. 2004. *Ending Civil War: Rhodesia and Lebanon in Perspective*, London: I.B. Tauris.
- Rampton, Roberta. 2016. "Obama sends more Special Forces to Syria in fights against ISIS", Reuters, April 26.
- Ramsay, Stuart. "IS Files Reveal Assad's Deals With Militants", Sky News, 2 May 2016. <http://news.sky.com/story/is-files-reveal-assads-deals-with-militants-10267238>
- Rangasami, Amrita. 1985. "Failure of Exchange Entitlements' Theory of Famine: A Response", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20, 41 and 42 (October 12 and 19), pp. 1747–51, 1797–1800.
- Rashid, Ahmed. 2014. "ISIS: What the US Doesn't Understand", *New York Review of Books*, December 2.
- Rashid, Ahmed. 2015. "Why We Need al-Qaeda", *New York Review of Books*, June 15.
- Reuter, Christoph. 2015. "The Terror Strategist: Secret Files Reveal the Structure of Islamic State", *Der Spiegel*, April 18. www.spiegel.de/international/world/islamic-state-files-show-structure-of-islamist-terror-group-a-1029274.html
- Reno, William. 1995. *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reuters/Guardian. 2017. "Russia and China veto UN resolution to impose sanctions on Syria", *Guardian*, March 1.
- Richani, Nazih. 2016. "The Political Economy and Complex Interdependency of the War system in Syria", *Civil Wars*, 18, 1, pp. 45–68.
- Rogin, Josh. 2016a. "Kerry touts the Russian line on Syrian rebel groups", *Washington Post*, July 12.
- Rogin, Josh. 2016b. "Obama's Syria plan teams up American and Russian forces", *Washington Post*, July 13.
- Samer (pseudonym). 2017. *The Raqqa Diaries: Escape from 'Islamic State'*, London: Hutchinson.
- Sands, Phil, Justin Vela and Suha Maayeh. 2014. "Assad regime set free extremists from prison to fire up trouble during peaceful uprising", *The National*, January 21.
- Schomerus, Mareike. 2012. "'They forget what they came for': Uganda's army in Sudan", *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 6, 1, pp. 124–153.

- Seeberg, Peter. 2015. "The EU and the Syrian Crisis: The Use of Sanctions and the Regime's Strategy for Survival", *Mediterranean Politics*, 20, 1, pp. 18–35.
- Sengupta, Somini. 2016. "Starvation in Syria Galvanizes U.N., but Accountability Seems Distant as Ever", *New York Times*, January 15.
- Shackle, Samira. 2014. "Q and A with Peter Neumann", September, <https://newhumanist.org.uk/articles/4749/will-us-airstrikes-stop-isis>
- Shaheen, Kareem. 2015. "ISIS seizes ground from Aleppo rebels under cover of Russian airstrikes", *Guardian*, October 10.
- Shaheen, Kareem. 2016. "Turkish officials: Europe wanted to export extremists to Syria", *Guardian*, March 25.
- Shaheen, Kareem. 2017. "'Staggering' loss of civilian life from US-led airstrikes in Raqqa, says UN", *Guardian*, June 14.
- Sherlock, Ruth. 2012a. "Exclusive interview: why I defected from Bashar al-Assad's regime, by former diplomat Nawaf Fares", *Sunday Telegraph*, July 14.
- Sherlock, Ruth. 2012b. "Inside Jabhat al-Nusra – the most extreme wing of Syria's struggle", *Telegraph*, December 2.
- Siege Watch. 2017. "Sixth Quarterly Report on Besieged Areas in Syria February–April 2017", PAX/The Syria Institute.
- Smith, Ben and Claire Mills. 2017. Syria and Iraq. Update July 2017. House of Commons Library. Briefing Paper CBP 8011. July 21.
- Souleimanov, Emil Aslan and Katarina Petrtylova. 2015. "Russia's Policy Toward the Islamic State", *Middle East Policy*, 32, 3, Fall, pp. 66–78.
- Solomon, Erika, Guy Chazan and Sam Jones. 2015. "ISIS Inc: how oil fuels the jihadi terrorists", *Financial Times*, October 14.
- Solvang, Ole. 2017. "Pentagon Admits Major Investigation Flaw: They Rarely Talk to Air Strike Witnesses or Victims", Human Rights Watch. June 29.
- Souleimanov, Emil Aslan. 2016. "Mission Accomplished? Russia's Withdrawal from Syria", *Middle East Policy*, vol. 33, summer, pp. 108–118.
- Steele, Jonathan. 2015. "The Syrian Kurds Are Winning!", *New York Review of Books*, December 3.
- Stewart, Phil and Idrees Ali. 2016. "Top US general: Unwise to share intelligence with Russia on Syria", Reuters.com, September 22, www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-pentagon-idUSKCN11S1PC
- Stuster, J. Dana. 2016. "Islamic State Under Strain from Falling Recruitment, Strikes on Finances", *Foreign Policy*, April 27.
- Svoboda, Eva. 2014. "Addressing protection needs in Syria: overlooked, difficult, impossible?" HPG (Humanitarian Policy Group), Policy Brief 57, April.
- Svoboda, Eva and Sara Pantuliano, 2015. "International and local/diaspora actors in the Syria response", HPG Working Paper, ODI (Overseas Development Institute), London, March.
- Sweis, Rana. 2013. "Syrian Refugees Strain Resources in Jordan", *New York Times*, January 2.

- Syrian Observatory for Human Rights. 2016. "About 600 civilian casualties between 6000 killed by coalition airstrikes in 23 months", August 24.
- Syrian Observatory for Human Rights. 2017. "Successive massacres leave 42 casualties, mostly children and women, increase the death toll in al-Raqqa during the past 8 days to about 170", August 22.
- Syrian Center for Strategic and Political Studies/Syrian Expert House. 2013. Syria Transition Roadmap. Washington, D.C.
- Tabler, Andrew. 2016. "Closing Loopholes in the Proposed U.S.-Russian Agreement on Syria", Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington, D.C., July 14. www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/closing-loopholes-in-the-proposed-u.s.-russian-agreement-on-syria
- Tol, Gonul (2016) "Is Turkey a U.S. Ally Against ISIS?", *New York Times*, August 26.
- Troianovski, Anton and Laurence Norman. 2016. "EU Keeps Stronger Russia Sanctions in Reserve at Syria Talks", *Wall Street Journal*, October 19.
- Turkmani, Rim. 2015. "ISIL, JAN and the war economy in Syria", Civil Society and Human Security Research Unit, LSE (London School of Economics), July 30.
- Turkmani, Rim, Mary Kaldor, Wisam Elhamwi, Joan Ayo and Nael Hariri. 2014. "Hungry for Peace: Positives and Pitfalls of Local Truces and Ceasefires in Syria", Security in Transition, LSE (London School of Economics), October.
- Turkmani, Rim, Ali Ali, Mary Kaldor and Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic. 2015. "Countering the logic of the war economy in Syria; evidence from three local areas", Civil Society and Human Security Research Unit, LSE (London School of Economics), July 30.
- Turkmani, Rim and Mustafa Haid. 2016. "The role of the EU in the Syrian conflict", Human Security Study Group, LSE (London School of Economics)/Friedrich Ebert Stiftung/ERC, February.
- Turton, David. 1997. "Introduction: War and Ethnicity", in David Turton (ed.) *War and Ethnicity: Global Connections and Local Violence*, New York: University of Rochester Press.
- UNDP. 2010. Syrian Arab Republic: "Third National MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) Progress Report".
- UN General Assembly. 2017. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 21 December 2016. International, Impartial and Independent Mechanism to assist in the Investigation and Prosecution of those Responsible for the Most Serious Crimes under International Law committed in the Syrian Arab Republic since March 2011, January 11.
- UN Security Council. 2014. Resolution 2165 (/en/resolutions/doc/2165), July 14.
- United Nations. 2010. "Syria Drought Response Plan, 2009–2010, mid-term review", February.
- US Department of Defense. 2016a. "Department of Defense Press Briefing by Col. Warren via Teleconference from Baghdad, Iraq", February 17.
- US Department of Defense. 2016b. "Department of Defense Press Briefing by Col. Warren via Teleconference from Baghdad, Iraq", April 20.

- US Department of the Treasury. 2014. Remarks of Under-Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence David S. Cohen at The Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, "Attacking ISIL's Financial Foundation", October 23. www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl2672.aspx
- US Embassy cable, Damascus. 2008. "2008 UN Drought Appeal for Syria", November 26.
- Venugopal, Rajesh. 2009. "The Making of Sri Lanka's Post-Conflict Economic Package and the Failure of the 2001–2004 Peace Process", CRISE working paper no. 64, Oxford University.
- US House of Representatives. 2012. "The Costs and Consequences of the Dodd-Frank Section 1502: Impacts on America and the Congo", Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Monetary Policy and Trade of the Committee on Financial Services. May 10. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-112hhrg75730/html/CHRG-112hhrg75730.htm>
- US House Committee on Armed Services. 2016. Rep Mac Thornberry holds a hearing on understanding and deterring Russia: U.S. Policies and Strategies. Political Transcript Wire, Lanham. February 11.
- Vinograd, Cassandra and Ammar Cheikh Omar. 2014. "Syria, ISIS Have Been 'Ignoring' Each Other on Battlefield, Data Suggests", NBC News, Dec 11.
- Walker, Justine. 2016. "Study on Humanitarian Impact of Syria-Related Unilateral Restrictive Measures", UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), May. <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3114567-Study-on-Humanitarian-Impact-of-Syria-Related.html>
- Washington Post*. 2016. "Approach for Practical Russian-American Cooperation against Daesh and Jabhat al-Nusra and Strengthening the Cessation of Hostilities", US State Department document available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/r/2010-2019/WashingtonPost/2016/07/13/Editorial-Opinion/Graphics/terms_of_reference_for_the_Joint_Implementation_Group.pdf, as of April 27 2017.
- al-Wasl, Zaman. 2016. "Leaked documents: Assad regime recruited agents in ISIS ranks", Syria News, June 3. <https://en.zamanalwsl.net/news/16181.html>
- Wege, Carl. 2015. "Urban and Rural Militia Organizations in Syria's Less Governed Spaces", *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 6, 3, pp. 35–61. <http://jtr.st-andrews.ac.uk/articles/10.15664/jtr.1123/>
- Weiss, Michael and Hassan Hassan. 2015. *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror*, New York: Regan Arts.
- Weissman, Fabrice. 2013. "Three questions to Fabrice Weissman on current humanitarian challenges", MSF-Crash. <https://www.msf-crash.org/en/blog/three-questions-fabrice-weissman-current-humanitarian-challenges>
- Whewell, Tim. 2014. "Anti-terrorism laws 'hinder aid operations'", BBC News, July 1.
- Whole of Syria [WoS]. 2016. "Nutritional Sector Bulletin, January–June 2016", Issue 1.
- Whole of Syria ISG [inter-sector group]. 2017. "Summary of Humanitarian Response Plan Monitoring Report, January–June 2017".
- Wintour, Patrick. 2016a. "Countries not fulfilling pledges to help Syrian refugees, report finds", *Guardian*, May 20.

- Wintour, Patrick. 2016b. "US and UK consider tougher sanctions against Syria and allies", *Guardian*, October 16.
- Wintour, Patrick. 2016c. "British policy has made situation in Syria worse, says former ambassador", *Independent*, December 23.
- World Bulletin/News Desk. 2014. "How ISIS uses Syria's oil to fuel its advances", September 19.
- World Bulletin/News Desk. 2016. "Putin congratulated Assad on retaking Palmyra", March 27.
- Worth, Robert. 2016. "Behind the barricades of Turkey's hidden war", *New York Times Magazine*. May 24.
- UN Security Council. 2016. Report of the UN Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolutions 2139 (2014), 2165 (2014), 2191 (2014) and 2258 (2015). January 21. S/2016/60.
- Yakovenko, Alexander. 2016. "Russia went to Syria to fight terrorists. We are succeeding." *Guardian*. October 16.
- Yazigi, Jihad. 2014. "Syria's War Economy", European Council on Foreign Relations. April.
- Yazigi, Jihad. 2016. "Syria's Implosion: Political and Economic Impacts", in Luigi Narbone, Agnes Favier and Virginie Collombier (eds.) *Inside Wars: Local Dynamics of Conflicts in Syria and Libya*, European University Institute. <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/8908922a-5d8e-4eef-afe4-d242af4175a4/language-en>
- Yesiltas, Murat. 2016. "Turkey's ISIS problem", *The New Turkey*, July 12. [http://thenewturkey.org/turkeys-isis-problem/US embassy cable, Damascus, UN Drought Appeal for Syria](http://thenewturkey.org/turkeys-isis-problem/US%20embassy%20cable,%20Damascus,%20UN%20Drought%20Appeal%20for%20Syria). November 28 2008.
- Zisser, Eyal. 2012. "The 'Struggle for Syria': Return to the Past?", *Mediterranean Politics*, 17, 1, pp. 105–110.