# Supplementary Information for
# "Rhetoric of Civil Conflict Management: UN Security Council Debates over the Syrian Civil War"

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**Abstract**

This document contains supplementary information for "Rhetoric of Civil Conflict Management: UN Security Council Debates over the Syrian Civil War".

# A   Dictionary

Table A.1: Example snippets, all scoring either ± or 0 using the basic logistic scaling. Words from the positive ends (struggle/procedure) of the dimensions highlighted in blue, from the negative ends (crime/action) in red.

| | Crime vs. Struggle | Action vs. Procedure |
|---|---|---|
| + | "But one should not ignore the fact that for a long time now they have been fighting not unarmed men, but combat units, including the so-called Free Syrian Army and extremist groups, including Al-Qaida, which have recently committed a series of murderous terrorist acts. If our absolute priority and sincere wish is to immediately put an end to the violence and provide humanitarian assistance to the civilian population, then at this stage we should not be talking about who started the conflict, but rather discuss realistic and feasible approaches that would allow us to achieve a ceasefire as a priority. From the outset our approach has been clear and consistent, aimed at finding an early solution to the Syrian crisis without violence, through Syrian-led inclusive political dialogue and the implementation of long-due reforms. The following five principles of settlement that Russia and the League of Arab States agreed upon on 10 March are based on that same spirit first, the end of violence on the part of all sides; secondly, an impartial monitoring mechanism; thirdly, no outside interference; fourthly, unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance to all Syrians; and, fifthly, strong support for Kofi Annan's mission aimed at launching political dialogue between the Government and all opposition groups, as mandated by the terms of reference endorsed by the Secretary-General and the Arab League. On that basis, we are prepared to agree to a Security Council resolution, as we were ready to do last autumn when our draft resolution was put forth." <br><br> Russia on 12 March 2012 | "On the basis of this position, China actively participated in the consultations on resolution 2209 (2015) and vigorously pushed for consensus among the relevant parties. We hope that the relevant parties will implement resolution 2209 (2015) in an earnest, comprehensive and precise manner. Any further actions taken by the Council on the Syrian chemical weapons issue should be separately discussed and decided upon by Council members. We hope that resolution 2209 (2015) will help to fostering further Council consensus on the Syrian chemical weapons, facilitate the early completion of the destruction of Syrian chemical weapons, and provide new impetus for a political settlement of the Syrian issue. China will continue to play its active and constructive role towards a comprehensive, lasting and appropriate solution of the Syrian issue..." <br><br> China on 6 March 2015 |
| 0 | "China is deeply saddened by the situation and sympathizes with the plight of the Syrian people. China supports the efforts of the United Nations humanitarian agencies in undertaking relief activities and coordinating international assistance in Syria, on the basis of respect for Syrian sovereignty. We call on the parties in Syria to honour their respective obligations and to effectively implement resolution 2258 (2015) and all previous resolutions of the Security Council so as to ensure that cross-border relief can make a real difference in easing the suffering of the Syrian people. At present, fighting terrorism is the highest priority of the international community. We hope that the international community will give full consideration to the need to combat terrorism in delivering cross-border relief, and that it will form synergies in the fight against terrorism." <br><br> China on 22 December 2015 | "In accordance with the priorities as decided by the host countries, the international community should extend targeted support, to match the needs of the host countries, with an eye on coordination. The assistance efforts of the international community should abide by the guiding principles of the United Nations on humanitarian relief, while respecting the will of the host countries. China calls upon the donors to promptly honour their commitments in full so as to mitigate the pressures resulting from the shortage of funds facing the United Nations. Secondly, pushing for a political solution to the Syrian question is the fundamental way out. The international community should unswervingly pursue a political solution, give full play to the mediation of the United Nations as the main channel, and lend full support to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, and his Special Envoy, Mr. Staffan de Mistura, in their mediation efforts, while promoting an immediate end to hostilities and violence among the Syrian parties." <br><br> China on 24 April 2015 |
| — | "According to UNICEF, 384 children have been murdered. There are 15,000 prisoners, 15,000 refugees and daily torture. I have long called some of the regime's actions crimes against humanity. The international commission of inquiry of the Human Rights Council corroborates that view. Beyond the statistics, the faces of children tortured, the bodies of women violated and the thousands of human victims of repression should guide our actions." <br><br> France on 31 January 2012 | "It was needed because the tragedy continues in Syria, with a record that has progressively deteriorated for more than three years, claiming more than 170,000 victims, and causing more than 10 million Syrians to flee the violence or to require assistance. It was needed because the United Nations humanitarian agencies and their implementing partners could do more and better if the Syrian regime did not arbitrarily close its borders, set up an ever-increasing number of bureaucratic obstacles to the distribution of humanitarian aid, or restrict the flow of assistance to prevent it from reaching areas controlled by the opposition. Resolution 2165 (2014) will allow for all of that to change, concretely, at least for some of those who do not receive the assistance they could and should receive. It reiterates some fundamental principles of humanitarian action, including the principle that assistance must be distributed without prejudice and without political motivation. It reiterates one of the main demands contained in resolution 2139 (2014), which is that assistance must be delivered by the most direct routes, be it through the front lines or across borders from neighbouring countries." <br><br> France on 14 July 2014 |

# B  Basic Logistic Scaling

Under logistic scaling due to Lowe et al. (2011)

$$\theta = \log \frac{W^{(+)} + a}{W^{(-)} + a},$$

where $\theta$ is the document position, $W^{(+)}$ is the document count of words associated with the positive end of the dimension and $W^{(-)}$ with the negative end, and $a$ a smoothing constant to prevent zeros. Following conventions, we use an $a$ of 0.5.

Figure B.1: Logistic scaling. Lines show loess smoothing of positions by country.

The position calculated with this method are shown in Figure B.1. The dotted lines summarize the positions by country using simple loess smoothing. Overall, the findings from the simple logistic scaling are substantively similar to those from the more nuanced time-series model.

# C Supplementary Summaries from the Bayesian Model

This subsection contains supplementary summaries from the Bayesian time-series model. Figure C.2 shown the average state positions on the two dimensions including the 50% and 95% intervals. Figures C.4 and C.5 show the P5 positions including the 50% and 95% intervals. Figures C.6 and C.7 show the trajectories on the two dimensions of all the 37 states.

Figure C.2: Mean state positions on the dimensions. Thick lines indicate 50% and thin 95% intervals. Some intervals truncated.

Figure C.3: Correlations between the two dimensions by meeting. Thick lines indicate 50% and thin lines 95% intervals.

Figure C.4: P5 positions on the "human rights violations" dimension.

Figure C.5: P5 positions on the "anti/pro intervention" dimension.

Figure C.6: State positions on the "human rights violations" dimension. Posterior medians.

Figure C.7: State positions on the "anti/pro intervention" dimension. Posterior medians.

# References

Lowe, W., Benoit, K., Mikhaylov, S. & Laver, M. (2011), 'Scaling policy preferences from coded political

   texts', *Legislative Studies Quarterly* **36**(1), 123–155.