

# ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ

## RUSSIAN ROLE IN THE SYRIAN CRISIS

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## РОЛЬ РОССИИ В СИРИЙСКОМ КРИЗИСЕ

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### ABSTRACT

This paper examines the Russian role in Syria since the beginning of the crisis, by dividing it into three stages, which varied according to the tools and objectives and the nature of Russia's relations with other powers. The paper believes that, despite Russia's adoption of strategic goals, Its ambitious vision faces great challenges, a growing Western challenge in its management of the Syrian game rules, challenges to its management of the contradictions of the Astana track, and the consequences of the growing regional confrontation between Iran and Israel in Syria.

### Introduction

Since the outbreak of the Syrian uprising in March 2011, the League of Arab States, the United States and the European Union have exerted various pressures on the regime of President Bashar al-Assad, through the Council of Arab Foreign Ministers, the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. All these efforts have not succeeded in stopping the bloodshed because of the Russian and Chinese "joint" support for President al-Assad, and the repeated use of the veto to disrupt several international resolutions condemning the regime's use of excessive military force to crush the intifada.

Moscow, because of its positions in support of the Syrian regime, has been strongly criticized by Western and Arab countries. Both Saudi Arabia and Qatar have been accused of issuing "leave" to the regime to kill innocent civilians. On the other hand, Moscow is undoubtedly aware of the results of its continued support for the regime and that it will ultimately isolate it at the Arab and international levels.

The decision of the Russian leadership to provide this diplomatic and military support to the regime raises a number of questions about the reasons and motives for continuing this policy: What are the objectives that Moscow intends to achieve in Syria, and through it? How long can Moscow continue to stand in opposition to international and Arab will? What are the motives for Russian intransigence? Do these motives stem from clear strategic interests or are they the result of deep disagreements with Washington over strategic issues of balance of power and the role that Russia aspires to play in international politics? How long can Moscow continue to play this role in the field of international legality? How can Moscow engage in persuading it to change its current position on the regime?

We will try, through this research, to answer all the questions related to the Russian position on the Syrian crisis

### 1- Determinants of the Russian role in the Syrian crisis

President Bashar al-Assad has spoken more than once about the importance of the alliance he established with President Vladimir Putin since 2007, with time we see that this alliance has been of benefit to both countries during the threats they face.

During our study of the role of Russia in the Syrian conflict we will talk about the dangers facing both countries.

First, we must talk about political Islam, especially radical Islamic terrorism.

"Russian air raids on Syria are protecting Russia from terrorist threats," said former Russian President Dmitry Medvedev.

He spoke about Russia before Syria and it was clear in his words. This was an important message, despite the objections of Russia's opponents and their assertion that it came to protect Bashar al-Assad and hit the opposition, but it is clear that Syria and Russia were in the same position in their battle. Against radical Islam.

President al-Assad continued to fight the Muslim Brotherhood as enemies. The radical Islam also worried Putin. Putin's idea of eradicating terrorism in its first launching regions, which would help strike him in the Middle East and the Gulf, would be a bulwark against extremism. "The decline in Syria also means a retreat in the face of insurgencies that could erupt in the former Soviet sphere, especially in Uzbekistan and the Caucasus," says Pirm Bilsey, a political scientist at the Institute for European Studies in Russia. Akhoston and Azerbaijan, Bmanh said Moscow fears that the Arab world reach the Islamization of the Islamic republics in

Central Asia, infection and even to the Russian Federation, and therefore Moscow need to find them in support of the Syrian state as well. "

And the danger here is that the Syrian war revealed many Chechen leaders among the militants, Russia began accusing the States and the Gulf and Turkish associations to encourage the Chechen terrorist extremism and others, and the Chechen president to blame Sheikh Yusuf Qaradawi, who said that Russia is the enemy of Islam, Qadeerf said in an official statement: Above all, these statements are directed against the Muslims of Russia, who are citizens of this country. They were born here, and here they live and the fate of this country means them. "

The second danger:

Since President Bashar al-Assad took over power in Syria and through events in the region and in Syria he was somehow convinced that America and the Atlantic States are working to create conspiracies against Syria. On the other hand, President Vladimir Putin is worried about the expansion of Turkish Territory the Syrian border, when Turkey submitted a request to NATO to deploy Patriot missiles on its border with Syria, immediately said Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Alexander Lukashovich said on 21/11/2012 "The militarization of the Syrian border is a disturbing signal, and such moves do not increase optimism In a quick political solution to the Syrian crisis ".

That Turkey's request was met with welcome from Western countries, and the Turkish President Abdullah Gul confirmed earlier that the talks with the northern alliance of the Atlantic on the deployment of these missiles, and that his country's right to possess all kinds of weapons to defend itself. "

Despite this tension, it did not, of course, prevent the exchange of visits between President Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdogan and raise the level of trade relations that the countries aspire to reach to 100 billion dollars. Third Threat: Oil ambitions and gas pipeline war

Oil pipelines have been a historic cause of tension between the United States and Russia. Successive US administrations have always sought to find an alternative to Russian oil reaching Europe.

The United States encouraged the Nabucco project, which runs from Central Asia (Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan), through Turkey to reach the EU countries from the eastern side of Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Austria, Czech Republic, Croatia, Slovenia and Italy. The goal was clear against Russia. The Nabucco project aims first of all to cut off the Russian pipeline, mainly North Stream, which links Russia to the EU, specifically Germany, and South Stream, the link between Russia and southern Europe, namely Italy, Greece and Central Europe.

We will now study Syria's relationship with this danger

According to former French Ambassador Michele Rimbaud, the importance of Syria's position in laying oil and gas pipelines has been revealed and that the passage of oil and gas from the Gulf in Iran, Qatar and US and Russian companies to Europe should pass through

the Syrian territories, In particular, the Washington Institute for Middle East Policy, which is linked to the most influential Jewish lobby in the United States, has discovered that the Syrian territory includes huge oil reserves as well as neighboring countries where Israel began to extract gas in 2009 and the war began.

We must also know that Qatar also needs to ensure the export of its gas to Europe to counter Russian and Iranian competition, and tried very hard to get a pipeline through Syria.

"The Syrian revolution was planned with the help of the Syria Democracy Program, funded by a non-governmental organization linked to the CIA, and the aggression on Syria has been programmed since the summer of 2001. It is important to remember that Dennis Ross, And the neo-conservatives, Barack Obama's special adviser to Hillary Clinton is behind the idea of making the Syrian National Council opposition to the first interlocutor for the West. "

"Since the first confrontations, they have been radical Muslim Brotherhood activists, and immediately became under US and Turkish guardianship. They were subjected to the orders of Sheikh Adnan al-Ar'ur, the extremist preacher, and obsessed with the idea of killing President Bashar al-Assad. "

With the rise of Russian western rivalry and the return of Russia under the leadership of President Vladimir Putin as a strong international player, gas forecasts have emerged to predict huge quantities of this wealth in the Mediterranean. Through this prediction Nabucco project has been able to achieve enormous achievements if it benefited from this gas in the sea The Mediterranean coast on the coasts of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel and Cyprus, even if it passes through some of the territories of these countries, especially Syria.

There have been many temptations to President Bashar al-Assad to move away from the Russian ally and accept gas proposals came especially from Qatar and Saudi Arabia to extend gas pipelines to Europe across the Syrian territory and dispense with the Strait of Hormuz and the Suez Canal.

And that this plan is old and that is to be removed the corridors, and not from Russian gas, but only gaseous passages that come from Asia, for example, or from Iran or through Russia, and go these gaseous corridors across friendly countries in the Mediterranean.

In the context of the goals on Syria was also clarified in a book writer Sami clip quoting French writer Jean-Pierre Astefal that in the hunt for energy and sources after that Syria rid of the anti-regime (for America) and is instead about a friend of the United States, the US government, is a favorite event of the United States, so that the control of a region rich Bmasad energy and recent discoveries, which predict a golden age, it was for the United States a real geopolitical opportunity, and that the geographical situation of Syria is perfect, so that Syria is the only outlet to the wealth of wells energy, the existence of Iraq Poor and torn by war Sectarianism and was also the door to Iran's hostile wealth, which for the United States of America should be subjected to quickly. All these basic geographical reasons can never be ruled out, and are

stronger than those inspired by the defense of human rights.

Qatar and Saudi Arabia have tried to extend the gas pipeline through Syria, but Syria, despite all the offers and temptations, chose the gas alliance with Iraq and Iran. Qatar, Turkey and Israel considered this Iranian-Syrian project very concerned because it would be independent on the way to Europe, while Europe was working to diversify its sources and reduce the dependence on Russian gas, and the United States was supervised by the support of its allies Turkey, Israel and Qatar to weaken the adversaries Russia and Iran, we note through the study that The survival of the Syrian state and the restoration of its control over Kam If Syria, with the support of the United States of America, wants to reduce dependence on Russian gas, after the return of Syria under the leadership of President Bashar al-Assad and an Iranian-Iraqi-Syrian alliance means that Europe will depend on gas and oil from these countries as well. , Which are Russia's allies in the region, and remains the dream of keeping Russia away from the international arena with the clear progress of this alliance.

#### **To the Russian position on the Syrian crisis**

Syria is Russia's strategic ally in the Middle East and has strategic ties that have been in the two countries since the reign of President Hafez al-Assad. During his reign he focused on developing a strategic relationship with Russia as one of the most strategic permanent partnerships in the Middle East. To restore Russia's status as a superpower, and to put Russia as a counterweight to the West in the Middle East.

From this point of view, Syria is one of the most important sites in the region for Russia, and it has a strategic importance for Putin. Since the beginning of the crisis, Russia has been working to prevent any military intervention in Syria or to impose further sanctions against it. Military intervention it was to further American hegemony in the region, it was clear through the meetings of the Security Council and the lifting of the Russian veto against US decisions to take military intervention in Syria was clear Russia's strong position against any intervention in Russia knows that behind the American ambitions and impose control After the overthrow of the ruling regime , As happened in Iraq, so Russia has also delayed the Arab initiatives, regional and international for issuance in the Security Council through the use of the right of veto.

We must also focus on some of Russia's interests in Syria:

The Middle East is the second largest market for Russian arms exports before the so-called Arab Spring. Syria, Libya and Algeria were the biggest clients of Russian military equipment.

From Russia's point of view, Syria's position is a conspiracy by Western countries, led by the United States of America, to distance it from the emerging energy regions of the Mediterranean. Russia knows that the power of oil and the rise in global prices have helped Russia to restore its regional role through its financial and economic potential , And the great international interest in Syria today to discover its new wealth in many oil fields on the Syrian coast and near the Lebanese border, and Russia also recognizes the desire of

the United States of America to build the Qatari gas pipeline through Syria to Europe in an attempt to prevent E. European countries' dependence on Russian gas.

It also has political interests in Syria:

The Russians are certain that the departure of President Bashar al-Assad will make Syria an ally of the United States or chaos and civil war. In both cases, Russia will lose a reliable ally, since President Putin became president to rebuild relations between Russia and its allies in the Middle East, Syria, Libya, Iraq and Iran were at the heart of this axis, through which Russia sought to balance US hegemony in the region.

Strategic interests: There are strategic readings and calculations to support President Bashar al-Assad. Russia sees Assad's departure as a prelude to overthrowing the Iranian regime. This will affect Russia's role as a major force in the new international balance. From Iraq and the withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Russia sent warplanes to Syria after a formal invitation from the Syrian authorities and launched military operations on 30 September 2015 against terrorists, Russia decided to intervene after an invitation from Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, so it was based on international law, according to official data, Moscow is fighting terrorism in Syria is clear to us This intervention has some clear objectives for Russia, where Russia wants:

- Supporting its only ally in the Arab world
- Reducing the status of the American superpower and restoring Russia as world powers
- The stability of the Middle East to help maintain the stability of the North Caucasus,

The victory of Russia with the pro-Assad camp is also preferable for political and economic reasons. This victory will strengthen the power of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. Russian influence will expand in the Middle East, especially since about 50 percent of the world's oil reserves in this region It is also clear to us that Russia wants to become a party that cannot be ignored in potential future energy projects, knowing that energy issues are important for Russia, where 60 percent of budget revenues stem from exports of natural gas and oil, . For Russia it is useful because it eliminates the rivals of the Middle East and maintains Russia's domination over European energy supplies. There is also a political solution to the survival of the Syrian regime, which makes Russia not only active in the Soviet Sphere but also in the Middle East through allies whose role and weight in the region, especially in Syria and Iran, regime change in Syria could lead to a person who would not be loyal to Russia and could lead to the closure of Russian military bases in Tartous and Hameim. Britain, America and the country's Islamic know this well, those countries will strengthen their influence in Syria, can understand that also gives activity in Syria in addition to Russia's place world by rebuilding their influence in the traditional areas of activity.

#### **The conclusion**

Despite the importance of trade and political relations between Russia and Syria, and despite the importance of the Tartous naval base for the Russian fleet

on the Mediterranean, Russia's "hardened" attitude towards the Syrian crisis is largely related to the complex relations between Russia and European countries and the United States, : Missile shield, disarmament, human rights issues and the Iranian nuclear issue, as well as the legacy of US interventions in countries close to Russia.

In addition to the whole record of disagreements with the West, President Putin has a desire to regain Russia's role as a key player in the Middle East and international geopolitics. He tries to exploit President Obama's weaknesses, especially his refusal to use any form of military force to resolve regional conflicts, the diplomatic approach to help find solutions, which, according to Obama's doctrine, remains the responsibility of regional powers.

The Russian concerns generated by the Western military intervention in Libya cannot be ignored. The generalization of this intervention will include Syria, which will open the door for Western military intervention in the geographical surroundings near Russia. It also opens the possibility that Iran is targeted after Syria, especially since Russia has strategic ties and interests with it, so it can not accept to lose its allies in the Middle East: Iran and Syria.

Russia understands that its success in preventing any Western military intervention inside Syria for humanitarian reasons will prolong the life of the Assad regime, but this will not protect it from fragmentation and fall in the future. It is well aware that regional and international geopolitics will not allow President Assad to play any role in leading Syria. In the future. From here, Russia's hardening of support for the regime is only a way to gain time for Moscow until a political dialogue is established that believes Russian interests in Syria and the region.

Some Russian leaders have issued statements asserting that Moscow does not hold the lion's eye, and senior Russian sources have said that the date of Assad's departure from power has not been stopped, but

such an assessment of the weakness of the regime has not prevented the shipment of Russian arms and ammunition to the regime.

Russia can not stop its support for the Syrian regime because such a move would expose Iran to more pressures and risks, especially in terms of threatening its influence in Iraq, Lebanon and the Gulf region. To push Iran into a defensive position would be in the interests of the United States and its regional allies.

Russian diplomacy has begun to feel that it has reached as far as it can do through the diplomacy of reluctance it has adopted to prevent Western intervention in Syria, that it cannot continue with this rigid policy and that there is a possibility to face the threat of Arab and international isolation. This reinforces the belief that Russia now strongly wants to create a platform for dialogue between the Syrian government and the opposition. This is indicated by her invitation to Ahmed Moat Khatib to visit Moscow, and show willingness to host the dialogue, and the round of talks between Lavrov and John Kerry positive, and can be built on them in order to find common ground to facilitate cooperation in the future.

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### SYRIAN CRISIS, THE KEY INTERNATIONAL PLAYERS IN THE CRISIS

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### СИРИЙСКИЙ КРИЗИС, КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ ИГРОКИ В КРИЗИСЕ

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#### ABSTRACT

This article examines the international conflict in Syria, who are the main players in this conflict, and clarifying the objectives of the major countries of this strong conflict in this region, after using all kinds of weapons in this conflict and using media, money and religion.

And the participation of regional and international countries to send soldiers and the construction of military bases in Syria must be studied and analyzed what the purpose of each country and what you want in Syria.

#### Introduction

Events are intensifying around and inside Syria. It has become clear that Syria is the center of a fierce global conflict that uses all kinds of firearms, media, finance and religion. The importance of Syria as an international strategic decision stems mainly from its geographical location in the north of Israel and its being the main gate for Iran to the world after the imposition

of the Western siege on Iran. Syria's importance lies in its mediation of the most important economic zone in the world market and its representation as a locomotive that could shake the world's richest oil and gas countries Today

Eight years ago there were 23 million people living in Syria, as many as 12 million are now gone. More than 500,000 have been killed, 7.6 million have fled