

**T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**RUSSIA SYRIA POLICY AS UN SECURITY
COUNCIL PERMANENT MEMBER**

**THESIS
Meryem GULNAR**

**Department of Political Science and International Relations
Political Science and International Relations Program**

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İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ



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Date of Defense : .../.../2019

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original of this thesis. (/ /2019)

Meryem GULNAR



DEDICATION

My beloved parents; Mr. MAHMUT GÜLNAR and Mrs.HAYRİYE GÜLNAR , wonderful supervisor; Assist. Prof. Dr. FILİZ KATMAN. I equally wish to extern my gratitude to the following important persons who helped in guiding me though out this research work; First of all, I would like to thank to my thesis supervisor, Assist. Prof. DR. FİLİZ KATMAN Without her continuous support and help, this thesis could not be completed.



FOREWORD

This thesis is written in completion of Master's Program in Political Science and International Relations, at Istanbul Aydin University. The research is focused on "Syria Policy of Russia as Permanent Member of The UN Security Council". It tries to analyze Russia's Syria policy with a geopolitical perspective. Russia's interest in the region has a history based on centuries, this thesis therefore illustrates Syria is Russia's main ally in the Middle East policies. Moreover Syria as in the Soviet Union, is also the country that has broken the geopolitical thought of Russia in the period of Vladimir Putin.

If I stumbled several times without falling, it was because I leaned on a handful of individuals and groups to whom I am deeply indebted. My profound appreciation goes to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN, whose ideas; criticisms, guidance, encouragement and devotion spurred me, and gave the shape and form of this study. Despite her very charged commitments, she created appropriate time to guide me, read carefully through my manuscript, made necessary corrections and observations, making sure I was on the right tract.

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Meryem GULNAR

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ABBREVIATIONS

APEC	: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ECO	: Economic Cooperation Organization
EFTA	: European Free Trade Agreement
EU	: European Union
GATT	: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
ICAO	: International Civil Aviation Organization
ILO	: International Labour Organization
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
NAFTA	: North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organizations
OAS	: Organization of American States
OAU	: Organization of African Unity
OECD	: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSCE	: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNSC	: United Nations Security Council
US	: United States
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	: Western European Union
WHO	: World Health Organization
WTO	: World Trade Organization

BİRLEŞMİŞ MİLLETLER GÜVENLİK KONSEYİ DAİMİ ÜYESİ OLARAK RUSYA’NIN SURİYE POLİTİKASI

ÖZET

Bu tez Rusya ve Suriye’nin tarihsel köklerini, işbirliğini, çıkarlarını ve bu çıkarlar doğrultusundaki neticelerinin tüm dünyaya yansımaları araştıran bir çalışmadır. Bu tezde Rusya ile Suriye arasındaki ilişkiler hem Sovyetler Birliği dönemi, hem de Rusya Federasyonu kurulduktan sonraki dönem olarak ele alınmıştır. Rusya ve Suriye arasındaki ilişkiler ise SSCB’nin ilk zamanlarından beri başarıyla gelişmeye başlamıştır. Bu tezde “Arap Baharı” olarak adlandırılan Mısır ve Tunus ayaklanmalarının başlangıcı ve 2011 yılında bu ayaklanmanın Suriye’ye sıçraması, ayaklanmalara karşı Birleşmiş Milletler olarak ve ayrıca Güvenlik Konseyi üyesi olarak Rusya ve diğer daimi üyelerin izlemiş olduğu politikalar irdelenmiştir. Bu tezin temel argümanı; tüm dünyada yankı uyandıran Suriye krizinin temel nedenlerinin ne olduğu, Esad’ın sahip olduğu gücün kaynağını, Rusya’nın bölgedeki rolünü ve göz ardı edemeyeceği çıkarlarının neler olduğunu realizmin sunduğu kuramsal pencereden ı ışık tutarak ortaya koymaktır. SSCB’nin dağılması sonrası Rusya’nın yaşadığı kaos ve hayal kırıklığının izleri Vladimir Putin döneminde büyük ölçüde silinmiştir. Putin döneminde artan petrol ve gaz gelirleri ile Rusya’nın ticareti artmış; halkın hayat standardı yükselmiştir. Rusya’nın artan ekonomik gücü dış politikaya yeni ufuklar çizmiştir ve dış politikada güce dayalı politika izlemiştir. Esad rejimine verdiği desteğin temel nedeni ise hem ekonomik, hem de siyasi açıdan bölgedeki gücünü özellikle Batı’ya karşı korumaya çalışmasıdır. Aynı zamanda 2015 Suriye krizi ile Rusya artık sadece kendi bölgesinde değil, dünyanın herhangi bir yerinde kendi çıkarlarını ilgilendiren konularda, küresel bir güç olarak olaylara müdahil olabileceğini göstermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Birleşmiş Milletler, Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi, Realizm, Rusya, Suriye.*

SYRIA POLICY OF RUSSIA AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the historical roots, cooperation and interests of Russia and Syria and their reflections to the world. In this thesis, relations between Russia and Syria are considered as the period after the establishment of both the Soviet Union period and the Russian Federation. Relations between Russia and Syria have started to develop successfully since the early days of the USSR. Topics discussed in the thesis are the beginning of the Egyptian and Tunisian uprisings called the Arab Spring and the rise of this uprising to Syria in 2011. In addition the policies of the United Nations about these uprisings and the policies of Russia as the permanent member of the Security Council. The main argument of this thesis is that the main reasons of the Syrian crisis that reverberate all over the world, the source of the power of Assad, the role of Russia in the region and the interests cannot be ignored. Moreover, thesis tries to explain these issues by shedding light from the theoretical window presented by realism. After the disintegration of the USSR, the traces of chaos and frustration experienced by Russia were largely erased during the period of Vladimir Putin. In the period of Putin, Russia's trade increased with increasing oil and gas revenues; living standard of the people has risen. Russia's growing economic power has drawn new horizons for foreign policy and Russia has pursued foreign policy based on power. The main reason for his support for the Assad regime is both economic and political; it tries to protect the region's power especially against the West. At the same time, with the Syrian Crisis of 2015, Russia has now shown that it can intervene as a global power in matters of its own interest not only in its own region, but in any part of the world.

Keywords: *Realism, Russia, Syria, United Nations, United Nations Security Council.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Syria has an old and critical position where various civilizations and cultures pass through their lands and many invasions and events occur. Syria is a long history and culture as well as the current situation is also very interesting and has attracted the attention of the whole world. The academic analysis of the relations between Syria and Russia is one of the important subjects for the scholars who are interested in the political dynamics in the Middle East and specifically in Syria. The cultural and political legacy of Syria in the region is very important. Thus, it has always played an important role in the Middle East especially with regard to long relations with Russia.

The most painful leg of the Arab Spring was Syria. Long-standing riots in Syria have turned into a civil war due to political polarization. The devastating effects of war led to one of the greatest human tragedies in history in the country. Millions of people have fled the country or have been displaced. The situation of immigrants who escaped from the crisis of Syria took the attention of lots of people in the world. Entire world is curious about what will happen to the civil war in Syria. The main objective of this study is to investigate the interests of a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), Russia in Syria. Why Syria is important for Russia and Russian interests in Syria are other questions to be investigated in the study.

While the study was put into practice, the reports, academic articles, the internet and press sources and the official reports were subjected to a detailed screening and the data and evaluations obtained were included in the sections of the study appropriately. In order to verify the accuracy of the data included in the study, many sources were compared in the same subject and the most consistent data were used.

Chapter two deals with aims to provide conceptual and theoretical framework. The main aim of this section is to define the subject and to investigate its place in the social sciences as an academic discipline; to determine the methods and approaches used in international relations studies; and finally, to give a very general history of its development as an academic discipline and to determine its effects on the ways in which international relations are dealt with. It has also addressed the ways in which

states are organized to solve mutual problems in existent in world politics, and have also addressed the reasons that led to the need for the emergence of international institutions. Moreover, it focused on the United Nations (UN) and the objectives and tasks of the Security Council.

Chapter three deals with the historical and socio-cultural structure of Syria. This section, which focuses on the historical process and the demographic structure of the country, gives general information about Syria and aims to shed light on current events. It examines the establishment, adoption and effects of the Baath ideology in Syria, which has a great influence on the shaping of the Arab geography and its policies. First of all, looking at the historical background to understand the behavior and reactions of countries in the international political system makes it easier for us to understand what their purpose is. In 1940, by establishing a single Arab state in the Middle East, the ideology aimed at bringing the dispersed Arab population and geography together with the resurrection theory, has been transformed into an integrated structure with the term Ba'ath. The Ba'ath Party, which constituted the first congress in Damascus in 1947 and was founded in 1953 by the Arab Resurrection Party and the Arab Socialist Party, was organized in a large part of the Arab countries and in countries with Arab communities under the slogan of unity, freedom and socialism.

Chapter four deals with the policy of the Russian Federation on Syria in a historical perspective. In order to understand today's Russian Federation's foreign policy in the outbreak of the Syrian civil war, a good understanding of the historical background of the global two forces is necessary. Russia is in competition with the United States (US), the European Union and the regional powers in the international political system. The Russian Federation has implemented its foreign policy on protecting the Russian interests in Syria. Russia took part in Bashar al-Assad in the Syrian civil war. The "Arab Spring", which emerged in the Arab countries in 2010, revealed important political results in Middle Eastern politics.

It is not possible to understand the international politics, war, economy, diplomacy and strategy in the Arab Spring without understanding the Russian Federation's historical interest and policy in the Middle East and Syria. Russian Federation's quiet and deeply moving diplomacy capability towards the Middle East and its historical background will make it easier for us to understand Russia's policy towards the Middle East and Syria. Russia remained the most influential state at the beginning of the regime, providing political support to Syria. Russia's choice to stand in the current Syrian regime is very interesting and offers an important opportunity to identify some motivating factors that have led Russia to stand up in the Assad-led regime. Both countries have common interests in their international relations. These interests include economic and social interests, military interests and strategic considerations. The next chapters will discuss the Syrian-Russian relationship in more detailed way.

In conclusion, it is argued that the Russian Federation showed the US and NATO that it is a global and regional power with the Syrian civil war intervention. Russia's intervention in the Middle East with Syria's foreign policy has affected the balance in the region. Russia used diplomacy in Syria as well as military power and especially vetoed the resolutions of Syria in the United Nations Security Council. The assumptions were made by analyzing the attitude of Russia and other powers on Syria. It is an analytical paper and qualitative research is used. This study provides a detailed overview of the past, present and future of the Syrian civil war with an analytical approach. The foreign policy of Russia and the policy conducted in the civil war in the Syrian taking advantage of valuable books, articles and studies was tried to analyze the approach. Data are collected from primary sources such as official statements, press bulletins, official web sites and secondary sources such as books, articles, reports, newspapers, analysis etc.

2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, REALISM

2.1 Conceptual Framework

2.1.1 International relations

As a scientific field of study, International Relations discipline emerged immediately after the First World War. But the inception of modern international relations as a form of relationship is accepted as the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. The emergence of the main norms and procedures governing the interstate relations between states and the modern international system, which are the founding subject of relations, have been addressed by the Treaty of Westfalen. The general acceptance in the study of International Relations is in this direction. The concept of international was used for the first time in the study “An Introduction to the Morals and Legislation” written by Jeremy Bentham in 1780 but published in 1789. Since the end of the 18th century, the concept used in conjunction with international law has been used in the context of international relations. It can be said that the international relations as far as the interaction of the different units extend to Ancient Greece and even before, but have a history of about three centuries in the modern sense (Özlük, 2014, p. 103).

It was only after World War I that a systematic and scientific study of the international relations that emerged in the 17th century as a phenomenon, and the emergence of new concepts and theories as a new academic discipline. After this first world war, the leaders of the victorious states, some European and American intellectuals, thinkers and politicians questioned the causes of the war. The first academic views on the question of why states fought each other, how these wars could be prevented, or how to ensure a lasting peace between states emerged in the interwar period (1919-1939). Many scholar have published works related to these questions and have put forward a series of ideas, suggestions, plans and projects. Sir Alfred Zimmerman, S. H. People like Bailey, Philip Noel-Baker and David Mitrany, and Woodrow Wilson, James T. Shotwell, Pitman Potter and Parker T. Moon in the United States were actually united

around a common theme or "theory" . This theme / theory was later called Idealism in the International Relations discipline. Idealism was a theory formed by the ideas put forward during the interwar period in the context of a peaceful arrangement of world politics. It played a leading role in the birth of the discipline of International Relations. In a sense, the discipline of International Relations was born into the lap of idealist theory (Gözen ve Özpek, 2016, pp. 67-68).

In terms of the emergence of the discipline of International Relations, the First World War has been a very important turning point. After this war, to prevent such a catastrophe, the studies were intensified and lessons learned. The lessons learned focused mainly on the management of countries through authoritarian and anti-democratic methods and the inadequacy of international mechanisms to address disputes. The necessity of reforming at national and international levels was on the agenda. It was emphasized the necessity of democratization in the national field and emergence of open diplomacy instead of secret diplomacy in the international arena. International law was strengthened and international institutions were formed (Eralp, 2016, pp. 61-62).

The general understanding of the history of the discipline of International Relations is that the idea of international relations has historically been very old. It is stated that the history of international relations dates back to the 5th century BC by referring to the Peloponnesian Wars written by Thukydides, and then thinkers such as Machiavelli, Hobbes, Rousseau, Kant and Hegel are the main sources of reference for the idea of international relations. But inter-state relations have never been a priority issue for anybody until the 20th century. Until the twentieth century, it is seen that thought is usually produced on political history, state theories or social changes. However, Kant's idea of the international community, Rousseau's proposal for the European federation for permanent peace, and Hugo Grotius's expansions on interstate law have provided an intellectual basis for the theory of international relations. The works which can be accepted as the theory of international relations directly emerged in the 20th century and with the process of theorization, the discipline of international relations was also formed (Weber, 2014).

In the second half of the 19th century, it became more evident when each nation's right to acquire its own government emerged. This right is mentioned in the Charter of the League of Nations, in which the term State was replaced by the nation at the beginning

of the 20th century. Since the League of Nations was the first important international organization, the link between the state and the nation was established (Karabulut, 2014, p. 61).

This new view was expressed in the program of relationships between the Great Powers after the end of World War I by US President Woodrow Wilson (1913-21). Open peace agreements were adopted instead of secret agreements believed to contribute to the outbreak of war. The extreme destruction caused by the war has strengthened the belief that international relations between political leaders are not well-informed and that education centers must promote research and teaching on international cooperation and the issues about war and peace. (Jackson and Sorensen, 2007).

International Relations is related to the relations between the borders of nation-states. It deals with international political economy, global governance,, national and ethnic identities, foreign policy issues, development studies, environmental issues, international security, diplomacy, terrorism, media, social movements etc. Not restricting to single approach; discourse analysis is a multidisciplinary field that uses various methods such as statistics and comparative and historical analysis (Aydın, 1996, p. 23).

- **Basic Concepts of International Relations**

Power : In international relations, ability to have access to resources (military and economic), ability is defined as the magnitude of impact on the interstate system and is measured through them. It is usually divided into solid power and light power. Solid force defines military capability, while light power defines economy, diplomacy and cultural influence.

Polarization : Means the order of power within the international system. The concept was coined in the bipolar world order, where two superpowers were in contention, especially during the Cold War. Within the framework of this concept, the pre-1945 system is called multi-polar because the power is shared by the big states. Similarly, in the USSR 's 1991 dissolution, the US' single superpower system is called the unipolar system by many academicians.

Dependence : That is, mutual responsibility and dependence on one another is, in the opinion of the majority, the character of the international system. The advocates of this view point to globalization, particularly economic relations, and the international

principle that the main principle of the international system is the acceptance of the role of international organizations and the adoption of certain principles of international relations.

- Basic Tools of International Relations

Diplomacy is the exercise and use of negotiations between states by means of representatives (Ari, 2017, p. 49). In a way, all other tools of international relations are employed as a result of the failure of diplomacy.

Sanction is one of the significant tools for forcing the first methods that are applied when diplomacy does not work. Several sanctions can be performed in diplomatic and economic forms, and include the breakdown of diplomatic relations, putting economic barriers and embargoes.

War or use of force, is considered the last resort in international relations. In today's world, war is not only between states. It is studied in the disciplines of war studies and strategic studies.

International information can be seen as an instrument of the relations between the nation-states. It is a way of lowering the dignity of states by publicizing the crimes committed by a state at the international level. One example is the UN's exposure to human rights violations by the Human Rights Commission's 1235 procedure.

International relations is a sub-field of political science and it is an interdisciplinary research area that analyzes the relations between the actors in the international system, especially the states which are considered as the main actors of international relations, with other states, international/regional/intergovernmental organizations, multinational companies, international rules and the international society. Because it is an interdisciplinary discipline, it benefits from many different disciplines such as political science, economics, , law, philosophy, sociology, psychology, history, geography and anthropology.

It is a discipline that examines the relations of the actors in the international system, in particular those considered as the main actors of international relations, with other states, international regional intergovernmental organizations, multinational companies, international norms and the international community. The field of study of International Relations is very broad. Globalization and the affect of this phenomenon on international society and state sovereignty, international development, sustainable

development, nuclear propagation, global terrorism, organized crime, nationalism, ideologies, human rights, environmental issues, security issues and human trafficking.

2.1.2 International organizations

The issue of organizations is one of the most dynamic, dynamic as well as controversial issues of the International Relations discipline (Archer, 2001, pp. 6-8). The dynamic structure is seen in the order in both qualitative and quantitative terms. On the one hand their number is rapidly increasing, while on the other hand, they are one of the main engines of a gigantic process that points to a systemic change such as globalization. In this respect, there is a double relationship between systemic structures and major parts (international organizations). From one aspect, organizations play their role as an explicit subject of the system and the structural change process, and, on the other, they appear to be the passive objects of the same process. In fact, there is an undeniable symbiotic relationship between the international system and the organizations, as is evident in the globalization process. In the first hand organizations support the system that gives birth and makes them live; In fact, in terms of continuity they are able to close the deficits of the system, take part in the solution of the structural problems, and even the system can be the protesters. However, organizations are not just parasitic organs of the system. In time they become an autonomous entity that changes the system, participates in change, transforms and transforms. With these aspects, they constitute one of the indispensable actors of international relations and in particular international politics and foreign policy issues.

In order to solve the primary problems in the international system, there became a need for the emergence of international organizations. International organizations emerged in the second half of the 19th century. From this era onwards, there were two important developments that affected international society, especially at the beginning of the twentieth century: Firstly, international solidarity, especially economic interdependence became mandatory for the states to keep their existence, the second was the changing of the qualities of the wars and the work for peace (Özkan, 2019). International organizations established by bilateral or multilateral treaties signed between states have emerged as a result of increasing cooperation needs in the international system. Unlike international non-governmental organizations, only nation-states can become members of international organizations. International

organizations, also called intergovernmental organizations came into-being as a consequence of the idea of ensuring and protecting peace and security through international cooperation. The League of Nations established at the end of World War I was intended to serve such purposes. The purpose of the organization in question is to solve similar conflicts with such mechanisms as well as the protection of the post-war order. This approach, which forms the basis of idealist theory, is the founding philosophy of similar organizations that emerged later. This approach has been criticized for not being able to prevent the emergence of World War II and left its place to realist theory (Archer, 2015, p. 11).

Mutual dependence : The increase was also due to the International Organizations (Aydın, 1996). In international organizations there are at least two states. You act as a sovereign state. This is valid not only for the state, but also for the statesmen.

Formation of International Law : Organizations play important roles. The founding treaties of organizations are the rule of international law. Its own decisions and agreements make a critical contribution to international law. The contribution of each organization to international law is in the rate of power. For example, EU rules are critical for the state, while UN and Security Council decisions are of interest to the whole world. States have certain interests as members of organizations. International organizations are quite important to serve the goals of states in foreign policy conduct as well.

Diplomacy and Negotiation Culture : Multilateral relations were held at conferences and congresses before international organizations were established. However, after the foundation of international organizations, such meetings started to be held more regularly and in a systematic way. This has been very influential in the expansion of the culture of diplomacy and bargaining.

Multilateralism and openness : In the past, bilateral relations were the essence of relations. International organizations have prevented the emergence of secret agreements and activities to spread multilateral relations.

Providing Information : Organizations receive regular information about their members as a system and receive reports. This cannot be regarded as a way of spying, it is legal. The most significant task of permanent representations is to get credible information.

Mutual-Continuous Audit : A member of an international organization be subject to both the control of the organization and the control of other members as well. This

audit and control mechanism continues without any breaks. Each year at least one report is issued. There are semi-judicial and political mechanisms. It is possible to talk about the mechanisms of each organization.

Public Opinion ; as a result of globalization and technical developments, it is always necessary to have a serious public opinion. International organizations are very influential on the production of public opinion.

Employment ; many people are employed in international organizations.

International Activity ; Organizations can carry out international activities in their fields. For example, the World Agricultural Association carries out activities especially for agriculture in Africa like giving seed, showing techniques, trainings.

International Legitimacy and Participation : States have decisions and try to make the organizations to ensure that their behavior is lawful and legitimate. The easiest way to ensure legitimacy is to get decisions from organizations.

International organizations are the second in terms of the importance of their international activities and impacts today after the states (Aydın, 1996). The structure and powers of this international unit, which is considered within the framework of international relations in terms of their activities, constitute the subject of international law. It has a unique legal structure depending on various reasons such as its aims, members of the form of organizing powers, but there are also some common rules of international law for all international organizations. These are the rules governing the relations of international organizations with states, between themselves and other international units.

As a consequence, it is suitable to classify the international organizations that have a significant contribution to the preservation of peace because of the cooperation between the states in different fields and because they increase the environment of trust and inter-state communication (Arı, 2017, pp. 59-63). One of them is the classification based on geography criterion and the other is in the functional context that is the classification based on the purpose and functions of the organization. Organizations in the classification based on geographical criteria; global organizations, universal organizations and regional organizations (Arı, 2017, pp. 64-67).

Global organizations : Where members from different places can be found among their members, but membership is not open for all states. The member countries of these organizations are the states that have some common features or come together to

achieve a common goal. Such global organizations include organizations like the World Trade Organization (WTO) , and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (formerly the Islamic Conference). the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Universal organizations : Organizations where membership is open to all states and the best example is the United Nations (UN) organization. These are different from global organizations in the way that they belong to various regions of the world and membership is open to every single state.

Regional organizations : Organizations in which only states in a particular region of the world are or may be members. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), North American Free Trade Zone (NAFTA), Organization of American States (OAS), Organization of African Union (OAU), European Union (EU), Organization of Economic Cooperation (ECO), Warsaw Pact (WP), Western European Free Trade Zone (EFTA Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Organization (APEC), Western European Union (WEU), African Postal Union, African Development Bank, Arab League, Arab Post Union and Europe Organizations such as the Council are included in this group.

As stated above, international organizations can also be classified based on their aims (Ari, 2017, pp. 73-79). Within this framework, organizations such as WHO (World Health Organization), UNICEF, ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization), ILO (International Labor Organization), UNESCO, Arab Postal Union and African Post Union are such social organizations; NATO, WP (Warsaw Pact) military organizations; Organizations such as IMF, EFTA, NAFTA GATT, OECD, ECO, OPEC, , ASEAN, APEC, PABSEC, UNDP and Asian Development Bank are seen as economic organizations. Some organizations may be established to achieve more than one goal (at the same time as a number of political, social, military and economic purposes). The UN, the Arab League ,the European Union (EU), the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the OSCE, the Organization of African Unity, the Council of Europe, the OAS (Organization of the States of America) can be cited as examples.

2.1.2.1 United nations (UN)

The United Nations statement was first issued by the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and first used in the Declaration made on January 1, 1942 when 26 countries committed to continue the struggle against the Axis Powers during the Second World War. The first International Peace Conference was held in The Hague in the year of 1899 to determine the peaceful solution of crises, the prevention of probable wars and the causes of war and crisis. At this conference, the Convention on Resolving the Disputes of the International Pacific Countries was signed and the Permanent Ground Jury, which took office in 1902, was established. The League of Nations, which was the pioneer of the United Nations, was created under similar conditions during the First World War and was established in 1919 to empower international cooperation and to ensure peace and stability Vers through the Treaty of Versailles (Armaoğlu, 2005, p. 382).

The United Nations is the largest international organization with almost all countries in the world. It is a big organization in which 193 countries are members. Beyond an organization that works for peace and humanitarian aims, it is an international organization having activities in many fields. The United Nations was founded on 24 October 1945. It was established under the leadership of the great states that won the Second World War. The countries leading the UN are the US, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and China. It aims to protect international peace and security to prevent the recurrence of wars in the first half of the 1900s. The first official use of the United Nations expression took place in the UN declaration and the Atlantic Declaration on 1 January 1942 (Eskier, 2017).

The idea of the United Nations was put forward in 1943 during the meetings of the allied powers. (Özgöker, 2006, p. 16). On April 25, 1945, the representatives of 50 countries met at the San Francisco Conference and finalized the 111-article Treaty. The treaty was unanimously adopted on 25 June 1945 and signed the next day. On October 24, 1945, with the approval of five permanent members of the Security Council, as well as the majority of other signatories, the Treaty came into force and the United Nations was established. The existence of the UN Security Council and its role have been demonstrated by the fact that the organizational structure still preserves this aim. The official languages of the United Nations in the Treaty are Chinese,

English, French, Russian and Spanish. Arabic was later added to the General Assembly as the official language of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

The working languages of the UN are English and French. Since the Cold War period, it has been debated what fundamental reforms are needed to deal with the new challenges against UN and the challenges of the 21st century. The main issues discussed are the extension of the Security Council, the granting of more authority to the secretary general, the establishment of a world environmental organization and an autonomous UN army.

The purposes and the principles of the UN can be listed as follows (Ari, 2004, p. 515):

- Protect international peace and security
- Develop friendly international relations by respecting the principles of equality of rights and peoples' self-determination
- To cooperate in the solution of international social, cultural, economic and humanitarian problems and to promote respect for human rights and freedoms;
- To become a coherent hub for the acquisition of these common interests.

Principles:

- Equal domination of all members,
- All members must comply with the requirements of the Treaty in good faith,
- All members must resolve international disputes peacefully without jeopardizing international peace, security and justice,
- All members should refrain from threatening another state or using force against another state,
- All Member States must fully support the implementation of any activity that occurs according to the Charter of the United Nations,
- Nothing in the Treaty authorizes the United Nations to engage in the internal affairs of any state.

It should be noted that the basic principles mentioned in the UN Treaty also bind non-member (Aral, 2013, p. 8). For example, behaviors such as using force in international relations, interfering in other states' internal affairs, threatening other states or violating the treaties are prohibited by states which are not parties to the UN Treaty.

States that are not members of the sanctions taken by the UN Security Council are obliged to abide by them. On the other hand, if the obligations of a State under the UN Treaty and its obligations under another international treaty conflict, the provisions of the UN Treaty apply (Article 103 of the UN Treaty).

- Bodies of the United Nations (UN)

General Assembly: It is composed of the member states. Each member have no more than one representative in the General Assembly and every member should have one vote at the General Assembly. These are their duties (Karluk, 2014, p. 156).

- Making decisions and giving recommendations to protect peace and security in the international arena. Develops rules of control of armament or disarmament.
- It takes decisions on the matters covered by the UN treaty or mobilizes its relevant bodies.
- Works to develop cooperation in the international platform. It provides the codification and development of international agreements. It provides international cooperation in economic, social, cultural, educational and health - related fields to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- Approves the reports prepared by the Security Council and other UN bodies and the budget of the UN.
- Selects and appoints the temporary members of the UN bodies and the secretary general in accordance with the recommendations of the Security Council.

Security Council : Its first and foremost responsibility for the protection of international peace and security with the Agreement (Çalış and Kan, 2006, p. 37). The Council has five permanent members - the United States, China, France, the United Kingdom and the Russian Federation.

Each member has one vote. Decisions on administrative matters shall be taken by a yes vote of 9 of 15 members. In order to make decisions on other issues, a total of 9 yes votes, including the yes vote of all 5 permanent members, are required. Each of the 5 permanent members used their veto right over time. The permanent member may be abstained if he / she does not fully agree with the decision, but does not want to

veto this decision. Thus, if there are 9 positive games required, it allows decision to be taken. Under Article 25 of the Treaty, all member states of UN should adopt and implement the decisions of the Security Council. While the other bodies of the United Nations are only making recommendations to the member states, the Council alone has the power to make decisions that the Member States must comply with as set forth in the Treaty.

Economic and Social Council : Consisting of 54 members, it is an organ set up to combat economic and social problems of the United Nations. The Economic and Social Council can make recommendations to ensure that everyone respects human rights and fundamental freedoms effectively. Be able to prepare treaty plans for the General Assembly. The Economic and Social Council has established committees and committees under its supervision to make its task more effective (Birdiřli, 2010, p. 174).

Guardianship Council : It was established in 1945 in accordance with the relevant article of the Charter of the United Nations to ensure the oversight of the 11 regional governments under the administration of the 7 member states and to ensure that these regions are self-governing or self-sufficient. To review and discuss the reports prepared by the Management Unit with regard to the progress of political, social, financial and educational peoples in the lands under the rule of another country; the authority to accept petitions from the regions and to assume special duties in the regions (Birdiřli, 2010, p. 175).

Until 1994, these regions joined the independent neighboring states either as separate states or by establishing their autonomous administrations or their independence. Finally, as a result of the work of the Council of Guardianship, the Pacific Island Palu gained independence and joined the organization as the 185th member of the UN.

The number of members of the Council of Guardianship, whose mandate has expired, is now reduced to the 5 permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, the United States of America) and transformed into a structure to be consulted if deemed necessary.

General Secretary : The Secretary-General is composed of international officials working in various positions and carrying out the day-to-day work of the Organization. It serves the other main bodies of the United Nations and implements the programs

and policies announced by these bodies. The Secretary General, who is the head of the unit, is appointed by the General Assembly for a period of 5 years upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary General may hold this post for a maximum of two terms.

The duties of the General Secretariat cover various issues addressed by the United Nations. This includes the rule of peacekeeping operations from mediation in international disputes, from economic and social trends to the preparation of studies on human rights and sustainable development (Birdişli, 2010, pp. 175-176). The General Secretariat staff also inform the world media about the work of the United Nations; organizes international conferences on the matters of concern for the world; translates dialogues and documents into the official languages of the UN.

The Secretariat General has around 7,500 staff members from about 170 countries working in the normal budget. International officials, senior staff and the Secretary-General are solely responsible for the work carried out by the United Nations and vow that they will not receive instructions from any government or body. In accordance with the Treaty, each State shall be obliged to respect the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and his staff under the international Treaty and to avoid any attitudes that may affect them. Although the United Nations is based in New York, it has an important presence in Addis Ababa, Bangkok, Beirut, Geneva, Nairobi, Santiago and Vienna and has offices all over the world.

International Court of Justice: It is a judiciary unit having 15 judges, selected by the Security Council and the General Assembly, with the aim of reflecting different legal systems and civilization basins. The Statute of the International Court of Justice (June 26, 1945, United Nations, New York) is an integral part of the UN Constituent Treaty accepted on the same day. Accordingly, only states which are parties to a dispute may go to court. In other words, individuals, companies or organizations are outside the right of the Court.

Although the judgment of the Court is not mandatory, the judicial steps of this body are binding in the dispute cases brought before it. Only the states which are parties to a dispute can apply to the International Court of Justice. (June 26, 1945, United Nations, New York). In other words, individuals, companies or organizations cannot go. When the concerned States take a dispute between them to the Court, they must comply with the decision of the Court.

In case of failure to comply with the decision, the situation shall be brought to the attention of the UN Security Council and the UN Security Council may take decisions which may impose sanctions against this state if deemed necessary. Nonetheless, UN bodies and specialized bodies can also apply to the Court to obtain (non-binding) advisory opinions on international legal issues (consultative considerations) on matters relating to their jurisdiction.

Except for the International Court of Justice in The Hague, the Netherlands, all bodies are located at the headquarters in New York. The United Nations family has 15 independent organizations which are independent and autonomous. These organizations operate in various fields such as health, agriculture, telecommunications, and meteorology. In addition, there are 24 programs and several departments responsible for specific areas within the United Nations. (Aral, 2013, p. 15).

How is the Permanent Observer Status taken: A State which is not a member of the United Nations, or a member of one or more specialized institutions, may obtain the status of permanent observer. Permanent observer status is based solely on activity, and there is no legislation on the United Nations Convention. The mentioned activity has been in progress since 1946, when the Secretary General selected Switzerland as a permanent observer. Some other observer members Austria, and Japan, Finland, Italy were later members of the United Nations. Switzerland became a member of the United Nations on 10 September 2002. Permanent observers can participate in many interviews and they can access to many documents. Many international and regional organizations participate in the annual meetings of the General Assembly having observer status.

2.1.2.2 United nations security council (UNSC)

The Security Council is the main unit of the United Nations (UN). According to Article 24 of the UN Treaty, the task for ensuring peace in the international arena is primarily given to the UN Security Council, according to the provision of the same article, the decisions are binding for all of the members (Paine, 1997).

The Security Council consists of 15 members, five of whom are permanent and the remaining ten are temporary members. Permanent members consist of the United

States, Britain, France, the Russian Federation and China. This permanent member has the right to veto decisions of the council.

The temporary members of the Security Council shall be elected for a period of two years by the General Assembly taking into account the regional balances. The Security Council may meet with a special and official agenda, and the meetings are held in the United States - New York. The Security Council determines and recommends to the General Assembly the candidates for the UN Secretary General and the judges to be appointed to the Court of Justice.

The establishment of UN peacekeeping force is decided by the General Assembly. The UN Peace Force is not only composed of soldiers, but also includes civilian police, election observers, fixed and temporary experts and civilian administrators (Sarooshi, 1999).

There are subcommittees under the Security Council. Some of these are permanent committees, and some are “Ad-Hoc” that is, specific committees established to solve a specific problem.

Permanent Committees:

- Peacekeeping Commission,
- Sanctions committee,
- Antiterror committee,
- Compensation committee,
- Armed conflicts and committee on children,
- Documentation is a working group.

Ad-Hoc committees:

- Committee 1540,
- Committee on International Crimes of the former Yugoslavia,
- Rwanda is the International Crimes Committee.

The duties and authorities of the Security Council set out in the Treaty include the following issues:

- Framework for the United Nations principles and objectives

- Maintain international peace and security;
- Take measures in order to regulate arms production;
- Inviting the parties in conflict to negotiate their problems peacefully;
- To investigate disputes and problems that may lead to international problems and to advise on the resolution of these problems ;
- To call upon the relevant parties to comply with the measures to prevent the situation from aggravating;
- Calling on members of the United Nations to comply with non-violent Security Council resolutions and decisions, such as sanctions, with the aim to increase the effectiveness of Council decisions;
- Applying or approving the use of force to provide and protect international peace and security;
- Promote peaceful settlement of disputes through regional legal regulations and make sure that these regional regulations are used within the competence of the UN;
- Advise the General Assembly on the appointment of the Secretary General and select the judges of the International Court of Justice with the Board;
- Request legal proceedings from the International Court of Justice on legal matters; Recommendation to the General Assembly on the adoption of new members to the United Nations.

The Security Council is structured to carry out its mission without interruption and the representatives of the Member States must always be present at the United Nations Center. The council may also be held in a place other than the headquarters: in 1972 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1973 in Panama City; and in the year of 1990 in Geneva, Switzerland.

• The Role of the UN Security Council in Resolving International Problems

The Security Council II came into-being after the reconciliation between the great powers and other states as the result of the need for a functioning collective security system after the end of World War II. According to Article 24 of the treaty, the first unit responsible for ensuring international peace and security is the UN Security

Council. The veto power of the five permanent members of the UN established on the sovereign equality of states constitutes the exception to this fundamental principle. The reason why other members accept such a privilege from the beginning is that they are parties to the agreement, the result of a realistic assumption that international peace can only be achieved by the fact that these five members act within a consensus and balance one another.

In spite of this critical task for maintaining international peace and security, the Security Council, which became very ineffective during the Cold War era due to the right to have veto, power has increased its effectiveness since 1990 (Sarooshi, 1999).

According to the founding treaty of the UN, the Security Council is equipped with two types of authority. (Bozkurt, 2003, p. 30): Identifying threats or aggression which can break down peace and making recommendations to provide suitable solutions. In this context, it is necessary to take binding decisions, including the use of force.

The Security Council is never limited by the claims of other UN bodies or member states while exercising their powers when they consider that international peace is under certain threat. Moreover, there is no authority to supervise the compliance of the Security Council with the purposes and principles of the UN (Bozkurt, 2003, p. 31) and according to Article 25 of the agreement, the decisions of the Security Council are binding on the Member States. The Security Council may therefore use military power for the implementation of decisions adopted by the Security Council and approved by the General Assembly. But in practice, it is seen that the Security Council often refrains from taking risks until it comes to the occupation of Iraq. For this reason, it can be seen that although the Security Council has left dozens of solution proposals behind, most of them have not been implemented so far. According to Articles 41 and 42 of the UN Treaty, the Security Council uses methods to solve international problems; diplomatic sanctions, financial sanctions in addition to military sanctions.

Diplomatic sanctions : Diplomatic sanctions, as a tool of coercion, are intended to abandon such behavior of the state, which moves contrary to international legal system. Since diplomacy is a foreign policy instrument in international relations (Olçay ve Olçay, 2006, p. 209), some methods can be used to the parties, from making calls for conciliation, to suspending diplomatic relations. However, economic sanctions are more frequently applied to the Franco government and as it is not sufficiently effective to decide diplomatic sanctions against South Africa for its racist

practices. Diplomatic sanctions do not have too many supporters, especially when international interdependence is increasing.

Economic Sanctions : Due to the fact that diplomatic sanctions cannot do much more than the spiritual effect, economic sanctions have to be applied more frequently. The most important economic sanctions is the implementation of economic embargo on the state or states. The UN sanctions are often implemented as a last resort when what is happening in a country has reached the dimension of crimes against humanity. This is due to the lack of agreement between the member states due to strategic, economic, and political interests.

Accordingly, the UN economic embargoes are systematically punctured because it does not receive sufficient support from member states, especially strong states (Amnesty International, 2006).

Military Sanctions : Military sanctions; includes an arms embargo and military intervention. Article 42 of the UN treaty allows the use of military force through land, air and naval forces in a probable economic and social sanctions in the resolution of international problems. These provisions also require the existence of military force and the mandatory referral and management in the use of this power. According to Article 43 of the Agreement, each member state must submit the power needed for this to the Council.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Studies to give a certain scientific framework to the studies in the field of international relations are called theoretical studies. Theory means that there are repeated regular behaviors and interactions suitable for making generalizations among the facts examined by a scientific field. If the interactions are not repeated on a regular basis, a theory cannot be reached because it is not possible to go to generalization. Since random behaviors and interactions do not allow for a generalization, it is difficult to define such an area as science. In this sense, scientific theory is the generalizations that enable us to understand, explain and predict the relations between the phenomena that are based on reason and experimentation and the events that are examined. In this sense, scientific theories keep themselves open to continuous testing (Ari, 2018, p. 14).

The theoretical debates in the development of the discipline of international relations reveal several characteristics of this branch of science that are separated from other social sciences. The theories of international relations aim to explain why and how the events happen, which actors act according to which behavior patterns, based on certain assumptions.

2.2.1 Idealism

Idealism is an approach which assumes that peace can be protected with international institutional mechanisms, in other words international treaties and international organizations. It can be stated that there is a political theory in which the conditions of the century idealism emerged after the World War I and the policies that can be put into practice in order to prevent the war from happening again. Idealism, especially in the post-World War I period, points to the measures to be taken to prevent war again. The reflection of this was the treaties with the defeated countries that lost the war, such as the Versailles Treaty signed with Germany, and the establishment of the League of Nations. The idealistic approach led by Wilson, which means that the idealist philosophy, which has great similarities with liberal ideas, is applied to international relations, has been adopted by many scientists from the past to the present and has been applied in their studies (Arı, 2018, p. 16).

2.2.2 Realism

The efforts to understand the rules governing international relations and how international systems work, date back to the time of the B.C and through the work of writers such as Thucydides, examples of these efforts have survived to the present day. The philosophical- roots of Realism can be traced back to ancient Greece times and even to the Sun Tzu. It is an International Relations theory which became very popular after World War II. Thinkers like Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes can be seen as the pioneer figures of Realist paradigm. It emerged as a reaction to the ideals of Idealism after the end of World War I and emerged as a reaction. Realists accused idealists of being too utopian and claimed that they were insufficient to understand the system because of what they should be and not what actually happens.

The Notion of power in the classical realist approach, which is the focus of international politics, especially from the 1940s to the 1970s, the national power and

human element have a central importance. In the realist theory called political realism, the capacities of states have a great importance in determining the outcome of international conflicts and influencing the behavior of other states. Realism regards the state as the primary actor of international relations and sees international relations and international policy as a process of struggle between sovereign states (Arı, 2018, p. 17).

The Twenty Years Crisis (1939) by E. H. Carr has the distinction of being the first to deal with international problems. In his book, Carr criticized liberals and the League of Nations, which produced ideas to eradicate war after World War I. He emphasized that the League of Nations was not sufficient to ensure peace. While analyzing the process leading to World War II, he focused on the more obvious reasons by making a general criticism instead of the reasons of war. Carr stressed the significance of the factor of power. He stated that the imbalances in the distribution of power should be examined in order to understand the conflicts and wars. First of all, he stated that the World War I, which started for defense purposes at first, started to act with the purpose of seizing land. States which desire to maximize their powers will want to increase their existing areas of influence, so the national interests of states will conflict. Carr also emphasized change and argued that change will be shaped as a result of new power relations (Arı, 2014, p. 1612).

Politics Among Nations written by Hans Morgenthau (1948) has a significant place in the foundation of realist thought. H. Morgenthau aimed to make a scientific foundation for realism. Morgenthau stated that the source of the problems in the international arena is seen the human nature. He defined international politics as power struggle and emphasized that these struggles were naturally inevitable. The balance of power resulting from mutual efforts to increase the power of the states, whose security is endangered, is the most important element for the continuity of the system. According to H. Morgenthau, states are the main actors in the international system, and they take rational decisions in line with their interests may vary depending on time and circumstances. Finally, Morgenthau ignored the effects of economic relations in foreign policy conduct alongside the non-governmental organizations (Arı, 2004).

Realism has been criticized in the 1970s for insufficient explanation of the changes in the international system, and as a result new theories have emerged. Neorealism has

emerged as a reaction to the neglect of economic realities by classical realism, and according to classical realism, human nature and system aimed to bring a scientific perspective. Kenneth Waltz, the intellectual father of the idea of neorealism, was the most critical example of neorealism (Arı, 2004).

According to K. Waltz (2015), the international system has an anarchic structure, that is, it is formed in an environment without international relations hierarchy. Each state has its own objectives and states act in accordance with the resources they have in order to achieve these goals. It is their national interests that mobilize states. The main difference between states stems from the differences in their capabilities. Waltz said that the formation of the international political structure depends on the change of great powers. Accordingly, it emphasized the differences between the bipolar and the unipolar system. Finally, he emphasized the importance of power balance theory. According to Kenneth Neal Waltz, theories explain laws (Waltz, 2015, p. 13). Torbjorn L. Knutsen stated that the theories had an illuminating characteristic. A theory can be defined as a sum of related propositions which help explain why such events occur in this way. The theory is not concrete, conjunctural or has a speculative reflection of reality. Theory development is performed with the aim of theorizing, understanding or / and explaining (Knutsen, 2016, p. 14).

Since the emergence of the modern International Relations discipline, efforts in the field of international relations have been intensely concentrated, and efforts to explain the formation of these changes in parallel with the pace of changes in the world have gained momentum and intensity. Realism is an international policy view that sees people as beings who seek power and aim to dominate others. According to the realists, the center of their work is the assumption that people are only self-interested and selfish. They cannot be trusted to cooperate and will stop cooperating as soon as they go beyond their limited interests (Örmeci, 2014).

The assumption of realist theory states that the main actor of international relations is sovereign nation states. International relations are a process of interaction and power struggle between states, and there is no higher authority than the states. The only actor is the sovereign state which are capable of acting independently. Therefore the role of international organizations, national and international civil society and media organizations, social movements cannot not taken into consideration (Arı, 2004). In

realism, states are the main actors. From this realist point of view only states are the competent authority in the solution of a conflict and it is a legitimate right for the states to apply power to reach peace in both internal and external conflictual situations. In this case security sensitivity is not seen in realist theory.

The assumption that the international system is anarchical is also important for realist theory. Since there is no central authority to provide individual security each state acts in its own interest to ensure its own security. According to the realist scholars the instabilities in the international structure jeopardize the security.. As a result of that, states try to gain the power to provide their own security. All states trying to reach maximum power try to prevent each other from reaching this goal. Realists state that the balance of power in this situation is an important factor for achieving global peace and stability (Jackson and Sorensen, 2007).

The most important founder of Modern Realism is Hans Morgenthau. In the conjuncture after World War II, he argued that international policy was governed by universal rules of national interest. According to Morgenthau, international politics is a power struggle (Morgenthau, 1948). Morgenthau argues that Realism has six important norms. These can be listed as listed below:

- International policy is carried out by universal rules, and the source of them is the view that human nature is evil. According to the realist scholars, human nature is not as good as Idealist or Liberals say. On the contrary, humans are selfish and pursue their interests.
- National interests should be defined from a power angle. States are the most important elements of international politics. The state is considered as a whole. The state encounters the outside world as a whole, and takes the state authorities and government decisions on behalf of the state and implements them. The purpose of states is to increase their power so it is necessary to think about their actions in this context.

- The interests are fixed and unchanged, but the content of the interest and the policies that are needed to realize this interest can vary depending on the time and the cultural context.
- Moral values and rules have no effect on international politics.
- It is an autonomous area and very different from international politics, economy and law and it is the military-political power and interests of the main states that matter.
- The main actors in international politics are nation-states. International or supranational structures are ineffective.

According to the realists, a system of competing nation states is basically anarchic system. There is no superior authority to set up a government or rule governing the system. States fight for power with each other and work with the principle of self-help, ultimately pursuing their own interests. They lack the ability to resort to a superior authority for the functioning of international law (Russett and Starr, 1981, p. 25).

Power

Power for realists is the most fundamental factor in interstate relations. Regarding this power, the Realists are called high politics, while their military, security and strategic issues are called low politics. The fact that the realists have the existence of the hierarchy of power in international relations determines the importance of internal factors in making states stronger. For example, a state that thinks that high military investments will make itself more deterrent can put it in the background of a democratic society and a high level of prosperity for its citizens.

A state wanting to survive and protecting its interests must only rely on its own power. In the international system, the principle of self-help is the only principle which means that a state trusts its own power and own resources (Waltz, 1979, p. 111). Every single state aims to increase its own power where there is no central authority adopted by all states and where anarchy is the most dominant factor. There is a hierarchy of power between states that act as a rational actor and try to maintain their own existence. Each state tends to take certain measures to maintain its existence and keep its safety. These measures make other states insecure and lead them to take similar measures. This

situation is described as a security dilemma in international relations (Herz, 1950, pp. 157-180). The security dilemma is seen as a concern for the protection of the balance of power (Waltz, 1979, p. 117). The power of balance is a method that states apply to maintain existence, ensure security and keep a certain stability in the system.

Stressing the importance of military power, the Realists argue that the atmosphere of international relations is in a state of war. According to the Greek historian Thucydides (471-400 BC), who is considered to be the pioneer of the realist theory, it is the guide of the future. According to the Greek historian who studied the war between the Athenians and the Spartans, the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) is an important example of the unification of fear with power. Thucydides begins his work by saying that the power of Athens as the main cause of the war and that it is the fear it awakens in Sparta (Klevis, 2013, p. 164).

The history of realist theory has improved. In this development process the Realist theory, respectively; Classical Realism, Structural / Neo-Realism, and Neoclassical Realism are the three different trends. While Classical Realism addresses human nature Structural Realism focuses on the essence of international relations. Neoclassical Realism examines the structure of the state (Ersoy, 2014, p. 165). Clausewitz one of the representatives of classical Realism, argues that war is not an independent space outside of politics and states that war is part of politics. It expresses this idea in the following words: Politics is the womb in which the war is formed (Ersoy, 2014, p. 170).

In international politics, the states have many aims. Some desire the conquest of the world, while others may desire a local hegemony while others wish to be left alone. The common point of all these desires is the willingness of states to exist. Even the minimum aim of the state that wants to conquer the world will be to ensure its continuity (Waltz, 2001, p. 203). Morgenthau (1948) stated that international politics is a power struggle like all other policies. Whatever the ultimate aim of international politics power is always a priority.

If some states want advantages over others, they come together. If others want to oppose this request, they come together. If the targeted advantage is measured as a force that will destroy or injure another state the threatened state may be afraid to increase its power by risking its continuity. The basic rule of the game is to do what is necessary to win. If some states act with this rule or are expected to act like this, others

have to change their strategies accordingly. With a Hobbesian approach force can be defined as the capacity to create the intended effect (Waltz, 2001, p. 205).

However many definitions of power have been made and some of these are as follows: Power is the ability of a group of individuals or nation to influence the actions of others in accordance with their capacity. It is the ability to overcome the obstacles and overcome the obstacles. Allyn, (Krugman, 1989, p. 184.)

The use of power in domestic politics is usually under the monopoly of the state. In international politics, there is no powerful actor to effectively prohibit the exercise of power. The balance of power between states has become a balance of all possibilities, including the physical power which states can use to achieve their aims.

System

The use of the system in international politics literature. It coincides with the post-World War II era. Today, although the concept of international system has been established within the discipline of International Relations and is a primary concept in international policy analysis, there is no consensus on the definition of the system (Sönmezoğlu, 1989, p. 540). The analysis of the international system requires review of many variables (Russett and Starr, 1981, p. 75). The definition of the following variables is important for the analysis of the system:

- Number of State actors
- Indirect quantities of these actors. Among the most important factors used to measure size are population, area, welfare level, economic capacity, military facilities and some other criteria or a combination of these
- Number and form of non-state actors: whether or not governments are represented, national or international organizations, geographical or political state communities, military alliances, etc.
- Ties and acts between states: intergovernmental activities as well as activities among communities are included in this group. Trade and foreign investment, mobility of civilians, communication etc. The interrelations of states between states can be evaluated. Commercial agreements, threats, support, military activities etc.

- The nature and degree of activities that associate the elements of the system, in other words: interdependence

Balance of Power

Hans Morgenthau (1953, pp. 442-447) focused on at least 4 different definitions of balance of power:

- A policy aiming at a certain state of power
- A purpose or current status of relations
- Almost equal power distribution: The balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War period.
- Any distribution of power, including the expansion of a certain power: as in the case of the Power of Balance in favor of one of the powers.

The self-preservation demands of states in their efforts to acquire power lead them to make more efforts to gain power, and to build alliances with potential hegemon powers to create balance of power.

Neo-Realism paradigm was founded as a result of intense criticism from Liberalism to Classical Realism. The founder was Kenneth Waltz, who wrote *The Theory of International Politics* in 1979.

In this work, Waltz aimed to overcome the shortcomings of classical Realism to change the tradition of classical Realism and focused only on nation states. For Waltz, the whole system as well as states should be examined to analyze international politics. Waltz defines the international political structure in three main dimensions;

- The international system is anarchic and is not as obvious as the internal structure of countries. The system consists of itself and the basic objective of states is to survive.

- States are the primary actors of the system. In international and supranational structures, states defend their own interests.

- Despite their differences, the states are functionally identical in the system but only their capacities are can be different.

Due to the anarchic structure of the international system, the possibility of cooperation between states is decreasing. In such system, states have to rely on themselves. In the case of any cooperation, the states consider their absolute gains, not relative gains. Relative gains refer to the cooperation between the gain of the counterparty and the gain of that country. For this reason, a state must better cooperate only when it gets relatively more or more equally from the other state. In such a system, states naturally become self-dependent and strong against every dangerous element.

Hedley Bull, as one of the pioneers of realism after World War II, argues that this society is anarchic, for the sovereign states forming the international community and do not bow to any higher authority according to their interests. This does not mean that the international community is chaotic (Bull, 1977). There is an international order that takes its origin from states; the rules and power relations arising from the political leaders and the common norms that they adopt to constitute this order. Based on these thesis, it is effective and understandable in international relations system (Donnelly, 2000, pp. 7-8).

- The state of anarchy in which international relations are exercised refers to the state of war. This is due to the lack of a central authority that could prevent international actors from resorting to armed violence and military tools. Therefore, if national interest cannot be reached through peaceful means it is becomes legitimate to use foreign policy measures and to apply for war.

- The main actors of international relations are the groups in conflict. In the intergovernmental system that has been valid since Westphalia, these groups are nation-states organized within their own territory.

- Nation-states are rational actors and aim to maximize the national interests defined within the framework of power. This requires the conditions of the international system. Foreign politics should not be confused with high politics including military and strategic issues and low politics of domestic politics, economic and social issues.
- Balance of power is the only way to temporarily achieve stability and order in the international arena. Progress in international relations is not possible (Dursun, 2017, p. 174).



3. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: SYRIA

3.1 Syria at a Glance in History

Due to its location on the shore of the Eastern Mediterranean and its bridge between the Arabian Peninsula and Anatolia, Syria has been one of the areas subject to change throughout the history and it caused several wars. It has always been affected by the conflicts amongst the great powers and their people were never at peace. Indeed, when in the chronological history of Syria; the exception of 403 years of Ottoman rule, Syria was subject to involvement of different states for short intervals. Syrian territory has been conquered and ruled by the old communities and states. The Canaanites, Hebrews, Aramis, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans and Byzantines dominated Syria. While it has ancient pagan beliefs that have been shedding as great as this time; there were also Christians. The Islamic State conquered Syria in the Umar period and started a new era. The country has been Islamized and military diagnosis of the Umar has never been seen before (Ünal, 2013, p. 3).

For Syria, which was later dominated by the Umayyads and Abbasids; then the Seljuks who came to the region together with the Turks began to be under the protection of the Turks. After the collapse of the Seljuk State, the Syrian Empire fell into the hands of the Crusaders, but after the fall of the Timur state, the Ottoman Empire continued to remain under the protection of the Turks.

(Baktiaya A, 2009, p. 232). During the Egyptian expedition of Yavuz Sultan Selim in 1517, the Syrian territories were conquered by the Ottoman Empire and remained in the Ottoman Empire for 403 years. This situation caused the economic and social development of the region. This period lasted about 300 years. However, it ended with the policies of the Western states towards the region and the power loss of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Especially in Beirut-Damascus, the influence of the French began to increase. Especially England and France, with various excuses - most of these excuses - were the claims of protecting the rights and interests of the non-Muslim

population living in the region-engaged in political and military interventions in the region.

In the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire lost power, the idea of Arab nationalism, which was centered on Beirut and Damascus, also began to emerge. Some Lebanese and Syrian intellectuals, who set out with the goal of establishing a unified Arab kingdom, did important work on this path. They formed clubs, conducted secret activities. (Erdem, 2012, p. 34).

The period between 1914 and the granting of France's mandate over Syria by the League of Nations in 1922 was marked by a sequence of events during which Syrians achieved a short period of independence (1919–1920). However, three actors were at work against Arab nationalism: Britain's interest in keeping eastern Mesopotamia under its control to counter Russian influence and to keep British oil safe; the Jewish interest in Palestine region; and France's determination to remain a power in the Middle Eastern region. Ultimately, Syria and Lebanon were under French influence, and Transjordan and Iraq under British rule. The termination of Syria's brief experience with independence left a lasting bitterness against the West and a deep-seated determination to reunite Arabs in one state. This search was the main base for modern Arab nationalism. (Atlıoğlu, 2009, pp. 71-87).

3.1.1 The French mandate

During the First World War, Syria and France have made Sykes-Picot agreements. France invaded Syria after World War I and established a mandate administration here. In this way, France had the opportunity to realize its ambitions on Syria.

France has followed a policy of full imperialism in the political, economic and cultural and military fields in Syria. The Sykes-Picot Treaty, cited above, is one of the most important steps taken towards the French mandate. French, British, Italians and the Russians, who had gathered in secret at the beginning of the war, made important decisions about the fate of the Arab lands. The world public was aware of these developments only after 1917. Following the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks published secret documents, including the Sykes-Picot Treaty. This agreement was

signed six months after the British promised Sharif Hussein an unspeakably Arab Kingdom. (Okur, 2009, p. 137).

After dominating the Lebanese-Syrian geography, France began to pursue a policy of divide and rule in the region. It supported minorities against the Sunnis, which constituted the majority of the population, by strengthening non-Muslim minorities in state administration and within the army.

The French paid special attention to this issue in the administrative structure of the region. France first separated Lebanon from Syria and established the Lebanese state, the capital of Beirut. On the Syrian territory outside of Lebanon, the French, which established two states based in Damascus and Aleppo, also established a Nusayri and the Druze state. France, which carried out such an administrative structuring, was then turned into a single state as the Syrian Federation. In 1925, the name of the state was determined as the Syrian state. France ruled the Syrian state (Mandate administration) until 1946. With Syria gaining independence from France in 1946, a new era began for Syria. However, this new era was not a period of stability, but a period of political turmoil and military coups (Shorrocks, 1976).

3.1.2 Ba'ath power

The first of the Ba'ath parties based on nationalist and leftist ideology aimed at the unification of Arabs under a single socialist state was founded in Damascus in 1940. The Ba'ath meant the word resurrection. This movement, which argued that the resurrection of the Arabs would be possible with unity, freedom and socialism, soon found support and spread in many Arab countries. The Ba'ath's function in Syria included the aim of integrating different religious and sectarian elements under Arab nationalism, socialism and, consequently, a secular understanding.

Two supporting elements of Pan-Arabism, the ideology of Ba'ath's establishment, were socialism and secularism. The socialism of the Ba'ath was, of course, very different from Marxism-Leninism, and one of the reasons behind the unification of Syria and Egypt in 1958 was to break the influence of the rising Syrian Communist Party.

Ba'ath socialism envisaged the reduction of social inequality, the limitation of private property, the expropriation of large domestic and foreign private firms (İnce, 2017, pp. 261-280). The secularism of the Ba'ath was also a first of that period, while the pre-Ba'ath Arab nationalist movements had an Islamic character, and the Ba'ath aimed to establish a secular Arab society that would be equal to everyone regardless of their faith. But he also gave importance to Islam; According to the Ba'ath, Islam was an essential and integral part of Arab national culture. From its inception, the Baath became a center of attraction for Syrian minorities. For the minorities living in poor rural areas, the socialist principles of the Party were certainly more attractive than for the Sunni people, who were the majority of the population and who belonged to the wealthy class in the country. Likewise, as in many countries of the world, in Syria, religious minorities see a secular regime as a guarantee for their assets, and in this respect they were entering the Ba'ath domain.

The years in which the influence of the Ba'ath party increased, were also the years when Syria was experiencing significant mixed. After the independence of Syria, the military coups in the country, one after the other, led to a complete turmoil in the country. The Baath party was wounded by this mixed environment and captured the military coup in 1963.

Thus, the Ba'ath regime began in Syria. By 1970, the regime, which increased its strength, reached a different stage in 1970. Syria experienced the last military coup on this date. Hafiz Assad, who was in the Ministry of Defense, took power completely with a coup and established his own dictatorship.

When Hafiz Assad came to power, the country was on the brink of an unstable period. In the period from 1946 to 1970, when the independence was won, the country saw eight military coup. Assad began to make attempts to ensure his legitimacy. Hafez al-Assad prepared the first constitution of the 1973 Constitution, which established a presidential system that gave him wide powers in executive, legislative and military matters. This personal presidential system, with an absolute dominance over all institutions in the country, established an authoritarian regime with democratic views. According to the 1973 Constitution, which is still in force in the country, the head of state, which is expected to be a Syrian Arab, determines the general policies of the country and uses the executive power under the supervision of the council of ministers. The head of state, who is also the commander in chief of the army, may appoint or

dismiss senior civil and military officers. Aside from these broad powers, Assad, who is also the Secretary General of the Baath Party, used undefined powers in the constitution and laws that were left unclear in the laws and made the presidential elections seven years apart to increase its legitimacy (Şeker, 2018).

Hafiz al-Assad, in line with the democratic regimes in Syria, has established an authoritarian regime. Even though the citizens are apparently entitled to vote in the election of the president and councilors, there is no such thing as the government changing within the will of the people.

3.2 Russia-Syria Relations in The Pre-Cold War Era

After World War II, the Middle East has an important geopolitical, geostrategic and geoeconomic area. For the US and the Soviet Union. For this reason, both states have taken the necessary steps to establish influence in the region. For example, in 1944, despite the opposition of France, the Soviet Union and the US recognized Lebanon and Syria as unconditionally sovereign states. Following these developments, France had to accept to withdraw its troops from the Syrian territory and the French mandate, which continued for 25 years in Syria, ended on 17 April 1946. In the same period, the Soviet administration also made great efforts to take the United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 29 on November 29, 1947, which gave Israel the right to establish a state in Palestine. The Soviet Union, by taking such steps, aimed primarily to provide that France and Britain withdrew from two important regions and then to penetrate these lands. However, the fact that Israel, which was established on 14 May 1948, shortly after the strategic cooperation with the United States, caused a great disappointment in the name of the Soviet Union. While the balance of the Middle East has been reshaping, the possible position of Syria has become more important and the Soviet administration has wanted to strengthen its relations with Damascus.

During this period, the tension in Suez caused the Syrian administration closer to Soviet Russia. Moreover Syrian Defense Minister Halit al-Azm visited the Soviet Union on 24 July-7 August 1957 and made a series of meetings. As a result of these interviews, the signing of some agreements between the parties has shown that the burgeoning relations have reached a great stage as of 1954, because according to these agreements; The Soviet Union would provide \$ 500 million of economic and military

aid to Syria, which would be used for the construction of a new port in Latakia, the sale of arms, the financing of irrigation and energy projects in Syria, and the construction of highways, railways and airports.

In this period of Syria, which is called the Traditional Ba'ath Phase (1963-1966), it is observed that Syria has the chance in to build intimate relations with the Soviet Union and the Iron Curtain states. Although Syrian foreign policy actors have always stated that they have adopted the principle of neutrality in foreign policy conduct in the Ba'ath Regulation, but they chose to stand closer to the Eastern Bloc countries than the Western bloc, both ideologically and politically.

In the period of Neo-Baath (1966-1970), the Soviet Union followed a strategy to silently follow the policies of the new political formation in Syria. Then a delegation from the Soviet Union visited Syria on March 24, 1966, and a delegation from Syria visited the Soviet Union on 18 April 1966. As a result of the interviews, the authorities of the two countries decided to develop cooperation in political, cultural, economic and military fields based on norms of mutual equality, non-interference in domestic affairs and respect for sovereign rights. After this agreement, many Soviet experts came to Syria to provide assistance in the field of education and economic and military aid continued. Syria, in the period between 1954-1970, over 580 million dollars from the Eastern Bloc military; Around 440 million dollars were also the seventh in the list of states that benefited most from the Soviet aid by getting economic aid (Özkoç, 2008, p. 143).

As soon as Hafez Assad came to power, he worked with a strategy of continuing the alliance with the Soviet Union and strengthening relations. Considering the reasons why Hafez al-Assad adopted this strategy, first of all, the idea of protecting Syria's national interests and his power. Other issues can be listed as follows:, The absence of an alternative power to the Soviet Union, the establishment of the military and economic structure of Syria according to the Soviet model, the intelligence support from the Soviet Union, the ideology of the Soviet ideology and the overlapping ideological base of the Assad administration and the aid from Soviet administration.

The two main reasons of the Soviet Union's support for Syria at that time can be summarized as follows (Karabulut, 2007, p. 74): First of all, to provide the Western bloc's loss of position in the Middle East by spreading the discourse of Syria, which has an anti-imperialist and anti-militant attitude. The second was to ensure that the

Soviet Union had one leg in the Eastern Mediterranean in order to protect the nuclear balance. Otherwise, the United States would have been able to disrupt this balance with its nuclear missiles placed in submarines patrolling the Eastern Mediterranean. In this period, when the Soviet influence on Syria is examined in more detail, it is seen that the relations are concentrated more in the military field. For example, the Soviet Union, military experts in Syria, as well as an epicenter of the sea from Tartus; the other epicenter has protected Syrian territory from air, including Tiya.

Despite these developments, the short visit of Hafez al-Assad to the Soviet Union in 1985 caused the bilateral relations to be stagnated. During this visit Gorbachev; said that Syria should abandon its hostile attitude against Iraq and the Palestinian movement because the Soviet Union is not the only ally of the Middle East in Syria.

However, the main aim of Gorbachev, who began rapidly to draw the military experts in Syria, was to cut military spending and avoid possible tensions within the framework of the policies of Glasnost and Perestroika. As seen in the 1980s, the Soviet Union, due to the developments in the political and economic fields, has addressed its problems and in this case, the Soviet Union has reconsidered its relations with some countries including Syria (Karabulut, 2007, pp. 79-80).

3.3 Russia-Syria Relations in The Post-Cold War Era

Right after the end of the Cold War, the Russian Federation got stuck with a number of political, social and economic problems led by the hard transition period in the 1990s and started to withdraw from some of the formerly active regions. Syria, on the one hand, while trying to adapt to the post-Cold War period, the other side of the effort not to lose its closest ally. The relations of the two countries, which were almost frozen due to Syria's debts from the Soviet Union during 1990s, began to make the relations softer in July 1999 after the visit of Hafiz Assad in Moscow. According to Izvestiya newspaper, there are three main causes why the Russian Federation wants to once again revive its relations with Syria (Çalışkan, 2016). The first one is that Moscow, which is demanding an ambitious role in the Middle East, wants to be a mediator in the Middle East peace process and therefore needs the Syrian front. Other considerations are the importance of the Port of Tartus in terms of Russia's presence

in the Mediterranean area and the contribution of Syria to the modernization of the the former Soviet weapons.

Hafiz Esad lost his life on June 10, 2000 as the relations between the parties began to soften again. The Constitution was changed so that his 34 year old son Bashar al-Assad could become the President. Presidential age limit reduced from 40 to 34 and Bashar al-Assad was elected President on July 10, 2000 as a result of the referendum. Boris Yeltsin, who withdrew from his post as President in December 1999 in the Russian Federation, proposed Vladimir Putin as a candidate. As a result of the elections on March 6, 2000, Putin won 52.94% of the votes and On May 7, 2000, he was able to sit in the presidency.

With Putin coming to the presidency in Russia, a new era has begun in Russian domestic and foreign policy (Tellal, 2010, pp. 227-228). For Putin, the most important concepts of international politics are realism and pragmatism (Kreutz, 2007, p. 25). Therefore, he tried to approach his relationship with Syria from this perspective. During Putin's first years of office, Russia faced two major problems; economic crisis and Chechen resistance. In order to tackle these two problems, good relations with the West were needed. Under all these conditions, Putin, in the first five years of his presidency, tried to lift the Russian economy with the investments he made from the West as well as the oil and natural gas pipelines. Russian interest in Syria has followed a much more limited course since he did not want any deterioration in relations with the US and Israel during this period.

Russia, which has entered a period of recovery again with Putin, has become more interested in the geopolitical and geostrategically important regions that had entered into the sphere of influence during the Soviet era (Fulton, 1996).

Putin's practices in the name of centralization were criticized for not being democratic. This criticism has led to the increase of criticism for the oligarchies, the connection of private radio and television to the state, the closure of the magazines, the sanctions against NGOs, the militarization of the society, the change of the electoral law and the unquestionable superiority of the party. It can be said that Vladimir Putin brought Russia into a stronger but less democratic situation. By 2008, Putin had now completed his second term as head of state. According to the Russian constitution, one person was able to hold the presidency up to two times. Dimitri Medvedev, who managed

Gazprom, one of the country's largest natural gas companies, was elected president by taking 70% of the votes (Leszek, 1996).

Bashar al-Assad made a state visit to Moscow in January 2005 and six agreements were signed to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two sides. In this visit, the deletion of 73% of Syria's debts from the Soviet Union's time in return for new arms agreements has accelerated the development of the relations between the two countries. Once this agreement was reached with Syria, many Russian strategists began to discuss the need to expand Port of Tartus and move the Black Sea Fleet into the region in the event of a problem by Ukraine. The alleged connection to Syria behind the assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Refik Hariri in February of the same year left Damascus administration facing international pressure. However, Russia rejected the international pressure by opposing the embargo against Syria in the UN. Once again, international challenges have brought the two countries closer together.

3.4 The Arab Spring and Syria

Arab Spring refers to the sum of revolutions in North African countries and Middle Eastern region. The reason why these revolutions are seen as spring is the revolt of the people against dictatorial regimes that have been going on for several centuries. On the basis of these uprisings, there are dictatorial rules, as well as unemployment, food inflation, political corruption, economic crisis, lack of liberties like the freedom of expression and poor living conditions. In other words, it is the sum of popular movements in Middle East countries, which are the protests, uprisings, revolutions, revolts and many more. If political reasons are considered;

- Although it is understood that democracy is the best form of governance that humanity has ever established, the leaders in the Arab countries do not take steps towards democratization,
- The lack of institutional relations between Arab countries and the West,
- The fact that the real will of the people cannot be reflected on the ballot box and there is no proportional representation of the minorities and Shiites,
- The inadequacy of bureaucratic restructuring with the state's apparatus, the state being not the institutional patronage and the management of the state as a family company,
- They get political legitimacy of leaders from international order, not from support groups in their own countries,

- Management's oppressive, intimidating and prohibitive managerial understandings, tight and overwhelming security-intelligence practices (Hafiz Assad in Syria to kill thousands of people on behalf of the regime) (Johanne and Allagui, 2011).

In 2011, large scale peaceful demonstrations demanding political and economic reforms in Syria have turned into a complete civil war that has become one of the major problems on the international agenda. The chief offender of the onset of violence is the authoritarian regime of Syria and it resort to violent pressures and measures to suppress rebellions. According to the reports issued by UN, the Syrian regime was dealing with systematic human rights violations and the lack of rights of food and health, excessive use of force against protesters, arbitrary detentions, summary executions, abductions, enforced disappearances and torture etc. These reports have no doubt that some of the actions of the regime constitute a crime against humanity.

While some countries went beyond by providing support for the insurgents, the responses of the international society at large have not been enough to force the Syrian regime to change its leadership to step down. While a number of factors contributed to this development, the most important was the position adopted by Russia. Trusting the support given by China, Russia has actively resisted most steps to hike up international pressure on the regime at the United Nations through blocking no less than three Security Council resolutions on Syria, thereby preventing sanctions and depriving of legitimacy of any considerations for humanitarian intervention.

In spite of the crimes against humanity committed by Bashar al-Assad's regime in Syria and the increasing international pressure, Russia provided a strong political support to the regime at the international level during the development of the conflict in Syria in March 2011-July 2012 (El Sarraj ve Taşgın, 2016, p. 4). Fruit seller Muhammed Bouazizzi, who rebelled as a result of the economic crisis in October 2010 and protested the government by burning himself in Tunisia, was the person to fire the first wick of the Arab Spring. Within a couple of months, this wave spread to Tunisia, Egypt and Libya under despotic administrations. And the protests besieged the region and made a wide impact in the international community. Since then, the turbulence in the authoritarian regimes has increased and the danger of democratization has become a danger for all the regional regimes that appear to be a strong autocracy.

Following the individual reaction of Bouazizzi, protests continued increasingly. Over time, the intervention of the protesters hardened and some protesters were killed by the security forces. People from all walks of society participated in street demonstrations in the Arab Spring process, young, old female male Muslims,

Christians and different religious sectarian groups came together for demands for democracy in the same squares. The echoes aroused by the protests led to the overthrow of Zeynel Abidin bin Ali “Tunisia, January 14, 2011” and Hosni Mubarak “Egypt, February 11, 2011”. From the beginning of 2011, protests began in many Arab countries, and almost all of the demonstrations that made a domino effect covered the region.

While there were no intense conflicts and violence outside of Libya, the Syrian uprising had completely changed the regional balances and was the beginning of a much longer period in contrast to expectations. Syria has experienced a process involving surprising elements and articulations in its internal balances. The involvement of external actors and the active role of these actors in the Syrian policies have played a leading role in the process. Although the demonstrations in Syria quickly expanded, it did not grow as soon as in Egypt and Tunisia. As in the case of Bahrain, the Syrian uprising became a violent civil war in a sectarian relationship and there was no social peace (International Crisis Group, 2016, p. 1).

In this period when the popular movements led to major revolutions, two female doctors in Daraa city of Syria were talking on the phone anti-regime these two women doctors were arrested by intelligence and their hair was cut as punishment. Children whose ages ranged from nine to fifteen wrote anti-regime graffiti on a Wall which prompted the regime’s security forces to arrest and torture the children. Children arrested and subjected to severe torture and families of children wanted children to release from intelligence but they suffered violence. Later, Syrian people poured into streets in order to protest against the regime’s violent acts and the Assad regime responded this by shooting the peaceful protestors; it shed light to the fire that would result in the Syrian civil war. However although the events that took place in Daraa served to ignite Syrian’s war, there were in fact, a great many other problems that had effectively led the country toward war.

In the face of demonstrations across Syria, the Assad regime lost control and resorted to harsh military measures. In this process, the legitimacy of power entered into crisis. The opposition, which was armed against the regime, increased its social support by entering violent clashes with the regime forces. In this process, Assad began to lose his army and completely lost his support outside of a limited sector. The opposition, despite its fragmented structures, has progressively reduced the control of the regime

in the country. Iran was one of the most important supporters of the Assad regime since the early years of the civil war. Provides military support to the regime by providing human support in the field. But despite this support, the regime lost control across the country and was stuck in small areas. This merciless regime began to kill innocent civilians in the name of combating terrorism using all kinds of weapons, including chemical weapons. Although international forces condemned the use of chemical weapons in particular, they did not resort to any measures. The Assad regime continued to recklessly use chemical weapons without hesitation. Actors such as the United States and Turkey were urged to pave the way for the democratic process and stop the attacks in this situation. But nothing changed.

The Assad regime used chemical weapons for the first time on August 21, 2013 in Eastern Guta. In this attack, more than 1,400 people, including most women and children, lost their lives and about 10 thousand civilians were injured. As a result of the attacks, as civilian living spaces are also destroyed, the struggle for survival continues. In the international sense, the Eastern Guta attack showed great reaction. Even US President Barack Obama stated that he saw chemical weapons as a red line for him. Later, although this discourse led to a polemic, all lines, including red, had to be withdrawn.

Consider what Russia has done in this process. Russia intervened in response to the US response and proposed the dissolution of Syria's stock of chemical weapons. Especially Russia was a very important role in this process. Because Russia changed the balance in the civil war. The intervention of Russia enabled the regime forces in the field to hold on to the field. Thanks to this comfort, the Assad regime developed complex relations with other actors of the civil war, PYD and DEASH, in order to maintain its existence.

Russian foreign policy tends to see such popular uprisings as a matter of domestic politics. In addition to this, because of the similarity of the colorful revolutions in the Caucasus and Central Asia states to the Arab Spring, Russia's attitude towards these uprisings has always been negative.

As a result, the human rights abuses of the Assad regime and the use of chemical weapons are followed by an independent commission established in 2011 by the United Nations Human Rights Council. This commission publishes its reports regularly on its official Twitter page. More than twenty reports have been prepared so

far. 84th article in the result section of a report on 8 August 2017 says: Government forces used non-legal chemical weapons in four different times. The Syrian Air Force used sarin gas in the city of Han Shaykh in the Idlib region, and dozens of women and children were killed. As a result of the air operation of pro-regime forces, many medical buildings were destroyed in the Han Shaykhun region where people affected by sarin gas were treated. In addition, in Idlib, Hama and Eastern Guta, Syrian forces used chlorine. The Assad regime naturally rejects the use of chemical weapons. In particular, he claims that he did not use chemical weapons in his own media and that he had been subjected to unrealistic charges. On the contrary, he blames the dissidents and claims that they use chemical weapons.



4. SYRIA POLICY OF RUSSIA: PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE UNSC

4.1 The Policies of The UN on The Syria Crisis

In the International arena the efforts to reach to peace as well as conflicts are also very old. Especially with the development of technology the destructiveness of a widespread war has strengthened this view . In contrast to Aristotle's claim, wars no longer are seen as a means to acquire property and efforts to achieve global peace have gained more importance. The United Nations (UN), which was established after the Second World War is the only means of overcoming the anarchy produced by states according to some, is a structure that will be appropriate to the globalisation of economic and social interaction (Hardt and Negri 2008, p. 31).

Based on the rules stated in the UN Charter, the organization has undergone a lots of objectives, such as protecting basic human rights, gender equality and the economic and social well prosperity of all peoples, beyond the provision of peace and international stability and supported by socio-economic and military tools for increasing the enforcement power of decisions unlike taken by League of Nations (Mgboji, 2006, p. 860).

In the United Nations established after World War II the Security Council, in which the five winners of the war took place as permanent members was equipped with very strong and broad powers, whereas the General Assembly in which all member states were represented equally, was shaped as a negotiating body. However, it has been found that this system where the Security Council has a decisive and ruling position has failed in terms of ensuring international peace and security as the main objective (Topal, 2004, p. 104).

The Security Council developed a new doctrine called the Humanitarian Intervention Doctrine in the early 1990s. According to this doctrine, which was formulated only by the Council and was not mentioned in the UN founding treaty; In the event that there are seriAdams

human rights abuses or human disasters such as, forced migration, genocide civil war, military coups or the danger of hunger in any country, the Security Council may decide to intervene in order to solve the problem (Aral, 2013, p. 13). This decision was initially made as promising to reduce conflict and human rights violations in the world.

A plan was prepared by Kofi Annan, who was appointed by UN and the Arab League to stop the conflicts between the Syrian opposition that began in 2012 and the armed forces of the Baathist regime and to reach peace in Syria. However the Annan Plan is still not fully implemented although it has been a long time since April 12th the deadline for its implementation; Blood continues to flow in Syria. The international community which is expected to have a more effective attitude towards Syria deals every day by taking a step towards solving the problem (Akgün, 2012).

It is stated that a large number of Syrians most of them died because of the civil war, tens of thousands were injured or became a refugee in neighboring countries torture and sexual assaults. The threat of life and property caused by civil war in Syria where human rights violations become a state step has naturally been discussed in front of the United Nations (UN). What happened in Syria came to the fore at the Security Council meeting on April 21, 2011 when the negotiations between Palestine and Israel were discussed; US, UK, France and Germany have called for a solution to the problem by expressing violence against protesters. However Russia and China objected to the discussion of the issue at the Security Council, citing that any interference with Syria's internal affairs is unacceptable (Saira, 2012, pp. 2-3).

Later, what happened in Syria came to the Security Council again; Some states, including the United States, Germany and Brazil, have called for the condemnation and urgent termination of violence. But Russia and China have hampered the issue by arguing that the situation in Syria does not pose a threat to international peace and security. Another initiative taken in the Security Council meeting was held on 4 February 2012. This time, thirteen members of the Council submitted a draft resolution to the Council, condemning the Syrian administration for widespread and severe human rights violations and ending the violence and calling for a cease-fire between the parties. However this project as in previous undertakings Russia and China 's use of veto power has not been accepted because of (Topal, 2014, pp. 102-103). Every veto of China and Russia has caused an increase in the destruction in Syria (Adams,

2015, p. 3). Therefore, the division of the Security Council into two different blocks makes it impossible to make a working decision on Syria, as in other issues.

The decision of the UN Security Council on the protests in Syria seen as a continuation of the Arab Spring, imposed on Russia and China's blockade had raised and escalated the international dimension of the crisis. Moscow stated that the Arab League actively supported its initiative that stipulated the end of violence no matter where the source of violence was announced in November 2011. Moscow declared that the resolution proposed the call for the separation of the Syrian opposition from the armed radicals and the demand of the Syrian administration to withdraw the army from the cities added that the armed groups demanded that they leave the cities.

Moscow hopes that the parties will be able to reach an agreement within the framework of law and dialogue and to solve the social, political and economic problems in Syria without using force and in dialogue with the public. Therefore the use of all power for the solution of the Syrian crisis; it asks for the realization of social and economic in addition to political reforms as well as for the implementation of any sanctions (Aydin, 2012).

During intervening period, the UNSC made several meetings on the issue and took up to ten resolutions. The first decision on 14 April 2012 was a roadmap for the call for a ceasefire in Syria, called the UN Secretary General, and sent 30 military observers to the country; However, Assad did not comply with the decision taken, is not clear what is observed, and then increased the number of decisions to increase the duration of mission. Then on September 27, 2013 the draft resolution envisaging the destruction of all chemical weapons in the country was the most important UN resolution; but Assad did not comply with this decision. On the other hand, the UNSC addressed another problem and made its attention to ISIS, in one of the decisions taken on 22 February and 14 July 2014, the fight against ISIS and foreign fighters, and the other on humanitarian issues. Until today the most vital decisions on the agenda of the UNSC were vetoed by Russia and China; As such, the more important issues, because it will be vetoed, could not come to the agenda (Dedeoğlu, 2015).

A plan was set by Kofi Annan, who was appointed by the UN and the Arab League in order to stop the conflicts between the Syrian opposition that began in March 2011

and the armed forces under the Ba'ath rule and to restore peace and stability in Syria. However, the Annan Plan could not be fully implemented (Akgün, 2012, p. 3). In the event that Russia and the United States do not agree, the UN must not be expected to implement a policy towards a solution in Syria.

Efforts to put a stop to the spiral of violence in Syria have been inconclusive as a consequence of division of the international public opinion and the failure of the Security Council. The civil war, which caused thousands of people to die, injured and left their homes, continues with all its violence and the sufferings of Syrians continue to be recorded as statistical data.

4.1.1 Special representatives and peace plans of the UN Secretary General

UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon has appointed three special representatives in 4 years in order to negotiate with the parties in order to find a solution to the crisis in Syria. Ban appointed the former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan as the special representative of the UN with the Arab League on February 23, 2012, a year after the crisis in Syria. Kofi Annan prepared a 6-point peace plan and submitted the plan to the parties in Syria and the international public on 16 March. In general the plan was to stop the clashes withdraw the military elements from the city centers and respond to the legitimate demands of the people of the Syrian rule. Despite the fact that the parties declared their acceptance of the plan as a result of the long negotiations, the plan failed, the protests were not allowed and the regime's attacks on civilians increased with heavy weapons and the conflict was intensified again (Goodrich and Hambro, 1946).

- **Geneva Declaration**

On June 30, 2012, Annan organized an Action Group conference in Geneva with the participation of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, permanent members of UNSC and the countries of the region. At the end of the conference, the Geneva Declaration, the most important text in the crisis period, was accepted by the parties and announced to the public. The paper included articles such as the establishment of a fully-fledged transitional government with the joint participation of dissidents and power, the launch of a comprehensive dialogue process a multi-party participatory and fair election. Annan, however, declared his

resignation on August 2, 2012, stating that the consensus on the establishment of the transition government in the Geneva Declaration was not reflected on the ground and that his efforts had failed due to the split in the UNSC (Barnes and Levy, 2014).

- Ibrahim and Geneva-2 Conference

Following Annan's departure, on August 17, the UN and Arab League commissioned Al-Ahmar al-Ibrahimi, an experienced diplomat from Algeria as special envoy for Syria.

A large part of Ibrahim's mandate was devoted to efforts to organize the Geneva-2 Conference. Since the disputes between the parties could not be solved due to the precondition for the establishment of a transition government in Syria the dates for the conference have been delayed since the beginning of 2013 and chemical weapons were attacked in August near Damascus. After this attack, the intervention signal came from the United States, Russia came into operation and the process of destruction of the chemical weapons of Syria began. Meanwhile, clashes with conventional weapons and loss of lives continued (BBC News, 2014).

- Mistura and "Freezing of Conflicts" Plan

On July 10, 2014, Staffan de Mistura was appointed to the Special Representative of the United Nations Syrian Bureau of Syria. De Mistura, unlike his predecessors, was only appointed as the UN representative. Mistura, 30 October, told reporters in Syria, a peace plan in the current period will not be realistic, instead, he said that an action plan of the Geneva Declaration still remains valid, but a different method is needed, he said. Mistura, the United States on 17 February, after negotiating with the parties that he has defined the conflict as the freezing of conflicts in certain regions, the Syrian government has decided to stop all airstrikes and heavy weapons attacks against Aleppo city for six weeks from a date to be announced from Damascus. he said he had accepted. However there was no explanation as to the fate of the 6-week cease-fire and when it would be operationa and yet another road to peace has failed (Anadolu Ajansı, 2015).

4.1.2 Evaluation of the politics of the UN for the Syria crisis

International peace cannot be achieved because international interests do not coincide with each other's interests. On the other hand, great losses led by a widespread war have led the states that constitute the international system to seek solutions. The steps taken to assemble under the umbrella of a global organization dates back to the years before the First World War, but the first initiative was made by the League of Nations and after the Second World War era, United Nations (UN) was founded.. First of all the UN, which is an American project, has an unfair operation due to the veto rights of the winner countries of the Second World War (Birdişli, 2010, p. 180).

The UN organization was unable to fulfill the functions expected of it until the beginning of the Cold War in the early 1990s. The Cold War which was triggered by bipolarism between the countries of the capitalist bloc and the socialist countries led by the US during this period, has made it impossible to effectively mobilize the Security Council. Therefore when international crises broke out in this period and the issue was brought to the Security Council, it was either vetoed by one of the permanent members or never brought to the Council. For example, the US invaded Vietnam between 1965-1973, killed three million Vietnamese people and committed all kinds of war crimes, although no decision was taken by the Council. The Soviet Union occupied Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Afghanistan (1979) during the Cold War, but Security Council did not intervene in the face of these aggressions. Again, the sanctions against the occupations which were carried out by Israel in violation of international law were unsuccessful (Aral, 2013, p. 11).

The UN has not been able to prevent the loss of hundreds of thousands of people in Syria, Yemen and Libya; However, there are no main actors other than the UN that can solve the problems on the agenda (Rivera, 2016). According to the UN General Secretariat's report in 2016, it is stated that around 13.5 million Syrians are in need of assistance, 6.5 million are displaced within their country and 4.6 million are refugees (United Nations, 25/36). In this process, the UN provided monthly food aid to 6 million people, and 4.4 million people received housing support and other assistance. Five million people provided 9 million health care support (Supporting Syria, 2016). Considering the ineffectiveness of the UN in the face of Syria and other global

problems, the existence of the organization becomes controversial, but there is no other structure in the global system that will be the solution to these problems.

When analyzed in Syria in general, one can speak of a lack of power that can actually enforce existing rules, rather than a rule gap in the international arena (Ağır ve Aksu, 2017, p. 50). The legal norms created under the leadership of the UN foresees taking of all kinds of measures, including sanctions, in these human tragedies. The structure of the UN is devoid of the will to enforce these norms. Countries do not take into consideration any moral values in Syria to maximize their interests.

The most important aim of the United Nations is to ensure international peace and cooperation. No other institution has experience or authority in this regard. While the UN is considered to be inadequate and criticized for the solution of Syria and other global problems in the world, it is not suggested that the UN is an unnecessary organization. The result we reached; The fact that there is still no alternative other than the UN in the resolution of global problems and that the UN system has a structure that can make and implement a fair and rapid decision is compulsory for world peace (Ağır ve Aksu, 2017, p. 24). The UN is transformed into a platform of conflicts of interest between major powers and at the same time transforming it into a tool for competition, and the Security Council, which is regarded as executive organ of the organization, has to make decisions through the association of five permanent members. First of all this structure should be changed. In practice five permanent members Russia and China are on one side; The United States, France and the United Kingdom are located on the other side. Due to differences in interest among the parties in global politics, reasonable decisions cannot be made even on the most fundamental issues. (Ağır ve Aksu, 2017, p. 52).

In the Syrian civil war, which started as a reflection of the Arab Spring to Syria, the UN has lost its lives of approximately 400 thousand people, millions of people become refugees and many inhumane incidents have occurred. During the intervening period, although the UNSC held several meetings on the issue, sometimes it could not decide because of the veto mechanism, and sometimes the decisions were not applied due to the policy differences of permanent members. The studies carried out by the UN in terms of humanitarian assistance are inadequate but carried out under a specific

program. Without any diplomatic solution, the solution of the problems of Syrians and Syrians with humanitarian aid is not possible (Ağır ve Aksu, 2017).

4.2 Syria Policy of Russia

Russia after a short period of liberal and Western foreign policy after the dissolution of the Soviet Union tried to pursue a more pragmatic foreign policy, especially when Vladimir Putin came to power (Tsygankov and To, 2012, pp. 129-134). When Vladimir Putin became President of Russia, a new era has started in Russian domestic and foreign policy. The foreign policy perception document, published on June 28, 2000, has guided Putin's foreign policy with its multi-polarity and active foreign policy objective. For Putin, realism and pragmatism are the most important concepts of international politics (Mikail, 2007, pp. 70-78). It was argued that Putin emphasized Syria in terms of a strategy of return to the old days (Aghayev and Katman, 2012, p. 11).

While post-Soviet Russian foreign policy debated liberalism, realism and nationalism, these three doctrines were used in Putin's time, but the discourse shifted from liberalism to nationalism. Jouanny therefore argued that Putin's foreign policy philosophy had a hybrid nature (Hilal, 2014). Putin, who opposed the state's restriction of any ideology in the first period of his power (2000-2004), adopted a pragmatist understanding by acting in accordance with the circumstances. When Putin took office, the economic crisis and the Chechen War, Russia needed to establish good relations with the West in order to fight these two big problems. Putin who very often expressed that the notion of communism was unrealistic described him economically as liberal and stated that he would fight for Russia to reach Western standards (Bourtman, 2006, p. 5).

In late 2010, Putin began to pursue a policy on the perception of the siege and encirclement of Russia in foreign policy. Particularly in December 2010 the Arab Revolts began to spread widely and the mass street demonstrations in Russia in 2011 were very worried about Putin (Altun, A. 2015). In the beginning, Putin, who opposed the state to offer ideological frameworks, adopted ideological contexts with the third presidency, which started in March 2012, while adopting nationalist concepts. In addition, the idea of Eurasianism has become increasingly evident. The idea of

bringing together the Russian diaspora, which is living outside the borders of the country, especially the northern Russian, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, has come to the fore more in Russia. In addition the Russian nationalists have suggested that Russia should provide activities in areas far from the borders of Russia in order to be able to get rid of the siege of the West (Erşen, 2014).

In 2014, in a speech he delivered to the Bundestag, Putin raised the crisis in both Ukraine and Syria, and he described Russia as a fortified fortress. Putin stated that Russia will act with the same moral power in the face of global crises and terrorism. Putin, in a sense, announced that they would give any counter-treatment against Russia's siege by means of his statements (Jouanny, pp. 77-78).

In the period of Vladimir Putin, Russia's Syria policy was examined in four periods. The process until 2005 when Putin was engaged in domestic problems more than in 1999 when he was Prime Minister was considered as the first period. The period from 2005 to 2011 (the beginning of the Arab Rebellions) was stated as the second period. The process from 2011 to 2014 is depicted as the period in which Syria relocated to Russian foreign policy. The process that started with Russia sending troops to Syria in 2015 was written as the fourth period.

At the national level, Russia's interests in Syria can be summarized as follows. Russia's only gate to the Mediterranean Sea is the Tartus Naval Base. The only way out of Russia's energy relations with Iraq is to be a military base. Also, considering the oil and natural gas reserves under the Eastern Mediterranean, Russia's presence in the Mediterranean which has largely turned its energy over the energy, seems to be linked to the Tartus Naval Base. Furthermore, having an ally in such a valuable region can prevent the exclusion of Russia in the new energy equation (Sağlam, 2014).

4.2.1 Frozen alliance (1999-2005)

In 1999, when Vladimir Putin became Prime Minister of Russia, Hafez al-Assad made his last visit to Moscow. During the talks, Syria's 13.4 billion dollar debt problem from the Soviet era and frozen cooperation issues are discussed. With this visit, Russia softened its stance against Syria, while Russian newspaper Izvestia tied Moscow to want to improve relations with Syria for the below-written reasons:

- Russia's only sea base in the Mediterranean Sea in Tartus, Syria
- Russia will be able to convince Damascus to peace with Israel
- Damascus is ready to pay some of its debts from the Soviet period and the idea of Moscow to sell both old Soviet weapons and new Russian weapons to Syria (Katz, 2006, p. 53).

The debts of the Soviet period, which was seen as a big problem in the face of bilateral relations for many years, became insignificant with the weapons that Damascus would buy from Russia. In other words, Russia has calculated that hot money is entered into the arms industry for debts. With Hafez Assad's visit, a vision cannot be achieved until 2005, despite a vision of bilateral relations. The change of leaders who have been in power for many years in both countries is one of the main reasons for this delay. In place of Boris Yeltsin, on 31 December 1999, Putin, who was acting as Acting Head of State, won the elections held in March and confirmed his leadership. After Hafiz Assad's death in June 2000, Bashar al-Assad became the new president of Syria (Katz, 2006, p. 54).

In Syria, the Russian representative, Gennadiy Seleznyov, told Bashar al-Assad that Russia is in solidarity with Syria and that Russia-Syria relations, which are important for Hafez al-Assad will continue. In September 2000, Putin will tell the new Syrian leader that the development of Moscow and Damascus relations would benefit both countries. One month after these statements, Russian minister of foreign affairs Igor Ivanov visited Damascus and met with Bashar Assad and Syrian Foreign Minister Faruk Ash-Shara. Syrian Ambassador to Russia Vahib Fadel said that Syria and Russia could overcome temporary problems and should accelerate bilateral relations (Kreutz, 2007, p. 26).

With the administration of Putin, Russia's attempts to be active again in Syria were met by the Assad regime. Indeed in May 2001, this time Faruk Ash-Shara and Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Tlas visited Moscow, and the military cooperation between the two countries and the developments in the Middle East were discussed. An

important statement during the talks came from the Russian official Andrei Nikolayev and Nikolayev said that Moscow would not hesitate to sell weapons to Damascus (Kreutz, 2007, p. 26).

Arms trade is another important dimension of relations between Russia and Syria. Currently the Damascus regime in Russia owes about \$3.5 million from this trade. Moreover until the end of Syria, 78% of the purchase of arms from Russia. Defense systems and trade between the two countries continued until recently. If the regime maintains its presence, Russia will be able to continue its arms trade and collect debts. In this context Assad's presence is important for Moscow's economy.

4.2.2 Importance of Syria (2005-2011)

On 25 January 2005, Bashar Assad's first visit to Moscow was a major turning point in Russia's Syria policy. During this visit Syria became a major problem in the bilateral relations in the post-Cold War period. and the remaining 3 billion 600 million dollars in installments. In addition to this, despite the objections of the United States and Israel Moscow has accepted the sale of Syria's long-awaited advanced air defense systems. According to the Russian newspaper Kommersant this deal, which was over \$ 100 million, was completed in the same year as the order of Putin. It was also understood that the technical maintenance station in the Tartus Port of Syria, which is connected to the Black Sea Fleet of Russia, was turned into a full naval base (Katz, 2006, pp. 55-56).

In a sense the geopolitical concerns that Russia felt in its immediate vicinity increased the importance of Syria for the Kremlin. Moscow, which began to think of Syria as a strategic area where it could establish events outside its own environment, as it was during the Soviet Union period, tried to develop a strategy at this point from 2005 on.

In April 2005 economic ministers of the two countries came together and signed a protocol to improve cooperation in areas such as banking, industry, oil, transportation, health, tourism, communication, higher education, irrigation, agriculture and investment. Amir Lutfi the Syrian Minister of Economy of the period announced that the Syrian government is ready to take all measures to increase Russian investment in tourism construction of large industrial sites oil and gas extraction. It was also decided to increase the number of Syrians studying in Russian military academies (Aslanlı,

20018). In a sense the relative stasis in the relations between Russia and Syria in the post-Cold War period has begun to disappear in this process.

The most important developments that gave impetus to Russia's Syria policy were experienced in defense. Moscow sold air defense systems in April 2005, but rejected the sale of strategic systems such as Alexander and Igla, which Damascus had requested many times after the intense objection of Israel. Russia wanted to sell more weapons to Syria in this process, but did not want to disrupt its trade with Israel. As a matter of fact, in spite of the protests that started in Russia and the USA after the sale of weapons to Russia both Putin and Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said that the weapons had defensive systems and did not contain any strategic weapons that would undermine the balance in the Middle East (Kreutz, 2007, p. 15). The developments are a sign that Russia is trying to be an effective actor in the Middle East. Russia, which continued to improve its relations with Syria, aimed to counter NATO's enlargement, particularly by strengthening its military presence in the Mediterranean (Kiraz, 2016, pp. 304-305). At this point the geopolitical concerns of the stronger Russia have led to a more active attitude in Syria policy.

4.2.3 How did Russia adopt a military-political strategy?

One of the motivations behind Russia's policies in Syria is to exist and strengthen in the Middle Eastern region and the Mediterranean region. With this, Russia gains an advantage in restoring its global power position, increases its security capacity, and is strong in the global energy game (the capacity of Syria as a potential energy source and energy route). Putin's definition of Syria as a central country in terms of Middle East policy is also important in this context. The importance of the Middle East in 3 different places (15, 16 and 18) in the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation, which was approved by Putin on 31 December 2015, and noted that Russia will continue to claim Russia as the world's leading power has been mentioned. However in the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation on 12 May 2009 (officially the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation-up to 2020), the Middle East was only mentioned in Article 11. From time to time, it is claimed that Russia and its main purpose is to protect the interests of the Assad regime not the Assad regime but also the interests of the Eastern Mediterranean, and therefore it tries

to protect not only Damascus and its environs but also Latakia and Tartus (Aslanlı, 2018).

4.2.4 Syria in Russian foreign policy (2011-2014)

The protests carried out to overthrow the Assad regime in Syria in March 2011, regime's hard measures to try to suppress (Demirtaş, 2014, pp. 106-108). And the opposition's opposition to the violent policy of the regime has created a conflict in the country. In a short period of time the demand for foreign support in Syria to turn into an armed civil war and the warring parties seeking foreign support in order to outmaneuver their rivals have caused the regional and global powers to become more involved in the process.

At this point, especially when Russia criticized NATO's military operation against Libya (Karakoc and Ersoy, 2016, pp. 125-126), which began in March 19, 2011, it began to worry about the spread of regime changes through external intervention (Telatar, 2015, pp. 177-180). Moscow is not only traditionally interested in humanitarian intervention in terms of the fact that foreign powers do not allow them to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia but also open doors of intervention similar to allied regimes. The fact that such an intervention has spread to Syria also means a much greater crisis in terms of Moscow. Therefore after the developments in Syria, it started to play a more decisive role region.

The Kremlin administration has called for a rapid response to developments in Syria and not to use disproportionate force on the Damascus regime, to initiate reforms quickly and to meet with dissidents. Moscow also called for mediation and called for reconciliation with the regime (Daher, J. 2018) In this process, although Russia supported the Assad as a legitimate authority, it tried to prevent the growth of the crisis in Syria.

At this point, Moscow thought that the breakdown in Syria could jeopardize the security of Russia, either directly or indirectly. Interpretation of the protests that started in Russia Belarus and Ukraine in the first months of 2011 in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine at the same time as interpreting a Slavic Spring in the region with reference to the concept of Arab Spring is another factor that increases Russia's discomfort. Moscow has clearly demonstrated its support for Assad due to these concerns (Erşen, 2014a, p. 162). This clear and clear attitude of Russian foreign policy on Syria can be

explained by Putin's geopolitical point of view. The Kremlin, which thinks that the West was surrounded by geopolitical initiatives, tried to break this idea by establishing an activity in Syria outside its immediate surroundings.

One of the most concrete indications of this support was that on 4 October 2011, the UNSC vetoed Moscow's decision to impose sanctions on Syria together with China. During the negotiations, Medvedev stated that the decision to go to Assad could not be determined by NATO or other Western organizations and that the Syrian people should decide. Medvedev also stated that he would consider a military intervention against Syria as Moscow's red line. (Doster, p. 53.) Indeed, in November 2011, Russia sent three battleships to the port of Tartus and showed that support for the Damascus regime would continue. In response to this move from Washington, George Bush sent his aircraft carrier off Syria. While the tension in the Eastern Mediterranean rises, Russia has also sent a single aircraft carrier, Admiral Kuznetsov to Syria (Doster, p. 50) to declare symbolically that it will not avoid the geopolitical struggle in the region.

As the clashes in Syria increased with these developments, on February 4, 2012, the UN Security Council was presented with a draft resolution envisaging sanctions for Syria, but Russia and China vetoed the bill (BBC, 2012). On the other hand, they argue that the departure of Bashar Assad will not be a solution for Syria. In this context Russia China and Iran often say they do not favor the intervention in Syria. The fact that the UN Security Council has not been able to adopt a new resolution for Syria until recently has been due to the stance of the second group (Tepeciklioğlu, SBF 2015).

During this period not only Russia but also the international public opinion focused on the developments in Syria. Especially the cessation of the conflicts in Syria has been turned into the main agenda item. On this idea, in March 2012, former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan met with the Assad regime as the UN Special Envoy and prepared an agreement called Annan's 6-point Plan (BBC, 2012). Although the ceasefire was achieved, the first serious step taken by the international community to resolve the crisis in Syria did not last long. The clashes were intensified in May after the ceasefire collapsed (BBC, 2012).

While Russia gradually increased its effectiveness in the war in Syria the policy it followed faced an important test on chemical weapons. On April 25, 2013, US Defense Minister Chuck Hegel's conclusion that he concluded that chemical weapons were

used in Syria led to a major crisis in the international public opinion. Barack Obama in particular, has often stressed that the use of chemical weapons in Syria is a red line for the US administration and this has led to the expectation of military intervention in Syria. In addition the US Secretary of State John Kerry shared with public use of sarin gas by the Assad administration. While the reality of the claim strengthened with the photographs in the press, the US sent warships to the Mediterranean in order to intimidate Assad (Güner, pp. 280-281). However the main crisis on this issue began in August 2013 when hundreds of people died in the attack in which chemical weapons were used in the Guta region of Damascus. Western countries have raised the military option against Syria, claiming that the attacks have been carried out by the Assad administration. Moscow found the evidence insufficient and opposed any military operation (Erşen, 2014b, p. 126). The legitimate government and international law norms that Russia put forward from the beginning of the process have become insignificant with the use of chemical weapons by Assad. However Moscow continued to support Assad in its geopolitical interests.

4.2.5 Military intervention to Syria

The Kremlin administration is often voiced that if the Assad regime is toppled, the region will be under the control of terrorist organizations. This discourse has been confirmed especially since 2014, when ISIS captured several regions of Iraq and Syria and declared the Caliphate. At this point increasing the effectiveness of ISIS in the region has been considered a major threat for Russia. (Karakoc and Ersoy, 2016, p. 7). Security expert Alexey Malashenko stated that there were more than two thousand Russian citizens in ISIS in 2014, and when the war in Syria and Iraq ended, they would return to Russia and create a huge security gap for Moscow. In the same year, the terrorist attacks in Grozny the capital of Chechnya, further increased Moscow's threat perception (Parker, 2015, p. 68).

In spite of these developments, the Putin administration has been uncomfortable with the air operations launched against the ISIS in Syria in August 2014 under the leadership of the US. Moscow, claiming that the real purpose of the West was to overthrow Assad argued that the Syrian government's approval or the attacks on ISIS targets without the UN Security Council resolution were against international law (

Canyurt, 2018, p. 27), Furthermore, the UN Security Council draft, which envisages referring the war crimes committed in Syria to the International Criminal Court, was also vetoed by Russia and China (Telatar, 2015, p. 191).

On the other hand, between the January-August period of 2015, the Assad regime lost about 18 percent of the land against the opposition and the ISIS, and began to worry about Russia (Erşen, 2014a, p. 166). Kasim Suleimani, who was allegedly carrying out Iran's military activities in Syria, visited Moscow in July 2015 and gave information to the Russian authorities about the course in the region and tried to convince Russia for a military intervention in Syria (Williams and Souza, 2016, pp. 43-44).

Since August 2015, Russia has grown to be in military presence in the region. At this point, he stated that he had established a military base near Basil Assad Airport in Latakia. Moscow and sent new warplanes, attack helicopters, air defense systems and unmanned aerial vehicles to the region. The base, which is called as Hmeymim Air Base, was strengthened by Moscow's Tartus Naval Base and the 1700 Russian military experts in the region. As Russia's military presence in Syria began to be questioned. Lavrov admitted that Moscow had long been sending arms and military experts to Syria, but argued that its main purpose was to support Assad, which fought against ISIS and other extremist groups (Williams and Souza, 2016, p. 44).

As a matter of fact, although the Putin administration claimed that the operations in Syria were against the ISIS, the fact that a significant part of the targeted regions were directed against the anti-Assad opposition backed by the US and its allies has also questioned (Erşen, 2014a, pp. 164-165). After Russia's air operations the US, Turkey and EU countries agrees that Moscow target the dissidents. Russia has continued its air operations in Idlib, Hama and Homs regions without paying attention to the reactions (Williams and Souza, 2016). Moscow has directly intervened in the war in Syria, strengthening the presence of its ally Assad, while at the national level it has been targeted by militants under the umbrella of ISIS and other opposition groups. In particular, the claim that there were around 7,000 militants in Russia, Caucasus and Central Asia in the region has played an important role in this determined attitude of Moscow (Erşen, 2014a, p. 166).

The rule of Assad with support of Russia to recover itself, while the balances in Syria began to reshape in favor of Assad. (Williams and Souza, 2016) US President Obama does not want to be directly involved in the Syrian crisis the coalition against the ISIS

does not achieve the desired success and the refugees who have turned into a big crisis for the EU a new dialogue between the West and Russia It has brought. For this purpose Russia which played the most effective role with the US during the III Geneva meetings has reached one of the most important goals on the global level in the Syrian crisis (Erşen, 2014b).

With these gains, the importance of Syria for Russia has become increasingly strategic. Indeed, Syria is the country that breaks the idea of surrounded by Russia. The fact that Russia has an economic, political and military presence in Syria enables it to become a prominent country in global politics, especially in the Middle East.

In fact, like Russia, Turkey had seen Syria as a geostrategic point of opening to the Middle East (Çelikpala, 2010, p. 138) since October 2015, Russian warplanes bombed Syrian Turkmen villages in violation of Turkish airspace, and both the Turkish public and Ankara give taken a big reaction. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs have expressed their discomfort about it, but on November 24, 2015 Turkish airspace has once again been violated by Su-24 type of Russian warplanes. But warplanes Turkey's need for rules of engagement, which was declared in 2012 was reduced by Turkish jets. Turkish-Russian relations have entered into a serious crisis that has affected the Syrian war.

However in the event that the West increases its influence in Syria the geostrategic opening of the two countries in the region will be obstructed and the relations between Moscow and Ankara have been repaired. As a matter of fact, on August 9, 2016, President Erdoğan and Putin gathered together in Moscow and discussed the strengthening of Turkish-Russian relations (Walker and Rankin, 2016). This situation also affected the war in Syria. Border security and the fight against the terrorist organization in Turkey has become more important than the overthrow of Assad. Ankara launched a military operation in Syria in August.

Russia's military operations in Syria as well as the peace negotiations that exclude the West has further strengthened its leadership position in the region. In a sense the initiatives of Vladimir Putin in the Syrian crisis have brought Russia to the forefront as the determinant of war and peace. Syria, Vladimir Putin in the period of Russia's geopolitical discourse is breaking the idea of the country. Similar to the Cold War period, Russia's political, military and economic presence in Syria proves that it can exist in a region outside its own environment (Nechepurenko, 2017).

Russia's deep and active ties with the Middle East and the countries of the region throughout its history still exist today. These relations continue especially in Syria. The development of the recent Arab Spring around the world has undoubtedly influenced Russia but it always knew to act within the psychology of the great state.



5. CONCLUSION

This thesis aim discusses the deep connection between Russia and Syria. In realistic perspective, it is very difficult to determine whether Russia's policy on Syria will change and its goals and dimensions. However, in this study, due to military and political developments and taking into account the local, regional and international reactions on the issue, one has revealed the reasons for Russia's closeness to Syria and the reasons why it constantly vetoed the decisions taken against Syria as an important member of the UN Security Council.

The Russian Federation still plays an important role in the Syrian crisis, one of the most critical problems of the international arena. Therefore, the role of this country in the context of the Syrian crisis is among the subjects that require the most research. There are many reasons for Russia to stand steadily behind Syria at all costs. To understand Russia's policy in the Syrian crisis, it was necessary to touch upon the special relationship between Russia and Syria. Because the relationship between the two countries have not only financial issues but also political and strategic importance.

After the spread of the Arab uprisings to Syria, Russia became one of the global actors of the problem. Russia, under Putin's leadership, has begun to pursue a more ambitious and decisive policy than any other country in the Middle East and even beyond its immediate vicinity. This raised questions about Russia's policy towards the region. However, not so long ago, in the Cold War years, the Russians followed the most effective policy in the Middle East and even their global rivals had many successes against the US. Similar to the Cold War period, Russia's political, military and economic presence in Syria proves that it can exist in a region outside its own environment. Although Russia is not a regional country, it is trying to make itself felt in the first league among international actors and to feel its weight in regional and global issues. The main reason Russia can do this is undoubtedly due to its veto power in United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

Looking at the reasons behind the fact that Russia is not indifferent to the developments in Syria, one of them is the concern that the effects of the Arab Spring may spread to Russia. For this reason, Russia is closely following the developments in the Middle East. The protests and demonstrations of opposition groups in important cities before and after the elections that put Putin in power for the third time increased Russia's concerns on this issue. The aforementioned air operations by Russia under the heading of the fight against ISIS and the military support it brought to Syria helped to protect Moscow's national and regional security interests, while the Assad regime strengthened its power and made foreign military intervention against Syria almost impossible. Russia's stance is considered as a game changer in the international and global arena.

Russia is increasing its military presence in Syria, but why ? What is Moscow's purpose ? What makes Syria so important for Moscow ? This study attempts to answer these questions.

- It is important to note that the issue is not to maintain the Ba'ath regime in Syria, but to preserve and expand Russia's military presence in the Eastern Mediterranean. Russia intervened in this country's civil war because it believes it will lose its influence over Syria in the event of the collapse of the regime in Damascus and considerably increased the capacity of its military presence in Syria by evaluating the non-reaction of Western countries, especially the US. While expanding the naval base in Tartus, Russia set up an important air base in Hmeymim near Latakia. Apart from these permanent bases, there are smaller military bases in different parts of the country.
- Russia has 71 percent share of arms imports in Syria

The strongest relationship between Russia and Syria is undoubtedly Russia's export of arms to Damascus. The value of arms contracts between Russia and Syria since 2005 is 5.5 billion dollars. Even though the share of Syria in the world arms exports of Russia is 37 percent, the share of Russia in arms imports by Syria is 71 percent. Russia controls the arms exports of Syria, but also supplies spare parts for military vehicles. Therefore, Syria's dependence on Russia continues. In the event of a fall of the regime, Russia will lose its strategic superiority, its presence in the region and its control over the Syrian army with the arms market.

- Natural Gas Competition

One of the most significant reasons leading to Russia's Syrian struggle is the natural gas pipeline planned to be laid in Europe from the Basra Gulf through Syria. Qatar is the main player in this plan. The aim of Qatar is to obtain the natural gas markets of Europe in search of alternative energy sources.

- International Prestige

Russia has two trusted allies in the region: one Iran, the other Syria. Despite Russia's objection, the collapse of Assad as a result of a possible foreign intervention in Syria will cause a significant blow to Russia's international prestige.

As the Syrian civil war continued, it was a matter of debate. There are three options about how the process will follow. The first is to continue with the Assad regime, in which case Russia will be the main actor to win the Syrian civil war. Because, as mentioned above, it does not want to lose such an ally so close to it, and it will undoubtedly be the most desirable situation for a regime that is closely tied to it.

The other is the fall of the regime in Syria and Assad's withdrawal from the administration. In this case, Russia will be withdrawn from the region, its most significant ally in heart of the region and the sea in the eastern Mediterranean will lose its power. This means that in a way, Russia is dismantled from the Middle East.

The last option, perhaps the most talkable option in the future, is the division of Syria. In the absence of a common solution between the US and Russia in the Syrian civil war, the division, which is an option for both sides, can be realized. As mentioned, for Russia, a base in the heart of the Middle East, a satellite state and only a state that can be attached to itself, in the form of a strong castle would be a great opportunity for Russia.

As a result, Russia's direct or indirect interventions in the immediate vicinity of the revolutions in the immediate vicinity can be considered as a defense for not losing their rights in these countries. However, as seen during the Arab uprisings, Russia tried to establish its effect on the Middle East equation through Syria and was regarded as a leading actor in global politics. Russia, which strengthened its presence in the Eastern Mediterranean, has gained a great geopolitical gain against the West. At this point, Russia's presence in Syria shows that it is not only defending against its rivals, it has also gained an attack area in the Eastern Mediterranean. As a matter of fact, according

to a conflict or problem in Ukraine, the Baltic region or Georgia, Syria is quite far away from the Russian mainland.

Russia continues to support the Assad regime in the light of the reasons stated in this study. However, this policy is also a policy with some handicaps for itself. No power in the world that fights with its own people has been successful until now. The repressive regimes trying to bring their people to the forefront through violence have become history. In the civil war of Syria, Assad expects a similar fate. However, as Russia cannot escape from its old behaviour patterns, it progresses gradually in Syria to failure. Each situation can be written to the loss point for Russia. The Assad regime is more marginalized and excluded due to increasing dose of violence. It is now a matter of time for Assad to move away from power even when its time is unpredictable. According to optimistic scenarios, perhaps the regime could be buried in history with Assad and a new Syria could be established. If the Assad regime collapses, the newly established regime will review its relations with Russia, which supports the old regime. If the Assad regime is not destroyed, Russia will have a negative image as it will be seen as the only supporter of such a bloody regime.

In this study, the historical development of Russia's policies in Syria is discussed. In this regard, the situation of the countries that have experienced crises in the Arab Spring has been explained. During the study, it was tried to be stated that primary factor affecting policy of the Russian administration during period of Soviet Union and Russian Federation was the interests.

The fact that the intensity was given to the Arab Spring period stems from the fact that this process in the Middle East affected the whole world. In the simplest case, even the refugee crisis shows the extent of the global impact of the Arab Spring. Due to the active presence of Russia in this current issue, the intensity of the work is directed towards the Arab Spring process. The other important question what are the historical origins of its current policies? The answer to this question as a result of the data and the results achieved in the study is that to protect the interests of Russia and to enter into the struggle of power economically and politically with the Western powers led by the USA.

In essence, Russia has attempted to be effective in Syria throughout history, and this effect, which reached its peak in the period of the USSR, decreased with the period of Gorbachev. Since 1991, it has begun to regain its lost event in the international arena.

The policy of multilateralism has made it inevitable for Russia to enter the power struggle with the United States.

The military intervention in the Syrian civil war in addition to Assad administration shows the whole world that Moscow is a great player in international politics. The policy of multilateralism has made it inevitable for Russia to enter the power struggle with the United States. The intervention in the civil war and supported Assad administration shows the whole world that Moscow is a great player in international politics. There is no doubt that Russia is the most important actor in Syria and has regained its influence in the country during the Soviet era.

The crisis and the conflict in Syria is still in progress in 2019, and it does not seem to come to an end. When one looks at the current process, it can be seen that the administration of Bashar Assad will not leave the country administration today and in the near future. Syria has officially turned into a field of political reckoning. Consequently, it is necessary to see Russia's Syria policy not only as a policy towards the Middle East, but also as a struggle for hegemony against the West, which was led by the United States since 2008.

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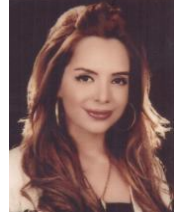
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