

Attitude estimation

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جسور للدراسات  
JUSOOR for STUDIES

**Future of Russian policy in Syria after a year of  
military intervention**



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## **Future of Russian policy in Syria after a year of military intervention**

Russia has completed its first year of military intervention in Syria in the end of September. "Fighting terrorism" is the main goal that Russia identified but the facts during the last year pointed that Moscow did not come close to that goal at all, and the only time which Russia said it had killed a leader in ISIS who is "Abu Mohammed Al-Adnani), united states described this adoption as a joke because he was killed by USA.

Moscow achieved strategically two things from its military intervention as following:

### **In the field of conflict against Washington and the west:**

- 1- To force Washington to start direct dual negotiation which seems that it related to Syria but in the fact it related to deep differences between the two parts such as the missile shield, raising missiles near the Russian borders, NATO'S expand to the east and Washington intervention to sell Russian oil and gas to Europe.
- 2- To force west to approve that Crimea subordination to Russia after military occupation in February 2014 and the role of Moscow in the east of Ukraine and stop changing the governmental regime into a regime against Russia.
- 3- Increase disputes about the attitude towards sanctions on Russia and its advantages among USA and its European allies so, some voices raised to complain such as Germany's attitude which is seeking for positive cooperation politically, economically and security. Moscow's raising use for strategic weapons system, led to some growing worries in the west which maybe will lead to strong conflict in its active scene and lead to great crises.

### **In the field of Syrian situation:**

Empowering situation of Assad's regime ostensibly but in fact to use it to serve Russian policy regionally and internationally, and this is clear in the regime military movement and its political attitudes that come after Russian formal advance approval and also in dealing with Bashar Al-Assad head of the regime either when Russia summoned him to Moscow in November 2015 or the meeting with Russian defense minister in June 2016 in way does not worthy for a president of a state ,and Russia deliberately broadcast a film with sound and image which was considered humiliating.

working on radical change in Geneva reference (June 2012) ,and it has been done in

meetings of Vienna and Munich and the following USA-Russia understandings and the decisions of security council which give new concepts and increase time of political process and disturbance the opposition level's representation by trying integrate Moscow ,Istanbul, and Cairo platforms within the negotiation team and to keep the opposition under pressure of unapproved its full representation, with excluding the national coalition from the direct influence in negotiation.

using paper of terrorism as a way for military extending on the ground and putting pressure on the Syrian and regional forces politically. This plan has succeeded in justifying the Russian intervention in Syria on the one hand, and pointed to it in Yemen and Iraq, on the other hand.

## Is it an expected American Russian deal?

Whenever the president Obama approached the end of his term without a US-Russian agreement, the level of anger and tension of Russia in Syrian and the middle East have been noticed.

It is notable that Putin Administration used excessive level of military power morally, legally and politically to put pressure on US Administration to push for dual agreement. The relations between Russia and Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Israel have been used to put pressure on Obama's Administration and was not a strategic option for Russia, so signing an agreement with Washington still the main goal that there were big sacrifices for it.

It should be noticed that the policy of Washington in dealing with Russia since its military intervention in Syria (end of September 2015) was without strategic lose, and the expense will be from the people not from USA such as Syria and Ukraine or by present future economic inducements from Washington's allies without damaging the relation with it. so, when they speak about a deal, they must monitor the Syrians and their future political regime responses, and the role of Washington and Russia in choosing the leaders of the next stage.

The Russian- American understanding on 102016/9/ showed a preliminary agreement about Syria entitled Aleppo.

both parties have refused to publish content of agreement while Russians said that they wanted to publish it and did not understand why America did not want.

so the unpublished agreement resulted to keep the content of negotiation ambiguous and

raise many questions about the unannounced part ,its content and effect related to Syrians and states of the region especially Saudi Arabia and turkey which face worrying security challenges resulted from the American policy changing in the middle east ,and also the ambiguity of the agreement keeps it mysterious, so it can not know whether an interim tactical agreement or a long-term strategic agreement .

features of the Russian-American agreement about Syria and its major title “Aleppo” as following:

Washington decided to exclude its allies from negotiation that stayed secret, and the comparison between Washington negotiation with Iran about its nuclear program and the secret understandings that began to be clear, we can say that dangerous deal which has not been completed yet will affect Syrians and the states of the region especially on turkey and Saudi Arabia which face worrying security challenges as a result of American political changes in the middle east.

This deal expected to ensure a wide presence in Moscow in fixed military bases in Syria ,and an influence from the coastal area to the western of Aleppo with integration the middle area which will follow Al-Assad within the concept of “beneficial Syria) with presence for Russian fleet in the Mediterranean .

Deals comes within the framework of sharing influence which is currently in Syria, Russia considers that its relations with the regional parties which are effective on the ground such as Turkey ,Iran .Israel will help Russia to put pressure on Washington and improve its conditions of negotiation ,and adopting its vision about the future political regime’s form in Syria which will be based on sharing power between effective power on the ground that have a regional and international support so. there will not be a winner.

it is closer to the Iraqi model (current Iraqi regime) and the external intervention has a big role in disputes or resolving disputes according to the context of the conflicts between powers.

## **Expected scenarios and attitudes:**

The Russian -American announcement on 102016/9/can be included 4 possible scenarios:

### **1- American-Russian understanding (dual deal):**

It is possible that the two parties have reached the agreement entitled “the situation in Syria” included understandings about Europe, NATO and other issues, to include a test level and the challenge the agreement will face is to ensure that America will be committed with its new administration, especially if the republican: Donald Trump “ success, in addition to

the possibility of resistance from countries of the region if it touched their vital interests.

## **2- Regional understandings scenario:**

This scenario would be a substitute for the deal with Washington and Russia will use it if the current agreement fails or it desperate from US attitude change strategically, fear of the effects of military intervention in Syria for a second year with possibility of developing the conflict and entry of new factors presented Russian forces for quality losses.

in this case, countries of the region (turkey firstly) can gain economic and geopolitical gains if they manage the relation with Moscow well without damaging the relation with Washington and its western allies.

The military intervention in Syria and the mutual visits between Turkish and Russian parties politically and military show features of regional understanding maybe an alternative for Russian-American understanding or a complement for it .

## **3- Failure of the truce and returning to the excessive violence:**

Where Russian forces back to what it was before the truce and continue the status of non-understanding with Washington or regional parties or to make incomplete understandings which mean continuing the suffering of Syrian people and the situation stay without a political solution, continue disputes between countries in the Syrian lands without regarding the victims and the disasters caused to civilians and populated areas.

## **4- Sudden elements scenario:**

It based on the possibility of unexpected developments occur at a central parties and lead to a change in the strategic positioning or important changes in the attitude from Syrian crises such as the coup attempt in turkey on 15 July, the developments of PKK influence file which make the risk of establishing a secessionist entity southern of turkey an influential factor in changing its vision and method of dealing with the Syrian issue.

## **conclusion:**

Moscow is facing a difficult and worrying situation, despite the attempt to suggest that it is in a strategic positive position, as the failure in achieving the main goal from its intervention in Syria will make any side gains useless in terms of the impact on its role in the international system.

also, the time factor is a pressure element on it, in addition to the ambiguity in the

form of the new American Administration which not expected to be similar to Obama's Administration that described as weak and lack of initiative facing the difficult challenges in the middle east and the world.



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