

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **ANALYSIS OF THE REASONS OF RUSSIAN INVOLVEMENT IN SYRIAN CIVIL WAR**

In this chapter, the writer would like to analyze the topic issue of this thesis which is The Reasons for Russian involvement in Syrian Civil War since 2011-2016 by using the concept of Perception and also Geopolitics. For the complex-bloody war that happened in Syria which got a lot of attention from the world, it is necessary to identify the reason why this bloody war could happen and caused a lot of death for Syrian citizen. The Russian Federation is blamed for their supports toward Syrian regime and made it became “scapegoat” of the Syrian civil war. In 2012, Russia has legally involved in the Syrian crisis and started to give their full support for the Syrian regime in the form of politic, economic, and military sectors. Based on some political views, it believes that Russian supports do not come for free, yet for some people, it is normal for Russia to help Syria with the full-support since their relationship has been going on since the cold war. This thesis believes, Russia helped Syria based on the same background that they have, the relationship that has established since World War II, and also Russian interests on the Geography of Syria (Geopolitics).

#### **A. Geopolitics of Russia to Syria**

Based on Karl Haushofer, Geopolitics is a responsibility of a state to keep and maintain the right of the people, the land and the cultural lands itself. Basically, Geography is a study

that put geography as the main idea and has an interaction with the political power of a state. This also means if geographic factors are matters to be the interests of a state for doing diplomatic relationship, military activities, and decision-making process. Moreover, according to Cohen, to analyze Geopolitics role in the decision-making process or in the policy, there are 2 important aspects that need to be considered:

1. The description of geographic and its power.
2. The complex relationship that established based on geographical settings
3. Geostrategy of Russia in conducting war in the Syrian Crisis

*Figure 1 4.1 The Geographic of Syria and its Power*



Retrieved from <https://www.mapsofworld.com/syria/syria-turkey-map.html> on April, 14<sup>th</sup> 2018

Based on the map above, Syria has a strategic position in the Middle East area. Syria is passed by the Euphrates River and located

next to the Mediterranean Sea, shares border with Turkey on the north, Israel, and Jordan on the South, Iraq on the East, and Lebanon on the west. Moreover, Syria is also known as “The Gate of Middle East” because it is in the middle of Eurasia and the Middle East.<sup>1</sup> Usually, the countries that located in the Middle East are rich with the source of natural gas, Syria is one of the Arabian countries who have a huge amount of natural gas like Iran and Qatar. For Russia, Syrian natural gas will become the supplement for Russian to grow its economy.

As written in the third chapter, Before Syrian Civil War started, Damascus has filled European demand on a quarter of natural gas. Furthermore, Damascus also has the strategic of Pipeline location which can connect the Pipeline from Arabian lands to the European countries. Therefore, for Russia, if the rebellions and the western succeed too overthrown Assad as the president of Syria, it could threaten the agreement on natural gas between these two countries and could decrease the economic income of Russia.<sup>2</sup> Russia looks forward to involving in the development of Syrian energy, so the other countries who want to ship its petroleum through Syria should recognize the authority of Russia there.<sup>3</sup> This is proved by the cooperation between Syrian government with Russian investor in Gas and Oil such as Tatneft and Stroitransgaz. In this cooperation, Syria promised to assist Russian companies by providing them an inducement to make the project works.

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<sup>1</sup>Bock, Pauline (2015). *Why Syria is So Important*. News Decoder. Retrieved from <https://news-decoder.com/2015/10/why-syria-is-so-important2/> on April, 14<sup>th</sup> 2018

<sup>2</sup>Jokar, Milad (2016). *War in Syria: Geopolitics of The Conflict*. The World Post. Retrieved from [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/milad-jokar/war-in-syria-geopolitics-\\_b\\_2378683.html#](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/milad-jokar/war-in-syria-geopolitics-_b_2378683.html#) on April, 15<sup>th</sup> 2018

<sup>3</sup>Editor (2017). *Key Facts for The Economic Gains of The Russians Intervention in Syria*. Rawabet Center for Research and Strategic Studies. Retrieved from <http://rawabetcenter.com/en/?p=1567> on April, 15<sup>th</sup> 2018

In the same way, Syrian strategic location that next to the Mediterranean Sea has attracted Russia to help Syrian regime win the war. The Mediterranean Sea has known as its important trading routes and the appearance of Suez Canal makes it become more matters. Moreover, for Russia, the access to the Mediterranean Sea is really important because it is a big terrace and the entrance to the Black Sea. The Mediterranean Sea is also known as a major of commercial navigation movement, the number of ships that across its water is around 3000 ships per day.<sup>4</sup>

As mentioned in the third chapter, before Syrian crisis, Russia already has naval and air base in Tartus and Latakia which are Syrian cities that lies on the edge of Mediterranean Sea. In 2011 until 2012 Russia sent its ships to Syria as the backup for Bashar Al-Assad and in 2015 Russia military began to establish the airbase of Russia in the south of Latakia. And in 2017, Russia will expand Tartus Naval Facility and they have ratified an agreement with Damascus so Russia could have a permanent presence there. Sergei Shoigu said that Vladimir Putin has agreed with the structure of Naval and Airbase in Syria.<sup>5</sup>

## **1. The Complex Relationship that Established based on Geographical Treaty**

Even though the relationship between Russia and Syria has been established since the Cold-War, however, they a have love-hate relationship with each other. Currently, Russia is applying the two-

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<sup>4</sup> BG Mahmoud M. Talha (1990). *The Strategic Importance of Mediterranean*. U.S Army War College (Pennsylvania, 1990), p.5 and p.13

<sup>5</sup>Ivanova, Polina (2017). Russia Establishing Permanent Presence at its Syrian Bases: RIA. Reuters. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-russia-bases/russia-establishing-permanent-presence-at-its-syrian-bases-ria-idUSKBN1EK0HD> on April, 15<sup>th</sup> 2018

track policy in the Middle East that means Russia is keeping their friendly relationship with Israel meanwhile building and sometimes striving against the Arabian Countries. Russian Foreign Minister, Sergei Lavrov gave a statement that Russia's policy neither Pro-Arab nor Pro-Israel, yet Moscow just tries to keep and maintain their relationship to reach their Interest.<sup>6</sup>

Yet, since the Syrian crisis appeared, the bilateral relationship between Moscow and Damascus is getting vigorous. It shows the behavior of Russia in supporting Syria in the international arena. At the end of December 2012, Sergei Lavrov ensured that Russia will not sign any diplomatic resolutions toward Syrian Civil War that made by the western terms nor Arabian states.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Moscow has issued three vetoes on UNSC that talked about the peaceful shifting of the authority of Bashar Al-Assad and call him to go from his position as the president of Syria.<sup>8</sup>

## **2. Geostrategy of Russia in Syrian Civil War**

Furthermore, the concept of Geostrategy is traditionally and exclusively related to the military field and geopolitics. It means a combination of strategic consideration with the geography interests. Geostrategy also emphasizes the efforts in maximizing the military power and navigating the diplomatic activity. Moreover, Geostrategy of a state does not have to be based on geographic reasons, it could be from the similar ideology, interest group or even leader. Thus, Geostrategy has some standards that included the points of Geopolitics from Cohen. In addition, Geostrategy pointed out about the utilizing the geopolitical space to comply the military power for

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<sup>6</sup>Bourman, Ilya (2006). Putin and Russia's Middle Eastern Policy. MERIA, p.1-2

<sup>7</sup>Katz, N. Mark; Fairfax (2015). Russian Intervention in the Syrian Civil War. Russian Analytical Digest (Zurich, 2015), p.8

<sup>8</sup>Charap, Samuel (2013). Russia, Syria and The Doctrine of Intervention. Routledge (London,2013), p.36-40

conducting the war.

In the case of Russian assistance to the Syrian regime in the civil war, in February 2012, Russian Foreign Minister went to Damascus for peace mission in Syria. However, in the discussion, they talked about the stockpiles of Syria's military, chemical weapons, and its territory. Moreover, they also talked about the expansion of Russian port facilities in Tartus and Latakia and the distribution of Russian weaponry aids to Syria. As mentioned on the third chapter, in Latakia, Russia sent its T-90 tanks, 300-500 Russian marines, Su-24 and Su-34 fighter-bombers, Su-25 ground attack aircraft and Mi-24 Russian helicopter to protect Bashar Al-Assad regime. Russia also sent some radars for anti-aircraft missile system such as SU-30 multirole fighter aircraft to prevent the rebellions or terrorist attack.<sup>9</sup>

As the result, in 2016, Syria succeeded to recapture around more than 2% from its territory, there are Aleppo, Idlib, Hama and Dar'aa that was controlled by Free Syrian Army, Deir Al-Zour, Raqqa, and Manbij that controlled by ISIS.<sup>10</sup> Russia involvement made a significant progress on the battlefield and also helping the regime to rebuild the infrastructure of Syria post-war. Russia also has improved their military ability, showed the advanced military weapons, and the smart tactics to win the war. Putin also declared that the reason for him involving the war is because to reduce terrorism by supporting Assad.

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<sup>9</sup>Kaim, Markus; Tamminga, Oliver (2015). *Russia's Military Intervention in Syria: Its Operation Plan, Objectives, and Consequences for the West policies*. StiftungWissenschaft und Politik (SWP) (2015), p.1

<sup>10</sup>Al-Mukhtar, Sarah; Wallace, Tim; Watkins, Derek (2016). *ISIS Has Lost Many of The Key Places It Once Controlled*. The New York Times. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/06/18/world/middleeast/isis-control-places-cities.html> on April, 16<sup>th</sup> 2018

## **B. The Perception of Russia and Syria toward Separatism**

According to the Walter S Jones, a perception has three important components, there are values, cognition, and beliefs. These three components have relation to the issue of this thesis, especially about the similar perception of western intervention and Islam Radical Movement for the Syrian and Russian government. Moreover, Perception concept will also analyze the influence of relationship between Russia-Syria which established since in the World War II.

### **1. The Similarity of Russia and Syria Beliefs toward Separatism**

As mentioned before in the second chapter, there are several reasons that made Russia gladly helped Syrian government in the Civil War. One of the reasons is Syria and Russia has been binding since the Cold War due to the political and military interests. This long-age friendship also based on the similar problems that they have, which is the issue of the radical Islamic movement in their countries. In 1982, Syria had another Civil War under Hafez Al-Assad against the rebellion which known as Hama Massacre. In that time, the opposition group was stronger than the regime, and the way the Syrian Government dealt with that war was by slaughtering around 20.000 of his citizen. By this method, Hafez Al-Assad thinks that the citizen of Hama will recognize the government's power and obeys his rules. This Civil War was stimulated by the appearance of Muslim fundamentalists who has the most serious challenge for the regime itself.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Rodrigues, Jason (2011). *1982: Syria's President Hafez al-Assad crushes rebellion in Hama*. The Guardian. Retrieved on April 4, 2018 from <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/from-the-archive-blog/2011/aug/01/hama-syria-massacre-1982-archive>

Moreover, after 30 years, in 2011 the tragedy came back within the Arab Spring which stimulated Syrian Civil War to occur. This time the actor was the son of Hafez Al-Assad, he is Bashar Al-Assad. He became the official president of Syria in 2000, and Syrian people were expecting that he can bring a change for Syria unlike, Hafez Al-Assad leadership who is known as an oppressive regime. However, in the fact, Bashar Al-Assad repeated the same mistake that his father did in 1982. Many of Syria citizens who recognized as the Sunni Muslims did the demonstrations against Bashar Al-Assad. It is because of his dictatorship, his preference to the Alawite sect and the corruption that he did. The conflict escalated in 2012, where the government and its loyal military against the citizen using the heavy military which created the Civil War.

While in Russia, after the Cold War that happened in 1991, Russia lost its prominent partners in its region. It started with the fall of Berlin Wall which signed the collapsed of Soviet Union and also the secession of South and North Caucasus and Central Asia countries, such as Georgia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, etc. The Separation is one of the big issues for Russia until now, there are a lot of regions that want to separate from Russia such as Chechnya. Chechnya was a part of Russia until 1991 and declared their independence at the same time when the Soviet Union collapsed. Nevertheless, Russia does not admit Chechnya independence from them. One of the causes of this separation was due to the different rules that they obey, the majority of Chechnya is Islam which means they want to apply Islamic law in the region. This is contradicted by the values of Russia who has Christian as the majority. Moreover, Russia also mistreated Chechnya people by deporting them to 1944-1957 from Chechnya to Siberia because Stalin believed Chechnya has cooperated with Nazi to return the independent of Chechnya.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Gessen, Masha (2004). *Chechnya: What Drives The Separatis to Commit such Terrible Outrages*. Slate. Retrieved in April, 6<sup>th</sup> 2018 from



Moreover, after the case of Crime Annexation, Russia recognized some Crimean people who disagree with Crimea Referendum in 2014, they are the Ukrainian people who live in Crimea and Crimean Tatar. However, seeing the protestors, Russia responded this issue by prosecuting and banning Crimean Tatars community, their supporters, and media who criticized Russia activities in Crimea. Human Rights Watch Researchers proved that Russia implemented a detention and fines for the Crimean Tatar who protests the arrest and prosecution of the other Tatars. Furthermore, a lot of Crimean Tatars were joining Hizbut-Tahrir, an Islamic group that banned by the Russian government and since 2015, there are 26 people have been arrested by the police.<sup>13</sup>

According to one of three components of Perception which is Belief, Russia and Syria were taught from their past about the Separatism is a dangerous idea for them. The separatists such as Chechen and Dagestan people in Russia were providing Russia some information that the rebellions need to be abolished from the country to prevent from discordance. For Syria itself, this rebellion needs to know how to respect the authority and the power of the government and start to obey his rules. Furthermore, for Russia and Syria, the idea of Separatism is a humiliation for their authority and threatens their position as the legitimate government. This reason makes Russia and Iran help Syrian regime to stay as the president of Syria. It is confirmed by the statement of Vladimir Putin and Hassan Rouhani who held a meeting in Turkey to talk about their movement in against the separatism movement in Syria. Putin, Hassan, and Erdogan reached an agreement that stated *"to oppose any separatist plans aimed at undermining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Syria, as well as the national security of neighboring*

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[http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/the\\_gist/2004/09/chechnya.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/the_gist/2004/09/chechnya.html)

<sup>13</sup>Naumlyik, Anton (2017). Crimea: Persecution of Crimean Tatars Intensifies. Human Rights Watch. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/11/14/crimea-persecution-crimean-tatars-intensifies> in April, 8<sup>th</sup> 2018

*countries,"* which released after the summit. The military efforts against terrorism and separatism go hand-in-hand with the peace process and humanitarian efforts to help the Syrians. The Russian, Iran and Turkey president urged the international community to step up and help Syrian people, instead of only giving empty promises.<sup>14</sup>

## **2. The Similarity of Russia and Syria on Security Values toward Separatism**

As the experience that they have toward Separatism, Russia and Syria have the same view to face the rebellions by using the heavy military. In Crimean case, Russia has sent its police that purposely treating Crimean Tatars with ill-treated service by beating them and giving an electric shock to the protestors. In addition, since Crimea Referendum in 2014, Russia sent its military to the Black Sea to increase its security from their enemies like Ukraine and its allies. In April 2014, Vladimir Putin recognized the involvement of Russian troops in Crimea in order to support the pro-Russia forces.<sup>15</sup>

For the Chechnya case, Russia known has done the brutal acts such as dropped bombs and shot Chechen people with the heavy military. The conflict between Russia and Chechnya has left 2 wars and killed 160.000 Chechen people.<sup>16</sup> The first war happened in 1994-1996 and the second one was in 1999 confirmed that Russian troops abused the human rights of Chechnya people by practicing

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<sup>14</sup>Bektas, Umit (2018). Russia, Iran & Turkey set to fight any attempts to fuel Separatism and Split Syria. RT Question More. Retrieved from <https://www.rt.com/news/423228-syria-separatism-not-tolerated/> on May, 7<sup>th</sup> 2018

<sup>15</sup>Bilkova, Veronika (2015). *The Use of Force by The Russian Federation in Crimea*. Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht (Baden-Württemberg, Germany), p.36

<sup>16</sup>Gessen, Masha (2004). *Chechnya: What Drives The Separatists to Commit Such Terrible Outrages?*. Slate. Retrieved from [http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/the\\_gist/2004/09/chechnya.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/the_gist/2004/09/chechnya.html) on 10 April 2018

tortures, executions, etc. However, even though this conflict took many victims, the independence of Chechnya still being a contravention.

On the other hand, Syria also has an aggressive response toward its rebellions. As mentioned in the first chapter, he used military forces to face the protestors, which means they have trained for the external threats and conducted it for an internal disturbance. Moreover, the response of Hafez and Bashar Al-Assad toward separatism in 1982 and 2011 has always been violence. Unfortunately, the using of tanks and airplanes leads to the bloody Civil War that took a lot of victims. Moreover, based on United Nations Envoy for Syria, it is estimated more than 400.000 lives of people have been killed due to the civil war that has begun since 2011.<sup>17</sup>

According to the second component of Perception, which is values, Syria and Russia have the similar values in responding Separatism. The values here related to how they react to the rebellions in their countries. Basically, the values that they follow is Offensive Realism which means, in order to ensure the survival of their states, they will maximize their military power to protect it. It is clear that Russia and Syria maximized their military in facing rebellions by showing off and using their heavy military to their enemies. Russia and Syria have a preference for practicing Offensive Realism over Democratic Peace that offers a maturity in dealing a conflict and prefers to have an absence of war.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>CNN Library (2018).*Syrian Civil War Fast Facts*.CNN. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/08/27/world/meast/syria-civil-war-fast-facts/index.html> on April, 10<sup>th</sup> 2018

<sup>18</sup>Slaughter, Anne Marie; Hale, Thomas (2013).*Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law: International Relations, Principal Theories*. Oxford University Press (Oxford, 2013), p.5-6

### **3. The Similarity of Russia and Syria Beliefs toward the Western**

Russia and Syria are the countries who always have problems with the western especially the United States of America. For them, the Western is always influencing coercively to the disunity of a state that has a different path with them. For Russia, the main reason of the falling of USSR or Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was because of the influence of United States of America who contributed themselves indirectly to the destruction of USSR. By using Democracy as its main idea, Western countries successfully split USSR into pieces. In 1989, some of Eastern European Countries decided to withdraw itself from USSR like Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. This action triggered other countries that located in Baltic Sea, Belarus and Ukraine to follow the path of the Eastern European countries.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, besides influencing another country to secede themselves from Moscow, the Western countries also established NATO or North Atlantic Treaty Organization to threaten Russia with the association of Western European Countries and the United States of America. Therefore, at the end of 1991 Moscow has officially admitted that the Soviet Union has collapsed.

Meanwhile, in Syria, before Syrian Civil War happened, Bashar Al-Assad has a cynical attitude toward the west due to its tendency to Israel. Syria and Israel have a high tension due to the religious reasons, moreover, it gets worse because of territorial disputes on Golan Heights and Palestine. Bashar Al-Assad gave a statement that before they fight against Israel, they need to finish his business with the Syrian rebellions that Assad recognized as the emissaries of Israel.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the involvement of United States

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<sup>19</sup>Norwich University (2016). *Exploring 5 Reasons For the Collapse of Soviet Union*. Norwich University Online. Retrieved from <https://graduate.norwich.edu/resources-mmh/articles-mmh/exploring-5-reasons-for-the-collapse-of-the-soviet-union/> on April, 10<sup>th</sup> 2018

<sup>20</sup> Staff TOI (2015). *Assad: First We'll Deal with The Rebels, then Israel*. The Times of Israel. Retrieved from

in Syria, for Assad since 1950's United States loved to create chaos in another country such as Arab Spring rather than giving solutions. These phenomena make Syria assured that America is a useless ally.

Based on the first component of Perception which is Belief, the experience of Russia and Syria toward the Western especially United States clearly proved that the West is not always helping other countries, sometimes they are just making a mess, and it shows that they believe the West is scornful. As explained above and on the second chapter, the West successfully destroyed the serenity of Russia and Syria by influencing and provoking their people directly or indirectly through their values and assistance. Such as the Fall of Soviet Union due to its loss in Cold War, the establishment of NATO and the implementation of Marshall Plan. At the same time, in Syria, the West put its support on the rebellions, by sending them the military aids and funding CIA for USD\$ 1 billion every year to arm the Opposition group. Moreover, U.S Officials also declared if CIA has been a sponsor of the anti-government program and brought around 10,000 rebellions to be trained and prepared for the war.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, Russia and Syria believe that this illegal support and movement that threaten their sovereignty is a part of terrorism.

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<https://www.timesofisrael.com/assad-first-well-deal-with-the-rebels-then-israel/> on April, 11<sup>th</sup> 2018

<sup>21</sup> Miller, Greg; DeYoung, Karen (2015). *Secret CIA Effort in Syria Faces Large Funding Cut*. The Washington Post. Retrieved from [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/lawmakers-move-to-curb-1-billion-cia-program-to-train-syrian-rebels/2015/06/12/b0f45a9e-1114-11e5-adece82f8395c032\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.cb76ed09956c](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/lawmakers-move-to-curb-1-billion-cia-program-to-train-syrian-rebels/2015/06/12/b0f45a9e-1114-11e5-adece82f8395c032_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.cb76ed09956c) on April, 12<sup>th</sup> 2018

#### 4. The Similarity of Russian and Syrian Values toward the Western

For Russia and Syria, the distrust that they have toward the Western makes them incline for another country who has similar perspective with them rather than stick with the U.S and its allies. For Russia, since the Cold War, Moscow already has its allies such as China. In 1950's the relationship between Sino-Russia was getting intense and China is the supporter of Russia in the Cold War. Subsequently, after the Cold War, in 1997, Jiang Ziamin as a leader of China declared that Russia is one of China's strategic allies. Afterward, the similarity of perspective Russia and China toward the United States who invaded Iraq, Syria, and Yugoslavia made them increased their political, economic, and security relationship.<sup>22</sup>

Meantime, in the Syrian Civil War, Syrian regime tends to ask for the help from Russia who has the similar values with Syrian regime which is to recognize the sovereignty of the legal government. As mentioned in the second chapter that Syrian political system is recognized as a unitary-republic with the semi-democracy style of leadership which similar to the Russian political system and leadership style. Semi-democracy refers to a system where a state implementing authoritarian and democracy, meanwhile the political system of Unitary Republic means the state has a single constitution, a general system of law and a cohesive system body of power.<sup>23</sup> This political system shows the president has more authority and power in running the governmental system. The similarity that they have makes Vladimir Putin helps Bashar Al-Assad, Vladimir Putin stated

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<sup>22</sup>Mercouris, Alexander (2014). *A Very Brief History of China-Russia Relations*. Anatoly Karlin. Retrieved from <http://akarlin.com/2014/05/a-very-brief-history-of-chinese-russian-relations/> on April, 12<sup>th</sup> 2018

<sup>23</sup>Unitary Republic. (n.d.) *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition*. (1970-1979). Retrieved April 13 2018 from <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Unitary+Republic>

on Military Ceremony in February 2017, he just wants to help the President of Syria in stabilizing his legitimate authorities.

## **5. The Cognition Action from Russia toward Syrian Crisis**

In the Syrian Civil War itself, in September 2015, Bashar Al-Assad sent a letter to Vladimir Putin to ask for assistance in the military sector to fight against the rebellions in Syria.<sup>24</sup> Russia recognized the letter and also got information that there was an intervention from the western countries in the civil war through facilitating the rebellions.<sup>25</sup> As it mentioned before, that United States has contributed to the Syrian Crisis by funding CIA for US\$ 1 billion, in order to train and prepare the rebellion fight against the Syrian government. In addition, in 2015, France also attacked Syria and ISIS by sending six French jets to the ISIS Camp in Syria. Furthermore, the French President, [François Hollande](#), has confirmed that he has ordered to send troops in Syria to against the regime.<sup>26</sup>

Based on the last component of Perception by Walter S. Jones and K.J Holsti which is Cognition, it means a reaction toward the information that someone gets from the environment and it is as a

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<sup>24</sup>Ma'an News Agency(2015). *Syria Confirms Assad Asked Putin for Military Aid*. Maan News. Retrieved from <https://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=767887> on April, 13<sup>th</sup> 2018

<sup>25</sup> Mercier, Samuel (2016). *The Legality of Russian Airstrikes in Syria and 'Intervention by Invitation'*. E-International Relations. Retrieved from <http://www.e-ir.info/2016/04/29/the-legality-of-russian-airstrikes-in-syria-and-intervention-by-invitation/> on April, 13<sup>th</sup> 2018.

<sup>26</sup>Chrisafis, Angelique (2015). *France Launches First Airstrike Against ISIS in Syria*. The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/27/france-launches-first-airstrikes-isis-syria> on April, 13<sup>th</sup> 2018

fundamental base for building a perception of someone. Russia has a cognitive reaction toward the information that they got in the Syrian Civil War by helping Syrian government through sending Russian military aids and troops. In 2011 and 2012, Russia sent its ships to Syria to support the Syrian government. In 2015, Russia military established an air base in South Latakia which located on the edge of Mediterranean Sea and sent Russian T-90 tanks, 300-500 Russian marines, Su-24 and Su-34 fighter-bombers, Su-25 ground attack aircraft and Mi-24 Russian helicopter to protect Bashar Al-Assad. Moreover, Russia also supports Syria in the international politics, it is proved in October 2017, Moscow has vetoed a draft resolution that proposed by the United States about the investigations of who did use the chemical weapons in Syrian Civil War. In that meeting, France, Britain and United States accused Russia of protecting the evil government who kills his own people yet Russia insisted it and thought that the western just wanted to impose Russia.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>AFP at the United Nations (2017).Russia Uses Veto to End UN Investigations of Syria Chemical Attacks.The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/24/russia-uses-veto-end-un-investigation-chemical-attacks> on April, 13<sup>th</sup> 2018



