

T.C
KARABÜK UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

THE RUSSIAN STRATEGY TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST

MASTER'S THESIS

Prepared by

Yahya ALZUBI

Thesis Supervisor

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Üyesi İsmail ŞAHİN

KARABUK

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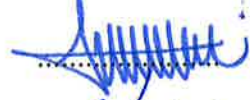


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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

To Karabuk University Directorate of Institute of Social Sciences

This thesis entitled "The Russian Strategy Towards The Middle East" submitted by **Yahya Ahmed MUSTAFA** was examined and accepted by the Thesis Board unanimously/by majority as a MA thesis.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and all information included has been obtained and expounded in accordance with the academic rules and ethical policy specified by the institute. Besides, I declare that all the statements, results, materials, not original to this thesis have been cited and referenced literally.

Without being bound by a particular time, I accept all moral and legal consequences of any detection contrary to the aforementioned statement.

Name Surname : Yahya ALZUBI

Signature :

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a stylized 'Y' followed by 'ALZUBI'.

FOREWORD

I am deeply thankful to Allah for blessing me capable of carrying out this work. It is my immense pleasure, and duty to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Üyesi İsmail ŞAHİN, karabuk universityUniversity for direct supervision, selection of subject, his helpful suggestions, careful guidance, valuable comments during the course of the experimental work and revision of the manuscript.

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to analyze the foreign policy of Russia towards the Middle East and the transformations which appear in the Arab Spring Countries since 2011 and on the political development of these countries in order to state the goals behind this methodology of Russia towards these countries. Also, it aims to identify the Russian interests behind this policy and detect the Russian orientations since the Arab transformations and discover the Russian interest which achieved in exchange of this policy. as well as, it aims to identify the effect of this policy on the international system and evaluate the extent of this policy effect on the political development of the Middle East countries where the importance of this study lies on comparing the differences of this policy from one country to another.

At the end, this study concluded that Russia has long relationships with each of the Arab spring countries especially Libya and Syria and it has great interests with these two countries where it has economic interest with Libya and strategic interest with Syria. So, Syria is configured the most important ally in the Arab region and its military interference in Syria that it does not want to repeat the Libyan scene at Syria which means to prevent the foreign interference. In addition, the Russian role at the Arab spring countries and especially in Syria and Libya led to transformations in the Arab and Islamic regions in addition to the international level where Russia appear by its great appearance which says to the west that it is not alone on the international field and that Russia has its interests which must be respected. Moreover, the study concluded that the political development process must be derived from the inside of the society and it must not be imposed from outside. Thus, the attempts of imposing the democracy and political development on the Arab countries from outside especially from the United States led into counterproductive and therefore, and especially in the transformations time which live by the region, the political development process is a result to the internal discussion and this is supported by Russia from the beginning of the Arab transformations. In spite of that the Russian policy does not take into consideration to the form of the judge and the political infrastructure of the state, the Russian foreign policy did not effect on the political development of Libya and Syria where they basically suffer from great weakness.

Keywords: Russia, Arab Spring Counteries, Libya and Middle East

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Rusya'nın Arap Baharı ülkelerine ilişkin metodolojisinin arkasında yatan hedefleri belirlemek amacıyla Rusya'nın Orta Doğu'ya yönelik dış politikasını ve 2011 yılından bu yana Arap Baharı ülkelerinde baş gösteren dönüşümler ile söz konusu ülkelerin siyasal gelişimlerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma ayrıca söz konusu politikanın arkasında yatan Rus menfaatlerini belirlemeyi, Arap ülkelerinde yaşanan dönüşümlerden bu yana Rusya'nın gösterdiği yönelimleri tespit etmeyi ve bu politika karşılığında ulaşılan Rus menfaatlerini ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir. Bunların yanı sıra, söz konusu politikanın uluslararası sistem üzerindeki etkisini belirlemek ve bu politikanın Orta Doğu ülkelerinin siyasal gelişimi üzerindeki etkisinin kapsamını değerlendirmek de bu çalışmanın hedefleri arasında yer almakta olup çalışmanın önemi, bu politikanın farklı ülkeler üzerinde nasıl farklı şekilde uygulandığını karşılaştırmalı olarak göstermesinde yatmaktadır.

Bu çalışmayla, Rusya'nın özellikle Libya ve Suriye olmak üzere, Arap Baharı ülkelerinin her biriyle uzun bir ilişkisi olduğu ve söz konusu iki ülkeden Libya'yla ekonomik menfaatleri varken Suriye'yle stratejik menfaatleri olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu sebeple Suriye, Arap bölgesindeki en önemli müttefik olarak yapılandırılmakta olup Suriye'deki askeri müdahale, Libya'da yaşananların Suriye'de tekerrür etmesi istenmediği için yabancı müdahaleyi önlemek amaçlıdır. Ayrıca Rusya'nın özellikle Suriye ve Libya olmak üzere Arap Baharı ülkelerindeki rolü, Batıya uluslararası alanda yalnız olmadığını ve itibar edilmesi gereken menfaatleri olduğunu söyleyerek muazzam bir duruş sergilediği uluslararası arenanın yanı sıra Arap ve İslam bölgelerinde de dönüşümlere yol açmıştır. Dahası bu çalışmayla, siyasal gelişim sürecinin toplumun içinden kaynaklanması ve dışarıdan dayatılmaması gerektiği sonucuna da varılmıştır. Nitekim Arap ülkelere özellikle ABD'nin yürüttüğü dış kaynaklı demokrasi ve siyasal gelişim dayatma çalışmaları ters tepmiş ve bu sebeple, özellikle bölgenin yaşadığı dönüşüm zamanında görülen siyasal gelişim süreci iç tartışmaların bir sonucu olup Arap Baharı dönüşümlerinin başından itibaren Rusya tarafından desteklenmiştir. Rus politikası ülkelerin yargı şeklini ve siyasal altyapısını dikkate almamakla beraber, Rus dış politikası Libya ve Suriye'nin siyasal gelişimi üzerinde etkili olmadı ve bu ülkeler temelde büyük bir zayıflıkla karşı karşıya kaldı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Rusya, Arap Baharı ülkeleri, Libya ve Orta Doğu



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European union
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America



SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH

This study aims to study the Russian strategy towards the Middle East countries in details where the study displays the Russian strategy in many countries at the Middle East including Libya by reaching into many resources and electric papers which have been distributed at this subject. As well as, the study subject interest especially to discuss the Russian policy towards the Middle East countries especially Libya and Syria where Russia has economic and strategic interests at these two countries.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

1. The study deals with theme and approach to a country which enjoys by its position in the international position.
2. The study seeks to establish an academic awareness by the directions of the international policy which help in understanding and analyzing the variables of the international system and predict the future of the existing international reality.
3. The study tries to analyze the nature of change in the Russian strategic thoughts which in its turn get benefit the specialized parties of the political decisions makers.
4. The study opens the way in many Arab cases and state the Russian policy at these issues.

METHODS OF THE RESEARCH

The researcher depended in his study on different and widespread authorized data which comprise the resources, Arabic and foreign references, books and workshops. As well as, take benefit from many articles which associate to this topic.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEARCH

The study sought to prove the correctness of the following hypotheses:

- The Russian strategy is based on employing the political side in order to achieve the preservation of the Russian economic interests in the Middle East countries more than the focus on the political side.

Russia in the highlight of its previous weight at the era of the Soviet Union is really analyzed that the Middle East is the key of the world and thus, it depends on the Middle

SCOPE AND DIFFICULTIES

The scope of the study is represented in addressing the Russian strategy and the change occur towards the Middle East countries in general and Arab spring countries especially during the period followed to the collapse of the Soviet Union and especially in the era of Vladimir Putin.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NATURE OF THE RUSSIAN STRATEGY TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST

1.1 The Concept of Strategy

The historical roots of the strategy concept returns back to the Greek era where the Greek word “Sit Artoos” which means the art of the General or the modes of the military leader (Sokolowski, 1963: 36). In terms of the language it is defined as a plan or a way of work while in the modern era, this term became widely used to collect between the rationality and realism in managing the war operations outside the vision of the enemy where Karl von Klauswicz (the father of the German strategy) is considered the strategy as “a multi-pronged perspective until the end of the war and require to achieve a set of political goals which consistent with the military operations”. Karl von Klauswicz mentioned that “the strategy is the continuation of the policy by another means” (Philippe, 1994: 9). Through this definition he describes the optimal method to fight in the wars by connecting between the military operations in the time and place to achieve superior where any power cannot change the status of the battle even if it resorted to another means and thus, it can be adopted with the desired goals of the war. Napilion defined the strategy as the art of using the powers in the military operations while the French Bover is defined the strategy as “the procedure of the practical suitability for the inserted media under the behavior of the leader to the required level” and Rimon defined it “the leadership of the whole military operations”. Lidl Hart defined the strategy which connected it with the military fields as “the art of distributing the military resources and apply them in the required level in a way which achieve the desired goals from the inserted policies. He did not stooped at this level but he referred to more general concept which is based on different techniques which judge the use of military power beside all the economic, political and psychological means.

The Russian marshal Sokolowski defined the strategy as “a set of theoretical knowledges which processing the war laws as armed conflict which defending on the interest of specific level where it includes the style of the war definitions and the probable point of views of the enemy and the next situations of the war and the

preparation ways and the verities of the armed forces and the foundations of its strategy in addition to the foundations of the technical and materials of the war. The Britain understood the strategy as “the planning art for specific campaign and it is the mode where the leaders seeks to pull his enemy to the battle while Mautsy defined the strategy as “the study of laws which directed to the war which control the whole situation of the war”. The strategy in military is defined as the planning art for the wide military operations which means that it is long-term plan which determines the military necessities and the suitable conditions in the fight of specific war. The strategy is its concept is based on three basic concepts as follow:

The first item: it contains on accurate and specific definition for the set of the national interests in the international context. The second item: the set of the dynamic and probable threats and the menu which can effect on the national interests.

The third item: the means which can be used to achieve the national interests from one hand and face the threats which targeting the military power from another hand and the means where the strategy seeks to achieve and does not stop on the military power but it works on integrated employment for the solid and flexible laws elements in the international policy. The concept of the political strategy is defined by Mahmood Aurfaly as “a comprehensive frame of power which facilitate the treatment and manipulation the general indicates of the situation and direct it to the suitable direction to achieve the desired goals. Therefore, it can be said that the strategy is the possible and available means which contribute in achieving the political goals and interests which do not stop at specific level but they are associated and sequenced goals and achieve the general goal of the policy and extend for periods of time where followed policy becomes multiple and rounding between the two solid and flexible powers or between the war and diplomacy.

1.2 The External Policy of Vladimir Putin

1.2.1 The Foreign Policy Orientation of Vladimir Putin

When Putin came to the judge, this is configured a turning point which converted Russia to more important position in the international system. He followed a strategy in order to reconstruct Russia from inside and raise its position on the regional and international levels. He succeeded in creating different balance between the risks and opportunities where it represented the basic approach in promoting the process of

organizing the military institution. As well as, he is enabled with record speed to transport his country from the loss and instability to stable position with the help of many factors starting from increasing the prices of oil and what is called the terrorism wars after the 11 of September events in 2001 and the need of the international community to the Russian services in the security council according to the importance of its geographical position and the efficiency of Vladimir Putin in the use of the natural Russian fortunes and re-impose its position as an effective international partner. So, he worked on reconstructing the army and solve its problems, restore the spirit to the government organizations, gave importance to the primary materials and their role in the Russian policy, restore the relationships with the surrounding countries and participate in the international issues. There were a set of the international variables which effect on directing the Russian foreign policy including the events of 11 September 2001 and the terrorism war. This increased the Russian importance and its effective role on the international level where the United States need its help in their war on terrorism, prevent the spread of nuclear proliferation and the stability of the international oil markets. Putin announced the supporting of Russia to United States after the events of 11 September 2001 through the following:

- The positive and fruitful exchange in the field of intelligence.
- Russia opened its airspace in front of humanitarian aid flights.
- Allow the use of the military bases in Middle Asia.

This transformation in the Russian position is interpreted that it is come to contrast where Moscow expect which is inserting the war which Russia lead through years against the separatists in Chechnya within the goals where the international alliance seeks to achieve in anti-terrorism and this means the override by the international community to the criticism that has been always directed by the human rights organizations to Russia as a result of the practices carried out by Russian forces in Chechnya. The military and logistic support of the united states to Russia is resulted through its occupation to Afghanistan where configured dangerous and direct threat to the Russian interest at this area which means the most of Russia to its space in the middle Asia because the existing of military base for the NATO in Afghanistan and the republics of Middle Asia guarantee the advance to the east. Therefore, Russia sought to restrict the American existing in middle Asia and asked

to demand the military bases from one hand and from another hand the expand of NATO and the installation of the American missile shield in Europe configured as the effective variables on the Russian external behavior and the idea of expanding the NATO alliance where Russia refused it where it sees that it means to the encouragement of Russia and threat its national security. As well as, the Russian and European relationships has observed clearly enhancement after come arriving of Vladimir Putin to the judge. In addition, Vladimir Putin interested by the relationships with Asian states as they are considered euro-Asian power especially with China which has the utmost economic, political and military power. Therefore, most of these development which happened enforced Russia to direct to the Middle East region and organize its relationships with the central Arab world such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Jordan. The interest of Russia by the Arab region comes from the response logic for the geopolitical site which impose the interest by the international and regional surrounding considerations as a threat of resources of the national security. Thus, it requires more of interest at this region especially Russia works to regain its position as a great power on the international position and this made Vladimir Putin to redraw his interests in the region according to the international developments which moving at very rapid speed and especially in the absence of the united states of America in the region. The Russian strategy at the middle depends on many considerations including:

- Russia seeks to achieve the security at the southern borders in terms the threats.
- The entering of Russia to this region again and it is preventive policy to face the Islamic threat as they called it.
- Russia seeks to find belt or block of states which make relationships with the anti-American countries such as Syria and Iran.
- Create and develop relationships with Iran and use it as a pressure paper to face any American pressures. As a summary of the above, when Putin came to the judge, he has changed the Russian foreign policy where it became more specific and the Kremlin has given up from the two dilemmas that have been revived which are the east or West? NATO or the European Union? Also, Russia did not give up from the allegation of its right to play a role in one of the poles in the international relationships but it is given up in the desire to become a bridge between Europe and Asia through many

concepts including decrease the costs, the new reality and multi-directional policy. These concepts were progressing the Russian policy. From the practical hand, the new terms in the foreign policy mean the desire of the Kremlin to make the foreign policy consist with the internal policy. The formula of Putin were multi-directional and mean different things including (Arabic Khadija, 2001: 11-18):

- Retreat from the Russian accession in the European community in the short-term.
- More reality relationships between the ambitions and the available limited resources.
- Lack of desire to face the West
- An attempt to guarantee a prominent role.

— Some observers defined the Putin formulas as an attempt to find third way in the international relationships which does not seek to integrate with the West but it is at the same time does not seek to face it. Dmitry Trenin has analyzed the foreign policy of Putin after it overcame on its identity crises as Russia introduce itself as an independent international player which is far from the West and the best thing that we can say it at this situation as it is an attempt to play a great state role under the modern conditions while Androchochens described the new Russian formula for its international role as it is a greater interaction instead of the integration with the West (Lilia Shektsova, 2006: 1).

Therefore, the foreign policy of Putin can be summarized in the following points:

- A. **On the political level:** Putin's policy seeks to revive the Russian role in the international regime again and correct the mistakes in the balances with the United States and district the American influence in central of Asia and construct partnerships with the states as China and the Middle East countries.
- B. **On the economic level:** apply the anti-corruption measure procedures and develop national programs which associate with the health, education, residence construction, agriculture development, increase the living level of people, use the incomes gain from the increase of the national resources to develop the economic.

C. **On the military level:** rearming the Russian army is considered one of the preliminary priorities for the foreign policy of Putin and the statistics refer that the defensive budget of Russia is highly increased when Putin came to the judge and on the military expenders level is amounted 1876 billion rubles according to the statistics of 2010. As well as, the statements of Putin refers that the Russia intended to regain its military power strongly in the next periods (Abdul Aziz Mahdi, 2011: 164-166).

All of the above factors have paved the way to Russia to regain a great part of its role on the international level and to achieve many goals (will be described in the next chapter).

2.2.1 Analyze the Military Doctrine of Vladimir Putin

Through the study of foreign policy of Putin and study the previous stages, the doctrine of Putin is configured at three geopolitical stages as follow:

- **State restoration doctrine:** it is started at his judge time (200—2004). At this period, the military doctrine of Putin is close to the defensive doctrine than the offensive doctrine.
- **Respect impose doctrine:** at the stage of constructing the national state (2005-2009) and based on constructing strong army and defensive and offensive military capabilities which able to face the foreign threats and the second judgment period of Putin has faced many of the international geopolitical threats including the increasing marginalization by the West countries where Putin adopted offensive doctrine to face the West.
- **Strategic balance doctrine:** in the stage of confirming the international position and it is the third doctrine which is adopted by Putin in the modern history of Russia. The Russian political analyzer Leonid Alexandrovich said that the new military doctrine of Russia did not come out of nowhere but it came as a reaction on the American national security strategy which is announced recently. The last one has excluded Russia from the list of its allies list to face the terrorism.

From another hand, the military commentator in the Novosti agency of Russian of news Ilya Kramnik said about the new Russian doctrine in general “the new Russian doctrine came to confirm its position as great power on the regional and

international levels and its determination to employ its capabilities to defense on its interests inside and outside. Thus, we can see that the armaments by the strength factors is not aggression on anyone but to protect its security and interest (Mohammed bin Najib, 2014, 14-15).

2.3 The Directions of the Russian Strategy

Russia is considered one of the most important states which enjoys by political weight on the regional and international level because it is the political and military heir of the previous Soviet Union. In addition, the geopolitical nature where Russia enjoys in terms of the geographical position between Asia and Europe where it forms the link these two continents and has the oil and gas springs which through the wars and crises started in the world in the twentieth century and this make it an axial and effective axis on the international level. The foreign directions of the Russian strategy after the collapse of the soviet union are considered of the most important obstacles which it faced in terms of the new data that represented by the comprehensive collapse of the soviet union and in the highlight of configuring the international regime with unique poles where the united states try to be unique and assertive. The factors which increased the problems of the foreign policy of Russia during that time that Russia was the sole legitimate heir of the Soviet Union and inherited the international legacy for the Soviet Union including its place in the security council and its embassies outside. As well as, it is inherited the military and nuclear arsenal. All of these factors made the Russian politicians in a problem of how to formulate international foreign policy which commensurate with the international weight of the legitimate heir of the Soviet Union which consistent with its military capabilities in the highlight of the economic weakness and the accumulated debts. that resulted from the cold war which ended by its collapse.

The internal opinion is separated by the decision makers about the nature of the policy that must be followed and which must achieve the Russian goals including the economic goal to get Russia out from the economic crisis experienced by it by two main directions:

— **First direction:** This direction sees the necessity of (Arafat,, 1994: 544):

1. Interest by the internal problems and find the solutions before leaving to the foreign affairs.
2. Apply the principle of isolation through the transitional stage in order to complete the reconstruction process inside.

— **Second direction:** despite the owners disagree on this direction and achieve its interests but they saw the necessity of:

1. Follow active and effective foreign policy.
2. Preserving the international position for Russia as one of the great powers.

The vision of the Russian politicians who took power in 1991 in the existing of the Russian president Yeltsin to the importance of emerging Russia with the Western civilization and specifically with the bloc represented by the NATO countries for many considerations including (Ignatov, 2008: 30-34).

1. This integration may weaken the probabilities of the communism return in Russia.
2. The proponents for the owners of this direction adopting that Russia has become an international power which means that it is one of the great countries in the international system and it is not one of the corners of this system.
3. The importance of Russia to not resort to the force or threat to use the force in the international relationship even if the issue is associated of protecting the Russian minorities in the new states which separated from the soviet union.
4. The foreign policy of Russia must be interest policy and non-ideological policy because Russia has enemies in the international system and there is not controlled ideology on its political system.
5. The politicians who inherited the judge have influenced by Gorbachev and his pro-Western policy and gain the trust of the United States of America
6. The escalation of the internal problems including the political and economic problems which influenced in its international position (Sherman, 1997, p62).
7. This integration is the unique way to make Russia enable economically and get Russia out from its ordeal where the economic problem which faced by Russia are considered of the most important problems in changing the concepts which judged the foreign policy during the cold war period which became based on the interest and does not depend on the ideology with the acceptance of the idea that the united states is superior economically and military (Sherman, 1997, p62).

According to these considerations, the Russian politician formulated the Russian foreign policy which focused to the direction on the West and the alliance with the united states from the logic of accepting the American perspective for the international relationships and give the unilateral concessions and follow the least amount policy of interaction with other states that preserve the Russian vital interests where Russia started to seek in the directions of its foreign policy by providing the individual concessions and military collaboration with the West. This is represented in the joint exercises for the two American and Russian fleets in the Mediterranean Sea in February 1992. This is resulted by the help of the United States which provided to Russia that is amounted by 400 million dollar at that time in order to help Russia and the other Commonwealth States to destroy or decrease their nuclear arsenal at the time when the United States is committed by the same commitments. As well as, the United States enforced these countries in exchange to impose sanctions on Yugoslavia, Iraq and Libya.

The new Russian directions in the highlights of the previous considerations and almost full support to the united states and support its position in the international crises in order to satisfy it and satisfy the West at the same time and according to the concept of gaining the friendship with the united states and the West and their loyalties is the only way out of Russia from their internal and external collapse which Russia suffers and to get the economic assistances and financial loans from these countries. It is a direct gaining process which is based on sell the positions and the seizure of the price in advance without paying attention to what are the important roles of the foreign policy in protecting the strategic interests and support. The transition policy to the market economics and the attempt to appease the West in gaining their loyalty to bring the external assistances represented a clear retreat from the peer to peer policy which must be provided by any great country that want to play political roles with an important position. Starting from these visions, Russia tried to arrange their loyalties and impose conditions on the other in an attempt to benefit at the internal and external level (Ann, 1992: 211). However, at the end of 1992, there are new variables have been emerged in Russia which imposed this country to think about new direction for its foreign policy and these variables include:

1. **Opposition from the middle parties:** these parties asked to follow a balanced policy which takes into consideration the interest of Russia in the

east which include Middle Asia, China and Middle East. Also, strengthen the Russian relationships with the states which have been resigned from the Soviet Union which called in the Russian literature as Commonwealth Independent States.

2. **The emergence of new variables in Middle Asia:** Russia is called to rethink in directing its foreign policy such as the outbreak of Turkish and Iranian rivalry on Middle Asia which is threatened the Russian interests in this region. The flow of the Russians in the surrounding countries where the number of Russian people in Kazakhstan alone reached to 200 thousand Russian people which is threatened the Russian economy where it was not able to accommodate these numbers, the rise of fundamental current in Middle Asia and the use of these currents for the violence. This is threatened the national security of Russia and the uneasiness of the Russian lands and the demands of Middle Asia to play a guarantor role of security at these countries according to the lack of capability on performing this function.
3. Russia realized that there are borders for the extent of the West desire in its integration in the West civilization and help it out of the crisis. So, the illusion of the dependence on the West began to emerge in order to out of its crisis but the Russian convinced that the West want to insult Russia in the international field and present it as the followed country.
4. **The Russian communist and national parties opposition:** the president Yeltsin started facing strong political opposition for its direction to the European union-NATO where these parties are criticized the foreign policy of the president because it is weaken the Russian position and asked to follow new policy based on predomination of Russia on the countries which have been resigned from the Soviet Union and protect the Russians who accommodate at these countries and follow independent policy from the United States which is considered the enemy number one for Russia according to their point of view. This is clearly emerging in the speeches of their leaders including Gennady Zyuganov who is the leader of Communist Party where he is mentioned “we still a country which has the largest land in the world and massive reserves of minerals but our population is still the least educated population and we enjoy by great industrial and scientific strength and preserve a nuclear balance with the united states. Therefore, Russia has

all the continuity requirements in implementing an important role in the world but it is not happened because Russia is still following that shameful approach in the economic and foreign policy which make it completely depends on the West and make its policy subordinated on the leaders of NATO where the country is almost lost all of its wisdom and political will” (Zyuganov, 2012: 12). In one of the protests about Iraq where that day witnessed a very popular demonstration and carried many slogans in solidarity with Iraqi people and condemned the American military buildup. So, Zyuganov said “if the Soviet Union is still existed, it would have been enough to issue a signed statement to refuse the war on Iraq and everything will be finished in peace”. On the democratic party level with the national direction, Vladimir Jirnovski who is the founder of this party and one of the most important of its leader mentioned in terms of surrounding countries of Russia “we must determine only the regions where the Russian were expelled with the possibility of making the same thing with the people of these countries who live in peace in our lands”. Gerovski invoked to revive the Soviet Empire and come back to the borders which the Tsarist empire had in 1900 and the necessity of expanding until the borders of India and he refused the establishment of the commonwealth countries as it is considered illegal and unconstitutional work and addressing the united states and the West and collaborate with the great countries and the states which are obsessed by the international regime. As well as, he sees that all of this cannot be achieved without changing the structure of the world system and the position of the United States at this system where Russia is a nuclear country as the United States and thus, it is necessary that the international decisions which are taken must be joint.

5. The economic collapse in Russia and the negative situation of the West towards supporting Russia to override this crisis or the necessity of accepting the request of joining the European union interpret the uniquely of the Russian policy towards the West even if it is based on national and non-communist where the continuous of not take into consideration for Russia by the West and its right in selecting the way of the internal development which impose the forces of national extremism to the power in Russia.

6. The results of the parliament election which take place in Russia in 12 of December 1993 which resulted by the arrival of the hardline nationalist and communists as an express about the refuse of the current Russian policy and to ensure that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the totalitarian systems do not mean in the necessity that new world is starting in the configuration. These factors configured reasons and motivations which motivated the Russian leadership to reconsider the foreign policy of its country where the Russians started in reconfiguring their policy which suit with the new factors and variables. So, the Russian directions went to the Eurasian World where its interests at this world as it represents a national security to Russia and from this point, the second stage at the foreign policy started which adopted more consistent approach with clear Russian character which is based on the Russian national interests, independence and balance to some extent. So, the announcement of the Russian government came in 1993 by the statement of the Russian president Yeltsin: "Russia seeks to the collaboration with the united states of America based on the balance where the concessions humiliate our national feelings". As well as, he said that "Russia is not the country that can be reserved in the waiting room and it is not the country that say yes only". The landmarks of the second stage became clear at the end of 1993 and the beginning of 1994 where Kozyrev who was the Russian foreign affairs minister at that time started talking about the importance of the integration with the commonwealth countries and protecting the Russian minorities, increase the Russian sales of weapons to Iran and reconstruct the relationships between the two countries, export great amount of weapons to India, criticize the bombing policy of the United States to Iraq and their interference in the conflicts of the countries in the middle east. Also, Russian government made a agreement with Iran to build a nuclear reactor in Bushehr and criticized publicly the American policy towards Iraq and exchange the visiting with the Iraqi officials and started the construction of a distance between its policy and the policy of the United States towards the Arab and Israeli conflict. This is represented to hold an international conference for the peace in the middle east and the policy continued at this as such with the assignment of Primakov as a minister for the Russian foreign affairs in January 1996 who was known as "Primakov Principle" in the Russian foreign

policy and the features of the principles are rounding as follow: (Ahmed, 2009: 3-17)

- a) Create an international system which is based on the multi-polarity and suggested the creation of Eurasian alliance between Russia, china and India as a strategic triangle which is balanced with the American power and at this frame, Russia contributed in creating Shanghai Organization for economic collaboration.
- b) Opposition of expanding of the NATO in the countries of previous soviet bloc.
- c) Defense on strengthen the role of the United Nations when its role became disappear for the account of the NATO.

The Russian foreign policy continued on this approach which gave Russia in its foreign policy a part of its international weight.

2.4 The Internal and External Determinants Which Effect on the Russian Strategy in the Middle East

The internal and external determinants play an effective role in formulating the foreign policy of the countries according to the effect extent of these determinates inside these countries on the manufacturing of the political decision or on its makers and according to their special interests or self-vision for the nature of the foreign policy.

Russia is just like the other countries where it has its internal and external determinants which contribute in one form or another in the political decision industry both on the internal and external level. Therefore, we will describe briefly the internal and external determinates which effect in the industry of the Russian strategy towards the Middle East countries.

2.4.1 The Internal Determinates

The internal determinants play an important role in forming the Russian foreign directives and thus, we will display at this section the formal and informal institutions.

2.4.1.1 The Formal Institutions

2.4.1.1.1 Legislature Authority

The federal society (parliament) is considered the highest representative authority in the country and consists of two councils (constitution, 2011):

1. **The federal council:** it includes 178 person who represent all the basic administrative units with one representative per unit (one of them represents the local legislature and the other one represents the executive power). The highest council (the federal council) addresses the issues associated with the federal including the borders of the country, the use of the military forces outside of the country, the agreement to announce the martial laws and the emergency status in the country. Also, it has the right to accept or refuse the projects which provided by the lower council (Duma).
2. **The lower council (Duma):** it consists of 450 deputies who elected by the community where all of the members are elected by the election list system (the party lists) and mix it with the singular system for four years (mixed proportional representation system). The party must get on 7% at least in order to participate in the council and the election is take place by the direct voting and the service period is four years. As well as, it is responsible in the agreement of the appointments which is implemented by the prime minister and the presidency of the central bank. Also, it is basic legislative body which is responsible on making the laws where the suggestions of the laws whether through the president or the Duma members are provided to the duma council. If the laws are accepted, they will be passed to the federal council in order to be reviewed through five days. If the law is not rejected through 14 days, it is considered acceptable by the federal council and then the law will be sent to the president of the republic in order to approved and presented for no more than 14 days. If the president is objected on the law, two third of the council members must be agreed in order to be passed. It must be mentioned that the legislative in the federal Russia has a role in the laws authentication or the authentication on the foreign policy issues which adopt by the president Putin.

2.4.1.1.1 Executive Authority

1. The president of the state (the Russian president)

The president is elected by voting for two succeeded periods and each period is four years. The election was take place on March 2012 and the president is considered the central of gravity in the Russian political regime and the axis of the decision making. This is clear by the wide powers vested by the constitution of 1993. It represents the state inside and outside, he is determined the highlights and the directions of the local and foreign policy, he has the right to appoint the prime minister and the deputies of the prime minister and isolate them after the presentation of these decisions on the Duma council. Moreover, the president has the right to dissolve the government as a whole if he sees that necessary. Besides, he appoints the president of the central bank and the judges of the courts including the constitutional court. Also, he configures the Duma council and the national Security Council and head it, suggests the defensive policy of the state and he is the commander of the Russian armed forces. Furthermore, he has the right in the invitation to hold early elections or pubic referendum. As well as, he has the right to suggest the laws and announce the martial law in case of subject to aggression and announce the emergence status in the country. In addition, the president manages the negotiations and signs the international agreements and has the right to appoint and dissolve the diplomatic representatives for Russia at the countries and international organizations. As well as, he receives the foreign diplomatic credentials (Constitution, 2001). According to the extensive power assigned to the president, he played a central role in drawing strategic outline of his country in the Middle East region.

2. Executive Body (The Government)

One of its most important specialists are represented in the provision of the federal budget of Duma and work on implementing the internal finance and credit policy. Also, the established policies in the fields of culture, sciences, education, health and other fields. Besides, it is responsible on the external policy of the state where the government is just associate device of the president who appoint the ministers and isolate them without the need to give reasons for that. The government has not any powers to face the president and

its effect is limited to just give opinions and advice which may be taken by the president and he may not take it (constitution, 2011).

3. The army

The army has not better effect than the other sectors in spite of that it is the heir for the biggest empire in the world (Asfahani, 1994: 6). However, the effect of the army appeared when the army showed its discontent and rejection for the policy of the previous president Boris Yeltsin and it stand beside the president and support him when he was candidate for the presidency of federal Russia and gave him its votes and hoping to find a solution for its crisis through his promises (Frederick, 1993: 229). The effect of the army was clear in the election of 1993 where it presented the support in more than 50 percent of its votes of soldiers and officers and the percentage of the officers who voted for the interest of governmental party was 22 percent. Then, the legislative elections which take place in 1995 confirmed the support of the army for the communist and nationalist currents and especially that the Russian officers in general are inclined to the establishment of authoritarian regime. As well as, they are more convenience that the democracy in its Western concept does not consist with the nature of the Russian people. Also, the Russian commanders and many characters with high influence in Russia do not want the return of the empire only but they want to return the position of Russia as a great power. They belief that the construction of the army on the highest levels may return Russia to its previous status as a great power. It must be mentioned that the Russian president Putin is supported by a number of Russian military commanders since he was appointed acting president until he has been elected in March 2000. The commander Valerie Goerbabel mentioned that in Mozdon base which is considered the biggest military base near to Chechnya that the military commanders understand the reasons of the presidential change and see that a good thing for Russia that the Russian army is still belong to the president in his foreign decisions.

4. Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ministry of foreign affairs of Russia works on developing the general strategy of the foreign policy of federal Russia and provide the suggestions to the president of Russia. Also, it works on developing the foreign policy for

Russia. The most important priorities of this ministry is to fix the international problems as an executive device which belong to the Russian president as follow:

- a) Work on creating stable system for the international relationships based on the respecting and equality concepts and the exchange collaboration in addition to the rules of the international law.
- b) Promote the legal basis for the international relationships in order to guaranty the peaceful and fruitful collaboration between the countries and preserve the balance between their interference interests in many cases. Moreover, protect the interest of the international community as whole.
- c) Decrease the role of power in the international relationships and promote the strategic and regional stability.
- d) The international collaboration in the economic and environmental field.
- e) The humanitarian collaboration and human rights.
- f) \Develop the binary and multiple collaboration with the countries members in the independent countries association.

5. Russian Intelligence

KGB is an abbreviation for Komitet Gosudarstvennoye Bezopastnosti and it is a device of the Russian intelligence previously which is established in 20 December 1917 and heading by Flecky Sersky and supervision of the Russian president Vladimir Lenin where this device is dissolved and ended in 6 November 1991 after the attempt of the KGB president to assassinate the soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. On 23 august 1991, the president of the device has been arrested and replaced by Commander Vadim Paktin who assigned to dissolve the device permanently.

The SVR device which is the unique heir of KGB device is dissolved permanently as a specialized tool for the special operations of the national security outside and which associate with it inside. SVR became responsible about the activities of the Russian intelligence and spying outside of the Soviet Union where the Russian law authorize the SVR to perform the following missions:

- a) The intelligence management.

- b) Take all measures to guaranty an effective security system in Russia.
- c) The scientific, technological and intelligent spying mission
- d) Provide the personal security for the government employees and their families.
- e) Perform share operations with the different security devices.
- f) Share the Russian intelligence in the foreign policy.

During the presidency of Yeltsin, the SVR worked with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by spread warnings to the West to refer to non-interference in the unification of Russia with the previous soviet republics. While Putin was before a president to the Russian republic, he reconfigured the Russian intelligence agency which is called SVR and he drew the attention by assigning on its head Yevgeny Primakov who is specialized in the Middle East affairs and spent many years in the Arab World. Also, he speaks the Arabic language where Primakov made changes in the intelligence device and place on the head of the device number of assistances for him and all of them who have experience and relationships with the Arab World and the Middle East region. This situation is continued until Putin made another changes on the device in 2000 by assigning Sergei Lindev a new president for this device. The last president worked in the United States and has experience to work in the West countries (Salah, 2010: 366-370).

2.4.1.2 The Informal Institutions

2.4.1.2.1 Elite Politics

1. The radical reformers (right)

This direction supports the rapid transformation to the market economic and prefer the shock therapy as a mean for that which require the rapid privatization for the trade, services, edit prices, open the economic for the local and foreign investment and looks to the Western experiment as a highest model an sees that the Western assistances is basic for the success of this transformation. The fans of this direction supports foreign policy which was followed by the previous minister of foreign affairs Andrey Kozyrev (1990-1995) who is represented to work on formulating political and economic relationships with the West and rapid integration in the world economy. One of the most important leader of this direction is Anatoly Chubais who is the first deputy for the prime minister in the period between

1993 until 1994 and also Vladimir Schumiko who is the first deputy of the prime minister in 1992. As well as, he assigned as a head of the federal council after the parliament election in 1993 until the election of 1995 (Willerton, 1994: 33-39).

2. Nationalists, conservatives and communists (left)

a) Nationalists: they focus on the unity of Russia and desire the return back before the Bolshevik Revolution. Also, they doubt in the Western wailing and hesitate to ask the help from the West and prefer that Russia depends on its self-resources to overcome its economic problems. As well as, they are against the Western effect in the Russian culture and they focus on the necessity to uphold the Russian culture and revive it and also the Russian orthodox as a moral base. While they support the economic reform, they see the necessity to interest in the agriculture and take care the situation of the farmers and also, the interest in the traditional military industries.

b) Conservatives and communists: they prefer to return back to the central system in the economic and refuse all the fixes related to the transformation to the market economy and they see the necessity of developing the Russian military forces and one of the most important conservative leaderships Ruslan Hasbulatov who was the president of the Russian parliament in the period between 1991 until 1993.

c) Middle direction: its representatives collect between the radicals from one hand and the nationalists from another hand. They believe by the democracy and the necessity of the democratic transformations and also the privatization and the sequence transformation to the market economy where they refuse the shock therapy. Moreover, they believe by unify Russia and by the necessity of avoiding any policies which may lead to fragment the country and they confirm to the necessity of depending on the Russian resources and reduce to resort to the West in order to provide the investments and assistances for Russia. The most important leaderships of this direction is Oleg Lobov who is the secretary of the national council in 1993 and Yuri Yarov who is the deputy of the prime minister in

1992 and Georgi Khiza who is the deputy of the prime minister during the period between 1992 until 1993.

2.4.1.2.2 Parties

The multiculturalism in Russia started in 1989 where the leaderships of the communists party exposed to high and increased pressures in order to allow more freedom of expression by modifying the article number (6) for the constitution of 1977 which is context that the communist party is the leaderships power of the soviet society and for all the state devices and public institutions. On February 1990, the central committee of the communist party agreed on modifying the constitution. On March 1990, the modification is amended for the articles of 6 and 7 of the constitution where the articles referred to the political parties without any privileges of the communist party. As well as, on October of the same year, new law has been issued which determine the composition rules of the parties. After the dissolution of the communist party and block its activity after the failed coup attempt in august 1991, many parties appeared and their activity and existing are increased until reached before the parliament elections of 1993 to about 40 political party. The parties can be classified into four parties as follow (Shively, 2007: 102:105):

1. **The parties with the national direction:** they include the Liberal Democratic Party, National Salvation Front, National Republic Party of Russia and the Union of the Whole Nationalists Russian.
2. **Communist Parties:** they include The Communists Party of Federal Russia, The Workers of Russia, The Socialists Labor Party, The Russian Labor Communist Party, The Russian Party of the Communists, The Union of the Communists, The Labor Party and Communist Party of the Bolshevik Union.
3. **The Middle Parties:** they include The Civilian Union, The Agricultural Party, The People Party For Free Russia, The Democratic Party of Russia, The Union of the Whole Russians, The Constitutional Democratic Party.
4. **Democratic parties:** they include The Democratic Russia, The National People's Party, The Farmer Party, People's Party, Republic Party, Socialist Democratic Party, Constitutional Democratic Party, The Free Democratic Party, Economic Freedom Party, Democratic Reform Movement, The Christian Democratic Union, and The Russian Christian Democratic Movement.

The most important thing which is noticed on the parties in Russia as follow (Mcfaul, 1994: 5):

- They are with limited membership where sometimes they reach to 300 members as the case in The Constitutional Democratic Party where there is no party that is considered with wide popularity.
- Most of them have not branches in all parts of Russia for example, Liberal Democratic Party which is considered one of the biggest parties in Russia has branches in about one third of the Russian regions only. It must be mentioned that the most parties which characterized by the organize and coordination are those parties with communist direction even if they are not spread as compared with the other parties.\
- It is difficult to say that there is a party system by clear meaning in Russia where the crystallization of such system need into many years.
- In general, it is noticed that these parties have effective role in effecting on the government policy and its directions because of its different necessities and directions and its clash with the powers of the president who is the first and last decision owner according to his wide constitutional powers.

Moreover, these parties are characterized by the existing of the microstructure parties which are not able to collect the least amount of the expectations that allow the participation in the elections. As well as, they do not have representation in all of the regions as the Liberal Democratic Party which has branches in only one third of the regions in Russia. In general, it is not clear that the parties in Russia have clear effect on the foreign policy of the Middle East region.

2.4.1.2.3 Interest Groups

The constitution of 1993 has guaranteed the freedom of composing the organizations and institutions to defense on the interest of their members and the most important of these committees in Russia are that committees belong to the workers where the workers are coordinated in the Union of Independent Trade which include 50 million member. Also, the farmers are coordinated in the Agricultural Union while the business men and according to their new activities and emergence, they could not able of composing shared ground where the workers are considered the most important groups in terms of the activities. However, this activity is limited on the protests and strikes which they performed to protest on the late of paying their

salaries and the deterioration of their living levels where the protests and strikes became the hallmark of the celebration by the Labor Day in Moscow. Yeltsin has canceled the traditional celebration manifestations by the Labor Day. Also, he canceled its name as the Labor Day and called it the spring and work day where gives all the workers in Russia a holiday that extent for four days. Always these protests are peaceful excluding these protests that happened in the Labor Day in 1993 which witnessed violent clashes between the police men and the workers. The greatest trade union demonstration witnessed by Russia is happened on October 1994 to protest on the economic crisis which is suffered by the country where there are 5.5 million worker participated at this demonstration and demanded to increase the salaries and change the economic policy (Sheikh, 1998: 167?).

In other hand, the workers resorted to the protests and demonstrations in order to express about their dissatisfaction and demands where on august 1993, the workers the trade unions of the military institutions and include 5 million worker by a protest where they expressed their dissatisfaction of the defensive industries collapse. As well as, a series of demonstrations performed by the mine workers in February 1994, February 1995 and January 1995 and the last one is considered the worst workers crisis since the collapse of the Soviet Union and most of these demonstrations happened on the lack of paying the wages of workers for many months. Generally, the interest groups in Russia do not figure pressure or effected power on the Russian political decisions makers where most of these groups are small and weak groups and they are considered the most effect and active groups followed to the communist party and have not any dependence in their decision from the party. Always, most of its goals are economic in the first degree and its means do not exceed the demonstrations and strikes which are called the negative means or the negative resistance that reflect on the Russian government response where they do not exceed the payment of the wages or the delayed salaries or increase until reach to the extent where its require to redraw the economic policies.

2.4.1.2.4 Public Opinion

The Russian community with its long suffer in the highlight of the Tsarist rule and then the communist and its deteriorating economic conditions could not crystalize an effect and strong general opinion. Also, from the practical side, the media in Russia and especially the press are still suffer from the restrictions and in

the existing of the economic deterioration where the newspapers in Russia depend on the governmental support which make them loss a large part of the dependence. As well as, the market machines extended to the press where the shares of many magazines are sold including big newspapers to the money men and large companies which started the interference in the policy of these newspapers and their political directions. It must be mentioned at this regard that the activity of the Jews capital in the media field has weakened the effectivity of this sector according to the control on many important newspapers in addition to its control on television channels including the largest private television company which is NTV that owned by Vladimir Jusinski who is the president of the national conference of the Jews in Russia. In other hand, the press is not far from the political conflict in Moscow. However, the real difficulty that face the Russian press in general is the loss of the trust where the clearance policy that followed by Gorbachev led to clarify many issues about the role followed by the press to mislead the public opinion which make it loss the trust of what is written by the Russian press.

Despite the development of the Russian public opinion which is started clearly in the Russian election that express on the desire of the Russian people and their directions but the Russian people and their public opinion is considered unaffected in the Russian foreign policy or on its makers like the case in the Western countries and need a time in order to become an effective power.

2.4.1.2.5 Church

Since the sixteen century, the Russian tsars founded their judge on religious base and adopted the Byzantine concept which states that the state president must have a church power too. In the seventeen century, the church gradually became a political tool where it is used by the Russian tsars in attracting the popular support for them and for their expansion outside the Russian lands under the name of the Holy Russia. The constitution of 1993 has adopted the concept of splitting between the state and religion where the article 65 of the constitution states that Russia is secular state and in spite of that the constitution did not determined a specific religion to the state but Russia considers itself as Orthodox Christian state. (Dawisha and Parrott, 1994: 99).

After an absence of seventy years of the soviet judge, the church is returned back to play its role on the popular and political levels where the church started to

return its spiritual role. In the period between 1987 and 1992, there are more than 6000 orthodox churches are reopened and 64 percent of the people who participated in the survey expressed their trust in the church more than the other public institutions and the Patriarch Alexey II who is the head of the orthodox church came as one of the popular characters and the church started to practice an effective political role and became a source of political communist. This is displayed in many occasions including the attending of the patriarch the ceremony of transferring the power to Yeltsin in 1990 and in the middle of 1992, Yeltsin provided an official thanks to the church and the patriarch on his help in the revival of the Russian state and its independence. As well as, he signed a decree to allocate 200 million ruble to reconstruct and maintain the churches in the Falam Islands Group which were the center of the Russian orthodox for many centuries. Also, the government at the end of 1992 handed the Cathedral of the Kremlin and to the church in the red square to the church. There are some Christian movements which work in the policy including the Christian Russian democratic movement that is founded in 1990 under the leadership of the Father Gleb Yakunin and some liberal priests. In 1992 some priests participated in the collection of the conservative and the nationalists collection and asked the government of Yeltsin to take stricter and firmer procedures in order to protect the Russian borders and protect the Russian who residents outside of Russia (Dawisha and Parrott, 1994: 93-99). Moreover, the church has taken a supportive attitude to the orthodox in Serbia and asked to the necessity of support them in facing the Bosnian Muslims and opposed the united nations decision that imposed the sanctions of the Serbian which motivated the Islamic organizations in Russia to announce their support for the Iranian initiative that asked to support the Bosnian Muslims and the invitation of the Russian government and the international community to work in order to stop the war. This is led to invite Andrey Kozyrev who was the minister of foreign affairs at that time to the necessity of splitting the religious of the policy and that the religion must not determine the foreign policy of Russia because that may rise the conflict between the Muslims and the Christians inside Russia. However, the interior division of the charge and its weakness are still a reason in decreasing the extent of its effect and effectivity both on the political and popular levels.

2.4.1.2.6 Jews

The Jews exploited the new freedoms in Russia in the era of Yeltsin to configure Jews pope which has an important role in the financial and media activity. However, lastly and after abroad murmur of their different activities, Putin police broke Media Institution in Moscow for its owner Vladimir Gusinski who was the vice president of the Jews conference in Russia and the vice president of international Jews conference who hold the Russian and Israeli identities and has great support from America and Israel. They imposed on him the house arrest in Spain according to the request of the Russian judiciary which accused him in stealing the public money (Katen, 2001: 42). The Jews effect is considered effective in Russia where the Jews are still controlling on about 90% of the media in Russia. If we try to extrapolate the Jews effect in the Russian strategic issues, we can notice that it is huge and may be presented through (Emirate, 1997: 197):

- Jews training in the media both in the United States and the West and even inside Russia.
- The weight of the Russian Jews including the soviet immigrants to Israel where its importance made the president Putin describes Israel as one of the states which talk the Russian language and deserve the civilized care.
- The critical balances in the Russian relationships. For example, there is a project to transport the Russian gas to Israel across turkey which con provide support to the Russian economy.

2.4.2. The External Determinates

The external determinants play an important role in formulating the foreign policy and the political decision-making of the countries where many of these directions and considerations are intertwined such as the economic interests, the security situation and location in the international map. At this part we will display the most important external determinants and the extent of its effect in formulating the Russian strategy towards the Middle East.

2.4.2.1. The Decline of Ideology in International Relations

During four decades of the cold war, the ideological consideration was judging the relationships of Moscow and its presidents towards the other countries where the policy supported the national liberation movements and the revolutionary movements and then the generated radical regimes and also the support of the

communist parties and their support. This was a basic factor in the failure of the soviet union in establishing relationships with many countries but the international system which its prospect have been determined and its foundations are stabled after the second world war is witnessed during the eighties and specifically since 1985 witnessed the political pyramid in the soviet union and the soviet union announced its abandonment of his strong balance politics and started to search on balance of interest policy and the soviet strategic became gaining features not previously characterized especially the practical drift behind the international American strategy which through resulted the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union (Nafaa, 1991: 94). So, the absence of the soviet union as a Counterbalanced pole and replaced by the federal Russia as a state follow the united states in its military capabilities while from the economic side, the new situation includes multiple polarities with huge economic capabilities including Europe, japan, china and the West East Asia and the considerations an the economic interests are ruled the Russian strategy according to increase the economic crisis and the sharp deterioration in the Russian economy. Therefore, this world is less ideology and more reality.

The most important feature that the new political system is characterized in the soviet union states is the collapse of Marxism as an ideology and judge system and the Western liberal ideology by its two sides the economic and the politician side is adopted. The situation is developed to include the ratcheting of these countries gradually in the Western structural systems to the degree of requesting to join the joint European market and NATO. So, the situation did not limited on the collapse of the Marxism governments but it exceeds to the replacement of the structural systems of the eastern bloc where the two institutions of Warsaw Military Pact and Economic Comicon are dissolved. In addition, the abandonment of the countries were received the support from the previous Soviet Union and met the United States and the West. From another hand, the division of the world countries into two conflicted campuses where the first one is socialist progressive and the second one is imperial capital is not ambition any more according to the nature of the change which is occurred in the international system, structure after 1991 which imposed similar change in the followed strategy

The rapid demise of the soviet union placed an end for the international bipolar system where this matter became a real separation between two facts which are the cold war that started after few years the end of the second world war and the

new era where it is inaugurated firstly by the president Gorbachev by his new thinking in the internal and external fields which is the thinking that the second world war as the practical test in the relationship of his country with the United States of America that represented in his deep research to find joint floor with the West. In the highlight of this context, the federal Russia saw that the collaboration with the United States and especially in the issues associated with the problems which effect in the world regions is the best method to protect its interests at this region and this matter led to more diplomatic collaboration between federal Russia and the United States through the beginning of the nineties. Russia shared with the United States its announced desire to reduce the arming in the world and especially the spread of the nuclear weapons. At the same context, the pressures of the United States on its allied countries restricted in order to not be close with the federal Russia too much and establish economic and political relationships with this country especially that there are common interests where Russia aims to develop its relationships with any country in order to get the financial support to solve its economic problems through the encouragement of these countries to invest in Russia. Whereas the other countries aim to gain Russia to its side especially that it is inherited the permanent seat of the Soviet Union in the Security Council in addition to its desire in distributing the weapons resources.

2.4.2.2. The Russian and American Relationships

2.4.2.2.1 The Transformation in the American and Russian Relationships

The collapse of the Soviet Union created new political situation in Russia which led to the existing of important political changes both on the internal and external sides. The effect of the internal policy in the foreign policy of Russia was clear across the transformation which witnessed by the Russian policy in its dealing with the United States where the Russian foreign policy transformation was completed from a party against the United States which aim to introduce itself as a follower. This was a reflection for the changes and challenges inside the Russian parliament where three groups are competed on the power as follow (Al – Sahaf, 2005: 115-116):

1. **First group:** it was supporting the political policy of Yeltsin that belong to the United States which is established on the bases of new relationships with the West and Israel, the great support of the privatization operations

and the transformation to the economic market in the Russian economy. These directions have negative effects towards the Arab region issues especially that associate with supporting the sanctions imposed on Iraq and the Palestinian issue and the Arab and Israeli conflict.

2. **Second group:** it supports on the concentration on Eurasian policy of Russia which means the concentration on establishing good relationships with the Middle East and China in addition to the relationships with the West. As well as, it supports on strengthening the relationships with the surrounding countries and the repairs and slow privatization of the Russian economy.
3. **Third group:** the collection of the nationalists and communists in spite of their differences. What collect them here is to stand strongly with the establishment of central power in Russia and that Russia plays the role of the great power and face the United States and stand with Iran and Iraq and the invitation on re-controlling of Russia on the previous Soviet Union republics. As well as, three directions are appeared inside the political class on the type of the external Russian direction of the next period and they are directions which similar with the two groups that mentioned previously and these directions include (Shively, 2007: 224-225):
 - **First direction:** it focuses on the relationship with the Western countries and looks to the West as a probable or effective partner and that Russia as European country and a part of the Western civilization.
 - **The second direction:** it looks aggressively to the West and it sees the West as a threat to the Russian national security and a strong factor which motivates Russia towards the disintegration and achieve its privileges on the Russian national interest account.

Generally, the president Boris Yeltsin was one of the first direction where it directed by the Russian and American relationships towards the rapprochement and take new direction which is based on that Russia is a partner with America and it is not enemy. The main reason of that situation for Yeltsin is to reconstruct the collapsed Russian economy across the American and European economic support. Thus, Yeltsin adopted the idea of the economic partnership with the European. However, inside Russia the policy of Yeltsin meet great opposition but he found an

ally and supporter who is the minister of foreign affairs (Andrey Kozyrev) who supported the directions of Yeltsin towards the West and deal with the West from the partnership concept. As well as, he supported the following of liberal policies by the privatization which is the matter that avoided by the Russian experts as described it as a collapse factor and it is not studied transformation and its results will come soon. Through the determination of the foreign policy of Russia, the direction which motivate the transformation in the relationships with the United States to the collaboration is owned and there are many steps taken by the Russian government to express this direction as follow:

1. Russia is quick to join the economic and political Western institutions.
2. The compatibility with the West in the issues with mutual importance in an attempt to make the West accept Russia as a friend country after the cold war by taken positions from the ally states of Russia such as Iraq and Serbia.
3. Deal with Europe in the frame of the European policy and the lack of the existing of characterized Russian policy towards West Europe countries and continue the process of the withdrawal of the Russian forces from them.
4. Proceed with disarmament talks after Russia has seen that there is no possibility to continue its production or bear the costs of updating and sustaining it.
5. On the mutual relationships level, the Western countries witnessed by great interest and it was the first countries where the president Yeltsin visit them after the collapse of the soviet union in an attempt to attract the Western assistances and investments.

On the other side, the united states sin the Russian direction saw that this considered a surrender and announcement of the lost in the cold war where George Bush the Father stand and full of victory and he announces in front of the united nations the beginning of new era led by the united states alone and see that Russia as a regional power and has not the possibility to talk about an international role where it is not a great power any more. Thus, this was one of the most failures in the Russian direction that the United States did not support Russia in its new directions but rather it attempts to weaken the Russian body by promoting the intelligence support of the Chechen fighters in their battle towards the separation from Russia. As well as, surrounding Russia in the middle of Asia and Caspian Sea. Also, ignore the

Russian desire that Russia becomes one of the partners to the United States. Hence the relationships of Russia with the United States did not exceed the border of the friendly political relationships in order to finish the cold war manifestations and the United States did not become one of the main partners to the United States where the size of the commercial exchange between Russia and the United States is still limited where the last one within the two Americas in the fourth rank of the commercial partners after Europe, Commonwealth and Asian States.

These factors helped to far from the pro-Western policy and to search on recoil Russian role. As well as, search on more independent policy which take into consideration the Russian national interests and these factors include (Al – Sahaf, 2005: 116):

1. The failure of the shock therapy which is the transformation to the markets economic directly without the graduation in the transformation processes.
2. The parliament elections in 1995 which resulted that the communists became the majority in the Duma council and controlled one the most important ministries such as the ministry of defense, interior and security and the parliament became a great opposition for the internal and foreign policies of Yeltsin.
3. The American behavior which was manifested in the non-fulfillment of promises for Russia and to help it economically.
4. The NATO decision to expand to the east to the Russian borders where this situation is considered by Russia as threat factor for its national security. As well as, it is exploited by the internal opposition to repel the pro-government policies of Yeltsin.

These steps are configured a basic introduction towards the new transformation which took place on the Russian and American relationships and especially after 2000 where Russia tried to return back to play the role of the great state which effect newly after two eras absence.

2.4.2.2.2. The Russian and American Relationships Since 2000

The Russian and American relationships witnessed new transformation since 2000 after the transformation of the judge of Putin to Russia. This transformation is combined by the type of the leadership in both pf the parties where the American side, the management which is reached to the white house is considered one of the

most radical managements which adopted very conservative opinions and looked by one bad telescope to the world where the world is either black or white. In contrast, new leadership with new style has reached to the presidency in Russia where it did not get rid from the previous image of the soviet which is drawn along the twentieth century and led the world. Also, it is consisted of the two reals who do not look to the international relation form the conceptual point of view only but it is the real look to the nature of the international political movement. Therefore, the directions of the two leaderships collided and they meet only in dew points where the competition and the conflict is the permanent characteristics in the relationships of the two countries. As well as, many parties are benefited from this type of the relationships and Iran is considered one of the most important beneficiaries where the Russian need led to play by the pressure papers and expand its collaboration with Iran in its nuclear program.

The United States looked to Russia with suspicion especially after the increase of the Russian ambitions to return back and perform the role of the effective leadership in the new international system. Then, the American policy directed to re-sinking Russia again towards Europe by convenience it of the futility of the attempts to restore the status of the previous Soviet Union because of the financial problems which suffer by the Russian economy in addition to the risks which threat the federal Russia by the disintegration. To that end, the American management used different modes including the joining of Russia to the group of the seventh industrial countries (G7) and configure special committee by the security under the control of the United Nations and the European collaboration. In other hand, it is followed the stick and threat policy and the encirclement with Russia and it is directed to expand the NATO in order to contain Russia from the eastern European side. Furthermore, it is followed an effective policy in the heart of Eurasia in order to reduce the Russian influence in the region and adopted the completion of the US missile shield program. As well as, the united states worked on the cancelation of the agreements that signed previously with the soviet union because the international situation have been changed and replace it by regional systems that reluctant Russia and place it in small circle which through cannot get out of the isolation imposed on it. Moreover, the American management has directed great criticize to the Russian policy in field of weapons trade and transport the technology related to the nuclear weapons especially to North Korea and Iran.

While on the Russian side, the discussion around about the role of the president Putin after it has been elected as a president to Russia in March 2000 in transporting the Russian policy. As a result for the Russian and American relationships in another field is based on get ride from the West. At the forefront of Putin's policy is the change inside and decrease the dependence as possible from the importing from outside. The first thing of his interest is to cancel the chaos at the decision maker in the country and it is the chaos caused from the participation of seven basic players in drawing the foreign policy of Russia. Thus, Putin worked with all of the independent players under central control and supervised by him as a president to the federal Russia. The first of his accomplishment is to remove the political effect for Boris Berezovski and Vladimir Gusinsky who are the financial leaders who hold the Israeli identity in addition to their Russian identity and stripping them from all of the media which were under their control. As well as, Putin has sacked the minister of the nuclear energy who was Yevgeny Adamov because he was following independent policy from the Kremlin administration. Also, he sacked the two minister of defense and interior and the general manger of giant Gazprom Company who was interfering continuously in the policy of middle Asia and Middle East. Moreover, Putin decreased the powers of the provinces leaders and the republics which following to Russia and assigned representatives with full powers (Yousef, 2008: 80-82).

Putin collected all the weapons transportation companies in Rosoboron export Governmental Company and it was the first steps which is drawn by Putin to draw new Russian strategy which can return to Russia its international reputation which is the one side withdrawal from Gore - Chernomyrdin Agreement that signed with America in 30 of June 1995 that prevents Russia from selling weapons to Iran. Putin announced that Russia cannot return back its place as a great power and preserve its independence while it is depending of what it receives of external assistances confirming that the fortune of Russia of the raw materials must enable it to overcome the economic crisis which exhausted. In addition to the incomes of the weapons trade, the energy sector represented one of the pillars which through the Russian economy is wake up and thanks to the sense of management and the rationalization in employing the incomes to srev the national goals. According to the data of British Economist magazine, the average of growth in the gross domestic product in Russia is amounted 7 percent annually starting from 2000. This matter means the increase of

this production about 50 percent through 7 years since the judgement of Putin where the Russian economy became one of the 120 biggest economies in the world. According to the statistics of 2008, Russia owned more than 500 billion dollar of the foreign exchange reserves compared to almost nothing in 1998. The foreign investments amounted about 45 billion dollar and this is reflected on the people with medium level where the living level is enhanced during the judgment of the president Putin. Also, Putin enabled to the decontrolling of the government on a set of important sectors especially the oil and gas sectors and this matter is benefited by the Russian save especially during the rise of the oil prices from 15 dollar per barrel to about 90 dollar per barrel in 2007. This was a basic factor to make Russia stopping completely to ask any assistances from the United States and the rest great seven industrial countries. As well as, it was a reason behind the completely fulfillment of Russia in paying the external debts since 2002. In addition, increase the employment and the economic refresh by the other sectors and update the industrial infrastructure, develop and gain competitiveness capabilities in the international markets.

On the political level, Putin succeeded in stopping the deterioration and the confusion where Russia suffered at the end of the ninetieth an enabled to compose strong administration and instead of declining the role of Russia internationally, it is returned back to perform an effective role and the presenting of Moscow was great in many important files where it interference with the West position such as the Iranian nuclear file.

Since the Russian role became an effective role because of the achieved accomplishments, the United States continued in its attempts to reduce the effect of the Russian role, surrounding and encircling. This matter imposed the president Putin to direct his hard criticizes to the one polar system which ruled by the united states and said: “the laws system of one country and of course the united states at the first degree has acceded its national borders in all of the fields including the economy, policy and impose the laws on the other countries and there are many positive sides in developing the relationships with America but we increase convince that all of the tools are directed towards one goal which is achieving the Washington goals with its relationships with Russia”. This terms means that Putin realizes to seek of the United States to harness its relationship with Moscow not only for constructing real partnership but to serve the American interest only. Before finishing his term and the arrival of the president Dmitry Medvedev, the president Putin gave a speech like

to reveal an account in front of the Russian parliament which through he displayed what he has achieved during eight years of his presidency to Russia. He stopped at the missions which have not achieved yet and they must be achieved to accomplish the construction of the Russian state. At this context, he displayed the nature of the relationships with the West and he said: "it is clear that there is new arming context is started in the world and we are not only who start this direction". This is the term where he abstracted the nature of the international relationships also, he addressed the missile shield issue and said: "they have to convince us that all of that are not directed against Russia but we do not hear answers about our questions. There are many conversations about these issues but unfortunately I say that all of this was not more than media cover to implement their special plans". The mandate the president Putin and Bush have finished and the American and Russian relationships have turned in their era to the completion and conflict. After the events of 11 of September 2011 and in spite of the entrance of Russia in the war axis against the terrorism but the American strategy does not deal with Russia based on the trustful ally but the occupation of Afghanistan was a developed step to surround Russia, in addition to the issuing of American reports after September 2011 stated that the pentagon performed emergence plan to launch nuclear attacks on seven countries including Russia. In contrast, the Russian strategy is based on the necessity of stopping the Western expansion especially the American expansion in the Russian vital fields in Eastern Europe and the republics of the previous soviet union and work on returning its vital fields and close widely from the black sea waters (Abdel Halim, 2002: 198-199).

Russia faced the American strategy which is based on containing Russia during the movement on the direct military field to guarantee its interest. Also, expand the military expenses in addition to the threat on the withdrawal of the number of agreements which held previously. The files which effect on the Russian and American relationships are complex and intertwined. However, there are four files effected in rising the American and Russian conflict which are expanding the NATO, the program of the American missile shield, the Georgian issue and the Iranian nuclear program which we will focus according to its association with the Middle East.

The Iranian nuclear program is considered one of the most important conflict items between Russian and the united states and its effect was clear in the

relationships recently where Iran from the American point of view configures the greatest challenges which must be deal with it quickly while Russia does not see in the Iranian nuclear program which calls for the US or the international community concerns and it sees it regularly until now. The Iranian nuclear crisis became one of the most important issues where the united states rises with all of its visitors and it was natural that the united states rise this issue with Russia where America considers it the military ally with Iran in seeking to dissolve the alliance and prevent the exportation of the nuclear technology to Iran according to its threat for the American interest in the Arab golf and the Arab and Israeli conflict. In the highlight of continuing the Russian position which supports Tehran to have the nuclear technology and create more nuclear reactors, it was possible that the US congress resorts to formulate a law which impose penalties on the Russian companies which deal with Iran. The Iranian issue in addition to other issues are considered an important factor in determining the relationships which will be created in future between America and Russia. The United States may resort to link the stopping of the missile shield program in contrast with the Russian collaboration with the United States against Iran in the Iranian nuclear program issue. Russia is continuing to develop its regional and international role and it is always move externally in the highlight of what is known as Medvedev principle that include the following five points (Friedman, 2008: 123-124):

1. Russia identify the priorities of the international law concepts which determine the relationships between the developed communities conditioning that Russia constructs relationships with the other countries within the framework of these concepts.
2. Russia sees that the world must be multipolar where the existing of singular polar is unacceptable and the hegemony is not allowed where Russia cannot accept an international system where the important decisions are owned by country as the united states and such world will not be stable and threaten by the conflicts.
3. Russia does not want to face another country and Russia has no intention to isolate itself but envisages to establish any friendly relations with Europe and the United States and the largest possible number of the other countries.
4. Russia sees that preserving the soul of its people and their dignity wherever they is priority of the country and its foreign political decisions must be based

on this necessity. Also, it will protect the interests of the Russian business men abroad and it must be clear for everybody that Russia will response on nay acts of aggression against it.

5. As the case in another countries, Russia includes regions and have interest and privileges and Russia will give interest for tis business at these regions and it will construct friendly relationships with these countries.

Medvedev concluded by saying: “these are the concepts which I will follow in applying our foreign policy while for the future, it does not stop on us only but it stops also on our friends and partners in the international community and the selection is available for them”. These points mean that Russia determined to be effective if its national interest is required and if the United States has the right to interfere to protect its interest and its people, Russia has also the same right. Moreover, Russia today enjoy with additional feature to move and give it prior point to deal with outstanding issues than America where America today is submerged in Iraq and Afghanistan and its strategy to war the Islamic terrorism. So, Russia is intended to move within its regional side strongly where the United States cannot fight two ward at once. The problem of the united states that it is highly determined by options while Russia enjoys by wide margin of movement selections at least launch high blow to the core of the American strategy in its war against the terrorism (in the Islamic world) (Friedman, 2008: 127-128).

There is new stage will arise on the level of the Russian American relationships where the two parties will direct to collaborate according to their stable relationships. It look like that the Russian agreement on passing the NATO supplies across their lands to Afghanistan comes from this direction. In addition to the American statements about the missile shield, the United States reassured that the enemy stage which proceed the stage of Bush the Son will change across the discussion into constructive collaboration stage. This transformation must serve in a way or another the issues of the Middle East where the existing of two great powers is better than the United States will alone in the world be deciding the fate of the countries and issue the world problem only which serve its interest. This depends on the decision makers in the Middle East countries and their desire to emerge from the clock of the United States to make the dependent decision.

2.4.2.3. The Regional Variable

The available Russian ability which existed currently with the requirements on preserving the wide national Russian interests present the shortcoming of the capabilities and possibilities to fulfill these interests as Russia desire with wide geographical spread that cover about 17 million kilometer including different climatic areas of the polar cold climate to the moderate northern climates. As well as, it covers at the same time universal time zone. The Russian Siberian regions are characterized by including huge stock of energy and other raw materials that give Russia huge prospects and enforce huge commitments and tasks to preserve these fortunes. The most important thing which can be noticed in the regional variable of federal Russia can be concluded as follow (Emirate, 2010: 209):

1. Loss the power on the republic of the previous Soviet Union countries (Baltic countries, Eastern Europe countries and Middle Asia countries) which were until recently under the center control of Moscow.
2. Loss the fortunes of the Islamic states in Middle Asia after they have been exploited for many decades.

The loss of Ukraine was a source of the greatest worries where the establishment of Ukrainian state was not limited to only the challenges of the Russians and forced to reconsider their political and ethnic identity but also as dangerous geopolitical failure of the Russian state. The denial for more than three hundred years of the Russian empire means the loss of agricultural and industrial lost which hold rich potentials in addition to loss 52 million population. As well as, the independence of Ukraine deprived Russia from its position which control the Black Sea where Odessa led the role of the gate for Russia in the trade with the Mediterranean Sea and the followed world. Russia gave political, military and economic interest in the Caucasus. In spite of the absolute importance of Caucasus, the partial weight for this region changes by the change of the Russian geographic map and this belong to many reasons including:

1. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the regions in Caucasus under the control and influence of the center in Moscow and far from the Russian and Iranian borders.
2. The Russian war history is rich history to reach to the open waters including the waters of the black sea which was a fortune for many wars

between Russian and turkey and Caucasus was just a step for Russia in order to reach into the Indian Ocean.

3. The flow of oil in area of Caspian sea make Russia ready to enforce all the lands in the south under its control by different means and tools especially in the highlight of the American and European incursion in Caucasus and Middle Asia through the oil investment companies.
4. The events of 11 of September 2011 which are taken by the United States as an excuse for its war in Afghanistan in order to reach into by the American bases until the Russian borders. So Caucasus became a stone throw from these forces which are slow penetrating in the previous Soviet Union countries. Since Russia and then the soviet union practiced a type of regional hegemony on the surrounding countries which still as the followers in the Russian astronomy, many fundamental principle are configured for the Russian strategy as follow (Salama, 1993: 6-8):
 - Preserving the Russian national structure by facing any attempts of the external penetrating.
 - Retention the surrounding regions in a very weak situation in order to not be a threaten factor to the Russian national security by the attempts to put an end for any attempt of self-construction of the independent military power.
 - Remains the Russian strategy with twofold where the first fold is the Asian fold which is represented by directing towards the Asian countries and the second fold is represented to reach into the warm waters and control the sea lands and straits because of its suffer from the isolation status.

This transformation and retreat in the Russian and American relationships that reflected directly in the Russian behavior in the Middle East and especially in the Palestinian issue. So, it is clear that the logic of the political bargaining is the based logic in the relationships between the two countries in order to each of one keep its interest in different areas of the earth. The Middle East area with its strategic and geopolitical importance which will be reflected on the Russian behavior which is in the opposition to the American position which supports and even pro for the justice of the Arab issues.

From the above results, it is clear that the Russian strategy is subject for a group of determinates which wholly configure the basics of making this strategy and included international and external determinants resulting from the strategic interest of federal Russia in the middle east. The presence institution of the Russian president is one of the most important determinants and the strongest one in making the Russian foreign strategy. As well as, the directions of the Russian foreign strategy is returning back to the international arena which can serve the Arab issues if the decision makers invest it on the political and economic level and configure an ally which is based on the exchange interests. Therefore, the balance can be achieved in all of the issues including the Palestinian issue in the conflict with the Israeli. Also, at this part, we addressed the extent of the effect of the formula institution, parties, public opinions, the interest groups and the role of the other determinates for the American and Russian relationships and the regional variable in formulating the Russian strategy towards the Middle East. At the following steps, we will present the means and goals for the Russian strategy towards the Middle East during the Vladimir Putin era.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GOALS AND MEANS OF THE RUSSIAN STRATEGY TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST

2.1. Goals and Means of the Russian Strategy

The general strategy for any country is a strategy which addresses the interest in the economic, political, military and security issues and thus, the goals and means if implementing this strategy is varied according to the potentials of that country which facilitate the ability of achieve its goals by the largest possible success with less cost. So, Russia in its strategy towards the Middle East of what its own of military and international positions potentials sought to employ it in order to achieve its strategic goals.

At these steps, we will try to display the most important goals of the Russian strategy towards the Middle East and the tools of its implementation.

2.1.1. Goals of the Russian Strategy in the Middle East

The Middle East regions of what contains of oil fortunes and geostrategic potential represents a circle of the conflict circles where the countries seek to find strategic position inside it in order to achieve its goals. So federal Russia of what enjoys of international weight and hug military abilities sought to penetrate the Middle East region through the previous Soviet Union era and as an heir it seeks to achieve its strategic goals despite of its similar or difference with the goals of the Soviet Union goals. The strategic goals at the era of the president Putin can be summarized as follow:

1. **Strengthen the Russian capabilities and preserve the national security of Russia and unity the Russian lands:** the fear of the conflicts which may emerge with its neighbors because of the borders, the ownership of the land and the exchange demands for each of the, in the Russian region imposed on Russia to find the necessary means to impose the deterrence by promoting the Russian capabilities on focusing in the role of the nuclear weapon for the future of the Russian national security. This can be implemented by owning the nuclear deterrence factor, enhance the combat capabilities of the Russian army in order to protect the national security, prevent any close from the Russian borders or

establish military base in the countries which were under the soviet union influence where that represent a direct threat for the national security which require the deterrence by all of the means. Accordingly, Russia deliberated to the participation in creating Shanghai institution to remove the American military existing in some republics of Middle Asia which helped at this matter the agreement of the two visions (Russian and Chines) in terms of the American military existing close to their borders in Middle Asia and the internal problems witnessed by some regimes in the regions and accusing the united states by encouraging and support the opposition against them which make it reconsider in its relationships with the united states especially that the united states enabled the penetration inside some republics of the previous Soviet Union. This penetration is implemented by some agreements and military bases in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan and another regions in Caspian Sea and control in its oil and gas. In addition to its military occupation for Afghanistan in 2001 (Azizian, 2007: 12).

2. **Secure the necessary circumstances for the economic development:** the federal Russia is established on the ruins of the Soviet Union which is heir it weak economic environment with many challenges and obstacles and a status of deterioration. This is highly reflected on the Russian status internationally and its foreign policy which be friend with the West in order to get the Western support to refresh the Russian economy. In order to get rid of this situation, Russia has taken steps is based on establishing friendly relationships with the countries which through aimed to (Azizian, 2007: 12):

- Attract the investments, capitals and get the economic assistances.
- Activate the Russian economic and commercial relationships and seek to get the preference treatment and increase the Russian exports of the goods and services.
- Activate the weapons industry and increase the exports of the Russian weapons with any debts or delay the payments.

Russia seek to increase the Asian investments in Russia and enter into strong relationships with the economic collections in the continent and get the support of the Asian countries for its international economic integration with its commercial, financial and currency institutions. In another direction, it seeks to

increase its exports including the exports of the weapons commerce and it is really succeeded in dealing with countries such as Malaysia, North Korea and Indonesia in addition to China and India. As well as, it tries to open the Asian markets in front of its products (Abdeen, 2007: 41-42).

3. **Refuse the rules of zero initiatives and commit in the formula of the interest balances:** this can be done through the insistence on decreasing the degree of the international tension, recoil the confrontations, promote the international division and international trade in the region, the wide participation in the international collections and openness on the region countries in spite of their ideological, social and economic nature (Ignatov, 2008: 9).
4. **The necessity of establishing multipolar international system:** the balance and independence of the foreign policy confirm on refusing the world which can be judged by one polar where the president Putin confirmed that and said :” there are new challenges and threats for the Russian national interest started on the international level where there is an increasing seek towards establishing international structure with singular polar which through the united states controls military and economic on the world by using the power. Russia will seek to achieve an effective multipolar international system which can reflect the diversity that existed in the modern world with its varied interests.
5. **The establishment of the world peace:** this can be achieved by avoiding the international conflicts and confirm on the collaboration and friendship concept with the communities and all the world countries. It is considered a basic demand to achieve the economic growth for Russia and get on the largest possible amount of economic deals which through the Russian economic can be refreshed (Federation, 2000: 11-12).
6. **Preserving the international prestige:** the invitation to preserve the state prestige in the election of 1993 during the emergence of the communist nationalist currents and their occupy to privileged place in the Russian parliament and their attempt to pressure on the government in order to make Russia return back its historical strength and importance and the necessity to prove its role on the international level as the other great countries.
7. **Antiterrorism:** the basic consideration which make the antiterrorism one of the goals of Russian foreign policy flows at the first degree from Russian security interests. So, the feeling of Russia increasing by increase the chaos on its

southern borders in Caucasus and Middle Asia which may lead into terrorist acts. It is motivated to the war on the terrorist that the United States and the West refused to criticize the human rights deterioration at these areas and the Chechnya and also Georgia which houses fighters from Chechnya (Anthony et al, 2004: 164-165). So, Russia is considered the fundamentals Islamic movements as of the most dangerous challenges of its national security especially that there are radical groups as the Al-Qaida organization has succeeded in installing their feet in facing the communist systems and threaten the Russian and Western interests in the regions of Middle Asian Republics.

8. Develop the relationship with the countries which participate in the commonwealth of the independent countries: the desire of Russia to not allow the foreign interferences especially the United States and European countries in the previous republics of the Soviet Union in order to avoid the tragedies of confrontations as the case of Chechnya and Afghanistan. Russia sought to adopt with the new geopolitical reality in order to contain the regional and international present and to prevent its encirclement by attracting the new countries through creating new network of the relationships which benefit the new countries and preserve to Russia a controlling position both on the economic and geopolitical levels (Al-Jasour, 2002: 25-27).

In general, the previous goals represent the main prospects of the Russian strategy during the era of the president Putin. These goals are fall within the Russian national security in its comprehensive concept.

2.1.2. Means of the Russian Strategy in the Middle East

While interns of implementing the Russian strategy, this can be illustrated as follow:

In order to achieve its goals, the countries seek to depend on the most prominent means and much available in order to be depended. Therefore, at this context, Russia depended on a group of means including:

- 1. Invoke to resort to the united nations in order to solve the international crises:** Russia sought to activate the role of the united nations to solve any crisis in the world and it always confirms to the necessity that the solution of the crises through the collective efforts where its seek to activate the role of the united nations is just a mean to overcome its intentional role and an

attempt to benefit from its membership in the security council in order to preserve its interests and defense upon them. Also, it seeks to fail any American attempt to take the decision alone. As well as. Russian confirmed that activating the role of the united nations in the world requires the following (Putin, 2000: 1248-1249):

- The comprehensive implementation for the basic concepts came in the Charter of The United nations including the protection of the permeant member countries location in the Security Council.
- Mental fixing for the United Nations organization in order to develop the rapid implementation machines of the international events and this must guarantee the promotion of its potential to solve the international crises.
- Work on activating the efficiency of the Security Council which hold the main responsibility to provide the peace and security in the world and give it sided representation by including its permanent members to its configuration.
- Repair the United Nations must focus on the undeniable right of veto by the permanent members in the international Security Council.

2. Mediation in solving the international crises: the mediation is between the different countries and solve the crises by the peaceful means, prevent the outbreaks in the hot regions of the world, refuse any attack from any country and decrease the current conflicts without resorting to the military forces.

3. Selling weapons, perform the military trainings and update the military institution: Russia occupies the fourth rank between the countries of exporting the weapons after the United States, Britain and France where the issue of selling the weapons and military industries of the most important means in Russia because of this issue has great outcomes that contribute in the Russian national income. In addition, it provides the foreign currency which it badly needs this type of currency. Also, it secures the job for tens thousands of the Russian experts and specialists and this matter will result in returning foreign currency which can be depended in updating the Russian forces industrial base and covers a part of the ministry of defense investments in the field of supplying the weapons to the Russian armed forces (Sacks and Bowman: 2004: 610). In terms of the dependence on this mean, Russia

enabled to penetrate to the weapons market in African, east, Asia and South America.

4. **The political bargaining:** many movements and political Russian directions are considered a type of the political bargaining which aims to pressure on the united states and the Western countries on general in order to get the largest amount of experiments with the political, economic and commercial demands by seeking to open new directions of the relationships with the anti-rejection countries for the united states policy and its Western allies. The rapprochement between the federal Russia and countries with any-rejection policies with the united states not to the rapprochement itself but it is a pressure bargaining policy to win a bigger price for the positions and practices where federal Russia desires. In other word, there is no a unique winner or loser but who win thin, he will loss in contrast another thing depending on the balances of powers and self-abilities which can be bargained and negotiate to achieve the outcomes (Nabaa, 2007: 2).

2.1.3. Implementation of the Russian Strategy in the Middle East

Historically, the geography imposed on Russia to interests in the Middle East because it occupies the largest space of the Eurasian bloc which touches the Middle East. The soviet policy is still giving high interest to the Middle East until the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Federal Russia returned back during the era of president Putin to give high interest to the Middle East after a period which witnessed clear recoil for its policy according to the deterioration of the internal situations in Russia and the Russian leadership preoccupation in solving its increasing internal problems from one hand and its direction towards the West and the united states for the integration in the Western civilization and get the economic assistances to success the economic repair in Russia.

By looking to the Russian policy towards the Middle East after the cold war period, we find that there are many issues must be taken into consideration (Tawfiq, 2003: 89):

1. Achieve the security to the southern borders and prevent the extension of the regional conflicts to the southern regions from the commonwealth of the independent countries which emerged after the collapse of the soviet union especially that Russia looks to the region of middle Asia and the Arab region

as they are joint regions in composing of what is called by the Russian leaders as the name of “the unified Islamic space” where Russia afraid from the outbreak of increasing regional conflicts which reflect on wide range and tough its political, economic, military and cultural interests.

2. Guarantee the Russian interests in the Middle East region in general and in the Arab region especially on different levels.
3. Work on benefiting from the economic capabilities of the region where Russia sees that there is possibility to establish economic associations between Russian and the regional countries which represents a vital necessity to refresh the Russian economy which suffers from many crises by finding economic partners and commercial and weapons markets.
4. The Russian quest to find belt or block of countries which stands in the face of the singular polar and contribute in practicing the pressure on the United States in order to give Russia an opportunity to enter in the peace process and prove that it has ability and potential on the international field. It interprets the Russian quest to establish the relationships with the anti-united states countries in the regions such as Iran, Syria, and before that Iraq in order to win by the balance which through it can face the American hegemony.
5. Reconfirm the Russian relative presenting in the region of the Middle East where Russia sees that of it wants to preserve its hegemony on middle Asia. It must work on developing the relationships with Iran.

Generally, Russia sought after the collapse of the Soviet Union to restructure its policy towards the Middle East where it is expanded its political strategy according to its economic goals and strategic interests. Thus, the ideological goals which are based on its policy is recoil while the Russian interest in the arab region can be summarized as follow (Kasatkin, 1998: 58-59):

1. Attract the Arab assistances and investments to help Russia on overcoming on its economic crisis.
2. Activate the economic and commercial relationships between Russia and the Arab world and get the preferences treatment and especially with the golf countries as they consider of the richest countries in the region.
3. Activate the weapons trade where the Arab world is considered an important market for this type of trade.

The arrival of the president Putin to the judge presented the announcement of new era in the relationships with the Middle East where it is translated by many diplomatic and non-diplomatic steps. Despite of the motivations or the goals drawn by Russia which through it seeks to achieve by its relationships with the Middle East, we can determine a group of reasons and factors which work on promoting the Arab and Russian relationships as follow:

1. The Russian treat with the Arab world as a regional entity which differ from the concept of great countries that refuse the concept of the Arab world.
2. The geographic factor and exceed the borders is configured in itself a factor with positive effect in promoting the relationships.
3. The social composition of the Russian community is a mix between two civilizations which are the Christian orthodox and the Islamic civilization which came to Russia from the Arab world.
4. The existing of the hundred thousands who graduated from the Russian universities and institutes which configure a connection and motivation for good relationships.
5. The Arab and Russian relationships do not include wars or conflicts in the history. As well as, there are not problems at this relationship in the current time.
6. Russia performed important steps towards the Arab world and the president Putin says that most of our relationships with the Arab world are good or very good.
7. The Arab world waits more important Russian role in the peace operations and solve the Palestinian issue and it is the axis factor in the international Arab relationships. Thus, the Russian role must be distinctive than the American Western role which support Israel and its aggression on the Arab world.

After displaying the general goals of the general Russian strategy and the means of implementation in the Middle East region in general and in the Arab world especially, at the following steps we will clarify the different fields of the Russian relationships with some Middle Eastern countries.

2.1.3.1. The Political Relationships

We will focus on the countries which have strategic dimension in the Russian policy and focus on the most important issues and the situations of the Russian policy in the era of president Putin towards these countries:

1. **Iraq:** In the framework of changing the methodology of the Russian foreign policy towards the Arab and middle east region and an attempt to support the Arab issues where the first steps which started by Putin represented on the frame of the Iraqi issue which is breaching the imposed air embargo by direct flight from Russia to Saddam international airport (Baghdad international airport currently) in Baghdad in 19 of august 2000. This was the first country which breached the aim embargo where this step is opened the door widely in front of the other countries in order to perform similar initiatives. As well as, Russia announced by Nikolai Kartuzov that if a strike was made to Iraq, this will lead into serious consequences in the region and efforts have been made throughout its communications with the United States and the Iraqi leadership. Also, it is adopted a position represented that the Iraqi issue can be solved by the peaceful means and confirmed that there is not any evidences refer to the involvement of Iraq in the events of 11 September 2001 which witnessed by the united states. Moreover, Russia requested by fair settlement for the situation in Iraq and the Middle East region where the minister of foreign affairs Igor Ivanov during his visit to Iraq in 2000 called to mitigate the international pressure on Iraq and search on new ways in order to deal with it. Moreover, Russia requested to cancel the two regions of the air embargo in the north and south of Iraq and restore the activity of the internal and external civilian air to and from Baghdad because that is not interfere with the decisions of the international security council. Furthermore, Russian mentioned that everybody must commit with the international decisions and not only one part and called to the necessity of stopping the two American and Britain and weapons and their daily raids on the Iraq cities. As well as, Russia opposed the American plans to continue the anti-terrorist operations and Iraq be the target of this campaign after Afghanistan. Putin refused the concept of the evil axis which proposed by Bush in describing Iraq, Iraq and North Korea (KUNA Kartuzov, 2001: 4-7). Russia refused the American war on Iraq and threatened to use veto in

the Security Council if America resorted to the United Nations in order to wage a war on Iraq. It seemed at that period that Russia became enjoying by larger amount of the independency on the regional and international level. this was companied with the emergence of clear foreign Russian policy based on activating the Russian role on the regional and international level where it is not subject to any domination or extortion and call into multi polar world which allows by a side of maneuver and influence the international events and refuse the unique control of the united states on the international system. So, Russia tried by effort to counter the international movement towards Iraq and activated its foreign diplomacy towards the European countries. The Russian activity at this field led to the establishment of Russian, French and German axis which refuse the war on Iraq. This axis confirmed when signing the third announcement against the war in 23 of February 2001. However, this ally could not stop the occupation of the United States on Iraq and this ally is collapsed when France and Germany recounted their dealing with Russia and not to be dragged into uncouncted results and facing the United States (Mankoff, 2008: 6). The position of Putin by refusing the war on Iraq and his request to stop and finish it from the first week can be returned because of the use of the opposition (the communist party) the weakness of the Russian policy towards the American war on Iraq in the highlight pf approaching the Duma council. In addition, most of the Islamic countries opposed the war which make Moscow gains new friends as ally's against America and calm 20 million Muslim in Russia where Putin confirmed that: "Russia has 20 million Muslim and Russia can only take them into consideration and the last factor is represented by the position for each of France and Germany to the war which may give an opportunity for Russia to be close from France and Germany which may configure an ally against the unique polar of the united states and create multi-polar world (Freedman, 2010: 18).

2. **Syria:** during the era of the president Putin, the Russian previous minister of foreign affairs Igor Ivanov visited Syria in October 2000 two times in the framework of peacekeeping mission between Palestine and Israel. As well as, Sergey Lavrov who is the Russian m minister of foreign affairs made for visited to Syria during the period between 2004-2009in the his visited to the

middle east. Also, Russia supported Syria when it is subjected into pressures from two fronts in 2005 where beside the condemnation of the security council to Syria for its activity in Lebanon, the united states accused by entering fighters to Iraq and the Russian support to Syria been evident during the assassination of the previous Lebanon prime minister Rafic Hariri where Syria subjected into high pressures led by France and the united states which through there is committee is configured to investigate this assassination. This committee issued a report in 2005 by the involvement of high members in the Syrian government and the Syrian regime obstructed the collaboration with the investigation committee. The committee raised a report to the United Nations that Syria provide Lebanese and Syrians by weapons in Lebanon. According to these two reports, the united states, Britannia and France called the united nations to impose sanctions against Syria where Russia sought to prevent the sanctions against Syria and succeeded in the issuing of the security council decision number (1636) to criticize Russia by an attempt to mislead the investigation committee (Freedman, 2010: 30). More about the support of Russia to Syria will be explained in the next chapter during the Russian support to the Arab Spring Countries.

3. **Egypt:** Through the era of the president Putin, the Egyptian previous president Husni Mubarak mad two visits to Russia in 2001 and 2006 which through many long programs have been prepared to collaborate in all of the fields and state about the principles of the friendships and collaboration. The president Putin made business visit to Cairo in 26-27 of April 2005 and to League of Arab States. His visit aimed to which is called “show intentions” and reflected the desire of the Russian leadership in reviving the collaboration with the Arab states in all of the fields and present the capabilities of Russia and what can provide to the Arab countries especially in the technical field. The binary discussion which take place in Cairo announced the mutual statement about deepening the friendship and mutual relationships between federal Russia and Arab Republic of Egypt which confirm its strategic nature. The council of the Arab League States has taken in September 2005 a decision by the dependence of the Russian ambassador in Egypt as authorized at the League of Arab States.

4. **Saudi:** the diplomatic relationships between the two countries resumed in 1991 but the official visits on the level of the summit have held only in 2003 and 2006. The prince Abdullah made an official visit to Moscow in November 2003 and made discussions with the president Putin. During the visit, the two leaders signed a set of agreements to develop the binary collaboration agreements including agreements in the field of oil, gas and science and technology field. Also, the prince Bandar Bin Sultan who is General of the National Security Council for Kingdom Saudi Arabia visited Moscow in 2006, 2007 and 2008. The prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz arrived to Moscow in 2007 and the president Putin visited Saudi in 2007 which through many agreements have been signed in the field of air communication and an agreement to avoid paying the double tax on the incomes and capitals. Also, many other agreements are signed in the field of culture, information exchange and banking collaboration. As well as, the study included new directions of the collaboration in the field of nuclear technology and invasion of space for peaceful purposes.
5. **Turkey:** in 1991 turkey recognized the federal Russia as it is the heir for the rights of the Soviet Union. In 2001 the business committee which belong to develop te collaboration between Russia and turkey held in the Eurasian continent, the collaboration of the military agreement tin 2002 and the political statement about deepening the friendship and partnership in 2004. The president |Putin visited Turkey in 2004 and sought to strength the relationship with turkey in the highlight of developing the trade of the natural gas and in the highlight of the Turkish heading to Islamic Conference presidency and support Russia as a member in the Islamic conference organization. The visiting of Putin as a first visit for Russia since 32 years configured number of agreements including war against terrorism and agreement of preventing the sea accidents (Freedman, 2006: 27). The visiting of Putin have met similar meeting from the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Moscow in January 2005 in order to open new collaboration fields. Erdogan talked about distributing about distributing the trade between the two countries to reach from 10 billion dollar into 25-30 billion dollar. As well as, Erdogan talked about opening new cross area of Russian gas into Europe and the possibility of establishing

port for the liquid natural gas in Ceyhan port to export the Russian gas in addition to establish cable line under the Black Sea to exchange the electrical energy and also create a line for oil pipes which extend from Samsun in northern central Turkey into Ceyhan Port on the Mediterranean Sea to transport the Russian gas. As well as, Erdogan offered to the possibility of transporting the goods to Eurasia, the Caucasus and Middle Asia and other places of the world and they are sensitive places for Russia. Erdogan aimed from his visit to increase the collaboration with Russia instead of the competition. Moreover, Erdogan pledged to support Russia to join the International Trade Organization and Putin pledged to play the mediator role and be the guarantee in the conflicts between Turkey and Armenia and Azerbaijan (Freedman, 2006: 28). Furthermore, the previous Turkish president Ahmed Necdet Sezer visited Russia in 2006 and many issues discussed between him and the Russian president including the collaboration in the field of energy, construction, investments and deal in the global and regional issues. Putin participated in the ceremony of opening the gas pipes line "Blue Torrent" through the ninth summit for the economic collaboration organization between the black sea states which held in Samsun city in Turkey in 2007.

6. **Iran:** the Russian situation in Iran represents an indicator to the transformation in the Russian policy towards the Middle East countries. In 2000, Putin canceled (from one side) the agreement of 1995 which signed between the deputy of the United States president (William Al Gore) and the Russian Prime Minister ((Victor Chumerdarden) where Russia promised through this agreement to stop its exporting from the weapons to Iran. Putin directed an official invitation to the Iranian president Mohammed Khatami in 2001 to visit Russia (Freedman, 2006: 12-13). After the visiting of Putin to the United States in September 2003, Bush raised Iran issue with Putin and get an ambiguous statement from Putin when he said "one of our conviction is the necessity of respecting Iran to continue the expansion in the collaboration with the international energy agency". Bush understood from this meeting that he is unable to take the approval from Putin on stopping the construction of Bushehr reactor which configured a central

factor and greater convergence in the Iranian and Russian relationships by the end of 2004 which resulted on increasing the trade with Iran to a level reached to about 2 billion dollar annually and more sales of weapons and civilian planes. In addition it is ended to the launch of artificial satellite between Russia and Iran and in February 2005, Putin agreed on signing an agreement to supply the nuclear fuel for Bushehr reactor. Following to electing the Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2005, Russian has done its best to delay of imposing sanctions on Iran in the Security Council and in the highlight of Iran rejection of supplying information to nuclear energy agency about its nuclear programs and the invitation of Ahmadinejad to remove Israel from the map. In the highlight of these events Russia signed with Tehran an agreement ty supply developed with short-distance rockets which can be used in order to protect the its nuclear organizations against any attack and it is mention to the West with the support of Russia with Iran. Through the visit of Putin to Tehran in October 2007 and his meeting with Ahmadinejad and Ayatollah Khamenei, Putin worked on giving new flow for the relationships of Russia with Iran through the agreement of supplying more than 82 ton of the enriched uranium into Bushehr reactor which is managed by Russian engineers. Also, they discussed about deal of Russian weapons to Iran and discuss the idea of establishing Cartel for the natural gas similar to OPEC (Mark, 2008: 202). Bu the question is still does Russia still trying to make Iran a nuclear state? We think that it is not a good interest for Russia that Iran becomes a nuclear state for many considerations including (Mark, 2008: 202-204):

Firstly: Iran is a border state for the regions of the Russian influence and Iran a state with sectarian and ethnic ambition in the region and strengthen Iran will make it outside of the control and dispute Russia in its influence in the region.

Secondly: In the gulf, Russia's continuing its military relationships with Iran and support the Iranian military technique will upset the balances of power in the region and increase the Iranian rebellion in the region and this interference with the Russian, Gulf and Saudi relationships and it will lead in the necessity to chill and slack in developing the future of these relationships which still in the beginning and need to support of the trust

element between the parties especially in its relationships with the gulf countries conflicting the strength and the influence of the American and the West where Russia with its increasing military relationships with Iran increase the area of the gulf concern and thus decrease the communications channels with Russia.

Thirdly: internationally, the Russian interests in the international level are multisided and varied of European partners. So, does Russia will continue its supporting position to Iran on the account of its direct interest with the European Union which conflicts Russia in its influence region in some of the European countries (Ukraine, Georgia and others). Also, to what extent will hold that which lead us to the question about the Russian motivations towards Iran.

Russia seeks to strengthen its relationships with Iran without reaching to the nuclear power and this belongs to many considerations including:

1. New ally to Russia in the Middle East after losing most of its main allies such as Iraq.
2. A good market of weapons in the highlight of its deterioration relationships with the West which may lead Moscow to provide uncounded amount of money to face the demands and economic needs, recycle and operate its military machine, activate the industry and trade of the Russian weapon.
3. Pressure on Washington and force it to avoid the idea of distributing anti-missile defense network with ballistic missiles around the world and it is the project where Russia is highly refuses it and it does not meet enough acceptance from the European alliance of Washington.
4. Russia feel that sensitive degree and calm movement from the United States and European Union for approaching and promote the economic and commercial relationship and maybe the military relationships with Iran.
5. Russia aspires from the approaching with Iran to made greater stride to finish the separation status where Washington tries impose on Russia where through Iran. Moscow can create foothold and confirm its existing in the region of middle Asia and Caucasus which the areas where Iran enjoys by direct and high cultural and civilian

influence. Moreover, it facilitates to Moscow the coordination with Iran about the situation in Afghanistan.

6. Search on allies and form a front in order to face the American hegemony and the Russian leadership found its cause in China, India, and Iran after a seek from them and documenting the economic and military approaching from one hand and purring the modes and remove the problems between China and India from another hand. This was discussed by the Russian prime minister Yevgeny Primakov during his presenting in the judge where he discussed the idea of forming Asian strategic triangle which include each of China, Russia and India in order to face the American hegemony and the American influence in the regions of middle of Asia, Caucasus Caspian sea in addition to its endeavors to surround these three countries before Iran joining them.
7. Face the Western ally by the leadership of the United States which stand in all of its power in the way of the Iranian efforts to own military nuclear program.
8. Caspian Sea plays a significant role in establishing the Russian and Iranian alliance in facing the European countries which seek to transport the gas of Caspian Sea without the passage through the Ukraine and Russian lands. It seeks to impose its control on the natural fortunes especially the oil fortune and the Russian officials think that there is possibility to configure an ally between Moscow and Iran and restrict the foreign ambitions in the fortunes of Caspian Sea especially the ambitions of the European Union. The form of this ally started through the joint military exercise between Russia and Iran and it is the first time which take place in Caspian Sea by the participation of 30 marine piece.
9. The beneficial from the Iranian nuclear file to achieve the Russian interest with the United States of America and European Union which is known as the political bargaining and with the Arab world to increase the sales of weapons.

According to the previous, the Russian policy towards the middle east during Putin's period is considered an indicator to start new era in the Russian diplomacy in order to regain its position as a primary actor in the regions affairs and its issues but with bases which consists with the general directions of the Russian policy and with the balances of power in the region and the map of the alliance (Sheikh, 2009: 3).

2.1.3.2. The Relationships on the Economic and Military Level

The Arab region represents a consumption market with a significant absorption capability of the strategic and sustainable goods such as machines, equipment, devices, vehicles and seeds. In 2006, the commercial exchange between Russia and the Arab countries is amounted about 5.5 billion dollar and Egypt, Algeria and morocco come in the front of the commercial partners to Russia. As well the Russian business council is configured in 2003 according to the initiative of the Russian commercial industrial room and the general union of commercial, industrial and agricultural Arab rooms in order to expand the economic collaboration between Russia and the Arab countries and develop the economic, technical, scientific and economic relationships. The council includes fifteen councils between Russia and the Arab countries and the last one was the Kuwait and Russian business council which created in 2007. The first Arab exhibition is organized in the Russian exhibitions center in October 2008 in order to encourage the commercial exchange between Russia and the Arab countries. The departments of the exhibition is organized different economic field such as oil, gas, communications, machines equipment, manufactured goods, construction, real estate, tourism, medicine and pharmacy. As well as, attracting the Arab investments especially from the gulf countries is considered a basic goal of the Russian diplomacy in the region where after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the direction of Russia towards the privatization and follow the market system, it sought in effort to attract the Arab capitals especially the gulf capitals to investment in Russia and especially during the financial crisis in 1998 which led to the bankruptcy of many companies work in Russia. At this regard, we will display excerpts of the Russian relationships with some countries in the middle east and especially at the economic side in order to mention the Russian interest at this important region in addition to enhance the image of Russia at many countries of the middle east from another side.

- **Iraq:** Russia is progressed from the other countries in the field of Iraqi commodity trading on the foreign economic field where its aware is amounted 15% after the beginning of the American military operation in 2003 and the total volume of the transactions in order to supply the commodity to Iraq from Russia is 1.5 billion dollar. While the volume of the commodity trading at the Russian companies work in Iraq after the beginning of the military operation is 7.73 billion dollar. However, all of these contracts have been suspended with the beginning of the American military operation in Iraq. The Russian companies suffered from heavy losses and the commodity trading decreased between the two countries in 2003 and reached to 252 million dollar. The Duma Council has approved a statement in 21 of March 2003 for the beginning of the military operation for the United States and Britain against the republic of Iraq and this statement described the military operation as it is breaching the rules of the international law. In 22 of December 2003, Moscow is visited by a delegation of Interim Governing Council in Iraq headed by Abdul Aziz al-Hakim which was the head of the council at that time. The delegation made discussion between them with the Russian president Putin which ended by deleting the greatest part of the Russian debts of Iraq. As well as, the discussed the issues of opening branches for oil Russian companies in Iraq. The debts of Iraq for Russia is amounted at the collapse of the Saddam Hussien regime is amounted about 12.5 billion dollar. At the end of 2004, Paris Club where Russia is considered an effective member at this council take a decision to cancel 80% of the Iraqi governmental debt but Moscow went further and deleted about 93% from the Iraqi debts to it.

In March 2004, the Russian oil company “Lockwell” and the Iraqi ministry of oil signed a memorandum for collaboration and understanding where some Iraqi experts have delegated to Russia in order to take courses in the field of oil and gas extraction from the Iraqi lands. Also, in 24 July 2004, the Iraqi minister of foreign affairs at that time was Hoshyar Zebari visited Moscow and discussed the ways of starting the work of the Russian experts in Iraq. The Russian president Putin signed in 26 of august 2004 to cancel the ban of supplying the military equipment and weapons to Iraq. As well as, in 6 of December 2004, the prime minister of Iraq at that time Iyad Allawi visited Moscow by governmental delegation and they discussed issues about the Iraqi stability and establish

economic relationships between the two countries in most of the fields and starting the implementation of suspended contracts especially in the fields of oil sector which held during the previous regime. In 18 of September, the Iraqi minister of foreign affairs at that time Hoshyar Zebari signed with the Russian minister of foreign affairs memorandum of understanding about the establishment of the general consulates in the two countries and especially the federal Russian consulates in Erbil Coty which is opened in 28 of November 2007.

- **Syria:** the Russian and Syrian Business Council established in 2004 and the commercial exchange in 2005 is amounted 459.8 million dollar and the Russian companies and institutions give interest to collaborate with Syria in the field of oil and gas. So, many contracts have been signed and the volume of the commercial exchange is amounted in 2006 about 635 million dollar and it exceeded one billion dollar in 2007. Whereas in 2008, it is amounted about 2 billion dollar and Russia delivered to Syria by 36 unit of Pantzer System (C1) which is considered one of the Russian air defense systems in 2008. In addition, Russia took Syrian port of Tartous as a base of the Russian military fleet in the Mediterranean Sea as a stopping point in the Mediterranean Sea.
- **Egypt:** Egypt is considered one of the most important partners for Russia where the commercial exchange between the two countries are increasing regularly where they are amounted in 2005 to about 106 million dollar while it is amounted in 2006 about 200 million dollar whereas in 2008, the commercial exchange reached to 2 billion dollar. The raw and foodstuff occupy high degree in the Russian exports while the agricultural and consumption products represent the basic items in the Egyptian exports. The collaboration between Russian and Egypt in the field of energy witness noticed progress in the fields of extract and product the oil and gas. Lockwell Russian Company invests in the Egyptian oil fields in the West desert and the region of Suez Gulf and it aims to invest 400 million dollar at this project. In October 2004, the company accomplished the project of extending oil exportation pipes outside of Egypt through the Western coast of the red sea where its length is amounted about 100 kilo meter. The Egyptian gas company "Aygaz" signed the effective collaboration with the two Russian companies of "Gazprom" and Novatech in 2007 to create joint

institutions with Tharwa Company for extract and produce the gas in the fields of the town of Arish. As well as, the Russian oil and gas company "Gasprom" worked effectively in Egypt. Moreover, the binary relationships in the fields of machines construction is developed where Kamaz Company signed in 2004 with the of the Egyptian Taco Euromatic Company memorandum of understanding about creating a factor to collect the "Kamaz" cars. In February 2006, the company yof cars collection "Lada" is created in Egypt. The Egyptian and Russian experts accomplished the work related to prepare a binary agreement about the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

In 2007, Egypt and Russia signed an agreement to create the Russian industrial region which is specialized industries which feed cars, airplanes, electronic computers and some engineering commodities in Borg El Arab Industrial City on an area approximated about one million square meter with investment value amounted to 2 billion dollar. The agreement came in the framework of what the president Hosni Mubarak agreed during his visit to Russia in November 2006 to Moscow with the previous Russian president Putin in order to support the joint economic and investment collaboration, transport the technology and reform the binary relationships between the two countries in order to return the economic collaboration between Egypt and Russia. The Russian and Egyptian sides signed an agreement for the collaboration in the field of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes during the visit of the Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak to Russia by the present of the head of the Russian nuclear institution Kiriyenko and also by the existing of the Egyptian minister of electric and energy Hassan Yunus. The agreement included the provision of the training program in Russia for the Egyptian experts who will work in the Egyptian nuclear energy institutions. As well as, the agreement included the developing of the electrical generators of the High Dam in Egypt in order to increase their default age to more than 40 years an develop the infrastructure of another projects. Also, there is the joint investment in the airplanes factory of Topolive 20 which locates in Ulyanov city in Russia and the joint production of the drug and transfer the developed vital technology to Egypt and create a factory in Egypt for the biotechnical products by the use of the Russian technology and it aims to

create a free area for the engineering industries in Egypt and Russian industrial city for the industries producing cars (Sheikh, 2009: 10-14).

- **Saudi:** in 2006 the political will has announced to increase the joint commercial exchange and then sign on the collaboration document in the field of gas and petrol. It started from 2003 and organize the visiting of the Russian business community in Saudi. Since 2008 the Russian national exhibition is established in Saudi where the first Russian national exhibition established in Riyadh and the second exhibition will be established in Jeddah. Also, in 2007, the Russian company Sistema Hals signed with Saudi company Saraya an agreement of constructing the residential hoteling complex Kamilya in the city of Sochi in the capital of the Winter Olympic Games for 2004. The project is implemented where its value is amounted about 600 million dollar. Moreover, there are positive movements has occurred with Qatar where the first direct airline between the two countries is opened and the discussion is implemented about the commercial exchange and develop the collaboration between the two countries in all of the fields. Furthermore, the Russian unified company has projects with the Saudi Mining Company in the field of the mining and energy including the project of a factory to produce aluminum with an energy amounted 600 ton of the aluminum raw per year and Electro Thermal Station which operate by heavy oil with an energy about 1.5 thousand megawatt (Vladislav, 2009: 6). The commercial exchange between Russia and the kingdom is increased in the period between 2003-2008 from 211.8 million dollar to 488.7 million dollar and the Russian exports amounted about 465.9 million dollar and the exports consist of metals and metal products, fodder, paper, cartoon, timber and shipping cars. Since 2002 the Russian an Saudi business council works in the field of commerce, economic and collaboration in the scientific and technical field. As well as, there is a collaboration in the field of energy and exchange the visits on the level of the ministries where in 2004, there was signatures on an agreements between the Russian Shareholding Company "Lukoil Overseas Holding" and the government of Saudi about the contribution of the Russian company in the exploration operations and construct a factory to liquefy the gas beside Ghawar field and it is the largest field in the world in the southern-east of the kingdom. In 2004 it is opened an office for the Russian contributing company Stroy Trans Gas in Al-Haber City and this company in 2005 requested from the room of the

industry and commerce for Riyadh city is placed an image to create a network to transport and distribute the gas in Kingdom Saudi Arabia and placed a design to distribute the gas in Riyadh city. Since 2006 a representative of Global Store – Engineering Company work in Al-Haber city. One the level of energy and space, the subsidiary companies for Tate Neft Company testing the equipment which belong to the geophysical researches. As well as, the Russian rockets hold in September 2000 13 satellite to the external space which are used in the communications field. The Saudi sides interest by the participation in the project of creating the satellite navigation system “Glonas” and in July 2007, the first round took place in Riyadh for the investments about the project and it is identified. There are six satellite have been launched by the Russian rockets to the earth orbit and there is agreement between the two countries to continue the collaboration at this field. During the visit of Putin into Saudi in 11 of February 2007, it is agreed that Russia export to Saudi 150 Russian tank of type 90T and helicopter of type 17Mi. moreover, Russia provided an offer to Saudi which guarantee its prepare to help Saudi in the nuclear field and create the nuclear energy for civilian use. In February 2008, there is a military deal have been signed which included armored vehicles of type BMB3 with total value amounted of 200 million dollar, deal of tank with type of T90S with total coast of 600 million dollar and deal of helicopters with cost of 1.6 billion dollar. In 11 of July 2008, Saudi signed a military deal which amounted about 4 billion dollar.

- **Libya:** the Russian commodity exchange to Libya is amounted in 2008 about 151.2 million dollar including the Russian export to Libya which amounted about 148.4 million dollar. This indicator is considered less by 35% if compared with 2007 where commodity exchange is amounted 231.182 million dollar because of the decrease of the international prices for the most important Russian exports to Libya. The Russian basic exports includes oil, grain, machines and transportation means. The volume of the Libyan export to Russia in 2008 is amounted about 2.75 billion dollar. In 2005 Russia opened representatives for the institutions of Monolitspit Story, Thickenoprom Express and Stroy Trans Gas. The results of looking to bids in the framework of the second stage for the tender in October 2005. Tat Oil Company got investment concession in the oil sector in Ghadamis city. In December of 2006, it got the right to invest three another fields in the oil sector in Ghadamis and Surt. While Gazprom Company got the right to exploit

another field in Sure Gulf and at the end of 2007, Alexander Tsigankov is detained who is the representative of Russian oil company Lockwell in Libya on suspicion of practicing the industrial spying. In January 2007, Sergey Ivanov who was the first deputy of the Russian prime minister sent a message to the Libya vice president and he is requesting to release Tsigankov. Indeed, he is released in June 2008. However, this accidental incident does not stop the giant of the huge Russian company in the field of oil and gas which is Gazprom in the tender of investing one of the oil and gas sectors in Libya. In April 2007, the Russian and Libyan business council is configured and in Tripoli the Russian and Libyan forum is held under the logo of "The Russian Potentials in the Export Field". The military collaboration between the two countries is take place form a long time and the military delegation are exchanged. Also, contracts have been signed to update some types of weapons and Russian military equipment at the Libyan army. In august of 2005, the third meeting held in Moscow by the binary governmental committee about the military collaboration and the meeting also included the adoption of the median program about the military collaboration between the two sides. In 2006, the project which implementing between the Russian companies Atom Anergo Express is implemented which work on developing the water systems and extinguishing the fires. As well as, the agreement included the creation of nuclear research centers in Tajoraa and the project of creating railway between the city of Surte and Benghazi and its length is 500 kilo meter and cost of 2.2 billion dollar (Sheikh, 2009: 18). During the visit of Putin in 2008 to Libya, they sides signed an agreement to suspend the relationships between the two countries in the military and technical fields. Tripoli explained its desire to own Su-35 fighter with multiple purposes, 48 tank with type of T-90 and some anti-air systems of type 125-Bichora. As well as, they prepared an agreement to supply Russia by weapons where its value is amounted about 3 billion dollar and include the anti-air rocket systems Tour-M2Y and 12 new fighters of type Su-35. As well as, the agreement included sale and repair spare parts and ammunition for weapons. In addition, Libyan in 2008 signed contracts amounted of two billion dollar to supply weapons and spare parts from Russia which represent 90% from the weapons and equipment of the Libyan army.

- Turkey:** Turkey is considered an economic partner to Russia where the commodity exchange between the two countries is increasing from one year to another where in 2004 it is amounted about 11 billion dollar while in 2008 it is amounted about 33.8 billion dollar. Turkey occupies the fifth degree between the commercial partners of Russia. The most important exports of Russia to Turkey include the energy resources, iron products and chemical materials. While the Russian incomes from turkey include textile, machines, transportation means and the chemical and foodstuff products. The amount of the Turkish investments in Russia is amounted about 7 billion dollar while the Russian investments in turkey is amounted about 4 billion dollar. In 2004, the Russian and Turkish business council is established and the council contributes in establishing the direct business relationships between the companies and Turkish and Russian regions. The previous Turkish president is approved in June 2006 on the project which specialized on creating the petrol pipeline Samsun- Gihan which associate the Russian oil and Kazakh to the coastal of the Mediterranean Sea. As well as, Lukoil Eurasia Petroleum is owned in 2008 all the shares of Turkish fuel stations of Accpet. The electrical energy is considered one of the economic collaboration means between the two countries in current and future time. Techno Stroy Express Russian institution for the aboard commerce participate in creating the dam and Electromagnetic station "Deriner" with capability of 670 megawatt which locates Artvin Turkish provenance. Atom Stroy Express Russian company and Turkish Erg Construction Trade & Industry company signed in 11 of June 2007 a memorandum of understanding between each of them about the establishment of strategic collaboration in marketing the commodities, equipment and services belong to the industry of nuclear energy in Turkey. The Russian and Turkish institution which includes the two Russian companies of Atom Stroy Express and Inter RawES and the Turkish company of Park Technic in the tender which belong to create the first atomic power station in turkey which announced in 2008 (Dashefsky, 2010: 12-14). Currently, there are more than 150 construction Turkish company work in Russia and the Turkish companies accomplished since the last of the eighties about 800 project where the size of the total assets of the agreements is amounted about 26 billion dollar. The Turkish companies in 2007 held agreements amounted about 4.3 billion dollar. The Russian complex of steep and iron "Magnitogorskiy: with the greatest Turkish

company which specialized in importing the coal signed a protocol about creating the complex of steel and iron in turkey which its total production is amounted about 2.6 million ton of the steel products annually and the amount of the deal is about 1.1 billion dollar. In 2006-2008 the factory of ship construction "Krasno Surmovo: is constructed a tourism ship, two charge ships and maritime carrier to the Turkish side which are characterized by excellent environmental characteristics. In 2007, there is a contract has been held where the Russian part created 10 maritime carrier with load amounted about 6.9 thousand ton for the Turkish side.

Before the arrival of Putin to the judge, the Russian foreign policy were pro-Western in liberal form aiming to participate the West in playing role in the international policy and get benefits beside the different assistances in raising the economic level in Russia. This policy has not borne fruit but it is reflected negatively on the prestige of Russia in the international level as a great power. This game is transformed from the profit game to the zero game when the contrast status between Russia and the West became more ambition and the West does not seek on the optimality as Russia but it seeks to zero in its relationship with Russia. According to this Western and American policy, Putin formulated new policy which through he give up from the optimal school to the reality at the foreign policy in harnessing the resources to face the reality and change the game rules with all of the countries and give special interest to the Middle East politically and economically.

The Russian policy of what it's won of means tries to employ for its own interests and this thing is characterizing the federal Russia from the Soviet Union which was occupying its tools for the interest of the ideology which it adopted to face the West. Also, the whole Arab and Russian relationships seek to employ for the interest of upgrading to the economic level and employ these relationships from one hand and achieve the political bargaining which through it gain more benefits for the federal Russia from another hand. Moreover, the Arab countries can employ its relationships with Russia to achieve many gains on the economic level and upgrading the Arab-technical level in to employ that in the highlight of Russia in the security council as a permanent member and what owns of Veto Right to achieve benefits in the Arab political issues.

The study at this chapter addressed the Russian strategic goals and means and implement the Russian strategy and its different fields (political, economic and military) with some countries at the Middle East.



CHAPTER THREE

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION TOWARDS LIBYA AND ARAB SPRING COUNTRIES

The political leadership in any country has a pivotal role in the accurate determination to the direction of its foreign policy on the eleven of the top of the power which is considered the first principle not only about its formulation but the important is on its implementation and adopt the positions and polices which guarantee this issue.

The political leadership at this context does work from a space but in in internal and external environment which effected by the available selections where the nature of the political system is basic determination to the ability of the political leadership on make changes which seen by the foreign and internal policy. In general, the decision maker is unique in determining the political priorities in the authoritarian systems where the political leadership enjoys by wide movement while in the democratic regimes where the constructions on the political leadership which subject to the accountability and accounting, the role of political powers and different institutions are increased in the formulation of the national policies and the consultations and negotiations are increased about their priorities. In addition, they are always tend to take public directions into considerations. Also, each leadership has its demonstrations to the nature and the size of the threats come from the external environment and the ways to face them. As well as, the available opportunities which can be exploited and how to get benefit. The Russian leadership starts in a period after the collapse of the Soviet Union from a pragmatic vision of its policy and the regional and international relationships of Russia is controlled by the national interests where they are economic or security. It starts from the collaboration and not the competition and face the United States and European Union as the case in the soviet period “(Andrew and Zevelev, 2012: 23-26).

The Russian situation from the Arab spring countries is considered its reflection to this direction in the Russian policy an applied model to close the national interest which controlled on analyzing and study the international relations since the beginning of the Second World War. The concept of the national interest is started from the thirties of the twentieth century where the Charles is considered one of the

first person who employed the concept of the national interest in studying the foreign policy in his book “The Concept of the National Interest” even if his talk is headed to the American foreign policy in basic.

The concept of the national interest is considered one of the most important concepts which configured discussions especially in terms of its definition the concept takes different contents according to the included context and the goal of this context. Besides, the existing of agreement in many cases about what is mean the national interest from goals and priorities not only between the politicians and decision makers inside the state but bennet literature of the international relationships.

The national interest of a country can be defined as “the general framework which judge the foreign policy of the country and its core router”. So, the national interest looks like the compass which determines the foreign behavior of the country and its direction on the international level an the national interest includes a wide range of interests and can be directed in the framework of main three pivots as follow (Olena, 2013: 45-47):

1. **The security:** this includes to secure the survival of the country, its borders, fortunes, society and people protection from different threats whether they are internal or external threats.
2. **Economic luxury:** this includes the accomplishment of economic growth and development for different sectors of the national economy especially the produced sectors whether they are economic, agricultural or industrial achieve the self-satisfaction as can as possible, increase the income and services which provided to the citizens and reduce the economic deprivation and terminate the poverty in the community.
3. **Preserve the identity:** this can accomplished by preserving the national values, privacy, culture and heritage and preserve the traditions especially in the highlight of what has been imposed by the globalization, communication revolution and channels.

This section aims to understand and analyze the Russian situation from the Arab revolutions in the highlight of closing the national interest where at the time of the previous decade, Russian is returned back as a global power both on the regional and international level but with vision and political priorities which completely differ

from that imposed by the policy of the soviet union for more than seventy years. Also, the Russian policy became more pragmatic and free of restrictions from the ideological restrictions and its movement is controlled by the national interest especially the economic interests. At this context, the Russian policy is succeeded in making quantum leap in teh relationships of Moscow with the Arab region especially the relationship of Moscow with the golf countries which witnessed unwitnessed development an establish collaboration relationships on interest basis an economic partnerships which do not subject into the political change and cannot give up by Russia. This matter gained the Arab region special status in the priorities of the Russian policy and made Moscow more concerned on the stability of the region as it is considered the basic guarantee to its interests. By following the Russian situations and the statements of the leaders and Russian officials, many values and general directions are clarified and characterize the Russian situation from the arb revolutions including:

1. **The variance of the Russian interest by the Arab spring revolutions from one to another:** the developments in Libya and Syria are gained the interest while the revolution in Tunisia is not witnessed by mentioned interest. This is associated with the volume of the Russian interests which amount its highest degree in the Syrian status and also the complexities which have been discovered in Libya and Syria, the extent of the discussions and differences between the great powers around them. So, in the case of Tunisia and Egypt and according to the speed of developments by the revolutionaries, there were not intentional argues around them as the reverse to the status in Libya and Syria.
2. **The relational planning and slow in the work procedures:** the Russian situations from the Arab revolutions are characterized by the relational planning and the clear-mindedness which reached to the border of slow in the reaction. Generally, Russia is committed in the right of silence towards the events until maturity and aggravation or displace from the power as the case in Tunisia and Egypt. In the Tunisian status, and in spite of the development started in December but Russia did not take any action until Ben Ali stepped down and fled. The word of Medvedev in the forum of Davos came positive towards the Tunisian revolution where he said: “I really hope that the situation in Tunisia will be stabled and that it will not

effect on the general situation in the Arab world and he added that what is happened in Tunisia in my opinion is considered very significant event to any power in the world. The power must not stop by the accomplishments which have been achieved and sit on comfort chairs but it must upgraded together with its community. In terms of Egypt, the Russian situation came conservative and tended to support the previous regime until it's collapsed from the power. So, in the first comment on the Egyptian revolution, the Russian consul in Egypt announced that the situation in Egypt in under control and we do not think that the status will get worst and the Russian medias described the Egyptian revolution as a wave of popular anger, riots and disturbances and protests against the regime of President Mubarak.

- 3. The call to renounce violence and the importance of political solution from during the national dialogue:** Russia has confirmed on the importance of peaceful change, renounce violence, and advocate dialogue and political solutions within the legal frameworks according to the national accord and it is static orientation in the Russian position from each of the Arab revolutions and Moscow refused the use of power from the authority in facing the revelators without denounce which represent a direct critics to the judge authority.

There are no doubts that these variables will lead to the emergence of new regional variables and at the end of the transformational stage, the allies' definition will be returned which may effect on the Russian policy and is alliance. The whole region map will be re drawn by looking to the rapid change which it passed which will change without doubts the calculations of Russia and its foreign policy. This change is considered an important challenge which may face the Russian policy. when Russia able to orange its situation with great effort and sequence visits which created by the Russian leadership to the regional countries during the last six years, the winds of change raised to remove all of the papers and give the necessity of rearrange their positions newly. There is not doubts that Russian seeks to continue its associations with the Arab world and develop the collaboration in the fields of policy, economic, culture and strategic which promote the need of the Arab countries for Russia as a political and technical partner (Jeffrey, 2012: 52-55).

3.1 The Russian Strategy towards Libya before and After the Revolution

The subject of the relationships between federal Russia and Libya is emerged at the era of Muammar Gaddafi with the transformations which witnessed in Libya in 2011 where the federal Russia is stand in facing the western efforts for the military interference in Libya in order to topple the Muammar Gaddafi regime. Russia is stayed asking the discussion between the regime and the opposition and it is sought practically to achieve this. This situation is considered a support and cover to the previous Libyan regime where Russia is exposed into criticize on its opposition. However, the previous Libyan regime is seemed to crumble and thus, Russian turned a blind eye about a decision which permits the military interference in order to impose a no-fly zone above Libya and it did not use the veto right which led to pass the report which configured a confusion in understating the Russian position.

Generally, the Russian positions in the Arab and Islamic regions and in the world in general are always interfere with the western and American positions and therefore, it announced reservation and different situations to the western point of views and the wester is sought to the interference in Libya. However, Russia did not provide enough to stop the movement of the western towards this interference where Russia is interfered previously the American sought to launch a war on Iraq in the beginning of the current century. It stand against the war and the American invasion on Iraq in 2003 and worked on configuring an international front against the war and joined by France. Even if this front has not succeeded to stop the war or prevent it but it is registered in its record which resulted in devastating consequences for Iraq and the whole Arab region. Also, the negative results which caused by the western interference in Libya is directed the views to the correctness of the position and the Russian look towards the issues of the world in general and on the Arab region especially because its policy respect the non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries and especially the foreign interference at these affairs as these interferences has negative results on these countries and represent a violation to the international law.

In addition to the previous, it is well-known that Russia seeks to predict a suitable position on the international political map including the Arab region in all of the changes and transformations which is considered a suitable environment to any international power which is considered a suitable environment to any international power to impose itself and impose its existing on the international political land

including the transformations which happened in Libya which drew the attention to the existing of Russian role on the international land (Anatolian Ligurian, 2013: 45-50).

3.1.1 A Background on the History of the Relationships between Libya and Russia

The Russian and Libyan relationships extend to before the creation of the federal Russia and since Russia was within the previous Soviet Union where the diplomatic relationships is established between Moscow and Tripoli in 1955. At that time, Libya was associating in political and economic relationships with each of the united states, Britain and other arab countries wher at that time the world was separating between two campuses one of them is the eastern campus which include the soviet union and its allies and the western which include the united states. The relationships between Russia and Libya were not important until discussing a matter which belong to Libya in the international security council where the soviet union enjoy by the veto right. There is a change in happened on the relationships between Moscow and Tripoli after the changes which happened in Libya and its transformation from the kingdom to the republic in the military cope by Muammar Gaddafi in 1969 which is called Fateh Revolution which followed by the visit of Muammar Gaddafi to the soviet union three times in the years in 1976, 1981 and 1985. It can be considered that the years between 1976 and 1985 represent the most important effective and strength in the relationships between the two countries. This is represented in the provision of the soviet union different types of support to Libya in the period when the conflict is raged between the soviet and the west where this support is diversified in different economic, commercial, military and technical fields where Libya and Iraq were the only two countries which paid the money to the soviet union a cash without supplying the military ammo. At that time, there were hundreds and thousands of the soviet military and civilian experts. As well as, many Libyan students gained the experience and education from the Soviet Union in both the military and civilian specialists (Anatolian Ligurian, 2011: 12-22).

The collaboration between the Soviet Union and Libya is reflected on Libya as a state where many projects are established by the soviet experts including the preparation of a map for the agricultural lands in Libya and distribute many electric and gas lines and create Tajoraa Center for the nuclear researches. Also, the Soviet Union has helped Libya in drilling about 130 oil well and contributed in developing

the gas industry. The commercial exchange between the two parties about one billion dollar annually. The visits between the official of the two countries was Intermittent and the relationships enjoyed by special power. Therefore, the collaboration between Libya and the Soviet Union was not restricted on the political understanding but it extended to configure strong economic relationships and oil collaboration where the two oil countries in addition to the collaboration in implementing huge projects. While in terms of the modern relationship which means after the collapse of the soviet union are passed into many stages where Libya is recognized in 1991 officially by federal Russia whereas the collapse of the soviet union led to great structural weaknesses between the two parties where the Russian direction is crystalized towards the west which highly reflected on the relationships with the partners of the soviet union especially in the Arab region. The situation is increased negatively when the international Security Council imposed punishments on Libya in 1992 because of the Lockerbie aircraft crisis. This situation is highly effected on the economic relationships because Libya became under the punishments and any breach on these punishments is considered international a breach in the international law. As well as, Libya before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union became under the punishments was seen Russia as an international umbrella and this was sought politically by supporting its relationships with the previous Soviet Union and federal Russia. This is not provided by Russia in 1992 in spite of its law abilities on disabling the punishments law on Libya in the international security council by using the veto right which enjoyed by Russia. This belongs to the transformations which happened in Russia itself at that period and the economic and political problems which occurred. Thus, Russia has not contributed in solving the political Libyan problems during the ninetieth. However, this political freeze between the two parties have not prevented to conclude agreements during the ninetieth where tow agreements are held during the ninetieth which are the configuration of the binary governmental committee which belongs to the economic, commercial, scientific and technical collaboration in 1995. In addition, an agreement in the field of oil, gas and electric energy is signed in 1998.

The Russian and Libyan relationships is activated after the year of 2000 where Moscow is spent efforts at the era of Vladimir Putin in order to activate the relationship w9ith Libya where the first initiatives of this activity is the visit of senior officials for Russia in 2000 and 2001 an the visit of the Russian foreign minister Igor

Ivanov in 2001 was the first visit (Anatolian Ligurian, 2011: 124-26). It was clear that both of the parties are insisted to increase the collaboration degree and the exchange in many field where Russia is prepared to start the collaboration in the field of the civilian nuclear energy with Libya in 2000 in addition to launching many contracts in the commercial and economic fields.

The development of the relationship is continued and reached to its highest degree in 2008 where the president Vladimir Putin has visited Libya in April of 2008 and this was the first meeting between the president of Gaddafi and Putin and during this visit many contracts have been signed and important documents including the statement about promote the relationships of friendship and develop the collaboration between the two counters and memorandum of understating is issued which belong to develop the relationships and collaboration in different fields including the economic, financial and commercial fields. Moreover, this visit is considered as to purification to all of the impurities which reused between the two countries where the Russian resident is canceled teh depts. to Libya by Russia which amounted about 4.6 billion dollar and in exchange Russia gained new economic contracts amounted of billions of dollars and in many fields including a contract to construct the railways between the cities of Sirte and Benghazi with a distance of 500 km. As well as, agreement is signed between the two companies of the Russian Gazprom and the Libyan oil and gas company. Furthermore, the Libyan president at that time Gaddafi is visited Libya and it was the first visit which he made to Libya since 20 years and this visit is witnessed to sign contracts between the Libyan and Russian governments in the field of using nuclear energy in the peace medium.

It must be mentioned that Libya and Russia are two oil countries and thus the development of the relationship between these two countries led to develop the oil collaboration between each of them where Libya has the largest oil need in Africa and Russia in addition to its owning to oil and gas reserves, it owns the experience and efficiency in everything which associate to this field. Therefore, it always seeks to fulfill the contracts of the energy field and the company of Gazprom was studying interestingly to promote the collaboration between the company of Gazprom and the Libyan oil national company in the field of exploring and transport the Libyan oil. In terms of the military collaboration, it is witnessed a share from the development of the relationships where the collaboration is started since 2005 where contracts have been signed between the two parties in order to update some kinds of weapons and

Russian military equipment at the Libyan army. As well as, there is great refresh has been appeared in the military relationship between the two countries in 2008 after the visit of Vladimir Putin to Libya where Russia is returned back to the Libyan weapons market and this visit is produced agreements to provide Libya with weapons which amounted about three billion dollars and include a rocket systems with short-term and export Russian war fighters. As well as, the president Putin announced in 2010 where he was the prime minister at that time that Russia is signed a contract with Libya in order to sale weapons amounted about 1.8 billion dollar. Putin clarified that this deal does not include only the small weapons but it is inserted within a Libyan plan to develop and update the army. As a fruit to develop the relationships since 2008, Russia explained its readiness to deal with Libya which amounted about 2 billion dollar and include tanks, fighters and rocket systems of S-300 and Russia is clarified that Libya can own in the future the newest Russian weapons such as the rocket system of S-400 and developed submarines.

From the above results, it is clear that return the Russian and Libyan relationships was aiming to promote the economic collaboration into high degree whether relationship between the federal Russia and Libya is characterized that it is highly economic and especially in the military field and thus, the relationship was profit, economic and commercial and far from the ideological and geopolitical sides (Nurhan, 2014: 45-49).

3.1.2 The Russian Strategy towards Libya after the Revolution

In 2011, a popular movement break out in Libya and rapidly it is changed to an armed conflict and followed to a division in the Libyan army between a support and oppose and each one of them fighting the other. Also, this conflict which started in 2011 is witnessed by great support from the west and many Arab countries and reflected on the land by helping the oppositions to the judge regime by all the types of methods political, financial and military support. So, from the political side, the western powers and their allies' from the Arab helped to configure and support the transitional military council. In addition, they recognize this council as a legal representative to the Libyan community and support it financially and support the oppositions by weapons and ammo in order to provide the means to fight the Libyan regime.

At the beginning of the Libyan crisis, Russia is considered the crisis as a civil war and it is refused to recognize the transitional national council in spite of widening the international recognition. As well as, it is refused to join the international calling group about Libya which included more than 40 countries in addition to the representatives of the United Nations and African union. This made the international thought at that times as Russia is taken supportive side to the judge power in Libya.

Russia is keen to keep the communications channels with the Libyan opposition opened in order to keep a degree of balance between the parties and later it is recognized the Libyan transitional national council as a negotiate part and legal partner in the negotiation about the future of Libya. It is started to spend efforts as a mediation between the Libyan regime and its oppose opponents where Moscow is received delegations from both of the parties and it is sought to solve the crisis has not succeeded to top the violence or reach into a political solution to the crisis (Vitaly, 2013: 100-104).

When the conflict between the Libyan regime and the armed opposition is raging, the hand of the conflict was to the interest of the regime where in February of 2011, the regime forces prepare to launch a final and wide attack in order to terminate the opposition in Benghazi city which was the starting point of the opposition. A decision is issued from the international Security Council with number 1971 where this decision is considered the first decision to convict the practices of the Libya regime and another decision with number 1973 which impose aviation prohibition above Libya to protect the civilians from the regime. The surprise was not the sought of the west leaded by the united states and by request by the League of Arab States but the surprise is Russia is passed this decision by its abstained the voting where it where it has not destroy the project by using the veto right. Therefore, Russia is taken unipositive step when it is passed a decision by using the power against the government because of internal conflict and this step is raised the embarrassment of many Russians later. However, this decision was not singular decision by the Russian president at that time Medvedev and not even the prime president at that time Vladimir Putin but the Russian national security council is determined two unique choices which through Russia can walk in front of the provided project to the international security council whether abstained from the

voting or walk with the west but at the end Russian is chosen to abstain from the voting.

In spite of that the decision of the UN state to assume aviation prohibition in order to protect the civilians but the Russian prime minister at that time Vladimir Putin was skeptical in the western intentions where he said that he is worry from the actions which called them as "The New Crusaders" in a assign to the west in a step which explained that there is disagreement between the prime minister and the president especially that the president Medvedev was stout to reach to a solution with the west about the American massive shield in Europe while the prime minister Putin thinks in the general interests of Russia especially from the economic interests with Libya where there were contracts which have been signed between each of the parties amounted about 8 billion dollar.

NATO confirms the mission of imposing aviation prohibition and it is well known to the existing of big sensitivity by Russia from this ally which has been configured basically from the western powers against the Soviet Union and its allies. As well as, the ally has military interventions that is refused by Russia previously such as its intervention in Kosovo in 1999 which is the country where Russia is considered it with the Russian strategic space. However, many American assurances have been issued that the United States does not want to invent in the Libyan conflict. In addition to the minister of defense of America at that time Robert Gates which he warned to implement a military attack in Libya and that the United States will not get involved in new war. Nevertheless, the American situation is grown rapidly to involve in a military operation in a step which can be understood that the United States is lied when it aid to no invent in new war. Therefore, the NATO is involved strongly in the Libyan conflict where he implemented thousands of bombing against the Libyan regime and its forces and strategic positions. In addition, it increased the support to the opposition in all types and military, political and intelligence figures and it was clear that the NATO is exceed the border of the united nations where the work is directed to overthrow the regime and not to protect the civilians and this result of all of this, the Libyan regime is overthrown and the opponents are controlled on the capital Tripoli.

Many countries are rapidly recognized the national transitional of Libya as a legal authority in Libya when the opponents are reached into Tripoli but Moscow did not recognized this council directly where the Russian minister of foreign affairs that

the situation in Libya is still ambiguous and the Russian president that in spite of the success of the opposition and their attack on Tripoli, Gaddafi and his supporters are still controlling by some influence and military abilities and the rare still two powers in Libya and Russia count to reach into agreements about stopping the fires between the two sides but because of the collapse of the Libyan regime and the lack of its ability to effect, the recognition by the Libyan transitional national council are still inevitable as a legal authority in September of 2011. In September 2011, the Libyan president is killed by the opponents and the collapse of the Libyan regime is terminated permanently. So, the Russian officials including the president Medvedev are starting to direct the accusation to the west where these officials are accused the western officials by the hypocrisy and they killed the civilians in the regions which controlled by the regime. As well as, the western officials are accused by the lie because they helped to high level in the collapse of the Libyan regime in the time which they were announcing that they do not want to do that.

The Libyan issued is proven that Russia is not protecting the civilians in spite of its lack of trust by the west. In general, it must be mentioned that the revision Libyan regime was not before the transformations in 2011 is opponent to the west where this regime is held a comprehensive peace with the west in 2003 and give it his chemical weapons. In addition, there were commercial collaborations with Europe and the west in 2003 which were exceed the commercial exchange between Libya and Russia. It is possible to explain the Russian emplacement which cannot achieve the Russian interest or threat these interests but at the same time, it is possible that what has supported the Russian step by passing the decision of the international council are the succeeded collapses to the Libyan regime especially the side splits in the row of the Libyan regime in addition to its military retreat (Merle, 2013: 12-16).

While in terms of the Russian situation from Libya and the Russian and Libyan relationships after the collapse of the Libyan regime, the Middle East research center in the international relations institute that belong to the Russian ministry of foreign affairs is issued a report with the title “the Russian interest in the middle east”. This report gave a background about the factor of the relationships with Libya with the expectations of the scenarios of developing this situation later. So, the Libyan file is witnessed by its share from this paper and the paper is confined that Russia has not any influence or effect in Libya after the regime of Gaddafi and the

west is only the part which has the real effect tools on the new judged powers. In addition, the Russian concerns was clear because of the chaos and the real collapse in the country and the distribution of the weapons store of the previous regime in the country. Also, the paper stated that reconstruct the country will not be easy operation in the highlight of the weapon availability and Multiplicity of political forces. In addition, there are regions, tribal and ethnic differences and the collapse of all of the state institutions which make the ability of any party to judge and control is rare without the help of the west which in its turn want its share from the Libyan oil and from the project of reconstruction. This price which is paid and will be paid by the Libyan powers as an exchange to the help of the west to overthrow Gaddafi and the lost of Russia to Libya economically and this was clear in non-renewing the signed agreements which held between federal Russia and Libya while it is renewed with the western companies in spite of that the Russian ministry of foreign affairs has issued a statement after the collapse of the Libyan regime that the agreements which have been signed between federal Russia and Libya and the exchanged commitments will continue. However, Russia thinks that that new authorities will resort to the west in order to cover their special needs in the subject of arming with the possibility that the collaboration will be restricted in the future on maintaining the huge store of the inherited Russian weapons from the previous regime.

The eyes of Russia are still directed towards Libya economically where the paper which has been mentioned before invited to focus on the economic issues in the next stage of the Russian and Libyan relationships and especially in the oil sector where Russia sees that there is an opportunity in the next stage from the Russian and Libyan relationships and especially in the oil sector. as well as, Russia sees that there is opportunity to be existed in the Libyan oil market and it seeks to enter Libya again through the economic and commercial sides and sees that there are sides which are possible to return the collaboration with Libya such as commerce, electricity and rail ways despite of the transformations which terminated the rail way project of Sirte-Benghazi previously. The document sees that there are an important mean which through it can return back the trust to the Libyans and thus, to reactivate the economic relationships and it is a search to cancel the debts of Libya which amounted about 4.2 billion dollar and work on reactivate the mutual business council between Russia and Libya. The Russian document sees that the new Libyan authorities which use their influence in order to prevent Russia to enter the Libyan

market again in order to make the Libyan market under the control of the west. Therefore, the paper sees that the suite Russian power must be used in exchange of cancelling the pressures on Libya.

The document clarified the Russian fears on the future of Libya and it has serious fears from the sink of Libya in the chaos or its fall in the ghost partition which may lead to new Somalia where the chaos can generate the basic fears of Russia which is the emergence of the radicals Islamic streams where Libya is configured an peaceful resort for them. Thus, the document recommends that Russian will not interfere as a mediation between the different Libyan streams but to still monitor the issues closely and exploit the bad developments in Libya in order to direct the criticisms to the western intervention and reveal the falsity of the size of the intervention and state the results which will be ordered on imposing the democracy by strength by the overthrow on the regime militarily.

3.1.3 The effect of the Russian foreign policy towards Libya and its reflection on the political development

While Libya was and still within the groups of the developing countries or what is called “The World Countries Third” but it is as most of the arb countries that have problem in the political development where it suffers from the crisis which hinder the process of the political development both before the transformations in 2011 or after that. Thus, this section seeks to study the effect of the Russian foreign policy towards Libya on these crisis which under the political development which through the effect of this policy on the whole policy can be evaluated. The Libyan political reality during the judge of Gaddafi had many challenges which hinder the political development where no one can denied that there was a legal crisis in Libya and it is clear that they were not legal acceptance in the judged regime where Libya is judged for more than forty years with one face without any devolution of power. So, the power basically has been extracted by the military control which means that it did not come in the democratic way. In addition, the lack of constitution which can achieve the desires of the citizen and organize the relationship with the law where the Green Book which issued by Gaddafi is the base of political life in Libya. Moreover, there was mutual crisis in Libya where the participation of the people in the political life is almost non-existing where the power is monopolized by few people and there is no evidence to the participation of people in the political life in the country. Even the judged parties’ were prevented and it is replaced by popular committees and

other names and there is no way which through the people can express their opinions to the event in the political issues in their country. Thus, the participation crisis was clear in Libya and it is configured a hinder which faced the political development operation.

There was another crisis which is considered one of the most important crises which faced by Libya at the previous regime which is the crisis of distributing the fortune where in spite of the huge financial resources which enjoyed by Libya as it is considered an oil country and it has many natural resources but the rate of poverty and unemployment inside the community was huge where these money are focused by few number of persons and they have not been distributed in satisfied way which can solve the poverty and unemployment issues where the Libyan resources if distributed in satisfied manner, there will not be any poverty in this country.

Without returning back to the soviet and Libyan relationships, the modern Libyans and Russian relationships is characterized that it was far from any ideological dimension and it is characterized by the economic dimension where there were commercial exchange between the two countries. This means that the relationship was economic where Russia did not take into consideration to the subject of the political developing in Libya as it is considered an internal issue belongs to the Libyans. So, Russia does not interfere by the internal policy of the countries and thus the Russian support may be benefited in solving some crises. For example, the distribution crisis where the Russian projects were many in Libya and these projects need into workforce and therefore, the can be participated in solving a problem which can hinder the political development. However, it is expected that the previous regime did not matter by the political development in the country and therefore, there is no clear evidence to the Russian policy after the collapse of the Libyan regime.

While in terms of the situation of the political development in Libby after the transformations in 2011, it is still suffers from the crises and the most important crises which faced by Libya is the crisis of the penetration in all the regions of the country where the control of the government is limited and does not include all the regions in the country. In addition, there are armed militias which highly distributed in Libya and each militia revoke their control on specific regions in the country. All of these factors led to the penetration problems and as a result of the political instability where the government is unstable and the government institutions are

infected by great weakness and cannot spread in whole of the country. As the situation before the transformations before 2011, Russia did not take a position towards the development process in Libya but there are fears expressed by Russia continuously about Libya. In addition, Russia does not own like tools the west which through it can effect on the federal power and the Russian interest document in the Arab and Islamic region recommend in the monitoring and non-interfere in a mediation which can collect the Africans in Libya. Thus, it is clear that Russia does not intend to support the political process in the country and it seeks to return the political relationships with Libya as a hope to return the signed contracts between each of the parties. Therefore, the Russian interest in Libya is commercial and economic interest in the first degree. Moreover, Russia displays in front of the world what is going on in Libya as it is a result of the west results. In addition, it falls within the competition framework with the United States and thus, Russia seeks in the Libyan case to achieve political achievements and regain the economic achievements or it is until now it has not effect on the political development in Libya after the transformations in 2011.

3.2 The Russian Strategy towards the Arab Spring Countries

3.2.1 The Russian Strategy towards Egypt

The Russian and Egyptian relationships are characterized by their long history especially those relationships which were between the Russian Orthodox Church and Church of Alexandria. Diplomatically, during the stages of the cold war, Egypt was one of the most important allies to the Soviet Union and their nearest ally in the Middle East. Despite the deterioration of the relationship between the two sides after the expulsion of the previous Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, the soviet military consultants and the members of the soviet air force from Egypt in summer of 1972. However, the relationships started to be enhanced after the collapse of the Soviet Union and especially after the arriving of Putin to the judge.

In 14 of august 2000 and after five months of being elected as a president to Russia, Putin started the communication with the Egyptian president at that time Hosni Mubarak by phone which was the first “direct communication” between them. According to the Kremlin the two president discussed the issues of the friendly relations between each of them. In April of 2001, Hosni Mubarak visited Moscow and signed on a long-term agreement to develop the commercial and economic

relations in the industrial, sciences, and technical collaboration. In addition, they signed on an agreement to announce the concepts about the friendly relations between the two sides. Later, the senior official from the two sides exchanged the visit during the subsequent years (Mitchell, 2012: 5-8). In September of 2004, in Cairo particularly Sergey Lavrov signed on a collaboration protocol and discussion between the two foreign affairs ministries. In the period between 26-27 of April 2005, Putin visited Egypt as the first visit since forty years and signed another statement to deepen the friendly relationships which confirmed on an increasing level the strategic mode of the Russian-Egyptian relationships. At the same month, Putin visited the League of Arab States as a first visit by a Russian leader. The council depended the Russian ambassador in Egypt as a commissioner in the league of Arab states. The other official exchanged the visits between each other during the subsequent years. The two countries signed a binary of collaboration agreements in the fields of education, science and energy including the agreement signed on 8 of March in terms of the collaboration between Egypt and Russia in determined industries such as the trade of the nuclear energy (Nizameddin, 2013: 253).

With the outbreak of Arab season revolutions and the collapse of Mubarak Regime from the judgment in Egypt, Russia lost its influence in Egypt temporarily but Putin was keen to regain this influence and extend his hand with the Muslim Brotherhood in spite of that the Russian senior court classified the Muslim Brotherhood on the list of terrorism in February of 2003 and blocked it officially in Russia. The Russian official accused the Muslim Brotherhood as strengthen the insurgency in the north of Caucasus continuously. However, in 28 of June 2012, Putin congratulated the new president who belong to this community of Muslim Brotherhood Mohamed Morsy on his winning in the election. In 23 of July which means after one month of the first congratulation, Putin sent greeting cable to Morsy in the anniversary for the revolution of 1952 which is the national revolution in Egypt that finished the Britain Occupation. Putin in his message expressed on his desire in strengthening the relationships between Russia and Egypt in all of the fields and to construct an effective partnership between the two countries in order to solve the regional problems. Therefore, Putin pointed that he welcomes by the returning of Egypt as a leader to the Arab World and expressed that he wanted in his anti-western message to focus on his awareness by congratulating Morsy in the anniversary where many considers it a milestone that toppled the western imperialism and the Russian

officials started in discussing the possibility of ease of restrictions on the Muslim Brotherhood in Russia.

The communication of Putin with Muslim Brotherhood detected that in spite of the Russian preference to deal with the secularists but he will deal with the Islamists to secure the Russian influence in the highlight of the vacuum caused by the absence of the western in the region and even if this means to support an organization which encourage the terrorism and non-stability in Russia in the point of view of Kremlin at least. After the overthrow of Morsy in 2013, the Russian and Egyptian relationships started to be enhanced especially that Egypt relationship with the United States witnessed a stage of decrease and tension. Cairo was seen in an increasing worry towards what it saw that the United States involved in a relation with the Muslim Brotherhood and felt that it is alone in its war against terrorism especially when Sinai Peninsula became a hotbed of extremism and instability. Washington late in sending the arms shipments to Egypt and avoided the military assistances from it and stopped in later time the Egyptian and American strategic conversation. This retreat in the relationships and communication between Egypt and the United States created an opportunity to Putin to confirm the national interest with Egypt.

Unlike Obama, Putin enthusiastically supported Sisi plan to judge Egypt and Putin did not see any feasibility from criticizing Sisi on his democratic rebound. In the point of view of some experts, Kremlin was looking forward to strength the relationships with Egypt to guarantee the success of Geneva Conference for peace in Syria. While other saw that Kremlin sees Sisi as the new Jamal Abdunasser who talked from the Arab Nationalism against the western imperialism. The economic relationships between Egypt and Russia enhanced clearly in the last years where in 2014, more than three million tourists visited Egypt from about ten million tourist around the world. Sharm El-Shaikh Resort configured an important destination for them. According to Putin, this configures increasing about 50% from the last year. In 31 of October 2015, the Russian passenger plan damaged after its take off from Sharm El-Shaikh Resort which led to kill about 224 passenger. While the Russian government slowed down that the accident was caused by a bomb which placed by a terrorist. The Russian government expressed that the United States and Britain government rushed to urgent conclusions. Before the sixth of November, all the air flights to Egypt have been suspended. Reports emerged and said that the Russian

Prime Minister Medvedev supervised the evacuation of about 25 thousand tourist from 80 thousand Russian tourist from Egypt. There is no doubts that the suspension of the air flights have effected negatively on the Egyptian economic. In the late of December, the Russian authorities expressed their hope that the ban to lift soon. Until now, the Russian government have not given any intension to lift this ban.

The trade between the two countries is grown in the last period to reach into more than 4.5 billion dollar in 2014 which means that Russia provides about 40% from the Egyptian income and in July of 2015, Egypt and Russia were to hold for the first time to launch military joint naval near to the Alexandria port. In the reality, Putin considers the Russian marine expansion as the first priority which include the regaining of the Russian influence in the Mediterranean Sea and his alliance with Egypt will help him to achieve this purpose. At the end, the United States attempts are failed to pressure on Egypt to enhance the human rights level and the fields of interests which increased the military efforts against the terrorisms. Putin exploited this situation and gained great credibility in addition to the financial characteristics as a result of this collaboration.

3.2.2 The Russian Strategy towards Syria

The Russian situation from the Syrian crisis is considered one of the most important situations where the world witnesses that represented by supporting some issues in specific times while the most important issue that will come without any doubts that it is against our problems and our interest in the region. This makes the Arab project accuses these countries that they are against the Arab and Muslims but it goes farther when it calls by the conspiracy theory to confirm that the Arab nation is targeted in all of its energies, capabilities and human fortunes to guarantee the interests of the great countries in preserving their properties and feudalists in our Arab region.

3.2.2.1 The Russian Support to the Syrian Regime

The national interest is considered one of the most important motivation to pursue the foreign policy and take positions. May be it was one of the most important motivations behind the Russian position in the security council and other international forums and it is the Russian interest in the Mediterranean Sea and also what Russia is considered as a trick exposed by the United States and some other countries of the NATO about the decision of the security council in allowing the

humanitarian intervention in Libya. The decision has been misused in order to reach into goals which limited to control the Libyan oil and it has no relationships with the humanitarian motivations. When Russia has been taken outside of Libya and terminate its interests and especially the contracts which have been signed with the previous regime about the oil and after terminating the Russian interests in Sudan, Syria became the last resort for Moscow in the Mediterranean Sea. In addition, the transgression policy which depended by the United States and some other allies in Europe about the spread in controlling the oil in the Arab region and take provocative positions such as establishing the missile shield in Turkey where Russia considers this step as targeting the Russian power before targeting the Iranian power. There is no doubts that there are another motivations for the Russian behavior about the events in Syria such as insisting on playing a basic vital role in the cases of preserving the international peace and especially when it is in positions of the united states and its allies to a complete disregard to the international systems in practicing the mission of the security council. The Russian position to the Syrian crisis has not been changed in spite of that Moscow give special importance for tis relationships with the Syrian regime and talk about not to forgive to repeat the Libyan model. However, Russia clearly sees that Syria is not Libya and that the Syrian opposition refuse any military intervention in the Syrian crisis but the Russian officials talked about the necessity for reform and for corrective steps and about the discussion and they do not talk about the Syrian bloods but they want to correct their mistakes to accept the international decision about the intervention in Syria by the threat after passing the security council decision about the Syrian crisis and they do not repeat the same mistake about Syria. Although the Syrian protestors see that the Russian and chines appositions about the situation in Syria that they support the regime and provide the international cover to continue the intervention in the security solution and justifying the suppression and killing of the protestors. In both cases, the Russian position is different from the other Arabic revolutions of variables and developments. Therefore, the Russian role in the Arab region provokes the anger feelings and especially at the specialized community who burned the Russian flags in the previous protests.

The reality that the motivations of the Russian role belong to many issues including fear of Russia from the internal situation and there is no doubts that the Russian interests in Syria are many and important for Russia where the amounts of

the arms which have been sold to Syria are amounted about hundred billions in addition to tens of the mutual projects which have been created and amounted about billions of dollars where there are four contracts have been signed in 9/1/2012 which belong to the collaboration in the field of gas and oil and develop the economic relationships.



Figure 1: A map which explains the geographic location of Russia (Sakharov, 2000: 79)



Figure 2: The Location of the Middle East Countries (Korny, 2002: 65)

While the previous factor motivate to more of collaboration and convergences between Russia and the region countries, there are many challenges stand out to the Russian role where some of them flow from the Russian vision for its role internationally and regionally and the face borders with the united states and the other flows from the resistance of some international and regional powers to the Russian role as it is considered threat its existence and interests in the region (Shalabi, 2013: 88).

The Russian policy starts from a vision which is based on the collaboration and not confrontation and conflict with the united states as the case in the time of the soviet union and not the followership as the case in the period of the previous president Boris Yeltsin. There is not any more east or west but there is a set of the great powers which lead the world including Russia that have a collaboration relationship and true interests with the united states and other great powers. In spite of the permanently Russian confirmation on its opposition to the unique unipolar system and the importance of the existing of international system with multi powers which characterize by the uniquely and respect the international law with wider role to the international organizations including the united nations where Russia is associated with strategic and real interests with the united states. The president Putin

confirmed in more than one occasion and pointed that Russia does not intend to dispute anyone but it has the ability to effect on the process of configuring the new international system and to make the international relationships balanced and that the united states and Russia the largest two nuclear countries in the world. Thus, each one of them is natural partner to the other to deal with the international security issues and prevent the spread of the nuclear weapons and to solve the international terrorism problems and between each of them great economic relationships.

The Russian role has not changed in the Syrian crisis in spite of that Moscow gives special importance for tis relationships with the Syrian regime and talk to not allow of repeating the Libyan model and Russia really realizes that Syria is not Libya and the Syrian opposition completely refuse any foreign military intervention in the Syrian crisis but the Russian politicians talks about the necessity of reform and about the steps of reform and discussion and they do not talk about the Syrian bloods which bleeding every single day but they want to correct their mistakes by agree on the international decision about the intervention in Libya by the threat by not passing a decision in the security council about the situation in Syria and that they will not repeat the same mistake about Syria. While the Syrian protestors see that the Russian situation with china and some other countries support the Syrian regime and provide the international cover to continue in the security solution and justify the killing and suppression of the protestors.

3.2.2.2 The Russian Efforts to Solve the Syrian Crisis

3.2.2.2.1 The Russian Political Initiatives

The Russian initiative is still just ideas and may come from internal crisis. Also, they do not talk about agreed references where it must be known that the accepted political reference for any political negotiations which experienced by the Syrian opposition with the regime is still the negotiations which is upon the second Geneva Conference is held with the necessity of starting the negotiations from the reached point with international guarantees (Abdel Hayy, 2013: 78). However, until now the regime is still insist to uproot the people and stone from all of the Syrian lands by the use of all of the heavy and light weapons and even the internationally prohibited weapons betting on his military victor on the opposition where the world is busy by fighting Daesh because of the dangerous which configure on all of the humanity.

The time is come to the Syrian crisis but this time from the Russian gate and the international diplomatic is coming back to move where it has been proven to everybody that the solution is political in one. So, the movement which is implemented by Moscow recently is not fleeting or only aims to stand at specific point of views where the Russians have complete plan in order to solve the crisis which is look like the road map with clear landmarks and they placed the regime and opposition in its details. This Russian initiative as announced by the last tour of Bogdanov to Beirut, Istanbul and Damascus represents the more effective machine and the last news confirm that Washington is also moves at the same direction according to the data of the American ambassador commissioner to the Syrian case and Syrian dissident in Swiss associating with the preparation of Moscow conference. All of that follow the visiting of Putin to Turkey and his meeting with the president Erdogan. The Russian president enable to move the diplomacy a bit in order to make a gap in the wall of the crisis aiming that this initiative can make gains the least amount of the consistency when he presented items rounding between the conditions of the Syrian government and the opposition. Syrian resources close from the Syrian government revealed the Russian initiative which states that (Abdel Hayy, 2013: 79). :

- A constitutional modification in coordination with the opposition which include an early parliament elections.
- The consistency on assigning a head of government from the opposition who does not provoke the Syrian regime and then keep the ministry of defense and interior controlled by the Syrian president Bashar al-Assad and the rest of the ministries are opened to discussions.
- Give some powers from the republic president to the government president

3.2.2.2.2 The Russian Role in the Security Council

There are informal discussion are held between the delegation of the Syrian government headed by the permanent Syrian representative at the united nations Bashar al-Jaafari and about 30 representatives from different Syrian opposition in Moscow between 28-29 of June 2012 and the consultations were concluded by agreeing of the participated parties to what is called “Moscow’s Concepts” which included the political solution according to “Geneva – one” and the absence of the Syrian opposition allies has not obstacle to reach most of the Syrian opposition and

the Syrian government for the first time into political solution to the Syrian crisis which is considered a new step in solving the Syrian crisis politically with great practical importance (Abdel-Talib, 2011: 41).

The most important reasons which explain the momentum of the political operation to solve the Syrian crisis can be explained as follow:

1. Compatibility on unified vision between the government and the Syrian opposition towards the political solution where Syrian is witnessed a status of chaos since the outbreak of the crisis especially during the emergence of Daesh and other radical arms groups which led to in the deaths of about 100 thousand people and about one million refugee and economic losses which amounted about hundred billion dollar. Most of the people wash to achieve the political stability and enhance the living level of the people after suffer from the wide chaos. Also, most of the people refuse the radical Islamic raise to the power. At this context, all of the parties in Syria realized to the necessity of achieving the uniformity and compatibility in the opinions in order to anti-terrorism and protect the national uniformity and regional safe.
2. Enhance the situation of the Syrian government by selecting of Bashar al-Assad overwhelmingly which reflect the public opinion in promoting the status of power in spite of the that the west does not recognize these elections but they with not powerless. Also, the judged groups in Syria preserved the internal uniformity and conducting the work of the Syrian government well without heavy losses. In addition, the governmental forces controlled on the battlefield whereat the last times, the Syrian government regained more of the Syrian lands that captured by the Syrian opposition. Moreover, the Syrian government has taken from the United Nations the lead to reach into a political solution to solve the Syrian crisis where many meeting are held with the representatives of the opposition in one room and even if they did not talk about the results but it is considered a first step to reach into a political agreement. As well as, the United States are configured an international allies in order to fight Daesh in Syria. In fact, the anti-terrorism helps the Syrian government to regain the lost Syrian lands and reduce the pressure on Bashar subjectively.
3. The failure of the Syrian position in raising reactions which face many of the Syrian opposition factions' huge differences in assigning the leader and

configure mutual power. Whereas the real fight is always with radical Jabhat Al-Nusrah organization and the collaboration with Islamic State Organization is raised to seize the lands dissatisfaction and opposition by the people. This is accompanied with the change of west policy towards Syria and enhance the relationship between the Kingdom Saudi Arabia and Iran. As well as, it made the opposition looks to its critical situation (Ibrahim Abdel-Talib, 2011: 42).

4. The active Russian mediation facilitate the discussion between the Syrian opposition parties and this strategy can guarantee the Russian interests in Syria and expand their influence in the Middle East. Also, it may ease the international isolation for Russia because of the crisis resulted by Ukraine. Moreover, it can create an atmosphere of calm between the associated parties in the Syrian conflict and promote the efforts against the organization of Islamic State and other radicals. It may help on ease the tension with America by the indirect help in their campaign against the Islamic state organization and according to the reports, the American minister of foreign affairs will visit Moscow soon.
5. America will modify their policy towards Syria through the next period. America highlights the road on the battle against the Islamic state, Jabhat Al-Nusrah and other organization which is called Khurasan and other radical organizations in Syria. Also, they reduced the statement of overthrow Bashar Assad noticeably. The website of The New York Times published in 19 of January an article entitled as “the support of America to the peace plan in Syria which points to the transformation in focus” and the support and encouragement of America to the diplomatic initiatives to solve the Syrian crisis which highlights on how to finish the civil war in Syria. The transformation in the American opinion and the retreat of the west quietly from the request to step down President Bashar Assad from the judgment immediately. According to what is going on, America does not want the win of the radical Islamic to the judgment.

3.2.2.2.3 The Russian Mediation between the Parties of the Syrian Crisis

There are informal discussions have been held between the delegation of the Syrian government which is headed by the permanent Syrian representative at the

United Nations Bashar al-Jaafari and about 30 representative from different Syrian opposition factions in Moscow in 28 and 29 November 2011. The consultations were concluded by the deal of the two parties to participate on what is called “concepts of Moscow” which included the political solution according to Geneva – one and the absence of the national allies of the Syrian opposition did not hinder the arrival of the most Syrian opposition and Syrian government for the first time to a political solution to the Syrian crisis which is considered a good step in solving the Syrian crisis politically and have symbolic importance than the practical importance (Ibrahim Abdel-Talib, 2011: 42).

The most important reasons which interpret the momentum of the political operations to solve the Syrian crisis can be summarized as follow:

1. Consistency on unified vision between the government and Syrian opposition towards the political solution for the Syrian crisis. Syria is witnessed a case of chaos since the outbreak of the crisis especially after the Islamic state organization and other radical factions are raised which lead to the death of about 100 thousand person and about one million refugee in 2011 an economic losses which amounted about hundred billion dollar. Most of the people want to achieve the economic stability and enhance the living level of the people after suffers from massive disorders. Furthermore, they oppose the winning of the radical Islamic factions to the judge. At this context, all of the parties in Syria started to realize the necessity of unity and consistency in the opinions for the purpose of anti-terrorism and protect the national unity and regional safety.
2. Enhance the situation of the Syrian position by many steps. Firstly, the election of Bashar Assad overwhelmingly reflects the desire of the public opinion in consolidation of power in spite of that the west does not recognize these elections but they do not have any power or effect. Secondly, the preserve if the judged group in Syria on the internal unity and facilitate the business of the government in good manner without heavy losses. In addition, the control of the governmental forces on the battle land where recently, the Syrian government regained many lands which seized by the Syrian opposition. Thirdly, the Syrian government with the United Nations has taken the lead to reach into political solution for the Syrian crisis where many meeting are held with the representatives of the opposition in one room. Even

if they did not talk about the results but it represents a first step to reach into political solution in Syria. In fact, it help on anti-terrorism in Syria and on regain the Syrian government to the lost lands and reduce the pressure on the subject of Bashar.

3. The failure of the Syrian opposition in raising reactions. Many of the Syrian opposition factions face great differences in assigning the leader and configure a mutual force while the real fight is always with the Jabhat Al-Nusrah organization. The collaboration with the Islamic state organization on resize the lands is raised the discontent and opposition of the people. This is accompanied with the change of the west policy towards Syria and enhance the relationships between kingdom Saudi Arabia and Iran. As well as, it, made the opposition to look in the critical situation.
4. The effective Russian mediation facilitates the discussion between the Syrian parties. This strategy can guarantee the Russian interests in Syria and expand its influence in the Middle East. Also, it helps to ease the international separation to Russia because of the crisis resulted by Ukraine. Moreover, it can create an atmosphere of calming between the other parties. Furthermore, it can help to reduce the tensions with America by indirect help in its campaign against the Islamic state.

3.2.3 The Russian Strategy towards Tunisia

The previous Tunisian president (Habib Bourguiba) was aware in his relationships with Tunisia where its primary bit after the dependence is to depended on Europe and America strategically without provoking the Soviet Union or entering the country in a military ally and does not gain except the destroy. Even when he decided to freeze the Tunisian Communist Party at the beginning of the sixties of the last century, he worked to not effect on the stability of Tunisia where he separated of what he considered it an internal issue to establish natural relationships with the socialist camp. Today the ideological polarization is disappear but the atmosphere of the cold war is still existed when the unique polarization of the United States is failed. At this context, what Tunisia is care about is basically three issues which may have direct effect on its foreign policy. Firstly, the financial and political crisis of the European countries and especially France which Tunisia considered it the main ally to Tunisia. The French economic sick and it cannot to return back its strength in

short time. As well as, the political class is weak when the socialist is collapsed. While the second issue belongs to the policy of Washington in the era of the American president Donald Trump. It is true that there is not large signs on the possibility of occur a high change in the policy of the white house towards Tunisia but with the new president all of the possibilities are possible. Whereas, the third issue it belongs to Libya where the role of Russia role is increased at the surrounding country. The American interest in the Libyan issues is decreased where it is still configured a volcano status. Even the European is clear that their calculations are interference and the ri ability to fix this issue seriously is limited. In contrast, many parties in Libya are starting welcome in the Russian role which may be success and this issue is welcomed by Moscow and invest it to promote its influence and location inside this country. Thus, we find that Tunisia found itself is invoked in the necessity to develop its relationships with Russia and realized what it missed in the previous period. After the revolutions the Tunisians started to enhance their relationships quietly where the meeting other Tunisians officials with the Russian officials are numbered and the last one is the meeting which collected the Tunisian minister of foreign affairs with the Russian minister of foreign affairs at the fourth cycle of Russian and Arab collaboration forum in Abu Dhabi which through and on the characterized level they consisted to intensify the exchange of visits and the good preparation to what is called the “the binary next worth which promote the collaboration opportunities and investments”. At this context, it must be mentioned that Russia was presented in the activities of the international forum to support the economy and investment “Tunisia 2020” which held in the Tunisian capital before the end of the previous years. Also, the Tunisian minister of foreign affairs did not hesitate in inviting the Russians to investment in the projects which included by the development plain in the years between 2016-2020 especially in the field of the infrastructure. Moreover, the Russians did not do as the Europeans and Americans which encouraged their citizens to not go to Tunisia as they said it includes terrorism dangerous after the two terrorism operations of Bardo Museum and Sousse Hotel but Moscow encouraged its employees to travel to Tunisia which made the Russian tourist reach to 600 thousands visitor which decrease the level of the crisis which still faced by the Tunisian tourism.

Therefore, it is clear that the current transformations on the regional and international events may change a country as Tunisia to close from Russia in near or

far time which has a place of foot in Libya in the time where the Europeans are busy in their internal issues and their small calculations sometimes.



CONCLUSION

At the recent years Russia enabled to establish to itself an independent and opened policy which penetrated all of the ecological formulas which characterize during the Soviet Union era. This policy enables Russia to regain its prestige in the international field according to international form which collect between privacy and Russian identity and integrate in the market world. As well as it helped to restore its historical relationships with the traditional allies in an attempt to construct new axes which focus on creating a new multi polar world.

Our study to the Russian policy towards the Middle East in the highlight of new transformations enabled us to reach into the following results:

- The Russian policy in the international field is determined by two important factors which are the economy and the political leadership. So, when the Russian leadership regained its economy and reconstruct the infrastructure of the state and eliminate the hotbeds of corruption, today it seeks to promote its economic position within the largest developed economies in the world. The Russian leadership carefully realize that our current world witness a gradual change in the order of countries in the power stairs and it is compatible with its ambition to restore its position in the international field.
- The reality of the geopolitical position which occupy by the middle east in the Russian foreign policy is associated in the first level with keeping the survival of the country which expose according into its leaders opinions to continuous attempts by some west countries including the United States to be weak and prevent to restore its position in the international field. From this context, there is a Russian political movements emerged which penetrate the isolation policy applied against Russia where these countries adopt policies which refuse the American hegemony.
- The situation witnesses by the Middle East from the Russian perspective are a western attempts in order to redraw the regional alliance map in the Middle East which serve its interests. This will lead to fail the penetration policy which adopt by Russia. From another hand, the effect of the religious and geographic closeness to the Middle East countries from Russia and also the negative accumulations about the nature of the political Islam on the

Russian situation which refuse the Arab movement that led to reach the Islamizes access to the judge.

- If the ambitious of the Russian foreign policy in establishing a multi polar international framework where Russia be one of these polar has imposed to direct itself towards the Middle East as it is considered one of the most important western influence in the world, the geopolitical calculations are stayed as one of the most important determinations at this direction.
- The economic position of the Middle East countries occupy the axis of the Russian foreign policy towards the regional countries as it is considered the economic factor an the main controlled in the Russian position and its foreign relationships, the middle east market represents a big and varied market which serve the Russian economy which concentrated in the field of energy. As well as, the collaboration with some countries at this region helps Russia to guarantee its supply to the energy to its strategic market and protect the entrance of competitors.
- The dependence of the Russian policy on the concept of verifying the commercial partners at the region helped on constructing a network of complex interests which through it is enabled to protect its economic interest with the countries of this region from the political tensions.
- The Russian policy also seeks by deploying its economic relationship with some countries at the Middle East to break the alliance style for most countries in the region with the United States and an attempt to construct new axes in the economic field.
- The security status of the Middle East region is associated with the factor of the terrorism organizations which spread during the last years in the Middle East countries that increase the probability of expanding the threats circle to Russia. This refers that the security of Russian borders require the stability of this region and avoid the entrance of new wars. Thus, the Russian movements were sought to promote its relationships with the countries that suffer from these threats and represent the most important goals where Russia sought to achieve.
- The Middle East region is not anymore a big market to the Russian weapons only but it became occupy an important position in the military

collaboration with Russia and especially in the field of the nuclear energy where most of the Middle East countries seek to own.

- The Syrian crisis promoted the Russian role in the Middle East which proved its ability to balance the American role and the regional and international countries in the region. As well as, it is proved the ability of Russia to reduce the interference of the United States to the international Security Council.
- The stability of the foreign policy of Russia towards Syria is associated with the policy of the evenest witnessed by Syria where the Russian position and its ambitions to restore its role in the region became critical and the collapse of the Syrian regime will lead to the progress of the United States into close circles where they are considered a threat by Russia and this means weaknesses to its role.

The Russian ambitions are still to make the international system is multi polar and Russia be one of its polar which associated with its foreign policy in the Middle East where positions which occupied by this region does not encourage Russia to maximize its economic and military role only but to maximize its international position as a whole. Therefore, it must hold to what it has achieved and try to develop in the form which support its economic position in the international system.

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