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The unholy war from Paris and London to Kabul and Tehran! *An article about war in Syria*

1. **Syria has been collapsed** by an unholy war. Syria's war is going to be 6 years without any horizon and a perspective for getting peace! More than 450 thousands of people have been killed and over 12 millions have been displaced! It is complicated. If we look at media headlines we assume that ISIS is behind the violence. So six years into the killing we have looked at the data on **who is killing who**. The truth is different and astonishing. According to human rights groups 94 percent of people have been killed by government of Assad and its allies. But it might be an exaggerated report. We can not be a judge for saying who is exactly killing who. This is two years that many places, controlled by Assad's opposition groups have been bombing by Russia. We can not compare Syria with other countries that have had civil war, such as Afghanistan, Iraq or Lybia. These societies have stood up on the edge of a precipice. It could be an unexampled disaster that has happened in the Middle East. When we evaluate people's life we immediately reach the conclusion that no one can blame Syrians for deciding to leave their country in order to find a safe habitation and keep safe. Escape and be alive or stay and choose death. Evacuees want to go to safe place such as European countries but as you know ISIS' terrorists have created spaces full of pessimism! ISIS attacked to some stadiums, restaurants, bars and music concerts in Paris on the night of Friday 13 November 2016 by gunmen and suicide bomber (Bataclan), 130 people were killed and hundreds were wounded. On 22 May 2017 a suicide bombing occurred at Manchester Arena. Twenty

three adults and children were killed,including the attacker and another 119 were injured. In other terrorist attack, a white van hit pedestrians on London Bridge ,7 people have been killed and at least 48 injured. In the latest terrorist attack in Tehran on Jun 7,2017 at least 12 people were killed and more than 50 have been wounded. These events have made people pessimistic to refugees!

2. **This is long time** that some politicians have gathered to find a possible way for mainting peace or even cease fire,but it is much difficult. As I wrote the brutal crackdown of the Assad regime on peaceful pro-democracy protesters in 2011 has led to the deaths of over 450.000 people,the displacement of over 12 millions.This is a half of the country. Assad held another election in this situation which it could be a funny action! It is impossible to protect civilians,defeat ISIS or tackle the refugee crisis without bringing peace to Syria. It is impossible to bring peace to Syria with the Assad regime in power. So what shall we do? Syria's government is not strong and independent.It seems that they can not solve their problems without Russia and Iran's decisions. We can think about some suggestions and conditions! The first condition might be cease fire! All countries that interfere should respect cease fire and keep it.

The second condition for the cessation of the war and the beginning of any recovery process in Syria is, however, Assad's departure. This is more than 46 years that Hafez Assad (Bassar's father) had taken power in Syria. Hafez Assad was a politician and general who was President of Syria from 1971 to 2000. Absolutely this is not a democratic regime.A republic under authoritarian presidential rule. As you know in the Syria's election next to 100 percent of people have voted to Assad! An election with one candidate! How can this phenomenon be explained?

3. **It won't be possible to end this terrible tragedy.** This is no way but Assad should accept people demands, leave power and transfer it to a coalition and temporary government that has been formed and accepted by UN. A coalition without participation of terrorist groups! Those who split up of Al Quaede should not join in this coalition.

The Assad regime is now quite worse than it was before the uprising(2011). It is now not only a dictatorial state but a country in which murderous unrestrained gangsters, the **Shabiha**, as they are called in Arabic, are running the show. And they are terrorizing the population, which is why a major part of the recent wave of Syrian refugees fleeing to Europe came from regime-controlled areas. Those are the much many who can not suffer any longer to remain subjected to those criminal gangsters that the Assad regime has nurtured.

4.The Syrian population has no hope at all in the future of the regime. And therefore all those who could afford it decided to escape to Europe or the USA.They have no way and are forced.We know that many of the refugees fleeing to Europe are not from the poorest parts of the population. There is a significant proportion of middle class persons among the refugees. They often sell everything they possess in Syria .They have no hope in coming back. This will impose a huge cost on the country's future. Those who remain in Syria are either people who can not do otherwise .Poor people! Those who work in human rights should help to poor people through sending everything that they need!

5.There are also the Kurdish fighters in Syria, which are the revolutionary and the most progressive armed group taking part in this whole battle, if not the only one. Their main fight has been against ISIS until now, while they adopted a somewhat neutral stance between the regime and the rest of opposition. Since two years ago, they have been, and are still backed by the U.S, through air strikes and weapon delivery. They are essentially engaged in controlling and defending the Kurdish populated areas. Their resistance and battle in Kobani against Isis was full of the epics, courages and resilience. Kobani was the first experience the people organised themselves and stand up against the biggest Isis attack! In order to play a role in combat beyond their regions, and thus in determining the fate of Syria as a whole, they need to ally with Arabs and other minorities. This is what Washington has been pushing for with some success, first by bringing them to work together with “Free Syrian Army” groups, and now with Syrian Arab tribes along the pattern that the U.S. followed in Iraq against al-Qaeda, and is presently reviving there against ISIS. But it might be a difficult program for the USA. On the one hand “Free Syrian Army” has been supported by Turkey, and on the other hand Turkey’s government are battling against Kurdish fighters.This is a complicated phenomenon! Since US’ army has given a lot of heavy weapons and has supported Kurdish fighters, Turkey’s government has changed its policy. Erdogan has objected to the USA and decided to collaborate with Russia. It seems that Middle East is moving to a new situations, which has been caused by Syria war!

6.ISIS's spectacular expansion has kept place less than two year ago. Russia with Iran’s collaboration and Assad regime have won against Isis and have possessed the second biggest city that is called Aleppo. Like Assad, Putin’s main concern is to survive the regime. By shoring it up, Putin is prolonging the war. of course, one can only wish that the West's wishful thinking proves true, and Putin forces Assad to step down. It is difficult to tell what Putin's perspective on this is. It is true, however, that Russia runs a high risk of

getting stuck into a "quagmire," to use the USA's term, if the war doesn't end in the short term. Russia, in fact Soviet Union had had a bitter experience of intervention in Afghanistan like a quagmire and like The USA in Vietnam. Anyway we can watch how things will spread. Absolutely the sweet dream of Syria's ordinary people for now is the end of the war, with a deployment of UN forces to maintain order and rebuild the state and the country.

7.The key goal of Russia's military intervention in Syria "was to shore up the regime at a time when the latter had suffered very heavy losses since 2015 summer. Assad himself acknowledged in July the regime's inability to keep holding parts of the territory it had been holding until then." Moscow's intervention aims at preventing the collapse of the regime and enable it to reconquer the territory it lost 2015 summer. This is the basic and primary goal of the Russian intervention.

8.There is a second goal (see how powerful we are!) however, which goes far beyond Syria, and translates in the fact that Russia sent to Syria a sampling of its air force and launched cruise missiles from the Caspian Sea. This looks like the "Gulf moment" of Russian imperialism. Everybody, who follows Russian's strategy, knows that reaching to warm waters in Persian Gulfe had been an old dream for Russia. I think that Putin is doing at a reduced scale what the United States did in 1991 when it showcased its advanced weaponry against Iraq in the first Gulf war. That was a way of saying to the world: **"See how powerful we are! See how efficient is our weaponry!"** And it was a major argument for the reassertion of US hegemony at a crucial historic moment.

After 2008 Neo Liberalism's crisis Russia has risen as a new power in international relations. Although first circle of the cold war finished and second has begun. Some body had claimed that in 1991 after the collapse of Soviet Union the world was to its end and liberal democracy won. Fukuyama wrote a book that was called "The End of History!" In fact that theory has defeated. War in Syria proved that , the world is going to see new cold war! Russia intervention to keep Assad's government has proved that, the USA' Hegemony has decreased to Russia benefit! Believe it or not but a lot of politicians have claimed that Russia has changed the result in the latest election through hacking Clinton's mails. Of course Putin has denied it which is an ordinary phenomenon in the politic world.

9,For now, the best one can hope is the ending the war. Stopping this terrible bloodshed and the destruction of the country is the priority. As you know three camps are battling in Syria . One camp is The USA and Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Turkey. Other camp is Russia ,Iran and Hezbollah. Assad's regime has been supported by them. Another camp which is

called The Third Way is formed by people. Undoubtedly Isis and other terrorists groups have basically been gathered by regional governments. Without disarmament of this groups nobody can speak about peace! A progressive alternative will need to be rebuilt from the potential that still exists. Although there aren't any significant organized forces representing a progressive alternative, there still is an important potential composed of many of the young people who initiated the uprising in 2011. Thousands of them are in exile now; others are in jail. And many others are still in Syria, but can't play a determining role in the civil war. First of all we need to stop war. Whatever the end of the war can bring, it will be positive from that point of view. But it will take the emergence of a new progressive alternative on the basis of the existing potential in order for the situation to inspire any optimism.

10. What people really want? As you know in 26 January 2011, Syria's movement began to reach freedom and equality. People on streets shouted " we want to be free....". Their symbol for protesting was a loaf of bread. Bread meant equality in economy! Their movement was peaceful and Isis was not active!

As a result Assad's government has paved ISIS road through suppression people's movement. Anyway Kubani – a small city in Kurdistan of Syria- is a great symbol for those who want to participate for building new society. Kubani's people defended their city and frustrated ISIS attack. They have participated in everything that connect to manage their city. However they believe that it must be redefined as a democratic state respecting people. Cultures and rights. On this base people must be free to organize in a way that they can live their culture, language, lifestyle and can develop economically and ecologically. All managers and governors must have been elected in free election. Voters need to be able to trust their governors. Voters must be able to change governors whenever they want. This state would allow all ethics and religions to come together under the roof of a democratic state in Syria.

Tehran. Iran.

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