The role of EU countries in the Face of the Syrian Crisis (Legal Political Study)

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ABSTRACT

The study aimed at explaining the role of the European Union countries towards the Syrian crisis, and highlight the motives of the European Union towards the Syrian crisis humanitarian, economic and political and the positions of European countries on the Syrian crisis, as well as addressed the study foreign policy of the European Union towards the Syrian crisis, and also showed the repercussions of the Syrian crisis on the European Union countries and the differing positions of the European Union on the Syrian crisis.

The study also highlighted the deterioration of regional and international interventions and competition, which formed the European fears of Syrian refugees in many societal characteristics, which are cultural identification and the great difference in customs and traditions, which led to the emergence of a problem in the European Union countries with Syrian refugees.

The study was based on the descriptive approach that analyzes the position of the European Union towards the Syrian crisis, and its impact on the interests of the European Union countries, especially the security aspect that is the concern of the European Union, as well as the approach of decision-making, which through knowledge of the inputs that affect the decision-maker of the foreign policy of the European Union countries because of the conflict inside Syria.

The study reached a set of findings and recommendations, where the study confirmed that the loss of cooperation between members of the European Union made the decision of the Union weak in dealing with the parties involved in the Syrian crisis, especially Iran, Turkey and Russia recommended that the European Union to pressure the United Nations and the institutions concerned to consider economic crimes related to cultural objects, such as the looting and smuggling of antiquities, and the criminalization of these individuals under international law.

Keywords : EU, Syrien Crisis, international position

Introduction:

The European position on the Syrian crisis has been characterized by a situation of uncertainty and the loss of a unified policy to deal with the crisis, perhaps the bureaucratic procedures within the European Union have contributed to the lack of a clear or unified foreign policy on the Syrian crisis, and the positions of the European Union varied between the tides, but the interest of the Union was the basis in its orientation towards the Syrian crisis, European security was the most prominent priority he put forward because of his fear of the influx of Syrian migrations and asylum towards European countries (Al Jazeera Studies Centre, 2015).

The EU has been conspicuously absent from key international diplomatic discussions on Syria and has not taken any meaningful diplomatic initiatives since 2011, while most EU member states involved in anti-ISIS operations in Iraq have been concentrated, and European military intervention against Jemaah Islamiyah in Syria has been limited to the French side, after which the accession of some EU countries such as Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and most recently Belgium (Nabil, 2015, p.13).

The EU's very limited role as a bloc in the Syrian conflict has been to weaken the role of the political initiative of EU institutions, particularly the European Commission and the European External Action Service, which has restored this responsibility to member states (Al Ain News Agency, 2018).

The development of the crisis has been marked by violations and violations of human rights, the destruction of cultural and health standards, to the stage of civil war, where armed groups of various orientations have emerged from inside and outside Syria, as well as the Syrian opposition against the Syrian regime.

Study problem:

The problem of studying in the position of the European Union towards the Syrian crisis by seeking to solve the necessary Syrian fear of its security, political and social repercussions, where the issues of migration and asylum constitute the most prominent security dilemmas of the States of the Union because asylum to Europe carries with it a difference in customs, traditions and culture, these repercussions pose a danger to the stability of Europe Its social fabric, which is totally different from the refugee culture, highlights the other problem of the lack of a unified position of the European Union on the issue of the conflict in Syria, and the main objective of the European Union is to preserve its interests abroad and at home whatever the solution necessary Syria so as not to conflict with its interests and political stability.

Study objectives:
1. Identify the EU's motives for the Syrian crisis.
2. To learn about the positions of European countries on the Syrian crisis.
3. Statement of the repercussions of the Syrian crisis on EU countries

Study questions:
1. What are the EU's motives for the Syrian crisis?
2. What are the most prominent positions of European countries on the Syrian crisis?
3. What are the implications of the Syrian crisis on EU **countries?**

Curriculum

Descriptive approach: The descriptive approach is based on the method of analysis and scrutiny in determining political events and variables, as well as the formulation of concepts and perceptions under study as a social phenomenon, how to describe the phenomenon and diagnose it as a starting point in the identification of variables, the selection of indicators and the procedural definition of the concepts on which the study depends.

This approach focuses on the EUROPEAN Union's position on the Syrian crisis, the importance of the extent of its regional and international developments and its impact on the interests of EU countries, particularly the security aspect that is of concern to the European Union, and helps to examine and examine the factors surrounding the Syrian crisis under consideration and to try to take a large number of deportations and relations to move from a simple level to a composite level to demonstrate the EU's position and policy towards the Syrian crisis (Lian, 2008: 54).

Decision-making approach: This approach is based on the analysis of the factors that surround decision makers, particularly the decision-maker in foreign policy, where the decision-making process is an interactive process between the parties involved, whether formal or informal institutions to approve public policy, so it is necessary to clarify the stages of decision-making and the factors affecting it, and to know the motives for which the decision is made, as well as The decision-making approach was used by knowing the inputs that affect the decision-maker of the foreign policy of the EU countries because of the conflict inside Syria, the environment surrounding the Syrian crisis, the motives and reasons that contributed to the building of this system, and the impact of all this through the results of decisions made by EU countries as part of the system (Najjar, 2011:7).

Study terms:

The European Union is a confederation that brings European countries together within a unified political entity, comprising 28 countries, and the creation of the Union was based on the Maastricht Agreement signed in 1992, under which European political policies were united within a security economic political union that meets a set of visions and ideas within a voluntary framework between European states and governments (Nafia, 2004, p.36).

Procedural Definition: A cooperative alliance between a group of European countries that shares common ties within a common culture and a common political history, and is economically involved as an industrial entity, a union established under a 1992 cooperation agreement, the Maastricht Convention, which constitutes the largest economy in the world.

- The Syrian crisis: The Syrian crisis is called a series of names, it is a crisis according to the vision of the Syrian Government, a revolution according to the opposition parties, and may be a conflict according to international organizations, and a civil war in accordance with international standards, all of which are in the form of conflict and war, so the Syrian crisis is an internal armed conflict that has occurred in Syria since mid-2011 1.

The participation of many actors, whether internal, represented by the armed opposition groups and the Syrian regime's army, or regional with the participation of Iran and Turkey, or internationally with the active participation of the Russian Federation and the United States of America international, has shaped regional and international interventions to internationalize the Syrian crisis to move internationally (Al-Marhoon, 2015, p.12).

Procedural definition: The Syrian crisis is a local crisis that emerged as a form of problem of protests and then demonstrations and then developed into armed clashes as a result of the Syrian security shooting live shooting at protesters, which led to the escalation of the conflict and its transition to the crisis stage.

- International position: a position linked to the structure of international relations between the major powers active in the international scene, highlights the international position on the capacity of the international community and its impact on the international system and in international relations, and may manifest the international position in the circumstances of conflict and war and through those circumstances can determine the capacity and position of the State through its international position (Algerian Encyclopedia of Political and Strategic Studies, 2019).

Procedural definition: The international situation is an international behavior that symbolizes the state's ability to bring about change in international relations, and the major powers are considered to be able to shape the international situation in the international system.

Previous studies:

Al-Shaher Study (2017). Western support, which is represented by the United States of America and the European Union, the second camp represents locally the Syrian ruling regime and supports regionally from Iran and Hezbollah, and both Russia and China stand internationally, and the results of the study highlighted the exclusion of a political solution to the Syrian crisis in the light of regional and international polarization with differing visions and prospects towards a peaceful settlement.

Solomon's Study (2016). European policies towards refugees: the trilogy of security, identity, human values, and the study aimed to highlight the European fears of Syrian refugees, through three angles and visions, the first related to the security framework and what Syrian asylum may have on the security and stability of Europe, the national aspect and what the effects of asylum issues on the national identity of European countries and how to preserve the national state, and the third consideration is linked to human values where European people enjoy respect for human rights and enjoy democracy and the extent to which refugees believe in the human values of the pursuit of socio-economic security.

Ta'awa Study (2015). Entitled "European Union and migration issues: major problems, strategies and developments, the study showed the problem of EU countries with Syrian refugees, and they raised the issue of distinguishing between political refugees due to the conflict in Syria, and the other perspective are economic immigrants seeking a better life and did not flee the conflict areas but came For economic purposes, this is merely a tardiness in how refugees are received, in addition to the study outlined the fundamental principles underlying the European Union's strategy of confronting migrants, namely participatory action, defending European special values, and defending the European identity that Europe fears will melt into the waves of asylum.

Mikael's study (2012) entitled "Europe's position on the Syrian crisis, lack of effectiveness and lack of impact, the study addressed the position of the European Union on the Syrian crisis by issuing some statements that highlight manifestations of the violence taken by some decisions that emphasize the tightening of economic sanctions in addition to putting some Syrian officials on the list of prohibited travel to the States of the Union, but these statements lack information about the Syrian government and its governing system, The European position towards consolidating political openness and moving forward towards a democratic model, but this policy was a failure in applying it to the Tunisian revolution in the face of the fall of Presidents Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia and the Egyptian revolution to Hosni Mubarak, and the European Union put forward a trade and economic partnership with them, but the Syrian leaders rejected this as interference in their internal affairs, and the results of the study highlighted the incompatibility between the Syrian leaders and the position of the European Union.

The first topic: THE EU's motives towards the Syrian crisis

The prevailing institutional structure of EU foreign policy has led to a complete lack of European influence on the developments of the Syrian crisis, both collectively and individually from member states, and this has had a negative impact on the issue of the Syrian conflict, particularly as the bulk of the security, humanitarian and economic consequences affect the EU (Kashk, 2016, p.13).

The EU needs to adapt to the new geopolitical landscape created by the Syrian conflict by resetting its position against other key players, contributing to regional security issues, firmly identifying its values and that the EU needs to use its large foreign policy tools in a much more coordinated manner under the leadership it represents in foreign policy (Nabil, 2015, p.13).

Prior to the conflict, the EU had fairly broad relations with Syria and through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Agreement, and the European Neighborhood Policy was implementing a range of policies with limited impact aimed at achieving political and economic reform, but the EU abandoned those policies when the conflict began inside Syria, instead focusing on the implementation of sanctions, and taking severe political measures that led to the loss of political influence (Aziz, 2016, p.21).

The first requirement: human and social motivations

The European Union suspended bilateral cooperation with the Syrian government in May 2011, following escalating violence and the unacceptable human rights situation in parallel, the EU has relied on specific and targeted restrictive measures, and has suspended Syria's participation in regional programs and providing loans and technical assistance through the European Investment Bank, given the volatile situation, There is no multi-year programming to assist the EU in Syria, yet the EU maintains direct support for the Syrian population, both inside Syria and in neighboring countries (Al-Saig, 2019:17).

The Syrian civil war has given the Syrian civil war a state of waiting and waiting for the war, the repressive policies of the Syrian regime towards the Syrian people, the presence of Russian military force, Turkey's contradictory policy on the self-proclaimed Islamic State and the Syrian Kurds, and the internal divisions of the European Union, have given the Union little influence on the course of events in Syria, yet the greatest burden of the humanitarian, economic and security consequences of the war falls on the Countries of the European Union, and the future role of the European Union in Syria has become a test of foreign and security policy. Real Joint (Aziz, 2016, p.23).

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The EU's humanitarian role has emerged since the start of the Syrian crisis in 2011, although the EU has been unable to formulate an effective and well-coordinated policy on Syria, its role has been limited to humanitarian actions, and the EU and its member states have been the largest contributors to the international response to the Syrian conflict since 2011. Syria, where humanitarian assistance was about 66% and non-humanitarian (34%). The EU has been at the forefront of efforts to mobilize funds and shed light on Syria, holding three international donor conferences in Brussels in 2017, 2018 and 2019 on aid to the Syrian people (Al-Sabbagh, 2019, p.12).

The aid was aimed at supporting the resilience of the Syrian people and paving the way for post-crisis transition and recovery, supporting education sectors, supporting livelihoods, building civil society capacity, health and transitional justice, and providing assistance through UN organizations, international NGOs as well as EU member states agencies (Al-Sabbagh, 2019, p.10).

Since 2015, a large proportion of humanitarian assistance has been directed to help Syria's neighbor's adapt to the refugee crisis and to assist refugees from Syria through the EU Regional Credit Fund in response to the Syrian crisis, and the Credit Fund has achieved a rapid and integrated RESPONSE from the EUROPEAN Union to the crisis, integrating funding from various EU funding instruments and the contributions of 22 EU member states into one flexible mechanism within the fund (Jordan's Al-Ghad, 2019).

The Trust also focused on supporting education and training, protection and social cohesion, health, water and sanitation, as well as job creation and lab our market integration. Special attention is given to the specific needs of women, children and young people, and the FAQ's actions are increasingly helping host governments strengthen their national public service systems to meet the long-term needs of refugees and the community.

The European Union has contributed to supporting the Syrian people, whether inside Syria or refugees within neighboring countries (Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey), providing humanitarian assistance from the European Commission for drinking water, sanitation and personal hygiene, food supplies and child protection activities. The European Commission has benefited from humanitarian assistance from the European Commission of more than 1.15 million Syrian refugees, life-saving health assistance and medical care, including vaccination programs for children inside Syria, and the European Union is working to ensure minimum conditions. To reach humanitarian security, the security and safety of medical personnel and humanitarian workers at the operational level, the EU works closely with humanitarian partners including UN, ICRC and international NGOs (Talaa, 2020, p.11).

In Lebanon, EU humanitarian funding has contributed cash to most Syrian refugees, through health care assistance, formal education and shelter, and the water and sanitation sector, and EU humanitarian assistance to Lebanon has reached some 750,000 Syrian refugees (Rosalie, Bertie, 2018).

In Jordan, where 83% of urban refugees live in official camps under the supervision of international organizations, the European Commission supports the most vulnerable refugees through monetary assistance, and the importance of assistance highlights its impact on vital sectors such as education, health and basic needs (Jordan's Al-Ghad, 2019).

In Turkey, humanitarian funding through UNHCR supports vulnerable Syrian refugees living outside the camps, most notably food aid, emergency supplies, and health care and protection services.

The second requirement: political motives

The European Union called on the Syrian regime and its allies, particularly Russia, to make all efforts to ensure a complete cessation of hostilities; Human and violations of international humanitarian law by all parties, particularly by the Syrian regime, by holding accountable officials who have worked to starve civilians as a means of war by besieging populated areas and forcibly displacing the population, and the European Union's political strategy is based on the following areas(Al-Khatib, 2019, p.5).

1‒ End the war through a genuine political peaceful transition in line with Security Council Resolution 2254, negotiated by the parties to the conflict under the auspices of the United Nations Special Envoy for Syria, and with the support of key international and regional actors, the European Union firmly believes that there can be no military solution to the conflict, and that only a credible political solution, as defined in Security Council Resolution 2254 and the Geneva Statement of 2012.

2‒ Promoting a meaningful comprehensive political transition in Syria, in line with UN Security Council Resolution 2254 and the Geneva Communiqué, by supporting the strengthening of political opposition as the EUROPEAN Union continues to support the Syrian opposition, particularly the High Negotiations Committee as the opposition delegation in the UN-brokered talks in Geneva, as well as its efforts to strengthen the negotiating platform of the Syrian opposition (Al-Khatib, 2016, p.15).

3‒ Saving lives by meeting the humanitarian needs of the most vulnerable Syrian families across the country in a timely manner, and with initial effectiveness, the European Union expresses its continuing deep concern about the deliberate restrictions being placed on the delivery of humanitarian assistance through the United Nations and other humanitarian organizations and reiterates its call for unhindered and sustainable and safe humanitarian access throughout the country.

4‒ The EU will continue intensive humanitarian diplomacy as the largest financier of humanitarian efforts inside Syria, and will look for ways to improve access and protection as well as to strengthen humanitarian principles.

5‒ Promoting democracy, human rights and freedom of expression by strengthening Syrian civil society organizations. The European Union will continue to provide technical support to Syrian civil society organizations, including the work of the Civil Society Support Room and the Women's Advisory Council, and civil society will need to play a prominent role in post-conflict Syria and to assist the reconciliation process.

6‒ Strengthen accountability for war crimes in order to facilitate the process of national reconciliation and transitional justice. The European Union will continue to work to help ensure accountability for war crimes, human rights violations and abuses and violations of international humanitarian law, including the confirmed use of chemical weapons. The European Union condemns in the strongest terms the systematic violations committed in Syria, as documented by the Independent International Commission of Inquiry established by the United Nations, including a detailed survey of last year's crimes in Aleppo.

7‒ Supporting the resilience of the Syrian people and society: The EU will continue to provide resilience support through education, job creation, and local civilian governance structures in opposition-controlled areas, including by working with the interim Syrian government and working to avoid the collapse of state administration, the EU will seek to increase assistance and combine cross-border assistance with support from within Syria, and will aim to provide assistance as part of a larger effort to meet the needs of people throughout Syria (Samir, 2019).

Third requirement: economic motives

The Syrian crisis has been a severe economic crisis inside Syria due to the war, where industries have been disrupted by the destruction of the industrial structure, and the halt of production services, especially agricultural and oil **products, and** Syria may need billions of dollars to restore its lives, but the European Union has focused on human support before supporting urbanization, it stressed the support of the Syrian people who suffered from asylum, displacement, exclusion and displacement due tothe scourge of war(Al Jazeera Studies Center, 2018, p.12).

The civil war in Syria has led to food shortages, lack of shelter, displacement, poverty and lack of sanitation, with about 80% of Syrians living below the poverty line, about 6.5 million Syrians suffering from food insecurity and about 5.5 million in need of shelter as the European Union put forward a response plan to help the Syrian people in 21 February 2020, to support the needs of 1.1 million new displaced people across Syria, where nearly 50% of hospitals and health centers have been shut down at full capacity, in addition to damaged infrastructure facilities, particularly electricity, water and communication networks(WFP, 2020).

Since 2011, EU humanitarian assistance has reached more than 40 humanitarian partners working wherever needs are concerned throughout Syria and the EU's goal is to provide Syrians with food aid, health care services, psychosocial support, shelter, water and sanitation, as well as education and protection services (Talaa, 2019, p.19).

In December 2014, the EU and its member states provided more than €16.8 billion in humanitarian, development and economic assistance to help those fleeing the war, inside and outside Syria, and the EU Regional Credit Fund was established in response to the Syrian crisis (Madad Fund) in December 2014 to ensure a more flexible response to the region affected by the Syrian crisis (Amin, 2020, p.13).

On March 16, 2015, the EU's response to the Syrian crisis was framed in the EU regional strategy for Syria and Iraq and the threat of ISIS, adopted by the Council, and in May 2016, the EU reviewed the strategy and agreed to continue its implementation as outlined in the conclusions, and the EU has developed a specific strategy for its approach to Syria as a country-specific part of the regional strategy (Talaa, 2019, p.19).

On April 14, 2017, the European Commission presented the EU's Syria Strategy, which outlines how the EU can help rebuild a peaceful, stable and pluralistic and tolerant Syria state and civil society first mentioned in commission President Jean-Claude Juncker's State of the Union address in September 2016, proposing a set of concrete actions that will contribute to increasing the EU's role in ending the conflict that began in 2011. The Council approved this strategy on April 3, 2017 and re-adopted it again in April 2018(Mustafa, 2019, p.20).

On April 15, 2018, the European Parliament adopted another resolution on Syria that strongly condemned the parliament once again for all widespread human rights and humanitarian law violations committed during the conflict, particularly the actions committed by Assad regime forces, including with the support of their allies Russia and Iran, as well as by UN-listed terrorist organizations, and the parliament expressed deep concern about Turkey's interference in Kurdish-controlled areas in Syria(Mustafa, 2019, p.16).

On April 25, 2018, a second conference of pledges to support Syria and the region was held in Brussels, and the conference succeeded in mobilizing humanitarian assistance to Syrians inside the country and in neighboring countries, including host communities, through pledges totaling $4.4 billion (3.5 billion euros) for 2018, as well as multi-year pledges of $3.4 billion (2.7 billion euros) for 2019-2020 (AFP 24,2018).

In 2019, the EU confirmed support for conferences held in Brussels for three consecutive years (2017-2019) to support the Syrian people, the EU's humanitarian aid budget reached €170 million for the crisis in Syria, and the EU is also committed to continuing humanitarian assistance inside Syria, with a 2020 budget of 170 million euros (Talaa, 2019, p.19).

On March 31, 2020, the EU strengthened its support for refugees from Syria in Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon through a new package of around €240 million, bringing the total assistance through the EU Regional Credit Fund in response to the Syrian crisis to more than €2 billion. The new support is particularly important in the context of the current CORONA pandemic, will provide additional assistance to the most vulnerable people in the region and help host countries better address public health challenges, among other things (Saudi Press Agency, 2020).

The Second Topic: European Countries' Positions on the Syrian Crisis

Civil unrest in Syria began in March 2011 and soon became a proxy war with France, Iran, Russia, Turkey, the United States and other actors, as well as the emergence of supranational terrorist movements, most notably ISIS, and the war led to heavy loss of life, massive refugee flows, widespread destruction, numerous human abuses, many war crimes and crimes against humanity (Mikael, 2012, p.9).

The first demand: the EU's foreign policy towards the Syrian crisis

Under these difficult circumstances posed by the Syrian crisis, the foreign policy positions taken by the European Union over time have had little impact on the course of events, but the rebalancing of the diplomatic landscape created by the Syrian war has necessitated prominent and coordinated roles for Russia and the United States, a development that ended with the marginalization of the European Union.

The Syrian civil war has been one of the most unpredictable conflicts of modern times and the role of the European Union has remained confined to large-scale humanitarian actions in Syria and in neighboring countries.

The contradiction in the positions of the European Union has emerged as one of the main considerations, namely the contradiction between the EU's limited influence on the course of events and the fact that it bears the brunt of the humanitarian impact of the crisis, and its enormous social, political and security consequences for European societies, yet this huge gap between inaction and outcomes is unlikely to lead to a different EU policy on Syria, where the implementation of the EU Lisbon Treaty and the resulting foreign policy practices have made the EU less equipped than ever before to deal with Such a major crisis in an effective and comprehensive way (Fayyad, 2017, p.11).

In the Syrian crisis, European countries have not been able to spin out of Russian-American orbit, and they cannot take any action outside the scope defined by the United States and Russia not only because European countries lack the military power required to be part of the decision-makers, but also lack the political appetite to participate more in the conflict. (Booth, 2016, p.13).

If the political role of European countries to help or confront the United States and Russia in formulating and implementing their policies in Syria is still limited, the EU may agree on a resolution that these great powers agree on as long as they prevent war and instability, while the United Kingdom, which has a closer relationship with the United States, works in alliance with the Us government in formulating the policy, while Germany and France are working to guide Russia in the right direction, yet France can be expected to play in a Particularly important in the face of The Russian Strategy (Shaher, 2017, p.13).

In addition, the political position of the European Union is burdened with the national interests of its members and because of the lack of means and measures to take a position sufficiently committed to support the Geneva process for a political settlement, yet its most important and effective participation is the provision of humanitarian assistance to Syrian citizens in many parts of Syria and its vicinity (Richard,2014).

The European role in the diplomatic framework has emerged through participation in policy-making and conflict resolution, by consolidating peace talks by communicating and negotiating with all parties concerned and in cooperation with the United Nations to monitor and monitor the legitimacy of the transition period and the new form of government to be established in Syria, in addition to its role in political, economic and infrastructure reconstruction in Syria, yet the EU is determined on one condition. Not to pay the price for reconstruction without transition and a sustainable solution, a condition that the European Union can benefit from for its political role as well.

It can be said that "the EU does not have a clear policy towards Syria because of three factors

   1-   Internal division over the conflict, as Germany, France and Britain have never agreed to a policy of division within Syria.

   2-   The absence of a unified position of the EU states, where member states have prioritized their own national interests over the EU's position towards the region.

   3-   European policies were seen as dependent on the United States, which meant that even if the EU had a more realistic policy toward Syria, there would be much room for its implementation.

   The European Union's efforts in the conflict have been ranked as follows:

   1.   Humanitarian assistance: This has been the most priority issue throughout the conflict since 2011, with the EU providing more than €9 billion to Syria in humanitarian and non-humanitarian assistance, making it the largest donor to the war-torn country in cooperation with a whole range of NGOs on the ground in Syria and the EU cooperating in this area with other actors including Iran and Russia.

   2.   Non-humanitarian assistance: These activities include health, education and livelihoods for the Syrian people, and in this context, the EU is unequivocally clear that it does not cooperate with the regime and does not support it in any way, and its efforts are aimed solely at helping and benefiting the entire Syrian people (Mustafa, 2019, p.15).

   3.   Political settlement: In this area, the EU is active in support of the Geneva process, working closely with the UN special envoy for Syria and European countries are trying not to participate in activities that may conflict with the Geneva process, and within this process the EU supports the Syrian opposition and sees the Supreme Council for Negotiations as the representative body of the moderate opposition (Al-Sabbagh, 2019, p.13).

   4.   The European Union has taken a stand against Bashar since the beginning of the conflict, most diplomatic relations have been severed, and the European Union has proposed to step down, but Europeanpositions are not unified towards the Syrian crisis. Greece and the Czech Republic are reluctant to provide support because of their historical ties to Syria (Montaser, 2020, p.12).

   5.   The legitimacy of the Syrian regime: With the emergence of ISIS as a strong and effective organization in the conflict, the European position against Assad was modified by late 2014, the EU has adopted a pragmatic approach that sees a longer period of Assad's rule more likely,

especially if the Syrian regime is able to reduce ISIS's strength and restore stability, and European countries are also cautious about whether replacing Assad would be less favorable, especially in their fight against ISIS (European Commission,2018).

The second requirement: the positions of European countries

The position of the European countries has emerged through three countries whose decision-making is based on Germany, Britain and France, where these countries have witnessed an influx of Syrian immigrants and refugees, which has made them take positions that are in harmony with their security, political and economic interests.

First: The German position

The German position has emerged in rejecting the policies of Bashar al-Assad because of the repression he exerted on protesters at the beginning of the crisis, and similar behaviors were severed diplomatic relations between Syria and Germany in 2012 when Germany closed its embassy in Damascus at the time due to security concerns, and the regional representatives of the German Foreign Ministry are following developments in Syria, while within Germany the Germans communicate with the charge affairs in Berlin, yet there are no official bilateral relations between the two countries at the political level to the point that Germany no longer indicates To the regime in the name of the "Syrian government" (Al-Jazeera Center for Studies, 2013, p.8).

Germany was initially reluctant to intervene in Syria due to the bitter experience of German intervention in Libya in 2011, Germany took the rule of non-intervention in the Syrian crisis in the face of the rise of ISIS in Iraq and Syria, and in 2014 Germany made a controversial decision to arm the Kurdish Peshmerga (Kurdish military forces in northern Iraq), and in 2015, after the Bataclan attacks by ISIS in Paris on November 13, Germany began to take on the role of the Kurdish Peshmerga (Kurdish military forces in northern Iraq), and in 2015, after the Bataclan attacks by ISIS in Paris on November 13, Germany began to take on the role of Greater military in the fight against ISIS in Syria through military means, such as the deployment of Tornado reconnaissance aircraft to help France.

Germany's position on the Syrian crisis has varied because of Germany's interests in the Middle East, Germany was organized into the global coalition to defeat ISIS only when the United States decided to do so.

Germany was expected to continue to support the Syrian opposition as part of the Geneva process, and play a diplomatic role by working with Russia to pave the way for a resolution, besides Germany is the most willing to participate in the reconstruction of Syria, however, the official view on this issue was clear and strong that Germany will not participate until a political process moves towards a permanent reconstruction solution, which is that the road map should be part of a deal inside Syria." Negotiating and agreeing on them, most notably empowering Syrian refugees by providing training in the form of the system of government, the nature of local government, as well as providing them with vocational education to rebuild their country in the future (Abu Mustafa, 2015, p.53).

Second: The British position

The 2015 EU parliamentary vote to extend the air strike in Iraq to Syria was an important decision in the UK's policy towards the conflict, yet the Syrian conflict is not at the top of the UK's list of priorities while policymakers were aware of the consequences and implications of the Syrian war on the UK, and there seemed to be no "political appetite" to get involved in the conflict as one of the important factors cited for this was the UK's bitter experience in the Iraq war (Al-Marhoon, 2016, p.15).

As part of the UK's involvement in the Syrian war, the UK appears to be doing nothing militarily and not sending any armed support to the opposition, although British foreign policy has been totally opposed to the Assad regime since the beginning of the crisis, and it has been suggested that the UK would only prefer to maintain balance and control until the UNITED States makes its decision on the Syrian crisis.

The UK's priorities in Syria have made it clear that the conflict in Syria is not a top priority for the UK, but there are some issues in Syria that give it the first and most important priority (Abu Nabut, 2020, p.12):

  1-   Counter-terrorism, which it describes as an approach to eliminating ISIS in Syria and Iraq, and in conjunction with the elimination of British ISIS recruits, Britain is working both at home and abroad to develop and implement the counter-terrorism strategy, at home Britain is taking domestic action to stop the recruitment of British citizens by ISIS, while externally the UK is working as a member of the global coalition to defeat ISIS.

  2-   Managing the refugee crisis: The refugee crisis is the UK's second top priority in Syria as the UK's main policy on the crisis is to provide humanitarian assistance to refugees to prevent migration, and given the various economic, social and political impacts of the refugee crisis, much more is being focused on transferring resources to refugee sites to reduce the number of people fleeing their countries.

3-   Regional security: The UK is actively working to find a regional balance between regional actors under the auspices of the United Nations, while being part of the global coalition to defeat ISIS, and to this end the UK continues to maintain its established relations with Iraq and other Gulf states.

In terms of humanitarian assistance, the UK is Syria's second largest donor after the United States in terms of humanitarian assistance to the Syrian people and has described its foreign aid strategy for Syria as helping to ensure political stability, with £250 million allocated for 2017, and support projects include food, shelter, non-food supplies and sanitation. Half of the aid passes through UN agencies and through prominent international and local NGOs, 50 percent of the aid is diverted through Damascus, and the rest is delivered across the borders of Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan, without the regime's approval (Marzouk, 2018, p.12).

The UK's efforts in Syria on humanitarian assistance have emerged in cooperation with the Ministry of Defiance and with the support of the Humanitarian Aid Fund, and the UK has pledged £1 billion to Syria for 2019, totaling £2.46 billion by 2020.

Brexit has been a wake-up call for its foreign policy, Brexit will have the UK more in line with the US, and Brexit has made the UK relatively more independent from the EU and in a position to be more flexible and therefore the UK is expected to be more involved in external conflicts, in line with a renewed strategy towards the Middle East (Tom, 2020, p.12).

Third: The French position

When the uprising broke out in Syria in 2011, the Syrian revolution was interpreted by France as part of the Arab Spring revolutions, and the Syrian regime's behaviors constituted repression of the people, especially after the use of chemical weapons, a reaction that led to France supporting the revolution and due to responsibility against any possible genocide.

The real shift in French attitude when ISIS emerged in the Syrian war, and the 2015 attacks in Paris marked a turning point in the French narrative from anti-Assad to anti-ISIS, thus turning the original anti-Assad stance to prioritizing defeating ISIS as a primary goal and the issue inside Syria as a secondary target (Ibrahim, 2019).

At the time, the Socialist Party supported this new French position to defeat ISIS by offering the party a new speech confirming that the real problem is ISIS, while claiming that there is no need to antagonize Assad for the purposes of fighting, in light of this speech some deputies were criticized for crossing the line that ignores human rights and assad's tyranny. It is possible to identify three major problems facing France in relation to the ongoing chaos in Syria (Al-Khaqani, 2018, p.15):

1-   Terrorism: The liberation of Raqqa in 2015 from ISIS was a concern of French foreign policy, and France's position was more pragmatic that the liberation of Raqqa would not be an easy task, that the future of the city remained uncertain and the French authorities considered that Kurdish forces were unable to manage the Civilian Council in Raqqa, for two reasons: first, if ISIS regained its authority by supporting the local marginalized Arabs, revenge would return to the city; Before the Kurds, it is an opportunity for Iran to strengthen its influence in the region and therefore the French position assumes that the technocratic and moderate local government in Raqqa should be formed from local Arab communities.

2-   Syrian asylum: France's priorities in Syria have been consistent: to enable humanitarian assistance to the civilian population, to stimulate the collective momentum for a peaceful settlement of the conflict so that peace returns to Syria and ensures stability in the region, so the humanitarian situation in Syria remains critical and more than 13 million Syrians, including 6 million children, need humanitarian assistance, with more than half of the Syrian population forced to leave their homes (6.1 million internally displaced persons) and 5.6 million refugees in neighboring countries in neighboring Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt. The transfer of humanitarian assistance continues to be subject to unacceptable obstacles, particularly from the regime.

3-   Use of chemical weapons: In 2013, while the Syrian conflict has been going on for two years, there were first doubts about the Syrian regime's use of sarin gas, the regime has hit several Syrian cities in the west of the country, And Ghouta in rural Damascus has been the target of large-scale chemical attacks, resulting in the deaths of many civilians, the report of the United Nations Mission to Investigate Allegations of Chemical Weapons allegations in September 2013 confirms the widespread use of chemical weapons, that the Syrian regime committed these war crimes, and in 2014 the accusations increased. The Syrian regime, through chemical attacks including chlorine and mustard gas, investigated by the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and the United Nations to confirm and identify those responsible on April 4, 2017, another attack took place in Khan Sheikhoun (northwestern Syria), the use of sarin gas confirmed by an investigation conducted by France, that the Syrian army carried out the attack (Arabic Post, 2017).

The third topic: the repercussions of the Syrian crisis on the European Union countries

The Syrian crisis has had political, economic and social repercussions on The European community, and this has been a serious thought among Europeans to develop strategies for how to manage the Syrian crisis, especially the crisis of the flow of Syrian asylum to Europe, so Europe has taken some political measures to contribute to finding appropriate solutions to manage the Syrian refugee crisis in their countries.

The first demand: **the European Union's policy towards the Syrian regime**

Eu countries have taken a series of measures because of the conflict inside Syria, where Syria is linked to the Syrian-European Partnership Agreement signed in 2004. In May 2011, two months after the beginning of the uprising in Syria, the European Union took its first action against the Syrian government for abandoning international standards linked to democratic practices and respect for human rights, as the European Union took action in response to the Syrian political regime's repressive behavior against its people (Amin, 2020, p.12):

1− Suspension of bilateral cooperation programs between the EU and the Syrian government under the European Neighborhood Policy.

2− Freezing the draft European-Syrian partnership agreement.

3− Suspension of the participation of the Syrian authorities in the regional programs of the European Union and the operations of loans and technical assistance by the European Investment Bank to Syria.

4− The imposition of unilateral restrictive measures (sanctions) that were subsequently expanded.

The Syrian crisis has marked a decline in Syrian-European relations and even reached the stage of disunity due to the Syrian regime's repressive behaviors against popular protests that have evolved into killing, torture, displacement and exclusion, and this behavior is contrary to the standards of democracy in Europe. Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, the new European strategy towards the Syrian political system has been announced, most notably the following (Montaser, 2020, p.13).

1. Demand that President Assad step down: The European Union has repeatedly issued statements asking President Assad to step down and allow a political transition in Syria.

2. Pledge a new partnership after the President steps down: The European Union has announced that once President Assad steps down and begins a genuine democratic transition, the EU is ready to develop a new and ambitious partnership with Syria in all areas of common concern, including by mobilizing assistance and strengthening trade and economic ties.

3. Call for the establishment of the Syrian National Council: The Meeting of the Council of Foreign Affairs indicated that the European Union refers to the establishment of the Syrian National Council as a positive step forward and welcomes the European Union's commitment to democratic values of respect for human rights principles and the introduction of its political transition programmer with a view to finding a credible alternative to the current regime. The European Union is ready to continue to engage with and support the Alliance in these endeavors and its relations with the international community at a general level.

4. Declaration of EU support for Arab League efforts over and over again

5. To declare its repeated support for the United Nations and its special envoys.

6. Announcing increased financial support for humanitarian assistance.

7. Announce its support for a political solution based on the Geneva Communiqué of June 20, 2012,

In light of the circumstances of the conflict and civil war in Syria, which led to the destruction of infrastructure, and a significant decline in development, whether on the economic level, where Syria has been destroyed factories, especially in Aleppo, which is the economic artery of Syria and Syria's infrastructure, as well as a decline in social development, as well as the high rate of poverty and unemployment due to exclusion, displacement and displacement, in addition to the insecurity due to the emergence of armed groups multi-loyalty, whether they are fighting alongside the regime such as The Lebanese Hezbollah, or against The regime, such as the Free Army, or groups with sectarian orientations, all these circumstances call on the European Union to help the Syrian people from a human perspective out of respect for human dignity (Joseph, 2019, p.13).

The reform, the EU adopted a strategy on Syria on 3 April 2017, which is part of the EU regional strategy for Syria and Iraq as well as the threats of the Islamic State (IS), and the EU's strategic objectives in Syria are based on six key areas (Eurotunnel Gate, 2017):

1. End the war through a real political transition.

2. Promoting a meaningful and comprehensive transition in Syria.

3. Saving lives by meeting the humanitarian needs of displaced Syrians.

Promoting democratic values, human rights and freedom of expression.

5. Strengthening the accountability mechanism for war crimes.

6. Supporting the resilience of the Syrian people in all its spectrums

The European Strategy in 2017 was a preliminary initiative of the European Union and an opportunity for the Syrian regime to comply with EU requirements, but the political conditions in Syria, the escalating civil war and the increase in air strikes on armed groups did not help in responding to EU requirements, and therefore these sanctions were last extended on 17 May 2019 and are in effect until 1 June 2020, and include EU sanctions currently imposed on Syria as follows(Anatolia News Agency, 2020):

1. Ban oil.

2. Placing restrictions on certain investments.

3. Freezing the assets of the Syrian Central Bank held in the European Union

4. Export restrictions on equipment and technology that can be used for internal repression as well as on equipment and technology to monitor or intercept communications over the Internet or telephone. (Mont Carlo International Agency, 2019).

The second demand: the repercussions of the Syrian refugee crisis on the EUROPEAN Union countries

The Syrian crisis in all its political, economic and social dimensions has had an impact on EU policies, and as is well known, European countries enjoy a high degree of economic, political, cultural and cognitive openness.

In the political context, the EU is involved in a single foreign policy towards international crises through the Eu institutions, namely the European Council, the European Commission and the European Court of Justice, in addition to the great similarities in democratic practices, political participation, and the circulation of the transfer of power (Spring, 2013, p.17).

In the field of security, the Union is linked in multiple security agreements, and the Union meets in one military alliance NATO in addition to the United States and Canada, and they have a unified security strategy, these factors and manifestations of integration and integration formed the state of European unity, and therefore the entry of Syrian asylum, which differs in customs, traditions and culture, may constitute a challenge and obstacle to integration and European integration, and one of the most prominent repercussions of Syrian asylum on Europe is the following: :

1-   Social repercussions: The difference in customs, traditions and culture was the most prominent challenge of the integration of the Syrian refugee into the European system, where cultural differences and associated conflicts of identity, values and behaviors constitute a complete difference from the culture prevailing within European societies; This leads to a difference of opinion among EU member states on how to manage the Syrian refugee crisis (Salah, 2017, p.13).

2-   Security implications: The security implications have been the most significant on the EU, as the problem of sleeper cells: one of the most prominent security burdens facing the EU, as the possibility of the presence of sleeper cells through people associated with terrorist organizations, may be in refugee camps, or residential areas, and they are waiting to carry out terrorist operations associated with those organizations.

3-   Economic repercussions: The movements of asylum to Arab countries formed economic results due to the weakness of the Arab economy, and the continued decline in economic growth, but the European Union countries differ significantly from the economies of the third world, so the European economy was not affected by the Crisis of Syrian asylum economically because the economies of the European countries are strong and have high economic growth because they are based on manufacturing and production, but they need manpower, so the policy of the European Union was to invest Syrian labor in the public services sector, and some other agricultural and industrial sectors, so Refugees have been a positive factor in supporting the economy with cheap lab our that contributes to the recovery of the European economy (Abu Seif, 2019).

4-   The problem of cross-border passage: European countries are linked to the Schengen Border Agreement, and Schengen, an organization of 26 European countries, has the function of regulating travel between European common borders, whereby internal border controls with members of other Schengen countries have been suspended, and external border controls with non-Schengen countries have been strengthened, so Syrian asylum has been an obstacle to this agreement (Manal, 2017).

5-   Fear of refugees: Refugees create a rift within European society, particularly conservative societies that view refugees as thieves and carry diseases, creating divisions within European societies between accepting or rejecting asylum.

6-   Difficulty in integration: The majority of refugees, especially fanatical Muslims, face difficulties in integrating into European societies because they do not adapt to western culture based on openness by all its criteria, but when comparing their status in new societies to the situation in their homeland, Syrian refugees feel that they are in a safe haven where they can live a decent life.

7- Non-compliance with lab our standards: The criteria set by European countries for employment for non-European citizens affect the ability of these individuals to access work, for example, they must meet the basic requirements of host countries, for example, Germany considers that the willingness of the individual to adhere to the way of life in the host country is very important, while the United Kingdom emphasizes speaking the official language. Some international organizations therefore argue that host States should consider integrating these refugees socially and economically, because refugees are more likely to remain in host countries for several years. Without integration, the lack of employment opportunities makes refugees vulnerable to becoming a sordid class targeted for discrimination and religious extremism (Abu Saif, 2019).

8- The problem of compliance with regulations and laws: Syrian refugees face the problem of not being able to comply with the legal procedures of some European countries, for example Germany, one of the countries that received the largest number of Syrian refugees (more than 25,000), where the German government has introduced many laws relating to asylum procedures such as the asylum law and the law of residence; Measures have also been implemented to reduce the (unauthorized) flow of asylum seekers, it is difficult to determine whether these laws have increased the number of refugees admitted (Abu Saif, 2019).

It can be said that the Syrian crisis had repercussions on the European union countries, there have been social repercussions related to the inability of the Syrian refugee to integrate into the European system, in addition to the security repercussions, where the Countries of the Union feared the possibility of the presence of sleeper cells through people associated with terrorist organizations, in addition to the issues of cross-border traffic related to the regulation of travel between the common European borders, and the difficulty of integration, because they do not adapt to the Western culture based on openness by all its criteria, these repercussions have made the European countries think in a way More serious to develop strategies to address the Syrian refugee crisis in Europe.

Third demand: Eu positions differ on the Syrian crisis

The huge refugee crisis that began in 2015, albeit not exclusively, by Syrian asylum seekers has shown a rapid triple split in the EU, Germany was the only European country open to hosting large numbers of Syrian refugees, not surprisingly, as the country has a strong economic growth record, full job opening, budget surplus, vacant jobs, and a positive attitude towards refugees (Abu Al-Hija, 2015).

In the second group of EU member states were those that refused to play any role in the refugee crisis, such as the United Kingdom, Denmark and the entire Central European Community, which chose to travel without a Schengen passport from the EUROPEAN Union, and then came the countries that tried to show solidarity with Germany but had neither the economic scope nor the political will to do so.

A number of reasons have contributed to the slowing down of the ROLE of the European Union in resolving the Syrian crisis, so the absence of the European Union from any decisive role in the Syrian war, whether at the level of institutions or member states, has made the European role relatively weak in finding a solution to the Syrian crisis, due to the following reasons (Taher, 2019, p.11):

1- The absence of a unified political position for the EU countries: The nature of the EU's role in resolving the Syrian crisis has been one of the central tests of a genuine common foreign and security policy, but the lack of consensus of EU countries on a political position on the Syrian crisis may end up the EU's role as an adjoining actor in recent conflicts, and its role is limited to providing humanitarian assistance, support for reconstruction, development and technical assistance, trade concessions, or sanctions.

2- Non-intervention policy: The EU has grossly miscalculated the Assad regime's involvement, Iran, Hezbollah, and Russia militarily intervened in support of the Syrian regime, and the EU does not prefer military intervention to many accounts within the Union linked to EU values based on democratic values and the promotion of security and peace.

3- Internal division in the EU: The three largest EU member states have shown a lack of unity. Britain was reluctant to engage militarily, preoccupied with its vote to leave the European Union, and Germany has traditionally been reluctant to engage militarily abroad and, at least initially, had a uniquely open policy on refugees. France was prepared to participate militarily within borders, but had an exaggerated assessment of its role as a global power, resulting in a total lack of influence among European states, collectively or individually, on the direction of events in the Syrian war, and the EU's lack of influence could now be greatly enhanced when the UK leaves the bloc, although the eu-UK foreign policy coordination mechanisms can alleviate some of the inconvenience.

4− Differing decision-makers' positions on EU foreign policy: The problem of EU decision-making may be a difference and a disparity among EU members, particularly on issues related to terrorist acts, migratory flows, and what the refugee crisis poses to EU relations (Al-Baydain, 2012, p.35).

5− The EU's lack of a unified policy: the EU's lack of a unified policy will have an impact on the development of the Syrian crisis, a problem that will largely determine the future of EU foreign and security policy and will bring about revisions in treaties, alliances and regulations, what is required in a political understanding about where, when and how the EU should work.

6− The loss of cooperation between the parties involved in the Syrian crisis and the European Union: this has made the EUROPEAN Union do not have an analysis of the political and security mentality of the Assad regime, and the analysis accompanying the interests of third parties (Iran, Qatar, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Turkey) is sufficient to persuade EU leaders to cooperate with them. The European Union and the European Commission are appropriately for the task in progress, as long as the political will at the decision-making level exists (Abdullah, 2016, p.12).

7− European Foreign Policy Restriction: Restrictions regulated by EU institutions are controls on the EU's foreign policy maker, the EU's global strategy published in July 2016 included some useful ideas for future EU policies, particularly in the areas of security and defiance, counterterrorism, cybersecurity, energy security and strategic communications.

It can be said that the European Union's lack of a unified policy has led to a divergence in the positions of decision makers for the Foreign Policy of the European Union, resulting in a complete division of influence in the influence of European States in the direction of events in the Syrian war, which contributed to a kind of divergence and divergence among the members of the European Union states, particularly in cases involving terrorist acts, migratory flows, security and defiance.

The conclusion.

The conclusion of the study was the outcome of the results that represent the answer to the study's questions in addition to submitting a set of recommendations, and the study addressed the position of the European Union on the Syrian crisis, and the study showed the stages of the development of the Syrian crisis, especially the security, political and social implications of the issue of Syrian asylum to Europe.

The study also clarified the dimensions of the Syrian crisis and the stages of its development and the most prominent regional and international interventions that contributed to the formation of serious internal and regional pressures in the political, economic, environmental and security fields, and highlighted the role of the European Union, which was characterized by a state of inequality and uncertainty about the Syrian crisis.

The study showed the stages of development of the European Union, which has gone through a series of stages of transition to the stages of integration, integration, union and cooperation, in addition to the areas of cooperation between the countries of the European Union at the political level by framing a common political project based on peace, democracy, freedom and security cooperation, which seeks to achieve the constants of stability and security and consolidate the European security architecture.

The study also highlighted the functions and functions of EU institutions, particularly the European Council, the European Commission, the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament, as well as the statement of the EUROPEAN Union's position on the Syrian crisis, particularly the German, British and French position as the most prominent members of the European Union in decision-making for the EUROPEAN Union foreign policy, and the statement highlighting the most prominent repercussions of the Syrian crisis on the European Union social, security and economic, and highlighted the transformations in the role of the European Union in the Syrian crisis.

 Based on the conclusion, the following results can be highlighted:

1- The study confirmed that the loss of cooperation between EU members made the DECISION of the Union week in dealing with the parties involved in the Syrian crisis, especially Iran, Turkey and Russia.

2- The study confirmed that there is a disparity in the positions of decision makers for the foreign policy of the European Union, which followed the ability of decision makers to make appropriate decisions on the **Syrian** crisis.

3- The study showed that the crisis of Syrian asylum in Europe showed the extent of structural cohesion among the members of the Union, where the Syrian crisis revealed the lack of coordination among the members of the European joint policy.

4- The study highlighted the incompatibility of Syrian refugees with European societies due to differences in customs, traditions and culture, as well as European thinking and culture that view refugees as thieves and carry ing diseases.

Through the results, the study reached the following recommendations:

1. The European Union should send a monitoring mission within the joint security and defiance policy to monitor the local ceasefire in Syria, especially in areas where the security situation allows such a mission to be deployed.

2. The EU must play a pivotal role not only in supporting civil society and local civil authorities in Syria, but also in support of the Syrian regime and the parties involved in legal accountability and respect for human rights.

4. The European Union should punish those who committed war crimes in Syria, whether they are regime persons or military groups inside Syria, through international courts with fairness and impartiality.

5. The European Union should press the United Nations and the institutions concerned to look into economic crimes associated with cultural objects, such as the looting and smuggling of antiquities, and the criminalization of such individuals under international law.

6. EU member states should also check the procedures for some Syrian asylum seekers in anticipation of sleeper cells belonging to terrorist groups.

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