

# The Confrontation between US-Turkey's Strategic Interests in Northern Syria and Iran's Foreign Policy

Ali Akbar Jafari\*

Corresponding Author, Associate Professor, Faculty of Law and Political Science University of Mazandaran, Mazandaran, Iran.

Seyed Saleh Musavi\*\*

M.A, Political Science, University of Mazandaran. Mazandaran, Iran.

## Abstract

The beginning of the political crisis in Syria, each regional and trans-regional actors have adopted different policies based on their interests and goals in relation to this country. Syria is an exceptional issue for countries in the region and the world's powers like the United States of America, and any transformation in that form might have a fundamental impact on the interests of each of these regional and global powers. Turkey as a regional power and the United States has always been present in the Syrian crisis as a regional power based on its interests. But the United' support of the present groups in Syria has sought to fight ISIS extremists, which Turkey has called for terrorist groups to reduce the US and Turkey relations. The present study was conducted using descriptive-analytic method and using documentation sources to provide a theoretical framework, the question of why Turkey is against United States about the Syrian Kurdish issue? This study investigates the presence of United States in Syria and the support of Kurdish groups, as well as the reaction that Turkey and Iran have been involved in. The findings of this article indicate that the United States support the Kurdish groups in northern Syria has led to conflict of interest between the two countries.

**Keywords:** *Strategic, Confrontation, Syria, Turkey, United States*

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\* Email: a.jafari@umz.ac.ir

\*\* Email: salehmusavi111@yahoo.com

## **Introduction**

Due to its geopolitical and geostrategic position, Syria has always been the center of attention of major international powers. Syrian independence in 1946 and under the French mandate of its consideration, the strategic importance of Syria in the formation of the Arab Republic in the Decade 1960, the Strategic unity of the Soviet party with the Eastern Bloc, security cooperation with the Islamic Republic of Iran, opposition and conflict with Israel in the border regions of the two countries and finally the Cold War of At the level of the international system, as a result of the beginning of the internal crisis in the country, including the most important symbols of Syria at the international level(Ghasemian et al., 2018: 160). The anti-government protests in Syria began in March 2011 and, like the other Middle East protests, in such conditions, Bashar al-Assad, who opposed protests, released security services (Hafeez Ullah Khan and Waseem Khan, 2017: 588). The Syrian crisis caused regional and trans-regional actors to adopt various orientations in relation to Syria, which enjoys an important geopolitical and geostrategic position in the Middle East. Syria is an exceptional issue for countries in the region and the world's powers like the United States, and any transformation in that form might have a fundamental impact on the interests of each of these regional and global powers. This is an exception to the strategic complexity, radical developments in Syria and the multiplicity of regional and international actors in the Syrian issue, and that creating a balance between the opposing forces in Syria is not simple and the conflict of interest between countries in Syria's developments is clearly visible (Ajorlu and Rammaz,

2013: 192). Turkey as a regional power and the United States has always been present in the Syrian crisis as a international power based on its interests. But the United States' support of the present groups in Syria has sought to fight ISIS extremists who are considered terrorist groups of the US and Turkey's cold relations. In recent years Turkey has pursued an integrated strategy in northwestern Syria, which aims to achieve intrusion control through a combination of military occupation and a complete reconstruction of Turkish-based and the use of domestic Turkish machine abroad (leeuwen & veen, 2019: 4). In a recent years with widespread support from Syrian Kurds in confronting ISIS in this country, Syria, which has been marginalized before the crisis of the country, now has a quarter of Syrian Territory in their control and attempted to establish an autonomous authority. They also seek to establish a federal system in Syria. At the same time, in Syria, the United States was looking to create an independent army in northern Syria, which was not so pleasant for Turkey, and knew it as a threat to himself and Through military operations, we seek to avoid this issue and occupy a part of the Syrian-controlled territory, including the Afrin region. The country has threatened other areas under the control of Kurds as well.

Therefore, according to the above-mentioned content, it is said that Considering the main factor in the conflict between Turkey and the United States in Syria is the Kurdish forces of this region, why Turkey oppses to United States about the Syrian Kurdish issue? Therefore, the authors uses the descriptive-analytic method and was the library studies. the hypothesis which in response to this question, is that Turkey considers the Syrian Kurdish forces a threat to its existence, and Turkey's efforts to undermine these forces have led to conflicts of interests to the United States and Turkey.

## **I. Theoretical Framework**

The most central doctrine of political realism in foreign policy is the emphasis on power and wealth (according to Gilpin's neo-

realist political economy), which is defined in the context of national interests. The greatest scholar who played a prominent role in shaping political realism and presenting its teachings in foreign policy is Hans Morgenthau. Although the theoretical roots of realism go back to Hobbes' political views, Morgenthau developed Hobbes' realistic interpretations of human nature in relations between countries and the understanding of the behavior of the male government on the international stage (Ebrahimi et al., 2010: 120).

A methodological examination of Morgenthau's political realism shows that he sought to find objective political laws based on the duty of statesmen to understand and discover these laws and to implement them naturally in foreign policy. In his book *Politics between Nations*, Morgenthau considers one of the principles of political realism to be the belief in the existence of objective laws independent of human will and belief in politics and society (Ebrahimi, 2009: 120).

The theory of realism dominated the study of international relations in the United States from the 1940s to the 1960s. In addition, the so-called traditional mindset of the international system is based on the assumptions found in the theory of realism:

1. National governments are key actors in a "state-centered" system
2. Domestic politics can be seen as a struggle for power in an environment without a central authority.
3. International politics is a struggle for power in an environment devoid of Mercury supremacy.
4. In a decentralized international, composed of states with legal equality or sovereignty, there is a hierarchy between nation-states in terms of their capabilities as larger powers and smaller states. (Doherty, Gunther Graf, 1373: 143).

Realism assumptions define an ideal type of world politics. They allow us to imagine a world in which politics constantly finds active or potentially conflicting hostility between states, in which force is used whenever possible and every state tries.

Defend their land and interests against real or perceived threats (Linklater, 1378: 206).

According to the above four assumptions, a country that formulates and implements its foreign policy in the international arena must 1- have wise and rational decision-makers and actors 2- seek to achieve power and wealth within the framework of national interests 3- Has a scientific and behavioral methodology 4- Consider the world political environment as it is 5- Has an objective definition of concepts such as power, government, interests and politics 6- Lack of moral and value policy, but not lack of political ethics Be (Ebrahimi, 1389: 122).

During the 1960s and 1970s, realism was attacked from two sides. First by the behaviorists, who considered the basic texts of realism unscientific and fictional, which in turn created a major debate between traditionalists and scientists in international relations. The second invasion and challenge was carried out by transnationalists, transnationalists attacked the realism model from two fronts, the first invasion was about a change in the nature of world politics, while the realists' emphasis on power and security may have been in the decade The 1960s were right, but the world of the 1970s had changed so much that realism in the early 1980s was revived by the Cold War and the arms race between East and West under the guise of neo-realism with structural realism. Texture. One of the pioneers of neo-realism was Kent and Eltz, who tried to organize the disintegrated body of realist ideas with classical realism and present it as a formal theory.

According to Walter, the international system has a precisely defined structure in which the principle of systematization, the characteristics of the units in the system and the quality of the ability distribution of units must be considered. Accordingly, in domestic political systems, the principle of regulation is hierarchical, in which power is based. Accordingly, in domestic political systems, the principle of regulation is hierarchical, in which power is based on judicial powers. Legal as well as political processes apply. Whereas in the international system, the

behavior of governments towards each other is regulated by the lack of central authority. Based on this argument, the regulator of the international system forces the governments to perform their primary task of strengthening military power and self-reliance, regardless of their capacity. In fact, in the process of socialization, governments learn to maintain their security by relying on themselves and distrusting others by accumulating opportunities to fight each other.

Thus, unlike classical realists who emphasize the power and nature of human power, structural realists believe that human nature has little to do with the power of nations. They argue, on the other hand, that it is the anarchic structure of the international system that forces countries to seek power. Because a system without supreme authority and the central government of countries that prevents them from using force and aggression against others, creates a strong and powerful incentive for countries to become strong enough to protect themselves.

Hence, structural realist theories do not consider the role and effect of cultural and ideological differences and differences, the nature of the political system in the foreign policy of countries; Because the international system creates largely the same motives for countries, the democratic nature of the dictatorship of a country's political system has little effect on foreign policy and the way they treat other countries. Also, foreign policy makers and their personality and psychological characteristics do not play a role in the foreign policy of countries. Countries are like black boxes that function as similar units in the anarchic international system, providing the same security.

## **II. United States and Turkey Relations**

Political relationships among countries have long been associated with ups and downs. So that most countries in their foreign relations have experienced options such as collaboration and competitiveness, friendship and hostility, war and unity, etc. US and Turkey relations are not no exception. In a way that the two

countries have been involved in many issues in the past years and have expanded their bilateral relationships and have been disputed with different topics. Of course, the cooperation between Turkey and the United States has been more pronounced than the two countries. Meanwhile, the two countries are known as the two traditional, which have numerous differences in the field of bilateral relations and regional and international issues. With the rise of Atatürk's work in Turkey raised the United States, as a superpower after World War I and II caused Ankara to close proximity to the United States. In particular, the US is the only country that could be politically, security and economic to support and protect Turkey against the Soviet Union. Therefore, close ties between Turkey and the West in the years following World War II were largely formed in the form of Turkish and United States relations (Bahman, 2019). With the collapse of the Soviet Union 1989 the strategic importance of Turkey in the U.S. foreign policy was designed on the basis of the communist confrontation, and the two countries ' relations were usually continued in the form of joint military cooperation at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). But after Turkey invaded northern Iraq several times, it caused the relations of two countries to become worse. The obvious example is that in 2003 the United States has arrested Turkey's operations forces and caused Turkey to protest (Mosafa & shahabi, 2017: 15). With the rise of the Justice and Development Party on August 14, 2001 in Turkey, the country's foreign policy was changing. In the belief of the Turkish authorities and policy-makers, with the end of the cold war period, at which time military alliances and political blocks were the main element of determining international relations, was created a new era in countries ' relations. In Turkey's new foreign policy, the United States is not the only supplier of Turkey's security, but also regional and transnational powers, and of course, emerging powers can play a role in the country's strategic policies. In other words, Turkey has followed the policy and attitudes towards the east and West in the head of its signboard. But with serious

tensions between Turkey and the United States, Washington has still looked at Turkey as a strategic ally and was trying to maintain the friendship with the help of its efforts. Washington was trying to support Turkey's membership in international organizations such as membership in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), security and Cooperation Organization of Europe and J20. The United States has also supported Turkey's membership in the European Union, so that even from Ankara with the European Union in this regard (IRIB News). However, in recent years, the Syrian crisis and the role of the US in the coup d'état 2016, Turkey's relations with two countries once again were stressed. Therefore, the pinnacle of two U.S. countries in Turkey in the years following World War II, Turkey with NATO membership in 1956 was not only considered as a major ally of the organization but also an important role in the United States regional initiatives and strategies (Mosafa & shahabi, 2017: 17). Since the United States relationship with no predictable country, the relationship between the country and Turkey is not an exception to the Syrian crisis, and like all countries that do not have the same relationship, the US and Turkey relations are also changed in different periods and in the interests of the parties concerned And transformed, so that in a period of two united and in another period, the enemy has also appeared in the international system.

**Syrian Crisis:** The Syrian crisis is one of the most important events in the international system in recent years, according to the geopolitical position of the State, it was considered as many regional and transnational actors. The United States is the most important international actors who have intervened in the Syrian crisis. To believe that many analysts have taken up against the Syrian crisis a vague policy of the America's statesmen, what caused the legitimacy of the Bashar al-Assad. The need for immediate withdrawal is due to the independent role that the Syrian government has played in the developments of the Arab world. The US at the beginning of the Syrian chemical weapons in

2013 has only taken into practice propaganda and made the country's developments in Syria for its allies, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. The other important and influential actor involved in the Syrian crisis is Turkey, which has played an important role in becoming more severe. This country with the power to reach the justice and Development Party contrary to the past that had a policy of attitude to the West. He tried to take his attention to the issues of the Middle East and was looking to have a more active role in the region's issues. Of course this does not mean switching of their Western allies. Turkey, in recent years, has taken a policy of zero tensions with neighbors in 2011 to some extent lost its independence and most of the America's policies have been accompanied by the developments in the Middle East region (Asgarian & Tajri, 2017: 152-154). Through the Syrian crisis, he tries to take the glory and greatness of the Ottoman emperor and through Syria to find a way to enter the Arab world and to achieve its interests and desires and bring itself as an important and influential region actor. Turkey is a connection to the Syrian regional and regional opposition, and has been involved as a NATO member in becoming more likely to take measures against Damascus. Also, by giving a variety of privileges and facilities to various rises of Syria, especially the military and armed rises of their hostile policies in exchange for Damascus. It can be said that Turkey's policy towards the Syrian crisis first align with the United States and the West as well as efforts to become an influential country in the region (Habibolahi, 2016: 50-57). Therefore, in relation to the Syrian crisis, two countries were first almost the same position and with the start of the Syrian crisis, the United States, as a trans-regional power, initially wanted to conduct political reforms by Bashar al-Assad and to reduce Syrian relations with Iran, the Hamas movement and Lebanese Hezbollah. But by not meeting the demands of the country, the regime's Bashar al-Assad was a tougher stance. And repeatedly emphasized the end of the legitimacy of the Bashar al-Assad government. Another

influential actor in the crisis is Syria that it acted as a regional actor. Turkey was also working as the United States at the beginning of the Syrian crisis to encourage the Assad government to do the reforms. But after the protests in this country became more severe and following a part of the Syrian people immigrated to Turkey, Turkey's stance, such as the US, became more severe to Syria and defended the regime's change and the loss of Bashar Assad (Bagheri Dowlatabadi & et al, 2012: 42-44). It should be said that although two countries of the United States and Turkey have been in the first days of clashes in Syria, they have been changed in order to change the position of the two countries in accordance with decided. America's support for the purpose of combating ISIS groups has sought to criticize Turkey, As Turkey's Kurdish forces considered to be the enemy. Therefore, this was why the two countries in the same relationship become problematic, and they adopt conflicting policies regarding Syria. Finally, Trump's decision to exit the country has led to Turkey, one of the most active and important countries in the Syrian crisis, to start its own interest in northern Syria.

**United States interests in North Syria:** Understanding the position of the United States as the leader of the West and the most important actor in the international system is not possible, regardless of the strategic goals and strategy of the country in the Middle East region. Washington in the Middle East follows a few basic objectives and strategies. Strategies such as ensuring the regional energy flow to the west, advancing the so-called peace process of the Middle East, providing its allied interests namely Israel in the region, confronting Islam under the fight against terrorism and fundamentalism, confronting countries that are against the interests of the country and expanding the culture of the United States, an American in the guise of creating democracy, creating a free market and secularism in the Middle East (Ghasemian et al, 2018: 171). Trump has always stressed that he has been confined to Syria and in March 2018, he said that the United States was impossible to leave his troops very quickly

from Syria (International Crisis Group, 2018). This is while Russia's Defense Department has announced that the United States is seeking the Syrian to seize possessions that is only owned by the Syrian people and the US presence in Syria is not with the aim of combating ISIS. Among the goals of the United States is the Syrian, who wants to limit the number of Iranian land forces in Syria to prevent a vague path to the Mediterranean Sea (Snyder, 2019). The main goal of the United States is the military presence in Syria, reducing the power and influence of Iran in the region and especially Syria. Washington is attempting to change the power and political and social equations governing Syria to the benefit of Washington and its empowerment. Among the most important reasons and objectives of the White House, the decision for military presence in Syria can be pointed out in the following cases: The United States has been struggling with this military presence to continue its support for the Syrian Democratic forces against Bashar al-Assad and with this action, hegemony to prevent Syria from all over-the-fold, and also hinder the absolute victory of Moscow and Damascus and Tehran in the Syrian war. Another important issue that could justify the increase of 33% of the United States military in the Middle East in the second half of 2017 is the existence of rich energy resources and oil fields in northern Syria. The most important issue in the current situation is how to divide these energy sources in Syria as well as the access of Kurds to the mentioned sources. While many believe that Kurds should be in military, foreign policy and energy dependent on the Syrian central Government. However, the US authorities tend to independence of Kurds in northern Syria in the field. The US government in Syria is following strategies that include: preventing Iran from penetrating and securing the United States in east Euphrates and Syria is based on the press agency. The United States, a few years ago, will cooperate with Syrian democratic forces against ISIS, and the free zones in the control of Kurds and the coalition are transformed into the strategic areas of the United States in Syria. So we can say the United States seeks to establish

a banned flight in north and east Syria. The United States when it sees the actions of Turkey in attacking Kurdish areas leads to the cooling of Kurdish forces in the battle with ISIS. And this makes it again to power by sending its forces to the border areas, a message to Ankara that the United States is looking for a long-term presence in Syria and supporting Kurds. US, first, has a dual approach to Syrian Kurdistan. On the one hand, they considered Turkey's interests and on the other hand, in terms of the United States, Kurdish was the subject of Kurds and always invited to pay for citizenship by the Kurdish problem. The government sought to maintain the integrity of Syria, where he expressed concern about the autonomy of the Syrian Kurdistan by the United States Democratic Union Party and opened the necessity of Syria's integration (Bagheri Dowlatabadi & Rahimi Dehgolan, 2015: 145). The Joint Chiefs of the US Army Chief General Joseph Dunford said the ISIS terrorist group still has a significant presence in Iraq and Syria. PKK & YPG<sup>1</sup> need to support the United States of America-led international coalition to fight ISIS survivors. It is important to ensure the security and tranquility of the clean areas of ISIS terrorist groups. Therefore, to preserve the region (northeast of Syria), it should be given to 50 to 60 thousand local military training forces, which are still taught 50%. Alliance between the United States and "YPG", the chorus was opened to the U.S. air of Kobani city, and towns and villages around Isis in 2015. The US authorities initially told Turkey that their alliance was YPG with temporary and the weapons that they made for the fighters to restore the Kobani, are then taken. But these promises were quickly resumed by the need to create an effective ground force against militias in eastern Syria (Karen DeYoung & at El, 2019: 5-6). YPG is the vanguard of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), which controls the majority of the north and eastern Syria. American troops have been deployed in the region for many years and have trained and armed the Seekers War of the Islamic

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1. Kurdistan Workers' Party & Kurdish People's Protection Units

government. The America's support for YPG has enraged Turkey, which is a security threat to the insurgents in Turkey. (Ellen Francis & at El, 2019: 12). In this regard, the presence of the United States in the Syrian crisis has shown that the country is contrary to the human rights and democracy, and the weaker countries in the pretext of non-observance of human rights. In the Syrian crisis, the country was merely pursuing its interests and the country of his loved and ally, as Israel, though this country had a conservative policy towards the Syrian crisis. In the following, we will discuss Turkey's response to support Kurdish forces in Syria. It is evident that the support of Turkish opposition has sparked the America.

**Turkey's Interests in Northern Syria:** Turkey is an influential regional actor in the Syrian crisis. With the onset of unrest in Syria, it was evident that Turkey could not be indifferent to its neighboring developments. Because the developments in the side were in conflict with the new Ottoman doctrine of the Justice and Development party leaders and a party would have to challenge the Turkish interests in economic, political, and security with serious challenge (Bagheri & Rahimi Dehgolan, 2015: 141). In this regard, or the beginning of the Syrian crisis and the type of Turkey's stance on this crisis, the Syrian became the most important subject of Turkish foreign policy; That all important issues of Turkish foreign policy have been associated with the Ankara approach to Damascus over the past few years. In this regard, Turkey's foreign policy towards Syria has made several steps the most important index in all stages of "interventional in Syrian internal affairs". Since the beginning of the crisis, Turkey was first backed by a verbal support for domestic change in Syria. But in the later stages, with the cessation of political relations with Damascus and armed and naked, he began a practical intervention in this crisis to become one of the active actors of the Syrian crisis with the regime's overthrow and the power of its vertebrae.

- The operation of Turkey in Afrin lacks any justification. Syrian Kurds, although supported by United States, can be

considered as the cause of the aggression of Turkey to the north of Syria, but in this scene the owner of the house will come into account and to confront the alien army and the occupation is the right. In order to have a justification for military aggression, Erdogan said that Kurdish measures are dangerous in northern Syria to secure the borders of the southern country of southern Turkey. However, because the entire Syrian population is between 300 to 500 thousand people, and at least in three separate regions, they live, despite the serious opposition of the Syrian central government, it is not able to isolate the north and cannot form an independent or even federal government. Therefore, it can be said that according to the population of about 20 million Turkish Kurds and their complex, the developments in the region of Syria will not affect Turkey's security.

- The Turkish action has undoubtedly weakened the Sochi and threshold, achieving an agreement and a coalition to expand the lesser-involved regions between Iran, Russia and Turkey with serious obstacle. This could lead to the escalation of the Syrian crisis more easily and more complicated.

At the beginning of the Syrian civil war, President Erdogan was the overthrow of the Assad Bashar, even though it meant support for extremists through the Turkish border with Syria. Ankara's initial unwillingness to cooperate with Washington in the fight against ISIS caused the United States to create an American-led Syrian (YPG) protection unit in northern Syria, dependent on the Kurdistan Labor Party (PKK). The Turkish Government's approach to national policy in Syria is influenced by its domestic politics. Because by approaching the local election analysts believe that in 2019 there are evidence about harsh conditions of recession. And the same has led to the Turkish president, a border operation of the people's attention from the domestic economic crisis. Tayyip Erdogan has used this approach for two times, Once the Euphrates shield operation began 40 days after the Turkish coup and ended 23 days before the referendum of April 2017 and once again, 89 days before the general elections in June 2018 the

operation of the olive branch began to renew Erdogan's agenda for five others. Erdogan must also balance the internal reaction against Syrian refugees, which has been more severe in the economic crisis of the country. Since the beginning of the civil war, the Turkish government has charged more than \$30 billion for nearly four million displaced persons, and such an increase in the growing anger of voters has been increased. Erdogan's plans for the resettlement of Syrian refugees in areas that have been taken from YPG from one hand to the anti-immigrant feelings and to appease the anti-immigration supporters. In general, the priorities of foreign policy and security of the Turkish Government are primarily controlled in the northern regions of Syria YPG (Erdemir, 2019: 5). Erdogan warned against those who targeted our country as an enemy and terrorist group like ISIS and PKK as well as the promise of executing an aggressive attack on the east Euphrates begins. After the United States said it would create a retaining area for Kurdish YPG in the Syrian border. This shows that the US has expired because Washington in Syria will support groups in which Turkey considers their enemy (Reuters, 2019). Turkey has sought to create a safe area in northern Syria since 2013, but Ankara officials have not been able to convince Washington to implement such an action. Therefore, Ankara, with a threat to the commencement of military operations, has attempted to strengthen its positions in negotiations on the establishment of a security retaining area during the Syrian border. Given that the Syrian army started the liberation of the northern regions of the terrorist groups and, according to Damascus, these areas will soon be freed from the occupation of Takfiri, so Turkey is trying to achieve this goal.

**Turkey and Kurdish groups:** Turkey repeatedly plans to initiate military attack against YPG groups, SDF and PKK. YPG the backbone of the U.S.-led coalition of the US, against the Islamic government in northern Syria is fighting. The Turkish military operations in Syria are partly designed to tackle the riots in its own merits. The link between the Syrian conflict and the

homeland security of Turkey has caused internal political instability in the country and has been a conflict in the United States and Turkey relations in Syria. Although some goals of the United States and Turkey in the north of Syria are also complementary but are contradictory in some targets. The different actors who are present in this conflict follow targets that are in the United States of conflict. Most of these groups target the Islamic government. Therefore, the United States will consider the impacts of its intervention in northern Syria on its united Turkey in NATO and is looking to fix problems with Turkey (Stein, 2017: 2-3). Turkey, who is experiencing the referendum of Iraqi Kurdistan region and is afraid to create a referendum in its borders to create an independent zone. The dependence between Kurdish forces in Syria with the PKK Group in Turkey to create an independent area in the event of success, can be transformed as a template for Turkish Kurds and face serious trouble in the country (Mortimer, 2018: 2-3). Because in the end of crisis and current tensions in Syria, groups and militias in Syria can also strive to succeed in Turkish Kurdistan Labor Party. In addition to these stresses, Turkey fears that the American arms are given to Kurdish groups, eventually to the "PKK" group inside Turkey, and they also use the weapons against the Turkish security forces (Chan, 2018: 2). Turkey knows YPG group to group and Workers ' Party of Turkey Kurdistan and as it is clear, the PKK that fought Turkey for decades In the beginning to become an independent country, and recently to obtain the independence of Kurds in Turkey. With the start of the year 2016, the Turkish forces in the western part of northern Syria prevented a major part of the country in order to prevent U.S.-backed Kurds with other Syrian Kurdish groups and create a strong line along the border. Turkey is accused of being attacked in the north of the border while the Syrian Kurds were engaged in the lobe of mortar and artillery into the Turkish Territory. (Karen DeYoung & at el, 2019: 5-6). That is why many Turkish leaders believe that the Democratic Alliance Party is the cause of insecurity and has the intention of divergence and

separation. Meanwhile, the Turks believe that the Syrian region is under the support of the Democratic Party and the border with Turkey, the Turkish independence and territorial integrity of the strikes. So that they are strongly opposed to the formation of Syrian Kurdistan climate, such as Iraq. In this regard, Turkey is not passive in the face of any ethnic minority activity that jeopardize Syrian territorial integrity and tries to consider it in any design for the future of Turkey and try to enter to Afrin to achieve this issue with the cooperation of the Syrian Free Army. According to the Turkish strategy, Kurdish forces are weakened and will not be able to create an independent area (Gardner, 2018: 3). According to the said material, we can say today, Turkish and American relations have reached its lowest level. With the starting of the American action in the region and mainly the occupation of Iraq, it led to the liberation of the forces, which brings a direct threat to Turkey. Since the advent of ISIS to increase the importance of PKK in Iraq, until the recent support of the United States of YPG in Syria, Turkey sees its interests as threatened by a unified partner of NATO (Arnold, 2019: 5). In the aftermath of Erdogan's threats to attacking Syrian forces at the border of the U.S. Embassy, Ankara, after a week tense of negotiations on Wednesday, issued a provocative statement stating that the agreement on "the initial measures for the elimination of security concerns of Turkey", the establishment of the center Joint operation Turkey and the US, he has been trying to restore Syrian refugees. Turkey's defense minister, Holsi Akkar, announced that the negotiations were "constructive" and that US counterparts have been close to our stance (Petti, 2019: 1). While Turkey and the United States have been agreeing to create a safe area in northern Syria, they still disagree on five important issues: The first issue is the depth of the safe zone. Turkey says Trump has given a promise of 20 miles (32 kilometers) deep Whereas, according to the report, the U.S. officials are suggesting a safe area that is comprised of three different security belts. In the first bar of Turkey and the United States, we do a depth of 5 kilometers

of joint patrols. Turkey also calls for removal of all terrorist groups from the safe zone. While the US of Americana said only the PKK-dependent groups should be eliminated while the majority of SDF should stay the area. The third issue is YPG heavy weapons. Turkey, accused United States to provide military equipment for terrorists. The fourth problem is related to of the America– Turkey security agreement on the city of Manbiay in the Syrian in the year 2018. Turkey is demanding that the Turkish and US forces of the United States become northern Syria and take control of certain areas. The fifth and final difference between the two countries is related to administrative structures in Kurdistan cities. The United States is seeking to continue their work in pre-established governments. As Turkey insists that these governments must be governed by the Arab and Turkmen majority. And it also accuses YPG of changing the demographic (Yeni, 2019). Turkey and the US therefore agreed to create a joint operational center to manage the tensions between the US and the Turkish forces in northern Syria. Although, this agreement has not been finalized yet. Finally, after months of threatening a few days, the Trump administration began to withdraw the American forces in Syria and Turkey on September 17 (October 9), in the Syrian border of Turkey. This country has launched a wave of air strikes and artillery bombings against Syrian Democratic forces along the borders of Turkey. Rejeb Tayyip Erdogan said that the attack on the "Fountain of Peace" operation is known and in order to retreat of democratic forces that Turkey considers to be a terrorist group. He also announced his mission for the attack to prevent the establishment of a terror corridor in southern borders of Turkey to establish peace in the region. Turkey attacks Syrian troops cause regional instability, increase humanitarian and weakening progress against ISIS. It should be said that Turkey's goal of attacking north Syria is that the troops in the region are going to take away from its boundaries, and it is possible to create a safe area within the territory of Syria, who have sheltered Turkey's territory during these years and Deploy within your country. Of

course, the Turkish strikes have no reaction, and have followed the reaction of European countries; European countries immediately after Turkey attack in Syria condemned the attack and demanded a Security Council emergency meeting. These countries demanded an immediate moratorium on the attack and warned that Turkey will weaken the stability of the region. In this regard, the French and Netherlands, and then Italy summoned Turkey's ambassadors in these countries, and urged them to halt their military operations (the operation of Peace originated) as soon as possible. Russia has also invited the parties involved in the war to discuss and negotiate this way to resolve the crisis. But Donald Trump has provided a reaction to the attack on conflicting messages. He was a bad idea, but it was not demanded to stop the attack. He has stated that the parties are talking to the end of the war.

### **III. Iran's Policy in Syria**

The Islamic Republic of Iran is one of the most important players in the Syrian crisis and Syria's most powerful regional supporter. It can be said that Iran's support for Syria has so far made Bashar al-Assad's government able to withstand all-out pressure from the West and many Arab countries as well as Turkey. As one of the region's major powers, Iran is trying to force other countries to recognize it as one of the region's future decision-makers, particularly on Syria, which is what the U.S. and Israel don't like (Valerstein, 2012). U.S. opposition to Iran's presence at international summits on Syria reflects a dual U.S. policy. The United States is trying to further isolate Iran by diminishing Iran's role in the region. In addition, Iran's participation in Geneva's Ajalash and its assistance in stabilizing Syria are interpreted as Iran's power in international politics and believes that the international community without Iran can achieve the desired results in Syria.

The Syrian crisis has also raised tensions and conflicts at the regional level. This, in turn, has led to a decrease in the

willingness to cooperate and increased discord among actors affecting the Syrian crisis. The Islamic Republic of Iran's relations with Turkey and Qatar have been cooled by the Syrian crisis. In addition, the level of disputes between Iran and the Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia has become more severe due to the Syrian crisis.

Since the beginning of the crisis in Syria, the Islamic Republic of Iran has expressed its full support for Syria while supporting the demands of the people, emphasizing reforms and the need to maintain national sovereignty in Syria. Iran has also strongly opposed any foreign interference in Syria's internal affairs and has tried to prevent foreign power from interfering in Syria's internal developments by negotiating with other Syrian supporters such as China and Russia. Iran also rejects any armed operations inside Syria, supports talks between various Syrian sides, and has repeatedly tried to bring together Syrian dissidents who oppose foreign interference in Syria in Tehran to naturally discuss Syria's future with the country's ruling system. However, Turkey is one of the countries most stressed with Iran in the region over the Syrian crisis (Mousavi, 2015:172).

Turkey's expansionist policies and intentions after the developments in the Arab world made Iran a threat to its own interests and, despite having a good relationship with the country, balanced it through a coalition with Russia. The culmination of the confrontation between Iran and Turkey at the regional level can be seen in the Crisis in Syria and Iraq (katz, 2013:38). As the Syrian crisis began, Turkey intervened in Syria's internal affairs and all-out support for Assad's opponents, calling on Syria to implement the opposition's desired reforms and accept democracy. As a result, relations between the two countries deteriorated and the Turkish embassy in Damascus was closed. Turkey also continued its support for the rebels by holding a conference on the transition to democracy and helping to form the National Council and the Free Syrian Army, giving its borders and the port of Alexandron to the rebels, giving them military training and active

participation in the Geneva 1 and 2 summits, and efforts to oust Assad.

In Iran's view, Turkey's influence in Syria, which is Iran's political and cultural spheres of influence, poses a direct threat to its national interests and security (Khoury, 2013: 47). Balancing the Middle East through a coalition with Russia that has common interests with Iran and opposes the expansion of U.S., European and Turkish influence in the Middle East has been Iran's response to Turkey's threats. Many analysts have called Russia's intervention in the Syrian crisis and the U.S.-Russia confrontation a kind of cold war revival

#### **IV. U.S. Forces Withdrawal from Syria**

The United States has invested in the country of the Syrian crisis since its arrival. And this group is also inclined to work in the United States because they are geopolitical in the deadlock. But, if the U.S. forces exit Syria, the region has been able to cooperate with Syria, Russia, and partly to the Islamic Republic in order to balance Turkey. With the announcement of the withdrawal of U.S. military force from Syria, the country has improved its relationship with the Bashar al-Assad government. Democratic forces have been admitted to the Syrian flag in some areas, which means it is accepting the rule of the Bashar al-Assad government. In contrast to Damascus also put the economic support of Assad in some spheres in the agenda (Bakhshi, 2018). Since 2015, the United States has deployed special operations in Syria against ISIS. In 2017, Trump approved the efforts of anti-ISIS military effort in the years to advise his political advisors and military advisors in accordance with his instincts. This ensured the liberation of Raqqa (the time of the capital Khalifa) in October 2017 and helped weaken the rapid ISIS military. Although he had a significant cost for civilians, the axis of Syrian fighters and physical infrastructure, about 2,000 U.S. soldiers stationed in dozens of Syrian bases in Syria, who participate in war missions and air support. So after the America's support, the Syrian forces

decision Donald Trump, the US President of the United States, who had announced December all US military to leave Syria. In addition to the resignation of the Minister of Defense, James Mattis, and his Special envoy for the fight against the Islamic State or ISIS, was released (Toosi & Morgan, 2019: 5), Regional and trans-regional actor's responses in the country were followed. As a regional power in this crisis, Turkey has welcomed the decision of Donald Trump, the Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu said Turkey is welcomed by U.S. decision to withdraw its military from Syria. It has also been said that in the process of withdrawal of United States in Syria, coordination is important and the measures should be taken to prevent vacuum generation in this region. In connection with the possible reasons Donald Trump's decision to withdraw U.S. troops from the strain can be said: The U.S. presence in Syria has not been able to change equations in favor of the United States and only add to the costs of the country (Jeremy M. Sharp, 2013: 5). Therefore, to reduce these costs, withdrawal of the United States from Syria seems necessary, especially the case of Trump's logic of any military presence outside, it is subject to an objective and rapid achievement, in the realization of Trump's electoral slogans about the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Western Asian region, reducing military-security tensions with Turkey, and preventing further closure of the country to Russia and Iran.

As it was noted, Turkey's policy on the crisis of Syria has been a trend of progress and downs, so that in the beginning of the crisis with the support of armed Takfiri and non-fairly groups, it provides a form of more crisis in Syria and in its collaboration with Persian Gulf countries, the establishment of parallel institutions to the Syrian system. With the more critical of the situation in the north and northeast of Syria, the Kurds of this country have defended themselves and followed some of their goals, such as obtaining autonomy. The Kurds supported the United States and Europe gradually became powerful and turned into one of the main actors of the Syrian crisis. This resulted in the

formation of a serious threat to the southern boundaries and becoming a major threat to Turkey. Due to the lack of the United States and Europe with Turkey in the Kurdish issue, the country gradually went towards cooperation with Russia and Iran, which was the result of the trend of the threshold process. Today, and by existing the United States forces from the east Euphrates, Turkey's concerns over Kurdish threats will be reduced. And its consequences can also be further cooperation with Russia and Iran as well as the Syrian system to obtain guarantees for further control of northern Syria. However, if Turkey seeks to stabilize its position and its aligned forces in northern Syria, it is possible to increase the challenge between Damascus and Ankara. There is a possibility to increase the attacks of Turkey's dependent groups after leaving the United States and the Turkish army will also increase its cross-sectional and controlled attacks inside Syria.

Eventually in October 2019, the Western coalition led the United States were excluded from the cities of Raqqa and the Tabaqqeh and Lafarge cement factory in the north. In this regard, Turkey announced that the presence of Syrian forces in the city of Manbij under the Russian flag and its support is not accepted. Colin the spokesman for the Erdogan Recep Tayeb said: Groups so far backed by the United States to marauding and impose their own rules will not see peace because Turkey is determined in his action.

**Establishment of Safe Zone in Northern Syria:** Turkey and the United States have finally agreed to establish a safe area in northern Syria (Macaron, 2019: 7). They also agreed to create a joint operational center. In this agreement, measures are required to resolve the security concerns of Turkey. (Lafleur, 2019: 2-3). It is said that the establishment of this joint operation center is more a political consensus and has been done in order to reduce the current tensions in Syria. Tensions between the United States and Turkey in northern Syria have been intensified a year ago, and the Kurdish militia (Syrian Democratic Forces) removed the city of "Manbij" from the occupation of the ISIS terrorist group and took

control of it. The proposed area is more than 400 kilometers (250 miles) along the northeastern border of Syria with Turkey, the majority of which is YPG by the militant group, which was controlled by U.S. military support for the Islamic government. It is while Ankara YPG a terrorist that is a big security threat and has asked us to cut his relations with the Militia (Dadouch, 2019: 2).

This agreement allows Turkey to protect its borders against Kurdish-Syrian forces, which considers terrorist threats and provides a safe place to return for Syrian refugees in Turkey. In both countries, defense officials issued a separate but similar statement after three days of conversation in Ankara, the capital of Turkey. In these statements, there is no detail about the size of the area or how it is administered, which may not yet be the result, but the agreement has been presented by Turkey as a meeting of its demands. The United States in this region has military forces and has partnered with Kurdish-Syrian forces or S.D.F in combating the Islamic government to have warned Turkey about any unilateral measures in the region. Discussions are focused on S.D.F, according to the United States Embassy in Ankara, the delegation agreed on "Rapid implementation of the initial measures to resolve the security concerns of Turkey and establish a joint operational center in Turkey to coordinate and manage the establishment of safe zone. The statement has been added: The safe zone will become a peace corridor and everyone should try to return to the Syrian displaced persons (Gall, 2019). Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said if the United States will be delayed, Turkey runs its plan because the Ankara map is ready but the United States has been a very disturbing one (Turkey) in the northeast of Syria. It is believed that the accession to Turkey's demands will result in other demands, including the delivery of Kordidarian bases to Turkey and the submission of all the weapons provided to Syrian Kurds (Pearson, 2019: 5). As noted after the withdrawal of U.S. troops in northern Syria Turkey has given a big trophy and attacked north Syria Recep Tayyip

Erdogan, the president of Turkey said that he wants to create a safe area within the Syrian territory two million Syrian refugees often Arab Sunni religions reside in a land that is currently under the control of military forces.

## **Conclusion**

In general, the authors in this research seeks to answer the question of why Turkey is against the US in Syria? To answer this question, we have been using the new theoretical framework of Kent's defensive realism, a hypothesis that is proposed: Turkey has called on Syrian troops a threat to its existence, and the Turkish effort to undermine these forces has followed the conflict of interest for the US and Turkey. Since the beginning of crisis in Syria, regional and transnational powers of any way to achieve their interests came to Turkey as a regional power and the Us as a no exception power of the region, and every way to intervene in Syria. Therefore, since realism emphasizes the balance of power between countries, especially major powers. Based on international policy and the balance of the region, which is formed in anarchy conditions. And all governments are looking to increase their strength and security. And regional balancing requirements make the actors to use their inner capabilities to promote stability and balance in competitive, collaborative and offensive conditions. Therefore, according to this theoretical framework, it can be said that the United States and Turkey who are seeking to increase their power and security would prefer to gain an agreement on the safe area in northern Syria. The findings of the study show that the U.S. presence in northern Syria has supported the Kurds in the country to achieve its goals in Syria. And this has caused Turkey to be more likely to feel the Kurdish groups of their enemies than before. to prevent the formation of autonomous groups in Syria or the independence of these party's initiate military operations to northern Syria borders. So, by approving the hypothesis, it can be claimed that the US main difference in Turkey in north of Syria is over the issue of the

Kurdish region. Supported by the United States in the form of autonomous region and the stimulation of Turkey. These differences made the Turkish and American ties to the lowest level in history and the United States became a result of the US-Turkey to discuss the safe area in northern Syria. Finally, after U.S. and Turkey's withdrawal troops from northern Syria, the pretext of creating a safe area that can be found in the region is far from its boundaries. And when those who were sheltered in Turkey's territory during these years, he began his attack. Turkey also said the attack was planned to retreat to Democratic forces that Turkey considers them to be a terrorist group. It has also announced its mission for the attack to prevent the establishment of a terror corridor in southern borders of Turkey to establish peace in the region.

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