

## Research Article

### Iran's Foreign Policy Perspective on Syria Crisis in 2011

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**Abstract:** Iran urged Middle-Eastern governments to respect the legitimate demands of their people and to put an end to despotism in these countries. However, Iran adopted a different foreign policy on the protests against the Syrian government, which was the total support of the government against its opponents. The reason to adopt this tactic is Iran's strategic point of view that the regional political systems are categorized according to two different strategies. Accordingly, Iran should support the protests in these countries and urge for fulfilling the legitimate demands of the people there. But we should adopt a different policy with regard to protests in countries like Syria, which are in the resistance line against domination system. From the view point of Iranian officials, the protests and unrests in Syria are the result of a pre-designed Western scenario to challenge the legitimacy of Syrian political system, leading to different political array which weakens the resistance line in the region against the system of domination by changing the political system in this country. According to this view, Iran wants to protect the Syrian government in the context of a realistic analysis, given the Syria's strategic importance and position. According to Iran's foreign policy officials, on the basis of Iran national interest preservation, it is necessary for Iran to use its full capacity to help and protect the Syrian government in order to maintain and strengthen its regional role, the balance of power and the resistant forces.

**Keywords:** Foreign policy, foreign relations, Iran, Syria crisis

## INTRODUCTION

A wave of civil protest and desire for democracy, took the traditional Middle East countries following the developments in the Middle East and protests against dictatorships which had the authority for many years and had no regard for the political, economic and cultural rights of the citizens and their communities were faced with a variety of crisis including legitimacy one. The regional developments placed the world's foreign policy to a test which answering to it should be either opposite to these demands or be crystallized in line confirming the demands of the people and the negating the rule of authoritarian rulers. Naturally, given the prevailing conditions in the world, in confirming and supporting the people demands and the expansion of democracy wave, majority of countries put their foreign policy in consistency with civil legitimate requirements, demands and liberalism of the region people, even apparently, in order to provide global, regional and national interest. Accordingly, from the beginning, most regional and international powers with support of popular movements, wanted

governments to respect the legitimate demands of the people and put an end to the dictatorship. However, the conflict in the stated policy of the countries with their executive and implementation policies made some challenges in the area of foreign policy for some of them. For example, many Western countries foreign policy in relation to the developments in the region, created dual behaviors toward confirming or denying these demands. As, from the beginning, this group of countries have adopted a synchronous policy to cope with the demands of the people of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, but with regard to the protests in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Jordan had a policy of denial or silence. These dual behaviors caused foreign policy of countries which always claimed to support the democracy, liberalism and human rights observation to be faced with contradictions and challenges of global public opinion. Their foreign policy was faced with unreliability and lack of social-international faces and bases which naturally make them bear the costs of the foreign policy.

Islamic Republic of Iran supported the popular movements in the Middle East countries, urged

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governments to respect the legitimate demands of the people and asked them to put an end to despotism in the countries as one of the regional actors and also pledged its support of the movements in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Bahrain, but adopted a different policy concerned with protests against the Syrian government. From the perspective of the Islamic Republic of Iran, political systems in the region have adopted 2 different strategies; a group of these systems are seeking to develop the system of domination and to reluctant with identifying and rethinking of Islam world with the support of the West's policies. Accordingly, the developments in the political systems of these countries can be defined as being approved and supported by Iran's foreign policy and reluctant with West, but from the perspective of Iranian agents, west is trying to challenge the legitimacy of political systems that resist, by abusing the region developments. From the perspective of Iran's foreign policy officials, the created political and security developments and challenges in the Syria can be defined in this regard. Iran's foreign policy toward Syria is based on the belief that Syria's political system change and arrangement of different political arrays in the country can lead to weaken the resistance line in the region against the system of domination. Accordingly, at the context of a realistic perspective-based view and analysis, they claim that it is very important for Iran to use all of its capacity to help protect the Syria government and to oppose Western international trends which call for a change in Syria's political system and adopt the position consistence with China and Russia whose policies are close to Iran's policies of maintaining and strengthening the regional role, balancing the power and strengthening the resistance. Besides, a mechanism should be designed by which Syrian anti-government armed groups are committed to stop the violence, strife and ensure the stability and security in this country which is not much successful. In the present research we will try to review and analyze the Iran's foreign policy behavior as a major regional country for Syria crisis.

## LITRATURE REVIEW

**Syria crisis:** Young Tunisian self-immolation light on the contestation between the government and the people and the conflict domino was spread quickly from Tunisia to many countries of the region. Syria was one of the countries affected by the events, in fact the conflict between the government and the people of this country spread from a local area to international and regional fields and Syria's question became an international crisis. Syria's crisis began on January 26, 2011 with some wall paintings drawn by youths in Daraa city in the border of Jordan and south Syria. Daraa protests were faced with security measures and

rough behaviors of police. People formed a 50-member board and went to Damascus in order to bring their protest to President Bashar Assad. Despite the fulfillment of the promises of President Bashar Assad in this regard, due to the influence of Akhvan-al-Moslemeen (Muslim brotherhood) disbanded party elements in people, the domain of the protests expanded and spread to other provinces like Homs Jisr al-Shughur and Hma (Sharifian *et al.*, 2012). Some experts know the unrests as the only prolong of public movements in Middle East and North Africa. In this regard, Syria is involved at political, social and economic problems like other Arabic countries which its people start protests and struggle against the regime to get rid of these problems (Seraj, 2011). On the other hand, some international observers believe that events in Syria have an external source rather than the internal origin and the internal problems in Syria have created areas of opportunities of competition and exploitation for regional and international actors (Niakuyee and Behmanesh, 2012). For example, Brzezinski, one of the America's former national security advisers, knows the Syria events as a result of the American neoconservative's efforts in order to destabilize the Middle East in line with strengthen Israel. On the other hand, Henry Kissinger, by posing the necessity of balkanization of Syria, has followed his old position which the unrests whether economic, political or social can be utilized to integrate the countries in "desirable international system" (Imam Zadeh Fard, 2013). In the following, we will discuss the evaluation of Iran's foreign policy perspective for the Syria's crisis.

**Iran-Syria foreign relations (before and after the revolution):** Mutual relations between Iran and Syria before the revolution were affected by the blockade of the world. And both of the countries approximately were in conflict and cold war conditions with each other. Because the Imperial Iran was located in West bloc and the Socialist Syria was located in East bloc. Accordingly, the relations between Iran and Syria were affected by the America and Soviet relations. By independence of the Syria government in 1946, Iran was among the first countries that recognized the Syria independence and established its diplomatic relations with Syria. During this period, Iran and Syria relations were affected by a third country named Iraq. So that, whenever Iraq government was close to each of the two countries, Iran and Syria, the cross government signs a cooperation treaty with other country following to balance establishment. The process continued until the mid of 50s and by forming the Arabic Republic between Syria and Egypt in February 1958, Iran and Iraq feel threatened and improved their relations. During this period it can be almost said that a cold war is between Iran and Syria. On the other hand, Iran perceived the Syria's Baathist government as a risk and

threat which was dependent on the Soviet Union and supported the Arab Extremist movements; and on the contrary, with taking the power of Baathist leaders in Syria in 1963, they knew Iranian government the destabilizing factor as well, because they perceived Iran-Israel relations and conservative Arab states as a risk and threat for themselves. In 1965, Joseph Zyn, Syrian Prime Minister, demanded Iran to release Khuzestan and this judgment led the relations between the two countries to be at the lowest level. The relations that were improved after Aref took the power in Iraq (Nejat and Jafari Veldani, 2013).

However, after the war of 1967 and the defeat of the Arabs, Iran sent many medicinal and nutritional aids to the Arab victims. And in Istanbul meeting about Arab territories occupied by Israel, Iran said that the era of territories occupation is elapsed and Israel should give back the lands. This judgment of Iran improved the relations between the two countries somewhat. And the process continued till 1969 that Syria claimed about destruction the Iranian soy network and again in 1970 the relations of Iran-Syria have improved by Hafez al-Assad's coup d'etat and taking the power by him. Since Baath Party in Syria and Iraq conflicts were more and Iran increased its financial aids to the Syrian government with rising oil price, in 1975 and Algiers contract between Iran and Iraq Baathist government, Hafez al-Assad tripped to Iran in order to improve the relations with Iran as well. During this period several events forced the Syria government to make more relations with Iran, they are as follows:

- Based on Sinai agreement, Egypt and Israel made peace and the peace treaty out Egypt from Israel enemies list and Syrian army's performance was reduced.
- Iraq and Syria did not reach a conclusion on Tolls of Iraq oil exports from Syria. And Iraq stopped oil exports and Syria was excluded from obtained oil revenues.
- Death of Saud al-Faisal, king of Saudi Arabia who supported Syria.
- The 1975 Algeria agreement between Iraq and Iran (Nejat and Jafari Veldani, 2013).

Totally, in the analysis of relations between the two countries before the revolution it should be said that cold relations were established between them. Political systems differences and different foreign policy orientations have been the most important causes of cold relations before the Islamic Revolution. In fact while Iran government was royal and affiliated to west and recognized also the Zionist regime, Syria government was totally against Iran. Syria had the Parliamentary republic system and was closer to the east bloc. In addition, Syria considered Zionist regime as its main enemy. By Islamic Revolution victory in

Iran, Syria was closer than before to Iran and this suggests serious regional and international threats which these two countries as two main actors in the Middle East are alongside each other despite the conflict of ideologies. However, the conditions happened in the years before the Iran Revolution are very complicated, that caused bipartisan in the Arab World. These events are as follows:

- Death of Gamal Abdel Nasser and the succession crisis in Egypt.
- October 1973 war and the re- defeat of the Arabs from Israel
- Lebanon civil war in 1975

David camp peace and Israel recognition by Egypt and following this the recognition of Israel by Jordan, led to deportation of Egypt from the Arab League and transfer the headquarters of the league from Cairo to Khartoum. Iran Revolution converted the country anti-Iraq, anti-West, anti-Egypt and anti-Israel. These countries were also in inflict and hostility with Syria. As a result, Hafez al-Assad congratulated Iran Islamic Revolution Victory to Imam Khomeini (RA) in a message on February 12, 1979 (Nejat and Jafari Veldani, 2013). Many of the obstacles over Iran-Syria relations were removed after the Islamic Revolution Victory. And gradually some processes were enhanced and strengthened in the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran with US Embassy capture on November 4, 1979, Iraq attacked Iran on September 1980 and complete rejection of liberal and moderate elements from Ruling Revolutionaries Coalition in 1981 which pushed Iran to cooperation and expanded further relationships with Middle East revolutionary regimes like Syria. It can be said that Iran-Iraq war had the most important role to establish Iran-Syria's strategic relations; because in this war the interests of both countries were tied closely to work together in various fields such as political, economic and military. To understand this, the benefits should be checked out by which? The countries during the war could get close to each other. According to the Syria's hostility and conflicts with Iraq, it supported the war which engaged Iraq, destroyed its benefit and even threatened its stability of its Baathist regime; and for this reason, Syria never wanted the war result at the end to be so that Iraq be the superior in regard with military or diplomatic. This demand provided the backgrounds for Syria to be tended toward Iran. But aside from the aforementioned purpose, the Syrians were thinking about economic benefits and goals in relations with Iran as well. They assumed that Iran is ready to pay the worth of achieving the goal of having a united like Syria due to? It felt the great need of it in the region. Of course, this assumption was correct; in the interval of 12 to 16 March, 2011, Iran and Syria officials signed a

ten-year economic agreement and a contract of oil Sale in Tehran. The worth pondering point about the oil sale contract was that it was not clear about Syria's payments for receiving nine million tons of oil per year from Iran. But, the amount of oil received was more than that the Syrians could deliver goods to Iran based on the barter trades in exchange for oil reception. Almost a year later, Western resources revealed that, Syria had been received daily twenty thousand oil barrels freely, more than ten thousand barrels per day in the form of delivering goods (non-cash payments), hundred thousand barrels per day with the price of \$ 28 per barrel, when the OPEC oil price was yet not reduced from \$ 34 to \$ 29 (Bakhash, 1990).

By the way, the Islamic Revolution Victory was the landmark of these two countries relations. So that Iran-Syria relations were improved and expanded quickly. The main reasons for the improvement of the relations can be pointed out as follow: Syria relation with Shah Opponents before the Revolution, fundamental changes in Iran's foreign policy by Islamic Revolution Victory, disestablishment? The relations? Of Iran with Zionist regime and exit from the West Bloc and opposition of the two countries with Iraqi Baath regime's policies. Meanwhile Syria's support of Iran during the procrustean war was doubtless very important; this led the Iran war not to be raised as Arab and Fars. By closing the pipes which brought the Iraq's northern oil to the East Coast of the Mediterranean Sea pressed a large impact to Iraq economy. The country had often prevented the States Members of Arab League consensus against Iran in procrustean war; including the action of the country in sanctions of Arab Countries Heads Meetings in 2003 can be mentioned. Apart from these, Syria could put advanced defense weapons on the hand of Iran at the tip top of the weapons' boycott of Iran. And Syria deepened the relations of Iran-Lebanon as well. The Iran-Syria relation had important political and economic benefits for the country as well, among them the increase of the Syria's regional role and position and also the mediation role of Iran for the crisis of Turkey-Syria relations can be pointed out. The importance of Syria-Iran relations was in such a way that revolution leadership, in a meeting with President Bashar al Asad in 2006, called these two countries the strategic depth of each other and stressed that their relation is of the most distinctive and oldest one among the countries in the region (Syria Green Book, 2009).

**Syria's position in the foreign policy of the Islamic republic of Iran:** One of the Iran problems after Islamic Revolution Victory was the Arabic Challenging environment affiliated to the West around it. The challenge was to the extent that recalled the confrontation of Arabic-Iranian atmosphere and the atmosphere was used by Iraqi Baath Party during the

procrustean war. For this reason in such circumstances Iran needed to inhibit this atmosphere through relations with Syria, so it can be said that the existence of a country like Syria with a partly different regional policy alongside Iran was effective to reduce the Arabic-Iranian challenge. The notable point in this regard is that, Syria had to pay lots of costs in the Arab World for its support of Iran. For example, the export oil pipeline which transported Iraq's oil to the Mediterranean had high income for Hafez al-Assad due to crossing into the Syria lands, which was cut because of Syria's positions in support of Iran. On the other hand, the ideological view of Iran to Palestine question and resistance line as the central issue of the Islamic Ummah, Iran is required to choose an appropriate ally in order to shorten its geographical distances with occupied territories. The Islamic Republic of Iran was also required to have relations with Syria in order to pursue the interests of the Shia in Lebanon.

Development of strategic cooperation with Syria has indubitably been one of the most important advancing factors of political and security approaches of Islamic Republic of Iran at the regional level and it seems that the pattern which was followed by Tehran and Damascus in this regard has been based on strategic needs and realities of the two countries. Syria is chosen? The companionship with resistance front according to its geopolitical and strategic needs. For this reason, Iran and Syria had special relations worldwide despite having a significant level of differences in attitudes and thoughts. And based on some experts' belief, the relation is unique. In this regard, Iran recognized Syria's v? From the beginning and the Syria was also interested in having cooperative relationships with Iran. Nevertheless, the Islamic Revolution Victory and Iran's anti-Zionist positions caused Syria to think about exploitation of Islamic Revolution capacities in order to create a strategic balance in the region. Because by the time of the Islamic Revolution Victory in Iran, Anwar Sadat in Egypt signed the David camp contract with Zionist regime with a strategic turnaround against the regime. In these circumstances, Hafez al-Assad in Syria felt extremely lonely in the stability front and that was why he knew Iran's anti-Zionist positions a reason to replace the Egypt instead of Iran. So, it is important that in this situation Syria cooperated with Iran with a strategic view, just not because of tactical needs (Momen Zadeh, 2013).

In addition to public strategic importance Syria had founded a double significance in global and regional calculations because of its special geopolitical role and position in the resistance front and communication and unity with the Islamic Republic which? Is necessary for Islamic Republic to analyze and explain the importance. Syrian Arabic Republic is an important country due to historical antiquity, Geopolitical situation and cultural

and civilization history; so that its capital, Damascus, is known as the gateway to history and is of? The most ancient cities in the world. Although this importance is doubled in the twentieth century because of the proximity to Palestine and how to deal with this holy land's usurpers, i.e., Zionist regime; but Syria relation with Islamic Republic of Iran and the unity of the two countries depicted special equation in strategic areas. In a general view, the most important Syria geopolitical dimensions and strategic dimensions for Islamic Republic of Iran can be summarized in the following topics:

- The Syria especial and major geopolitical situation which is located in Western Asia, the connection location of the three continents, Asia, Europe and Africa.
- This country is of the most important sections of the west of Asia geostrategic and geopolitical region.
- Neighboring Syria with Palestine, Turkey, Lebanon and Iraq as the important geopolitical components of the region is of utmost importance.
- Syria is the only Arabic country which has independent regional and international relations.
- Dependence of Iran and Iraq to Syria due to transport their oil and gas from it, Syria has a special status in transportation the oil and gas of Iran and Iraq to Europe.
- Syria is effective in the Lebanese political equations.
- Syria is supporting the Lebanon Hezbollah against Zionist regime.
- Syria is in convergence and alignment with Islamic republic of Iran and Islamic resistance in the region (Farzandi, 2012).

Syria is allied with Iran and the Islamic Resistance Front and supports Palestine and Lebanon as well; also it is the only Arabic country which has independent relations. One of Syria advantages for the Palestinian people is that Syria is safe and the host of the Philistines so that provides the possible access to the rest of the world for them. So the Zionist regime is the common enemy of Iran and Syria. In addition to the above aspects, it seems that Syria is very effective in Iran's nuclear policy and in the case of exiting from the crisis the west diplomatic behavior will be different in Iran's nuclear programs.

**Iran's attitude to the crisis in Syria:** The Islamic Republic of Iran does not construe Syria protests as a public and Islamic event by considering the above cases as well as some evidence; and has emphasized on the role of external factors in establishing Syria unrests including Saudi Arabia, the United States and Zionist regime. Iran considers the positions of Turkey, West and Saudi Arabia the sign of a great conspiracy against

Syria and Resistance Front. Iranian authorities believe that Saudi Arabia with the support of armed Salafies and Turkey with America's coordination are seeking to overthrow the Syria government which is the basic ring of the relation with Islamic Republic of Iran and region resistance so the 30-year strategic alliance of Tehran-Damascus will be at the end of line (Atai, 2011). However, with the expansion of the protests wave in summer on 2011 and also some diplomatic contacts, the political position in support of Assad regime was slighted; and Iran stressed on the need for national dialogue and also democratic political reforms while supporting the Assad government and condemned the foreign interferences. In this time it should be noted that some experts believe that Iran diplomacy position for Syria crisis is passive and Iran would adopt more active diplomacy by better interactions with some opposition in Syria and attempts to create a national dialogue. Furthermore, Syrians under the financial, political and military pressures in Lebanon needed the petrodollars and armed Revolutionary Forces of Iran to exit from the pressures and improve their programs with awareness of anti-American and anti-Israel orientations of Revolutionaries ruling Iran; and these Syrians hoped that Iranians will help them side along the front line countries to fight against Israel. Iran's attitude towards Syria was performed based on the political and military considerations. For involving Iran in a full-scale war the relations with Syria was very important for various reasons. First, in order to provide diplomatic and political support of Tehran in regional and Arabic circles due to new front classification in the region and its pressure the country needed an ally like Syria. Second, due to international sanctions Iran was required to the aids which Syria could provide to supply equipment and weapons in the war. Third and perhaps the most important of all, close relations with Syria as an Arabic country would neuter the Iraq efforts to express the war with Iran as an Arabic war. Because Iraq was sought to interpret the war as a part of historical conflict between the Persians and Arabs and therefore mobilized the Arab world against Iran's interests. To some extent, Iran achieved to what it wanted from a close relation with Syria. For example, in 1982, when Iranian forced the Iraq forces to withdraw from Khorramshahr agreed with its longtime rival (Syria) in order to exert economic pressures to Iraq. Based on this agreement, on 8 April 1982, Syria closed its borders with Iraq and two days later closed the pipeline which transmitted the Iraq's oil through Syria to some ports on Mediterranean's shores. Iraq was dependent to land routes to export the oil because of losing the access to Persian Gulf by starting the war which? Before the war exported about 3.4 million oil barrels per day. Oil pipeline through Syria with the capacity of seven hundred thousand barrels covered half of Iraq's export. The other half was exported through a pipeline from Turkey with almost the same

capacity; therefore, the Syria's action caused financial problems for Iraq. Tehran-Damascus relation had other benefits for Iran as well, that some of them were tangible and some others were subjective. One of the basic problems of Iran during the war was procurement and supply of weaponry which Syria largely helped Iran in order to meet this problem; so that, during the war Iran was able to purchase weaponry from East bloc countries through Syria without having any relation with them. According to the reports in April 1982, Syria sent to Iran several shipments of heavy weapons through its northern ports. Other published reports also confirmed that Syria was delivered several shipments of lighter weapons. These shipments have been consisted of 130 mm field-artillery pieces, 32 ZSU anti-aircraft guns and ammunition and tank engines. Iranians were very enthusiastic to access to the tank engines made in Soviet; because Iranian soldiers captured a significant number of Iraqi tanks made in Soviet during the war as the booty. Although since the beginning of the war Syria sent weapons made in Soviet to Iran regularly, the two countries cooperation in this context was accelerated after the military secretive agreement. Relation with Iran was of so important for Syria that even the country readied to deploy a large number of its troops in the common border with Iraq and therefore threated Iraq on two fronts war. This action of Syria led Iraq to call-back numbers of its troops of front war with Iran from its western borders in order to remove the threats (Hunter, 1990). However, in addition to the relations based on the Iran-Syria cooperation during the procrustean war, the countries had some challenges with each other as well, which sometimes have caused to some misunderstanding between them. One of the areas of Iran and Syria competitions was Lebanon. Both countries have protectorate groups in Lebanon which were fighting against the Israeli occupation forces in the south. One of the instances that caused Iran and Syria to diverge was the efforts to have influence and power in Lebanon. However, such discrepancy seemed natural due to the fact that Iran decisions about Lebanon were not consistence because of the lack of different influential center. Aside from the issue of Lebanon, suppression the Islamic movement in Syria and very violent behavior with its fans from the Hafez al-Assad Secular regime was another issue of the discrepancy between the two countries. Maybe if the interests of the two countries did not affect these discrepancies the Iran-Syria relations would be in crisis very early (Hosseini, 2011).

Totally, about Syria's crisis Iran believes that if Syria wants to change its regime then Iran will lose its strategic ally that can create freedom of action in the western part of Asia; since it would have many claimants and the system would be dependent to those who help the oppositions or to maintain their power they have to become dependent to the regional or trans-regional powers. In this regard Syria's situation can be

now described and analyzed based on the following points:

The nature of the conflict in Syria is not from people and they are the victims. Now, Syria conflict is not only confirmed by people, but also by the majority of Sunnis who fear from the minority of Salafies which is a very important fact? About Syria field. Although, Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and part of Islamists in the country, are Anti-Assad's opponents but a significant majority of them essentially have used the Law Concerns to build public support and get Arabia money and in a hidden link with Laics in continuous contact with France and America and their counterparts are in the Lebanon march 14<sup>th</sup> group as well as in Jordan's secular state. This section is the main backbone of armed opponents. At the best status, Brotherhood is committing a strategic fault and at the worst status they have reached a secret deal with America.

The next issue about Syrian opposition is that the opposition is essentially not domestic Phenomenal and is made out of the country. Politically the opposition is indebted to the series of plans which have been developed and implemented by America, Europe and Arab League. The situation is much worse on the basis of military and security terms. Syrian opponents established and organized through American weapons, Turkish trainings, information support of Zionist regime, Jordan support and Qatar and Arabia financing. In total, the opposition is the phenomenon that is imposed from outside and for this reason it is linking more with security targeting of America and Zionist regime daily. The next issue is having a clear understanding of America and Zionist regime policy about Syria issue. Another issue is that the Americans and Zionists with partnership of Arabia- Turkey alliance have found that changing the whole issue to the Shia-Sunni fighting is of the best ways to restrain the evolutions and prevent it to become as a tool for Iranian's power expansion form the beginning of the evolution. Shia-Sunni conflict conspiracy became a tool by which the westerns tried to change the whole Islamic Awakening phenomenon to heart of the nature. So instead of pointing the region's Revolutionary forces attacks arrow sharp tip toward America and the West, the released forces as the effect of the region Islamic revolutions be spent to deepening the Shia-Sunni conflict. That is why, now it can be seen that in the whole region there are comprehensive and unexampled efforts to change every issue to the fight scenes of Shia and Sunni so the West and Zionist regime are immunized against it. Recognition of the Syrian system is the last issue for describing the facts about Syria. Syria system has maintained its integrity both in terms of v and security. Syrian opponents in the past month received a new mission from Western intelligence services that all of their forces and facilities were moved to the suburbs of Damascus to do a major

operation in the city, after months of unproductive efforts in Syria frontier regions in order to establish somewhere like Benghazi, such that the possibility of Libyan scenario implementation in Syria was provided (Farzandi, 2012). With respect to the above cases, Iran supported Assad regime decisively for the recent political crisis in Syria. It should be noted that Assad regime's fall perspective for Islamic Republic of Iran is very painful and practically Assad regime fall increases the Iran's isolation in the region, because none of the govern? ments which take the power after Assad will be less interested to cooperate with Iran (Hentov, 2011). Assad debacle damages Tehran-Damascus-Beirut axis; since Syria is the main political and geographical pillar that correlates the Iranian leadership with its representatives in Hezbollah region and the Palestine Liberation Organization (Berti and Guzansky, 2012).

**Syria crisis, Iran foreign policy and international and regional balance of forces:** Developments in the Arab world are considered the landmark in establishment of new balance of power in the Middle East region. The "balance of power" in the region was already taken at the level of classic actors i.e., the governments which was easier and faster. But with the emergence of Arabic developments "balance of power" is done at the same time at the level of classic actors and based on the Arabic communities "dynamics of domestic politics" and the role of governments. So how to establish a balance of power in essence is more complex and slower. Developments in the Arab World, the socio-political domestic issues in Arabic countries became as the main priorities of the countries issues such as democratization, freedom, reform of the political structure, exiting from authoritarianism, economic systems, Islamism, human rights, youth rights, women's rights, etc. And the development itself is affecting the orientations of countries foreign policy in the regional balance of power equations (Alai, 2012).

So the main axis of analysis of Arabic developments like Syria crisis is based on state competition to increase their "role and influence" within the "balance of power" framework, the axis which less attention has been to it but its importance is increasing daily. For example, the complexity of issues in Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria crisis is mostly because of the combination of "Domestic policy issues and dynamics" of these countries with "regional issues" and the classic role of the government to maintain the balance of power; and this case has made the prediction of the density of regional crisis very difficult. It should be noted that each of the regional and trans-regional actors wants to increase their regional roles to achieve their goals. Indeed regionalism implies to a political ideology that is based on maximizing the benefits through establish the alliances and sub-alliances. With

regard to Syria it implies more to the influential roles of Iran and Turkey (Khashanah, 2014). West and Turkey want their role to further increase their "influence" and gain the political leadership in the Muslim (Islam) world. Iran, Russia, China and Saudi Arabia follow their role to "restrain" the threats and increase their national security factor. On this basis, the axis of "security model", "ideology" and "economic" are all the tools to increase the role of the main actors in the region in the framework of balance of power equations. The future of the balance of power in the region will be based on the competition of the two blocs of regional and trans-regional actors from this level of analysis. At the side of the bloc of the regional actors, there are 4 main and active actors namely, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Egypt with Zionist regime as a behind actor and apparently inactive that tracks its benefits through America. At the side of the bloc of the trans-regional actors, Russia and America are the two main actors. With respect to the Zionist regime's military power and its threats, Syria government has tended to increase its military capabilities and alliance with Russia (Kiani and Khan Mohammadi, 2013). In this context, new features of Arabic developments are affected by "Arab World internal potential" and on the basis of regional policy of the regional and trans-regional actors. On this basis, the competition of all the influential actors on Arab World has been on the axis of "threat inhibition" and increases "the role and influence". Competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia, for example, is more on the basis of "inhibit" each other role and increase the "influence" in aligned countries than Shia-Sunni rivalry, although the Shia-Sunni rivalry, is used by? Some powers like Iran and Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia knows Iran's regional role increase as a detriment to its national security and interests while Iran considers necessary to increase its regional role and influence in order to eliminate its national security threats.

Iran and Turkey competition in Syria is also more on the basis of the concerns about each other regional role increase. Turkey is following the policy of gaining "political leadership" in the Middle East region and attempts to utilize the internal potential of Arab world in line with exploitation of "soft power" on the one hand and on the other hand to strengthen the economic ties with Arabic counties and gain benefits in the region. Turkish policy to ignore the Iraq's central government power in relation with Kurdistan and also the attempt of the country to gain the political leadership in the region and especially clear inferences in Syria crisis, endanger the geopolitical benefits and the balance of power in Iran and Iraq in the region (Alai, 2012).

Saudi Arabia is also after the "inhibition" the threats and maintains the "security" of monarchy as a traditionally conservative actor of the region. This

country tries to be less affected by internal developments and changes within the Arab World such as Political reform, women's rights, the role of youth, etc. And in fact prevents the Arabic spring developments to be spread inbound its boundaries. On this basis the policy of Iran inhibition in the region and active participation in Syria crisis is followed by Saudi Arabia with the aim of increasing its Sultanism system security. Iran is seeking to inhibit the threats and maintain the regional balance of power, demanding 0020? the reduction of the developments speed and enter the trend of the political transfer of power and do reformation on the basis of maintaining the security and stability in the region as well as using its capacities in Syria. Israel is also seeking to expand its security and maintain its "survival" in Syria. Israel is affected by Arab World developments and is worried about the negative reaction of domestic policy of Arabic communities to the existence of Israel and the trend of Arab-Israeli peace and disruption of David Camp contract. So the passive policy of "Patience and Prudence" was taken and mainly demanding the management of Arabic developments through America.

#### **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

Internal developments in Syria have found global dimensions and this is despite of the fact that Islamic Republic of Iran positions for the important Arabic country is very significant and somehow the events of this important Arabic country are decisive for Iran, Syria and international community. Three basic perspectives are noteworthy about the type of approach and strategy of Iran's foreign policy against Syria: Human rights perspective: Proponents of this perspective believe that Assad regime and Baath Party governance in Syria have undemocratic and unfair structure and are violating the human rights widespread in the recent developments flow and conflict with protesters. And the Islamic Republic understanding this should be consistent with Western countries, some regional countries including Turkey and most of the Arab League countries to the list of those who sanction Syria and finally move in line with the fall of Assad regime. Purely ideological perspective: Believers in this perspective believe that the current Syria government has been in line of region resistance flow and its strategic situation of adjacency with resistance groups in Lebanon and Palestine has of particular importance in line with Islamic Republic of Iran's ideals and since Assad regime fall disrupt the resistance flow, then the fall of Syria regime should be prevented in any case. Geopolitical and strategic perspective: believers in this perspective believe that the Islamic Republic of Iran is not only one of the regional powers but also a superior one and one of the components of this superiority of

Iran power is the specific security and political structure governing on this sensitive and eventful region. Power establishment in Middle East region, existence of resistance groups including Hezbollah and Hamas, the strong alliance of current Syria government with the Islamic Republic of Iran and the strategic situation of this different Arabic country, on the other hand, recent developments in Arabic countries and the puppet and west allied dictators fall and the rise of Islamist regimes in these countries have strengthened the Iran's top position and Syria government fall? Especially with foreign inferences the equations will be evolved in favor of regional competitors and trans-regional opponents of the Islamic Republic of Iran; therefore, the strategy of The Islamic Republic of Iran should be based on maintaining the current situation of Syria.

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