**Salahaddin University-Erbil**

**Continuity and change in Turkey’s policies towards the Kurdistan region after 2017**

Research project

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**First chapter: Introduction and theoretical framework**

**Section one:**

**Introduction**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| In the introduction, we want to talk about the relationship between Turkey and The Kurdistan Region,   |  | | --- | | Turkey's policies towards the Kurdistan Region have undergone continuity and change since 2017. Ankara has continued to support the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) financially and militarily, while also increasing its cooperation with the federal government in Baghdad. Turkish companies have invested heavily in the Kurdistan Region, particularly in the energy and construction sectors. At the same time, Turkey has taken a more active role in mediating disputes between the KRG and the federal government. In 2018, Turkey launched a military operation against Kurdish militants in northern Iraq, which marked a change in policy. |   Turkey's policies towards the Kurdistan Region have changed significantly since 2017. Turkey now views the Kurdistan Region as an important partner in regional stability and cooperation, and has opened up its economy to Kurdistan in order to promote investment and development. Kurdistan has also been working closely with Turkey to combat the threat of the Islamic State (IS).Turkey's policies towards the Kurdistan Region have changed significantly since 2017. Prior to 2017, Turkey had a policy of non-interference in the affairs of the Kurdistan Region and maintained good relations with the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). However, since 2017, Turkey has taken a more active role in the affairs of the Kurdistan Region, intervening militarily in the Kurdistan Region on several occasions. Turkey has also been critical of the KRG's policies towards the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and has accused the KRG of not doing enough to combat the PKK.  **Importance**  The importance of this research is to explain relationship between Turkey and The Kurdistan Region, explaining the foreign policy Turkey and the historical development of the relations between Turkey and the Kurdistan Region, discussing the stages of forming the relationship between them, discussing of the policies and relations between Turkey and the Kurdistan Region before and after 2017, and the effect of the referendum on their relations, what changes happened in their relations, explaining their relations in terms of political and diplomatic and economy.  **Goals and aims**   1. Explaining the relationship between Turkey and The Kurdistan Region 2. Describing the stages of developing the relationship between Turkey and Kurdistan region 3. Focusing on the relationship between Turkey and The Kurdistan Region during the referendum 4. Talking about Turkey's policy towards Kurdistan region |

**Question**

**Main question**

To what extent the turkey’s foreign policy changed toward Kurdistan region after 2017?

**Sub question**

1-What was Turkey's attitude during the referendum?  
2-Did the referendum affect the relationship between Turkey and the Kurdistan Region?  
3-In what way did the relationship between Turkey and Kurdistan develops?

**Hypothesis**

Turkey's policies towards the Kurdistan Region have changed significantly since 2017. Prior to this date, Turkey supported the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in its fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). However, since 2017, Turkey has been working to undermine the KRG, both politically and militarily. In particular, Turkey has been supporting the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in its fight against the KRG.

**Methodology**

In this research use the case study approach because I want to get deeper in to the topic and gather more information and understand it and use the qualitative research in this object have a secondary data for collecting information in this research.

**Literature Review**

Back to previous research on the subject of this research

1- (**Bill Park, On the independence referendum in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and disputed territories in 2017, 26 October 2017).**

“On September 25, 2017, eligible voters in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq were given the opportunity to respond "yes" or "no" in Kurdish, Turkoman, Arabic and Assyrian, which is aimed at giving this note in Kurdish, Turkoman, Arabic and Assyrian. An important account for the independence referendum is written by four members of a delegation who spent a week in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq to monitor the referendum, the main point we draw from these notes is that the referendum and the aspirations of independence that may unite the different political factions in KRI have actually shown a cruel division”

2- **(Dylan O Driscoll, Independence referendums and nationalistic rhetoric: the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, 28 may 2019 ).**

“Using the Kurdistan Region of Iraq's investigation dossier and the 2017 independence referendum, this article examines the conflict between the independence referendum, nationalism and political authority, which argues that the referendum in the KRI is due to complaints The local political letter and the increase in rebellion in the population against the bad economic performance and political situation have been done not because the time of the independence referendum was appropriate to focus on the poor political and financial dynamics and also the lack of regional and international support for  Kurdish independence, the article argues, is that independence was not a realistic goal and is instead used as a break in internal chaos, an example of the referendum in the CRA asks questions about the democratic credibility’s of such references, as the population voted for an inappropriate result and the reference itself became a tool of local political competition”

**3- (Fahrettin Sumer, The paradox of the Iraqi Kurdistan referendum on independence: contradiction and hopes for economic prosperity, 11 February 2018).**

“The Kurdistan Region of Iraq in 2003 after several years of invading America has experienced economic success in 2005 the region gained its semi-autonomy position and until 2014 benefited from its constitutional share from the central budget Foreign investment increased which came mainly from neighboring countries in 2014 the economic decline of the region started by stopping the transfer of the central budget and by decreasing the price of oil and occupying Isis Mosul deepened and with the referendum The independence of September 2017 continued because of the KRG's reliance on the Turkish oil pipeline for independent revenues, as well as foreign companies to extract oil and gas reserves. The region's economic livelihood is strongly linked to the healthy diplomatic relations of these countries; however, they are directly opposed to the KRG's movement for secession. After the independence vote, regional forces held an aggressive speech with Baghdad, implementing punishable measures against the KRG, and the KRG's economic interests contradicted its national demands. Although the referendum continues to be revealed, pushing Kurds for political independence and then threatening the KRG's economic views, as well as the privileges that citizens enjoyed in the aftermath of the US with their semi-autonomy zone, this paradox will be tested. Tensions between independence and the economy are being discussed and ways to mix the various goals of the KRG and its people are being investigated”

4- **(Dylan O Driscoll , Referendums as a Political Party Gamble: A Critical Analysis of the Kurdish Referendum for Independence, March 2019).**

“This article brings the Kurdish referendum case for independence into a wider literature in the independence referendum and tests the decision to hold the independence referendum and investigates the circumstances before the referendum and the results after the referendum He talks about that the referendum in The Kurdistan Region of Iraq was done because of local political competition and increasing the rebellion of the population against the bad economic and political situation, not the time for independence theoretically, this article increases a new dimension for the granting of education  On the independence referendum, as it shows that the purposes of the independence referendum can be based on the question that has been put to the population - such as strengthening public support by connecting to nationalist demands, it will ultimately bring more support to previous findings of the importance of international support for the independence referendum”

**Section two: Important terms and concepts**

**-Foreign policy**

The foreign policy has its own importance and special it for the state, especially for the benefit of its interests outside its environment. To adapt to the changes and needs in the international community, the importance of foreign policy will be increased. Here we try to make foreign policy clear, although different definitions have been presented.

The external policy is: in a program of work that the representatives of the international organizations choose within an international community, in order to achieve the specific goals that try to protect and improve the interests of the state in the field of foreign relations. To achieve these goals, it will take a message to some tools. (Malko Sheroki, 2016, P 150). In the definition of foreign policy, Marcel Mirle also says: The foreign policy of this government activist that is directed abroad to solve the problems that are on the other side of the country' borders. , P 3)  
Walter Lehman, a political science teacher in America, defines foreign politics in this way: the foreign policy of working on finding a homosexuality Between the foreign commitment of the country and the force that is needed to implement this commitment, a number of writers and intellectuals think that the dialect is mentioned He is aiming for political affairs that will be created in a process of integration related to foreign decision-making by an international union. (Zayed Abdullah Mesbah, 1994, P12)

**The tools of foreign politics:**

Each country is developing a set of tools and mechanisms to achieve its goals in foreign politics. According to the nature of the goal, the compatibility and the nearness of achieving the objectives, the tools are chosen. For example, Soft Power, Hard Power, Economic Tools, Technology and Propaganda Tools... Etc.

**Turkish foreign policy**

**Goals of Turkey's foreign policy**

The foreign system of each country is related to achieving a set of goals that have been achieved by the decision-makers of the foreign system, and the foreign system of each country will be connected to the internal system of that country and the effective ness of the international environment It's done. All of them are pushing for the creation of a foreign system of the country, as well as Turkey, one of the countries that have given importance to the foreign system of the country and the goals of the foreign system of Turkey. (Hassanavi, 2016, P 13-17)

1/ Political goals: for the purpose of political goals, the goals that the country is trying to achieve by creating an operation in the attitudes against With other countries and with the relationship between them by using diplomatic tools in a major way, and from the Turkish point of view He emphasizes the need for diplomatic action to solve the problems of the region, as well as the political objectives of the foreign political system of Turkey

1. Protection of the national security
2. A local canvas
3. Reviving the role of the region

2/ Military objectives: From the point of view of Turkey, Security will be created on the base of connect and political and strategic alliances, which will be a guarantee for the hand In the face of any internal and external threats, the Turkish view that Turkey has an important geostrategic position in terms of security, Also the Turkish military institution is one of the great forces of world in a way that is the two most powerful forces in NATOs coalition.

**-Independent Referendum in Kurdistan Region-Iraq**

On September 25, 2017, the Kurdistan Region held a referendum on Iraq's secession, including three provinces in the region (Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, Duhok) and Kirkuk, which are at conflict with Baghdad, according to official results. Voters approved more than 92% of the secession, but the federal government in Baghdad refused to recognize the referendum and took measures to disbelieve it.  
  
Since 1991, the Kurdistan Region has enjoyed the broad forces strengthened in the 2005 constitution, and the dream of establishing an independent state has continued to scare the Kurds, until Kurdistan Region President Masoud Barzani announced on February 3, 2016.

On June 7, 2017, Barzani set September 25, 2017, as the date for holding a referendum on the region's secession from Iraq, so that the region's parliament could schedule the referendum on September 15, 2017.

The referendum was held with the support of Kurdistan Democratic Party Barzani and the former president of Iraq Jalal Talabani between opposing Turkmen and Arabs in Kirkuk province which is one of the disputed areas between Erbil and Baghdad according to article 140 of Iraq constitution.  
Two days after the operation, the Kurdistan Regional Government's High Referendum Commission announced official results, revealing that 92.73% voted "yes" in the interest of secession from Iraq. And the number of people inside voted with about four million votes with a turnout of 72.16% and about 7.27% voted to reject the region's secession from Iraq, and the number of incorrect votes was 1.21  
  
The Commission described the referendum process as successful, with the presence of international and local observers, noting that these are the final results before they are approved by the appeals court.

However, the referendum caused a crisis between the federal government and the Kurdistan Region after the krg authorities refused to withdraw from it and the Baghdad government abided by its rejection of the post, as a statement by Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi's office said the referendum was "an unconstitutional act that endangers the security and stability of the country."  
  
After the referendum, the federal government hastened to do action against the region, and on September 26, 2017, the Prime Minister of Iraq asked the Kurdistan Region to hand over the airports of the airport in which they are to the Federal Government within three days.

On September 27, 2017, the Iraqi parliament gave the prime minister the power to publish forces to control Kirkuk's oil fields and other areas of conflict with Iraqi Kurdistan and asked the region to cancel all the results of the secession referendum  
  
Abadi asked for canceling the results of the separation referendum and going to dialogue to solve the outstanding problems between Erbil and Baghdad and in an extraordinary meeting of Iraq parliament declared that "the referendum should be canceled and we will never talk about the results of the referendum. After the federal government expired on September 29, 2017, Baghdad imposed a no-fly zone on the Kurdistan Region and suspended all international flights to Erbil and Sulaymaniyah airports.

Baghdad abided by its stance by rejecting the referendum and for the purpose of returning the border gates with The Kurdistan Region in cooperation with Iran and Turkey and the military training of Turkey and Iraq in the Slope area near the Khabur gate between Turkey and northern Iraq.

At the same time, the Iraqi judiciary committee on charges of "adapting the unity of the country and endangering it" resorted to arresting those who are responsible for the referendum on the separation of the Kurdistan Region  
  
The KRG rejected the measures, and on September 30, 2017, the KURDISTAN REGIONAL PARLIAMENT called on neighboring countries to respect the laws of the Region and called on the international community to respect the decision of the People of Kurdistan, Minister of Transport Mawlud Baumad, announced that Baghdad's decision to stop flights at two airports violated all civil aviation laws.  
Regional and international rejection.

In terms of the region, Turkey has taken economic and military options in response to the Kurdish referendum, but officials, including Foreign Minister Mivlut Kavosoglu, insisted that the border with Iraqi Kurdistan should not be closed.  
Iran in turn closed its border with The Kurdistan Region and stopped transferring the oil parts of the region and warned that the referendum would cause "political chaos" in the region

America on September 30, 2017, through Rex Tillerson, the foreign minister of America, announced that he does not recognize the referendum on the separation of Iraqi Kurdistan and Tillerson encouraged all the related parties to start dialogue and suppression.

The foreign minister of America called the referendum unilateral and announced that the vote and the result were not legitimate and also said that his country continued to support a united, federal, democratic and successful Iraq, all the parties should reject any unilateral movement and use of violence with the neighbors of Iraq.

**The goals of Turkey's foreign policy**

Turkey is one of the countries that have given importance to the foreign system of the country and the objectives of the Turkish foreign system in : (Hassanavi, 2016, p. 13-17)

1/ Political goals: for the purpose of political goals, the goals that the country is trying to achieve by creating an operation in the attitudes against With other countries and with the relationship between them by using diplomatic tools in a major way, and from the Turkish point of view He emphasizes the need for diplomatic action to solve the problems of the region, as well as the political objectives of the foreign political system of Turkey.

1- National protection: National assimilating a central and military position in the political and military strategy, and towards a political one The direction of each country, which is based on the national nature of Turkey, when the Republic of Turkey was established on the basics of peace and reconciliation In Jihan, which aims to destroy the security and security of the area, which is the national system of Turkey.

2- A local conglomerate: this is a goal of the national security system, and the external system will continue through the increase of foreign activities With the aim of governing a Turkish city in the geographical and social sectors, to create a local conglomerate in Turkey, there is a need for political and economic goodness. And expanding human and cultural development needs regional cooperation for the parties.

3/ Reviving the role of the region: one of the most important goals of the foreign political goals of Turkey in the role of Turkey as an example state for building Political, in part, which enters the middle region between the East and the West, and the Turkish system emphasizes that it is a democratic state, which The main goal of turkey's foreign system is to create a regional and international situation in which peace and stability will be imposed on Turkey.

2/ Military objectives: From the point of view of Turkey, asaish will be created on the base of Karlek and political and strategic alliances, which will be a guarantee for the hand In the face of any internal and external threats, the Turkish view that Turkey has an important geostrategic position in terms of security, has Roha, the leader of Turkey, is one of the great forces of Jihan in a way that is the two most powerful forces in nato's coalition.

Turkey's role in the area as a country of history and merkazi is a regional and international agency, which has seen the positive system in itself Against the Arab world countries through opening and cooperation of trade with Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Fala Stein and with some other Arab countries, turkey in the field of economics was able to strengthen relations with other countries in a way that is stamped Signing a free trade agreement between Turkey and countries (Egypt, Jordan, Maghrib, Palestine, Syria, and Tunisia), and signing the agreement to encourage sarmayeh The exchange between Turkey, Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Kuwait, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Algeria has developed into a trade and economic exchange. (Al-Sa'id,p. 477)

**The principles and principles of Turkey's foreign policy**

The principles and principles that Turkey has developed in the foreign system (Hossein,p. 477, 478)

1/ Self-sighted ness: According to this, the turkish foreign system should be formed in a way that is in a way that is expressed in An explanation of the continuation of civilization and the changes in the construction of a foreign system on the historical and civil ized foundations of the Turkish state.

2/ The depth of the strategy, this is the first time turkish foreign minister Ahmad Davutoglu (rousing and expressing the structure of the foreign system in Based on geopolitical backgrounds, civil, cultural, social and economic developments, and Turkey's history in the environment around geography, this will go to Turkey's time The circle of working on the surrounding, regional and international floors.

3/ The center of the regional and international role: we will get two-way and two-way elements:

A-Chamk bridge of the connection between the east and the west in the face of geography, culture, diplomatic and political civilization.

B- Turkey's role: to play a role in the reconstruction of the issue of reproducing the co-ordination of the region and the international community.

4/ East Direction: After 2002, Turkey has made this direction to the path and the agenda of the foreign system, the activation of Turkish relations with Arab countries and neighboring Countries of Turkey.

5/Power of Rome: Turkey has tried to establish its own foreign system, relying on diplomatic movements And enlightenment, cooperation, and scientific and economic support, to play a role in the cooperation of the region in the surrounding environment.

6/ Multi-faceted diplomacy: The Turkish state was in a state of great diplomacy at both levels of the region and the international community.

In general, Foreign Policy emphasizes five fundamental principles, including:

**First**: Reorganizing the relationship between freedom and security: At a time when international players were in front of the U.S. security forces after September 11, He offered an example of political reform, without threatening security.

**Second**: Trying to solve hanging problems with neighbors called "zero-handed ness". then came out of the picture that owns several issues for a country that has good relations with everyone It gives the foreign policy unique ability to mend

**Third**: Adopting a multi-dimensional and multi-way policy, in a moving international situation, cannot now adopt a single-dimensional policy. Instead of becoming a source of problems between east/west, north/south, asia and islam, it has become a source of problem solving. A country has several initiatives in solving problems.

**Fourth**: The development of the diplomatic style and the redefining of the role of The Christian in the international arena, previously defined as the "bridge country", is instead trying to become a central country in the new phase.

**Fifth**: Moving from a frozen policy to continuous movement and building relations with most of the world's most important countries In order to embody these important letters, it will not be an easy task, as well as to implement and gain soft power, and the government has taken some steps at the same time, the most important of which is:

1. The mediation between Israel and Iraq continues to be in contact with the Hamas movement after its election.

2. The intermediary between Palestine and Israel.

3. Mediation in the Lebanese crisis.

4. The intermediary between Syria and Israel in 2008.

5. To intervene in Iraq's affairs so that Sunni interests are not marginalised.

6. Trying to bring the Other Side closer to each other, especially after Boto returned to his country.

7. Attempts to mediate between Pakistan and Afghanistan in the end of 2008.

8. To quell anxiety in the Cacabula, especially after the military conflict between Georgia and Russa.

9 accepting the security plan that Kofi Annan had set up to resolve the Cyprus issue

10- Reopening relations with Greece. And many other attempts.

But after changing the political system through constitutional amendments, the goals, principles and principles of Turkey's foreign policy have changed under the influence of Erdogan's personality, which has brought other dreams and goals to Turkey, which has had an impact on Turkey's foreign policy.

**The Kurdish problem in Turkey**

The changes that the Ottoman Empire has made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are considered the most important factor in the creation of modern Turkish identity. Al-Munir,p.146, has made numerous demands and conflicts at the local level related to religious and racial identity, in response to pressure to emerge from state-building. The state has adopted a conservative and strict nature. They insisted on a strong national and secular side in confronting the cultural and political movements that demanded change. (Fucuyama, 1992)

Samuel Huntington believes that Turkey lives more than any other country in the case of identity crises, even telling Turkey that "the torn countries" that its leaders want to be part of the West at a time when Turkish history, culture and tradition are not western. Huntjton , 1999 , but Foreign Minister Ahmed Davutoglu , who is known as a thinker in his book " Strategic Depth " , talks about the dangers of the identity crisis that the Turkish community is experiencing . Those who suffer from shysophinia have an idea and imagination that is incompatible with the reality in which they live.

It is worth noting that Ismail Bishkchi says the Kurdish family is not a minority who came from another location and lived in the land, but they own land and their property has been occupied. Even Beskchi points out that Kurdistan is an international teacher. ( Bishkji , 1998 ) , but the question here is why they have looked at the new girl as a minority of The Kurds We can find a summary of America's years of politics against the Kurds in the idea of a nationalist like Ajwait's bulldozer. "If they try to do so, they will be cut off from the pen and should be prevented, as opposed to the principles on which the Turkish nation is based," he said. (Ghafur, 2012)

In addition to the chauvinist voice, some Turkish writers point out that if He wants to follow the country's democratic path, he should stop denying the Kurds and also admit other minorities, as he is one of the leaders of the democratic government. Because democracy does not match racism in any way. On that basis, Beshakchi says the Kurdish issue is not a minority issue. The essence of the Kurdish question is hiding in the fact that the Kurds are a nation, their country is Kurdistan, and their soil has been occupied and divided into imperial countries and their roles in the region, stealing the rights of the Kurdish nation to establish another independent state. (R. Zawan, 2006).

**Kurdistan Region's Relationship with Turkey**

**1. The beginning of economic relations**

In terms of economic and trade relations, The Kurdistan Region is considered one of the most important countries with a strong relationship with Turkey and is of great importance to the country, and we are concerned about the size of trade relations between the two sides in recent years, and we will come to the conclusion that these relations have developed significantly.

On the basis of economic agreements ahead of the region's agreement, Ahmed Davutoglu insists on rapid trade and economic exchanges with Turkish neighbors, the Kurdistan region's link to The Kurdistan Region, which is important to all countries surrounding Turkey, can be attempted through Turkey to build relations with it. At a time when Ahmed Davutoglu is trying to renew all regional and international relations with the Catechus - Balkan - Europe - Central Asia ... Etc., efforts to weaken borders such as the removal of visas between Iran, the border and Iraq to create pain trade in the form of the EU's common market model present a huge opportunity for the Kurdistan Region to gain advanced air, dryness, goods and industrial industry in each of these different regions.

Because Turkey is the only door to sending Kurdistan's hydrocarbons and foreign goods to the region. Because of the changes that have taken place in this country, many facilities have been created for economic movements, in a way that people can easily reach all the builders with a slow market, so 80 percent Kurdistan Region's food and clothing goods are imported from Turkey, according to The Secretary of Commerce, who plans to close the exchange, which has now reached $12 billion, to 20 billion US dollars. Economic factors play an effective role in putting pressure on the parties and slowing down tensions, so it needs to be given special importance. The size of the Trade Exchange with Iraq exceeded $12 billion in 2013, but in later years it has led to crisis in the region, particularly ISIS and Syria, as well as local issues. Under $8 billion, most of the volume of trade exchanges for the Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region is more active than the Turkish company in various fields and sectors in the Kurdistan Region. After countries such as Russia and Iraq, the Kurdistan Region is now a large part of the economic map and any economic development in the field of energy and oil directly expressed the oil agreement it has made with the region, important to The Islamic State. "We are not going to be able to do anything about it," said Abu Musab, a 35-year-old resident of The Hague. "We are not going to be able to do anything about it."

**2. The export of foreign trade to the Kurdistan Region**

The economic factor is one of the points that has a great impact on the policy of politics towards General Iraq and the Kurdistan Region in particular. The Economy of Kurdistan is relatively dependent on economic and trade relations with The Islamic State. There are economies and businesses with him, with hundreds of large and small companies working in the Kurdistan Region, even a part of which belongs to companies that are near decision-making centres in The Kurdistan Region.

Economic relations and common economic interests of both the Kurdistan Region and the Kurdistan Region affect the policies of both sides, and we can say that on the condition that the economic relations between the two sides develop, the Kurdistan Region can be a strategic ally for The political agreement between the two sides comes as a result of economic power, and the agreement can be made through which The United Nations can reach an energy delivery port to Europe, which in this way increases the burden on the European Union. There is a lot of energy need, and this will have a more positive impact on the process of membership in the European Union. This will benefit from the benefits that The Kurdistan Region's energy benefits from, which I will talk about more in the next part. And this economic relationship with the Kurdistan Region could also affect the resolution of the Kurdish issue in The Kurdistan Region.

And the Kurdistan Region is an important market for the sale and rehabilitation of products and exports of trade exchanges between the two sides due to appropriate plans and friendly policy policies, although some incidents have increased significantly in recent years. It had an effect on the trade activity between The Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region, for example, the emergence of the ISIS terrorist organization in 2014, creating threats to security and security, which was one of the reasons for the lack of economic and commercial activities. Between the two sides, before the ISIS terrorist organization launched the Turkish company through zakho, Mosul, Tikrit, Baghdad, and Basra, but after the organization was released, this road was no longer safe to do business. That's why Turkish companies were forced to conduct business activities through zakho, Dhok, Erbil, Kirkuk, and Baghdad to central and regional areas, and the years of investment in the region are rising significantly and Most of the exports of goods to Iraq and the Kurdistan Region are seen as Turkish goods in the Kurdistan Region's central markets, which have turkish goods in all the cities of the region, the most goods and goods in the surrounding countries of the Kurdistan Region come in the first place, so what clothes without a clean drug... Etc.

Third talk: the effect of energy on their relationships

It is neither an energy country nor an energy-producing country, but the country's geography has made it the best place for regional and global energy transit, and this is one of the strongest (Oghlo) arguments for the strongest role of The United States. In the field of global economics, however much it needs this natural source, the Kurdistan Region can provide, and in return, the region certainly has its own condition, which is to open the door to international markets for sale and obtain oil profits, although the Kurdistan Region owns it. It depends on a large oil and gas and economic future, but it needs the Middle White Sea to send and sell to European and global markets.

Of course, for this purpose, Turkey is the best way or choice, and another benefit of the oil deal with Khomeini is to banish Baghdad and get rid of the country's economic dominance, to sell energy through a guaranteed and out-of-control way in Baghdad. Dr. Khomeini is considered the most important station for implementing this policy, regarding oil energy , two of the most famous oil companies in the oil field , Jenk Benerji and Pete Oil , which have put hundreds of dollars into the process of investment for years . Oil in the Kurdistan Region.

The agreement between the oil of the regional government and its history is never the way of Russia and Russia, nor is it the result of the Iraqi and Iraqi roads, but the regional government has opened its doors to Turkey much more and bigger than Russia and Iraq. And because It's not an energy producing country, the country's oil and gas resources don't cost much, but the Kurdistan Region has a large amount of petrol and a large field of natural gas and oil, all of which have conditions. A strong political and economic relationship has been established between Kurdistan and the region, and the Kurdistan Region has now signed a 50-year protocol with The Kurdistan Region in the sector of producing and transferring energy to world markets without returning to the Iraqi government's participation or receiving opinions on it. According to Professor James Crookhardt, an expert on international law at Cambridge University, these contracts of the Kurdistan Regional Government are completely valid and within the framework of the Iraqi constitution, which in itself. It is a long-term legitimacy for the sale of energy and the provision of the kurdistan region's national income for a long time.

The kurdistan region is seen as a major zone of oil and gas energy, and its energy demands and needs are increasing day by day, and oil and gas supplies in the Kurdistan Region are costing less. It seems that if Turkey provides its oil and gas through Kurdistan instead of Russia, Ban, Iran, or Azerbaijan, it will be the cheapest on it, and on the other hand, Kurdistan's sources can lead to the fact that the Oil of Kurdistan is about To become a major energy terminology in the world, from here we see the greater importance of the Position of the Kurdistan Region to a country such as Turkey, in addition to the influence of the natural resources that exist in Kurdistan on political and diplomatic relations between them.

The Kurdistan region is now an important market for companies in a way that the size of trade between the KRG and The Kurdistan Regional Government reached $12 billion in 2011. Even 79 per cent of the country's trade between Turkey and Iraq with the Kurdistan Region is higher than the country's trade with Syria, Lebanon and Jordan.

The Turkish company, along with the regional government's budget, the rising level of people's livelihoods and the government's plan to raise the region's economic level, are participating in the Kurdistan region's economic growth, according to the common geography government. Also, the Turkish company has had a lion's share of the important economic sector in the region's relationship with foreign companies because if we look at the Kurdistan Region's investment law, it is a lot of facilities for foreign investment in this do Khush’s is the biggest beneficiary of the region's facilities, even as a gateway to The Kurdistan Region's economic growth process, but due to the poor security situation in other parts of Iraq, It has brought much of the investment into Kurdistan.

The energy sector has opened the door to great cooperation between The Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region, despite many conflicts, and even The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has been willing to continue its relations with the region in terms of energy, as the ministry of oil and The central government is against the Kurdistan Region's oil sector in all its forms, believing that this is contrary to the Iraqi constitution and rejects the Kurdistan Region's oil and gas law, and has also stopped dealing with companies that share the energy sector. Kurdistan Region.

Turkey's cooperation with the Kurdistan Region in the field of energy has made Turkey a major actor in Iraq's political process, even ignoring the relations and interests it had in other parts of Iraq and focusing more on the Kurdistan Region. Especially in the field of natural gas, at a time when Iraq for Turkey is this easy bridge that connects Turkey to the Arab Cooperation Council countries, especially after the Syrian crisis, which closed the door, so the Kurdistan Region's government is at the gate of this bridge. He sees the head.

In return, the Kurdistan Region is trying to take advantage of its energy sector to guarantee its economic future, and to protect its economic growth, in addition to energy being a major factor. The kurdistan region's chief energy policy is to protect the Kurdistan Region from the crises created by Iraq, which is known in the media as an independent economy. In particular, after the Kurdistan Regional Government's energy conflict with the Iraqi government, it reached an impasse after the Iraqi government's decisions and even federal court decisions. In this way, the interests of the Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region have become a motivating factor in building a strong energy relationship. In relation to the Kurdistan Region in the field of energy, The Kurdistan Region was in front of two options:

1. Technical options are being made by the Turkish company's investment in the region's energy sector, meaning the Turkish company is trying for an economic alternative, meaning that if the political situation changes in the region, it will continue its relations with Baghdad in the field of energy.

2. Strategic options by agreeing to a strategic energy agreement with the Kurdistan Regional Government, which, according to the agreement, will receive a large part of the Kurdistan Region's oil and gas exports, in this scenario. It requires the creation of a new oil and gas pipeline between The Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region, in addition to participating in the kurdistan region's oil marketing, but this is largely linked to the political situation in relations between Iraq and the Kurdistan Region.

At this stage, The President of the Kurdistan Region agreed to a double pipeline to transport crude oil and natural gas, in Avari (2013). The kurdistan regional government's prime minister, Nechirvan Idris Barzani, agreed to build the pipelines and to import a large part of the kurdistan region's oil. This came after The Kurdistan Workers' Party (KRG) cooperated with the central government despite tensions in relations between the two sides.

According to the plan of the Kurdistan Regional Government's Ministry of Natural Resources, the export of Kurdistan's oil through The Kurdistan Region will begin this year, so the kurdistan region's crude oil has been exported in an experienced manner on March 4, 2013.

The Kurdistan Region is an important producer of energy if it is created in other parts of the world, through the continued development of the Anatolian pipeline, which is supported by Europe. The region's energy exports, according to forecasts, will reach 1.5 billion square feet per day of natural gas, which is important for filling oil supplies, and can replace Iranian gas, in addition to the fact that Turks are getting it at a cheaper price.

The geopolitical and strategic ally of energy geography as a living state between exports and imports, and exporters that deliver through energy and energy are (Iran - Azerbaijan - Russia - Kurdistan Region) and The importers are the European Union, which uses bureaucratic diplomacy between these parties, according to data from the Institute for Statistics, which increases the number of countries obtained annually by 10%. The Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region share a 352-square-foot border, as well as a number of investor bridges in the region through companies working in the Kurdistan Region in the field of infrastructure construction and energy reconstruction, which by 2016 reached 1,000.

The Kurdistan Region's oil and gas development has played an important role in the development of oil and gas through energy companies, for example, the General Energy Company, which participated in the production and export of the region's first oil sector in the Taqtaq and Tawki fields. According to the company's statements, 206 million barrels of oil have been produced over the past 10 years at the Taqtaq field, which has a near -12 billion dollars in profits. That's why Kisr has played a mediating role Between the Kurdistan Region and Baghdad regarding the distribution of exported oil will, according to data from the Deloitte Company in 2018, the total oil exported to the Kurdistan Region through the pipeline It reached 134.4 million barrels per barrel with a total of 373 barrels a day in which the Turkish oil company deserved more than $1.1 billion.

About 99 percent of natural gas imports 50 billion cubic feet of gas annually, half of which comes from Russia, the Kurdistan Region may be the expected alternative to Turkey. to import natural gas after the end of Ankara's long-term gas contract with Azerbaijan in 2021 and Russia in 2025 and Iran in 2026.

On the other hand, kurdistan's natural gas sources are closer to the border with Russia, Iran and Azerbaijan, and the cost will be lower. The decision maker understands the importance of the Kurdistan Region's location as an economic and strategic gateway, particularly in the issue of energy resources, for example, former Foreign Minister Daud Oghlo, who said the goal of The Kurdistan Region's energy policy is to develop The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) oil pipeline means it cannot ignore energy sources from its geographical neighbors, at a lower price without external obstacles, especially as America wants to become a regional energy position. hub ) in the Middle East , which is not easy in the presence of two major forces such as Russia 's Iran .

Despite the turmoil in relations between the Kurdistan Region and Iraq over the referendum, particularly when the Turkish army carried out some military maneuvers with Iraq, the day after the independent referendum, even Erdogan threatened to close the region's oil pipeline, but eventually the Turkish government did not do so and normalised its relations with the region, certainly because of all its economic interests with the region.

The most important question for each of the region and the question of energy security is the concept and meaning of energy security for each of them in such a way in a way that energy security as a functioning state focuses on security needs in a way that means ensuring the energy supply needed from two reliable sources and ensuring that these needs are met , without the risk of political genocide . On its relations, but energy security for the Kurdistan Region as a producer depends on the security of the request, which means ensuring full production on the eyes of energy, as well as ensuring continuous demand at high prices, but the question here is whether "We are not going to be able to provide security for the people of Kurdistan, and we are not going to be able to do so." In February 2016, the PDK targeted oil pipelines that caused $250 million in damage to the Kurdistan Region due to a three-week line standoff.

Energy markets are an important issue for the Kurdistan Region, and the Kurdistan Region's oil pipeline is the artery of The Kurdistan Economy, which has a green economy, and has always planned to expand oil exports from this line, in addition to trying to gas. Through this line, it means that in the geopolitical situation in the Kurdistan Region, it has led to a first-class reliance on Turkey as a gateway to the world, so there is a possibility of further development of The Kurdistan Region's relations with the Region, particularly kani K. Nechirvan Idris Barzani became the region's president in 2019 and had several meetings with Erdogan.

What is related to Turkey, on the eyes of energy, is that it has put its economic goals on political accounts, for example, its relations with Russia, Iran and the Kurdistan Region. In this regard, energy security is the leading engine of Foreign Policy. In this context, this difficult economic situation is going through, so as a necessity to guarantee and provide oil and gas resources to continue the process of economic growth, which is one of the leading factors in its strength The region's energy market is stronger by strengthening its relations with the regional government, which has partnered in transporting and marketing energy sources from the region to the international market through the TANAP pipeline, and its leading goal is to underestimate Russia and Iran's energy security.

The role of economic relations on the development of political and diplomatic relations between The Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region

**First: The role of Kurdistan region in the peace process in Iraq**

In the period of justice and development party led by Recep Tayyip Erdogan between 2002 and 2007, the establishment of formal relations between KRG and Turkey was very slow, because the nationalist movement Outside the government and the generals of Khawn, the strong position within the army did not allow the establishment of formal relations with the government of the Justice and Development Party, and on the other hand, the government had no program for solving the Kurdish issue and negotiations With Kurds in Turkey But after 2007, when the Justice and Development Party took over all three presidencies (parliament, president, prime minister), which strengthened this party's position against the opposition and the army and on the other hand Other changes in the view of this party in the political, economic, and security pipelines with the perspective and policy of the zero problem of Ahmed Davutoglu, the green light on the right relationship with the power and official government of PDK Development has been spun in the KRG. In other words, the KRG was the first beneficiary of turkey's foreign policy.

The KRG has a very important position in the process of creating democracy of the Justice and Development Party and has completed its support in solving the Kurdish issue through dialogue and negotiation. The first step in changing Turkey's policy and the PDK's government began when Turkey's special envoy to Iraq, Murad Ozcelik, and Davutoglu, turkey's foreign policy adviser, visited President Massoud Barzani in 2008, demonstrating the fact that a new phase of relations between the KRG and Turkey had begun. In 2009, Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu visited Kurdistan and later opened the Turkish Consulate in Erbil (Gunter, 2014, p. 24).

Despite the effects of the economic and energy factors on the strength of the KRG's relationship with Turkey, the peace process and the resolution of the Kurdish issue in Turkey, launched in 2009 by the Justice and Development Party (PDK) government in Turkey, was a strong factor in the strengthening of relations.

During the fall of a group of kurdistan workers party members in Khabur border to Turkey in 2009 sent and representatives of Democratic Nations Party to Qandil after 2013 kurdistan regional government played an important role during his visit The Democratic Peace Party delegation and the representative of the Wise Council in 2013 and Salahaddin Damirtash in 2015 for Qandil, the Regional Government, cooperated with them, despite the fact that on November 16, 2013 The kurdish region's president, Masoud Barzani, has expressed his full support for the peace process.

The importance of the KRG in the stage of withdrawing the forces outside the borders of Turkey will be seen because at that stage the KRG will directly participate in the peace process, because when the Fighters of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) were retreating abroad Turkey's borders in Qandil which is a part of Kurdistan region's land were settled and stayed there until the stage of putting weapons, and in this context, it is a lesson that many of the Fighters of Kurdistan Workers' Party are not ready to return For Turkey and in the event of this situation, the KRG should help them implement the necessary plan to stay in southern Kurdistan.

**Second: opening the consulate in Erbil**

As a country in the region, it has many different power lines in the field that can be used to implement foreign policy. Because of this, it is possible to have a proper power over the politics and decisions of the country and the political parties in the area. The Kurdistan Region is one of the political parties that have been attacked by the military force in the area.

Since the creation of the Kurdistan Region, The Kurdistan Region has tried in many ways to put its impact on the Kurdistan Region throughout the region, as the Kurdistan Region's government, as a Kurdish region, has strongly linked it to its national security, so it has tried in many ways to control the political direction of the region. Although relations between the Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region have not been established in the past thirty years, it has been a Kurdish one in some stations. But then, with the changes in the economic equations on the one hand, the song of politics against neighboring countries on the other hand, the relationship with the Kurdistan Region will take it to a more formal stage and therefore, for the first time, it will take its consulate on the territory of the Kurdistan Region.

After the relations between The Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region reached an advanced stage, The Kurdistan Region decided to open a general consulate in Erbil, the capital of the Kurdistan Region, due to the large number of contracts with the Kurdistan Region in all areas. In September 2009, when Rajab Tayyip Erdogan visited Iraq, he met with Jalal Talabani ,the former president of Iraq, and formally brought the matter to the Iraqi side, which was aimed at strengthening economic and diplomatic relations with the Kurdistan Region.

Then, on 10-3-2010, for the first time, the General Consulate was officially opened in Erbil, which is special to the three provinces of Erbil, Duhuk and Sulaimaniyah. The purpose of this consulate, according to the nature of the general consulate, except for organizing the affairs of physics, is to hold many diplomatic, economic and cultural organizations.

The opening of the General Consul General's Office in the Kurdistan Region has had many different issues that have changed the relations between the two countries, as such:

1-He was a member of the Kurdistan Regional Government in northern Iraq, although he had previously opposed the creation of a federal region for the Kurds. And this is the opinion of Kurdistan region which is against the cooperation of the two sides

2-Implementing a large Turkish project in The Kurdistan Region that is related to the region's economic infrastructure For example, a large amount of food supplies in the Kurdistan Region come through The Kurdistan Region.

3-The Turkish company's revival in the field of contractors and settlements. Especially in the field of infrastructure for residential projects. Also, the activation of the plane line between Erbil and Istanbul, and then an agreement on the construction of the shamandafar line between Erbil and Istanbul

Erdogan's view of the Kurdish issue in general and the Kurdistan Region in particular has made fundamental changes. For example, when Erdogan visited Erbil in 2011 to participate in the opening of Erbil International Airport and the opening of branches of several Turkish banks, he was the first Prime Minister to visit the Kurdistan Region. During this visit, Erdogan emphasized the historical relationship between Kurdistan and Kurdistan, and also clearly pointed out that we have ended the politics of The Kurds and that it is now a new stage in our relationship.

**Third: the visit of the president of KRG to Amad**

As a result of the peace and song process, The Prime Minister of The Kurdistan Region formally invited the President of the Kurdistan Region to participate in some historical events in The City of Amad.

In November 2013, the former President of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, Rajab Tayyip Erdogan, visited Diyarbakir after 21 years at the official invitation of the Turkish Prime Minister. And both leaders participated in the celebration of a large number of Kurdish boys and girls. About this visit, Dr. Fuad Hussein, the president of the presidency of the region, says about the importance of this visit: the first official and important visit is that the meeting between the president of the region and the prime minister of Turkey will be held in Amad city and both leaders will participate in the king of his sons and daughters The Kurds are the ones.

One of the purposes of Barzani's visit was to participate in the mass marriage process for 400 young people and to simultaneously reinstate many capitalist and service projects. In a large crowd ceremony, President Barzani presented a speech in Kurdish and said: "It has been 20 years since I was in the process of being in your service, for Now I believe that the process of reconciliation will come true, and it is not necessary to do so." At the end of his speech, Barzani announced that although he does not know Turkish, but Turkish said long live the Kurdish and Turkish brothers, long live peace, long live freedom))

In the same ceremony, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan presented a statement saying, "Mala Mustafa Barzani came to our country 81 years ago in 1930, and this is the first time we will present masoud Barzani in his house. This is your land and it is very much Good come on.

On this trip, President Barzani, with the help of Jabib Tayyip Erdogan, visited most of the Kurdish cities, and was warmly welcomed by the people of these cities with the Flag of Kurdistan, which is the first time in the history of The Kurdistan Flag to be allowed in front of the largest man in the country. To be rescued. This was a fundamental change in the policy of politics against the Kurdish issue in general and the Kurdistan Region in particular.

The visit of The President of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) Massoud Barzani to The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has provoked a positive reaction to The Kurdistan Regional Government's (KRG) public opinion, which was the reason for Barzani's stance on the PKK compared to his previous visit. Barzani's stance on the visit was an optimistic one. He created more in Ankara and raised the level of expectations, and the President of the Kurdistan Region, after being welcomed, and the Kurdistan Regional Government, as it seems, is an actor out of the balance of the region, which includes Syria and Iraq, Iran. In the central government, it has its own speech and importance.

**Fourth: sending Peshmerga to Kobane**

ISIS was demanding the occupation of Kobani with thousands of armed men, when western Kurdistan forces accused The Kurdistan Democratic Party of aiding and advocating ISIS for the invasion of Kobani, as The Kurdistan Workers' Party (YPG) was pushing for people's protection from the north.

In the first week of October 2014, ISIS militants completely surrounded the city of Kobani, first entering Kobani from the east of the city, several important places. They invaded, but the Murshidpanar Highway, a strategic area targeted by ISIS, became a battleground for fighters and was not allowed to reach ISIS.

Isis's occupation efforts continued, and the fighters' resistance was getting stronger and more meaningful. YPG's defense in Kobani gained more voice and color, despite ISIS's pressure on the battlefield, as well as pressure from the north, but the fighters did not allow all of Kobani to fall into ISIS hands.

After Kobani was completely surrounded by ISIS terrorist groups, more than half of the city has been taken over by ISIS terrorists. This has led the Kurdistan Region to launch its own diplomatic channel to reach a Peshmerga force to liberate The City of Kobani. But it was not done geographically because ISIS forces were between Peshmerga and YPG fighters. However, the Kurdistan Region was able to take advantage of the good relations between The Kurdistan Region and The Kurdistan Region, which is why it was a historical event, and for the first time, the Peshmerga forces, an official force, were able to cross the Border into The Kurdistan Region and cross the Border with the Kurdistan Flag.

Kurdistan Region President Masoud Barzani in an official letter asked parliament to vote on the peshmerga's departure to Kobani, as the Kurdistan Region is a coalition against ISIS and Kobani needs military cooperation. The Kurdistan Regional Government, KRG, approved by a majority vote the decision to send Peshmerga forces to the western city of Kobani in the presence of Peshmerga Minister Mustafa Said Qadir. Later, in a press conference, Kurdistan's Peshmerga Minister Mustafa Said Qadir announced that the decision to ask the Kurdistan Parliament to allow peshmerga forces to go to Kobani was at the request of the region's president.

The Peshmerga forces were able to cross into Kobani and support the YPG fighter forces and protect them from ISIS brutality in the last moments of kobani's invasion.

The first caravan to go to Kobane passed through the cities of The Kurdistan Region and northern Kurdistan, where thousands of people were welcoming Peshmerga caravans and most of the cities were flowering caravans. Welcome to the Peshmerga and raise the Flag of Kurdistan and raise their heads. Peshmerga arrived in northern Kobani on the first day of the Peshmerga's departure into Kobani, where they were able to break the barricades of ISIS's attack and defense.

The forces went to Kobane with four caravans, the first peshmerga forces on October 28, 2014, in erbil, the capital, where they were there for 35 days, starting on the first day, numbering 150. The Peshmerga were supporting forces with heavy, medium and light weapons, and the second caravan was on December 3, 2014, and the third caravan was on 15-1-2015, and the last caravan replaced it with its caravan. The third was to complete the task, which remained there until THE ISIS threat to Kobani was removed and the city was liberated, and then returned to the territory of the Kurdistan Region.

The Kurdistan Peshmerga forces in Kobani have killed one martyr and wounded many, bravely fought against ISIS militants, and have been able to change the balance of power with The YPG and YPJ forces, and ISIS has withdrawn from the attacking force.

On the occasion of the success and liberation of Kobani, President Masoud Barzani , who was the president of the Kurdistan Region , thanked Him in a message for paving the way. "I think it is necessary, on behalf of myself and the People of Kurdistan, to thank the allies who, with the continued support of their air force, played a role in the resistance of the fighters and this sacred handicap to the people of Kurdistan," he said. Also, thanks to The Country of Iraq I will allow the Peshmerga support forces to reach Kobane to help the fighters.

**1. the relationship between Kurdistan region and Kurdistan region in the face of referendum**

The kurdistan region's independent referendum, although it was a democratic right of the Kurdistan Region, differed from the international community, some of which were completely opposed to the idea. One of the countries was a member of the Kurdistan Region, although he had a strong relationship with the Kurdistan Region at this time, but he strongly opposed the referendum and made all kinds of attempts not to reach the goal of the referendum.

The Kurdistan Region has decided on September 25, 2017, to hold its own referendum on September 25, 2017. The area outside the Kurdistan Region administration, which is in the Jenakok area of Newan, has been destroyed by The Kurdistan Regional Government(29). Despite turkey's concerns and demands for the postponement of the referendum, the Kurdistan Region is responsible for the referendum. On September 25, 2017, the referendum was held in turkey and the Kurdistan Region.

On September 25, 2017, The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) was concerned that the creation of an independent Kurdistan state was a threat to its national security, and believed it would lead to further instability within the country. The kurdistan region's declaration of independence seems to make the Kurds no longer dominate and follow their own independent policies.

"The referendum means violating Iraq's territorial sovereignty and will pose a major threat to Turkey," he said, calling the regional referendum a big mistake, calling on the United Nations to cancel it because, as I mentioned, they believe it will not be in the interest of the region's security, and that the referendum will mean violating Iraq's territorial sovereignty.

Erdogan wanted to prevent the referendum from being held through the Diplomatic Channel, but after his disappointment this time through the Mita agency, he tried to achieve this goal. In this way, he could not succeed, so he formally reiterated his opposition. Erdogan was unable to lead Barzani to hold the referendum on two reasons:

1-Erdogan said the referendum would be defeated because he had expressed his opinion, and President Barzani had formally announced the day of the referendum.

2-Because relations with Baghdad were not good, It was unable to give the Kurdistan Region a better alternative to the referendum.

On August 23, 2017, the Foreign Minister visited Iraq and met with Iraqi officials and expressed his stance towards the referendum. He mistook the Decision of the Kurdish Leadership. He reiterated His stance with the Iraqi territory in any way.

After the referendum, Turkey, in partnership with the Iraqi government, adopted several procedures to put pressure on the Kurdistan Region, such as opposing the independent idea of the Kurdistan Region, which has strengthened relations between Iraq and The Kurdistan Region. But because The United States was not ready to break its economic relations with the region, especially in the field of energy, this new relationship between Iraq and Turkey was somewhat distrustful. In return, after a while, the head of the Kurdistan Regional Government (The Eighth Cabinet), Mr. Nechirvan Barzani, visited The Kurdistan Region, and re-established political relations with the strengthening of economic relations.

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