On Sunday, December 16, 2018, 1:58:38 p.m. GMT+3, Veysel Kurt <kurtveysel@gmail.com> wrote:

Dear Dr. Ali,

Thank you very much for review. Your recommendations will make great contribution to the article.

Please do not hesitate to contact for any thing that I can do.

Veysel

15 Ara 2018 Cmt, saat 23:04 tarihinde azad ali <kaurlaylan@yahoo.com> şunu yazdı:

Dear Dr Veysel

selamlar

General notes

This piece in general has many positive aspects to qualify it for publishing in your journal. It a thorough well-documented ,researched , analytical , and have covered the subject in a fair and balanced way.

However , i will give a conditional approval for the publishing. It has several serious issues which need to be addressed.

A-Problem in the statement of thesis:

the writer has four statements of problem , but in reality he is dealing with one.

see "This article evaluates the process and the failures of the 25 September, 2017, independence referendum, which is accepted as a critical threshold in the Kurdish quest for status."(1st thesis )

"This article emphasizes how the Kurdish quest for a future in the history of modern Iraq transformed from a politic al to structural one, and how the perception of external actors towards Kurds have been shaped due to their geopolitical location, eco-cultural/geoethnic and their differentiation from the three largest ethnic groups in the Middle East – Turks, Arabs, and Persians," ( 2nd thesis)

"For this reason, this article assesses the economic policy in the period from U.S. invasion to the independence referendum, and analyzes the reasons why this referendum was unsuccessful". (3rd thesis)

But the article as i understand it is dealing mainly with KRG failed attempt to use its energy policy and its role in fighting ISIS for an independent quest.

Therefore , I suggest the writer re-writes the abstract accordingly.

B- In addition , the article is need of a thorough proofreading for linguistic , grammatical errors, and corrections for the many fragmented sentences .

you will see below few selected examples:

These sentences need re writing or rephrasing

1- The basis of these initiatives pursued by the KRG was to be able to use their rich energy resources to devote economic autonomy and political power. ( in conclusion)

2- U.S. administration’s encircling policies applied on Iran, and eventually obtained a de facto autonomous structure.

3- The fact that some of the agreements made by the KRG included disputed territories, which remain as a political sensitivity for the central Iraq administration, deteriorated relations

4- The disputed territories have a 5,3 million population, which is bigger than the population of the Netherlands, and is made up of 40.000km2 which is four times the size of Lebanon.

5- The chaotic environment in the Middle East, the security gap of Iraq, the military and political support that the KRG had received in its fight against Daesh, and the investment and trade relations that the KRG formed due to its energy resources were all factors that led them to believe that a independence referendum would receive acceptance by international actors the

6- KRG administration intended to negotiate fiercely

C- Few areas the piece lacks documentation and substantiations

for example :

In addition to the independent foreign policy pursued by the KRG, its projects in the field of energy also made the KRG an important regional and international ally. The KRG made important agreements in the development, exploration, production, and exportation of oil and natural gas reserves, which were made on a level clearly seen by other states. This policy adopted by the KRG was a mere use of energy in its state-building process and as a tool to end its search for economic autonomy and sovereignty. The fact that energy was an important tool for both the regional and global equilibrium was undoubtedly the biggest factor that accelerated this process. ( needs substantiation)p.8 the KRG administration intended to negotiate fiercely.

2- The chaotic environment in the Middle East, the security gap of Iraq, the military and political support that the KRG had received in its fight against Daesh, and the investment and trade relations that the KRG formed due to its energy resources were all factors that led them to believe that a independence referendum would receive acceptance by international actors. However, by holding this referendum without the agreement or permission from the international community and without achieving sustainability within the KRG, the independence referendum step brought with it many risks. Regional and international actors that defended the territorial integrity of Iraq either supported Baghdad’s military interventions or turned a blind eye to them. This situation failed the expectations of the Kurds. The 25 September independence referendum, which was held under the direct opposition of regional actors and the uncertain attitudes of global actors, resulted in the loss of the achievements that the KRG had accumulated until then. This referendum was also a dead-end for Masoud Barzani, as it ended his political life in the KRG. (needs substantion-source?")

3- While acceptance of the referendum process was at the forefront in the society level of the KRG, the political response was not very strong. There were deep political disagreements between the KDP and PUK and the KDP and the Goran Movement. The decision to go to an independence referendum was given at a time when economic and political disputes had not been resolved. This involves the economic crisis due to the cuts in the budget, the drop of oil prices, the inability to pay civil servant wages, the decrease of public expenditure, and the suspension of important projects. On the political side, there were issues such as the fact that parliament had shut down, the speaker of the parliament couldn’t enter Erbil, the fact that Masoud Barzani was continuing to rule despite his term ending in 2015, and finally the postponement of the parliamentary and presidential elections that were decided to take place in November 2017. ( source?) c

4- External actors (especially Tehran and Baghdad) used this opportunity to become closer with parties within the KRG, which were experiencing internal political struggles due to historical contradictions. In this period, the KRG’s relationship with Iran and Baghdad, the regional support that Baghdad received and the decision of the U.S. administration to remain silent on the issue were all critical factors that decided upon the fate of the Kurds. Due to the fact that there was no strong political unity within the KRG, the interference of external factors further deepened the political disintegration among the Kurds. As a consequence of the PUK’s strategic relationship with Iran and the agreements it reached with Baghdad, the KRG lost the governance of Kirkuk and other disputed areas. In addition to this, Baghdad stopped flights to the KRG, demanded the transfer of border crossings and imposed sanctions. The biggest fiasco and defeat for the Kurds in this process was their over-confidence in external support and their military capacity. Most particularly, questions were raised about the peshmerga after the Daesh attacks. While the Kurds fortified their power in the political and economic spheres, the peshmerga failed to reform and failed to become a professional army not serving a particular party but serving under the roof of a regional administration. A military force acting under the control of the political parties in a period when Kurds were focused on independence meant a great risk. Indeed, the fact that the peshmerga were affiliated with a political party rather than a national belonging led to an escalation of party interests and policies instead of national interests. This not only pushed the KRG into a weaker political position but also left them weak in face of an intervention. For this reason, the 25 September independence referendum has been recorded as a tragedy in the eyes of Iraqi Kurds. (All these either should be in your conclusion or documented by source)

however , these suggestions are only to enrich it and should not deter you from publishing it.

Sincerely

Dr, Othman Ali

On Saturday, December 8, 2018, 12:05:58 a.m. GMT+3, Veysel Kurt <kurtveysel@gmail.com> wrote:

Thanks a lot.

7 Ara 2018 Cum, saat 23:09 tarihinde azad ali <kaurlaylan@yahoo.com> şunu yazdı:

selams dr Vysel

it will be my pleasure to peer revie the article you sent. Also , thanks for the offer i will seriously consider writing for the journal.

Sincerely

Othman Ali

On Friday, December 7, 2018, 11:56:40 a.m. GMT+3, Veysel Kurt <kurtveysel@gmail.com> wrote:

Dear Dr. Ali

I hope this e-mail finds you well.

I am Veysel Kurt, from Istanbul Medeniyet University and SETA.

I guess you remember me from dissertation defence of Mustafa GÖK.

I am guest editor of Ortadogu Etutleri journal for the coming issue.

I am asking you to review the attached article. It is about the quest of independence of Iraqi Kurds.

Please let me know if you can review it.

By the way, if you have an article you want to publish I can refer you to editorial of this journal.

Many thanks

Veysel Kurt

azad ali <kaurlaylan@yahoo.com>

To:

hatamgardi@gmail.com

Apr. 27 at 7:12 a.m.

Hide original message

----- Forwarded Message -----

From: Veysel Kurt <kurtveysel@gmail.com>

To: "kaurlaylan@yahoo.com" <kaurlaylan@yahoo.com>

Sent: Friday, December 7, 2018, 12:56:40 a.m. PST

Subject: article for peer review

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Many thanks

Veysel Kurt