

Kurdistan Privacy Government and Efforts to Riddance from Geopolitical Restrictions

Seyed AA^{1*} and Shahram F²

¹Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law and Politics, Science and Islamic Azad university, Tehran, Iran

²Department of International Relations, College of Law and Political Sciences, Science and Research Branch, Islamic Azad university, Tehran, Iran

*Corresponding author: Seyed AA, Department of International Relations, College of Law and Political Science, Science and Research Branch, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran, Tel: + 98 21 22 56 51 49; E-mail: a-azghandi@srbiau.ac.ir

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Abstract

Kurds as the largest stateless people in the world have been divided into four geographical areas of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. After centuries of oblivion over the past century, they were repeatedly faced with an iron fist policy by successive riots in Turkey. However, during past 52 years in northern Iraq and in form of federal Iraq framework, they were achieved partly to autonomy; while they were never hide their democratic independence desire. In this way, one of the most persistent structural problems of the Kurds is "geopolitical hardship" of Kurdistan privacy, in which is forced the Kurds to cooperate increasingly regional with Israel and internationally with the United States. In this paper, we addressed to geopolitical situation of Iraqi Kurdistan and the manner of its relations with other two countries.

Keywords Geopolitical restrictions; Privacy Government; Riddance

Kurdistan and Its Surrounded Geopolitics

Pirouz Mojtahedzadeh, have defined geopolitics as the art of creating balance in power with competitors in the regional and global levels in line with security, maintain and expand the national interest. Iraqi Kurdistan with 6 million population and area about 74 thousand square kilometers, include all or part of Duhok, Sulaymaniyah, Irbil, Kirkuk, Diyala and Nineveh provinces. Which given to significant reserves of hydrocarbons and water, have geopolitical and geostrategic situation. The world's living of Kurds is so intertwined with mountains' concept that it is not exorbitant if we say the existence of Kurds begins with mountains and its ends where it reached to Iraq's central lowlands. Basically Turks, Arabs, Persians people consider Kurds as synonymous with mountains, and sometimes they found negative attitude towards the Kurds accordingly [1].

On the other hand, Kurdistan is located between the five states of the Middle East means Iran, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Armenia and between the four constructs of civilization and culture among the four plateau of Iran, Saudi Arabia, Anatolia and the Caucasus and is located on a transit route between the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe.

Closed geographical position of Kurdistan is the greatest and sustained geopolitical challenge of it. Prerequisite for any exchange with the outside world is attracting cooperation of surrounding countries, especially Iran and Turkey. Many of the Iraqi Kurdistan's requirements are being achieved now from border crossings between these two countries. In Iraqi Kurdistan, malignant geopolitical conditions imposed limitations in decision-making on its leaders' policy; the most important of these conditions is as follows:

- Despite the availability to abundant water resources, Iraq's Kurdistan region is practically landlocked.

- This zone is located among Persians, Arabs and Turks civilizational fault and in the interface of the non-conformance regional powers of Turkey and Iran.

The oil-rich province of Kirkuk and Mosul and major part of Diyala - Khanqin province are located near the borders of Iran and Turkey, which in terms of geopolitical cause security vulnerability of Kurdistan. In other words, diplomatic engagement and specially, economic revenue of Kurdistan is always hostage of positive relations with its incongruous neighbors.

Kurdish leaders, especially the leaders of the Patriotic Union and the Democratic Party - Talabani and Barezani - always are finding a way to get rid of this unwanted problem of land. In this meantime, Masoud Barezani as a leader of Kurdistan region, has taken a highly active diplomacy and often associated with secrecy to finding and instituting sustainable practices and routes in order to exiting out of this geopolitical crisis. Complex process of making ensure and systematic of relations with Turkey since the beginning of 5117 AD and since 5113 AD has been in an accelerated path. Expansion and deepening political-economic relations usually hidden with Israel and comprehensive relation with proper procedures of United States at the regional level, considered as 7 central sides of this strategic triangles. Obviously, the adoption of these policies is often carried out without coordination with Baghdad and involves undeniable security threats for Islamic Republic of Iran.

With regard to that, we have addressed earlier to paradigm shift in attitude of the government and the Turkish foreign policy towards this country's Kurds and Kurdistan privacy government, we will avoid from rehash and we will more addressed to history, roots and proximity consequences of Kurdistan to Israel and then the United States.

Kurdistan Region and Israel, from Cooperation to Convergence

Historical Background of Israel's relations with Kurds: ancient history of these relations goes to the early 9171 AD. Jewish agency that have special work of carrying Jews from around the world to promise land, engaged attracting and sending 7111 Kurdish Jews to mandate Palestine and this issue was the dawn of the relationships between them [2]. According to Mahmoud Othman's belief, a prominent character in decades of 1960-1970, and following the riots and separatist conflicts, Israel influence and mutual relations with the Iraqi Kurds were widespread. Because Israel was trying to help the Kurdish revolution called "Aylol Riot" - September 9169 to 9132 - to undermine one of its major competitors, means Iraq government.

Mola mostafa Barezani, that have considered unison with Israel as a proximity tool to America, visited Israel in 1968. In the same year, the Israeli spy agency-Mossad-have established relatively efficient service information for the Kurds known as "Parastn", which was under management of Massoud Barezani.

In year 9135 AD, Jack Anderson, American journalist have disclosed that Israel pays fifty thousand dollars monthly to Barezani and arms Iraqi Kurds with Soviet weapons which had captured from Egypt and Syria, to led Iraqi officials to this impression that Soviet gives weapons to Kurds. (Same) Of course Israeli relations with Kurdish have always been informal and secret and usually in case of necessity have been denied.

Israel with regard to minority Jews Kurds of fifty thousand individuals, have always known them as potential allies. For example, despite having a strategic agreement with Turkey in the decade 1990 - in particular agreement - 1997, they never consider seriously the request of Turkey in order to join the fight against P.k.k guerrillas, with this pretext that P.k.k did not never targeted Israel.

Apart from the geo-strategic factors, a powerful factor has helped to deepen this relationship that is ideologically rooted in way of Zionism thinking and Jewish history. Base on that Jews have tended to be close to stateless nations and supporting from government formation by these people. Because in Jews believe, people such as the Kurds and Armenians, who have been stateless for centuries have common aspects with the Jews in terms of historical sense and they can be appropriate allies for them. Israel's relations with Kurds have deteriorated with arresting Abdullah Ojalan. Although Netanyahu rejected any Mossad's involvement in arresting Ojalan.

But with happening events of September eleventh of 2001 and falling Baathist regime of Saddam, conflict about Ojalan also joined to history and secretly improving of Israel's relations and Iraqi Kurds took rising trend again.

First on 28 June 2004, Seymour Hersh has published a controversial article titled "Plan B" in a controversial article in the New Yorker's. And have unveiled intelligence - military cooperation of parties. He believes, revival of long-standing relationships with Kurds and Israel's fear of Iran's influence in Iraq and America's failure in Iraq's providing security is the main reason of that. Therefore, Israeli intelligence and security officials claimed Kurds' training in order to perform spying and insurgent activities in Iran, Turkey and Syria and also articles with influence of Shiite and rebels.

Kurdish leaders considered having stable and comprehensive relationship with Israel as an important step towards achieving

independence and then great Kurdistan aspirations. And In this way, they don't think of Baghdad and Arab's world's concerns. In this regard, Massoud Barzani expressly stated that: If negotiations with Israel are forbidden for Arabs, it is not forbidden for Kurds because Kurds are not Arabs.

In date of 2005.1.12, raised newspaper of Yedioth Aharanot, reported that: Iraqi Kurdistan's government have signed contracts with telecom and security companies of Israel in order to train its security forces. This newspaper has referred two companies of "Motorola" and "Malalkom" as winners of constructing Erbil's International Airport. And noted that, in addition to these two companies, another company that have established by the former head of Mossad, Danny Yatom, gives advice to Kurdistan's government in the field of security and economic issues.

According to the report of this newspaper, in addition to the above activities, Israeli security companies have established a training center series called (Z) in north of Iraq in order to training Kurdish victims. And in continue, Israeli assistance towards Kurdistan region, was helping to establish "Kurdish bank".

According to Al-Bayan Newspaper, Kurds have established a bank with special tasks of the central bank in order to economic strengthening of Kurdish areas and naturally, further decreases of requirements to central government with supporting Kurdish leaders and Zionist investments. Interestingly, by acknowledgment of Iraqi Turkoman's head who had interview with this newspaper; this bank will only help to those Kurds who want to buy a house and land - especially in Kirkuk - and give them long-time and low-interest loans. And of course, this consideration does not include other ethnicities [3].

Israel Targets from Close Proximity to Kurdistan Privacy Government

Removing security from anti-Israel's states

Israeli authorities with regard to that, by creation and exacerbation of ethnic and sectarian disputes will cause to increase political - security divergence in Arabic and Islamic countries in the Middle East. And of course, this issue wills also increases the bargaining power of Israel and it will also be leverage against hostile states with Israel. It is obvious that, longstanding claim of Kurds autonomy-seeking will give this opportunity to Israel that large and important countries in the region such as Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria, which has a large Kurdish minority and always worried about the influence of Kurdish minority in their country from developments in northern Iraq, seriously involve concerns. On the other hand Arabic countries are extremely concerned about reducing the role of Sunni Arabs in politics and government of Iraq. In their opinion, Kurdish autonomy and their independence lead to Sunni Arab's isolation and destructing Iraqi Arabic identity. This issue will provide field to increasing ethnic and religious conflicts in the region [4].

Context making for the independence of Kurdistan and analyzing Iraq

No doubt that, Iraq especially in era of Saddam Hussein's Baathist regime was in first line of Israel's conflicts. Saddam have provided mental and serious security threats for Israel by financial aid to Palestinian movement and even missile attacks to Israel during the first

war of Persian Gulf. Powerful and integrated Iraq is considered as an incarnate nightmare to Israel. To achieving this goal, we should support the decomposition of Iraq and the Iraqi Kurds should move to this side [5].

Accordingly future of Iraq will be like the past of Lebanon. And this country will eventually break down by ethnicity and religion [6]. And this is while a high-ranking German officer said in an interview that: independent Kurdistan with substantial oil reserves have seriously consequences on Turkey and Syria and will cause permanent instability in the Middle East.... And adds more: Elements of the Bush administration, including Paul Wolfowitz, had a tendency to Kurdish independence. While this idea is wrong, because an independent Kurdistan will be as new Israel in surrounding hostile nations [7].

Israel and bright economic prospects in north of Iraq

Haas Vashmytr, believe that discrimination due to being outside the group cooperation of countries with each other, will stimulate outside actors from field to join a union or an attempt to create a similar community. Israel has begun its presence field in Iraqi Kurdistan by cooperation in developing technical infrastructure. It seems that, on the basis of Haas Vashmytr's functionalist theory, convergence will lead to the politicization of technical issues [8].

Issue that earlier Shimon Peres had advised to Israeli policy makers in new Middle East book was that, if they want a role in Middle East, they must have mastered on countries in this region in terms of technology, and they must seize their market to can use economic leverage against them. Attending Israeli companies also have been successful to entering several types of goods and supplies into north of Iraq. These companies are also active in implementing projects in constructing bridges, roads and the creating industrial plants and agricultural facilities in Kurdistan region [9].

On the other hand, two vital and strategic requirements of Israel to "oil" and "freshwater" say about the necessity of strengthening bilateral relations with Kurdistan. Prior to the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Israel had supply its oil from this country. They have always been looking for an appropriate replace for their former unite. In this way, emergence of privacy autonomous of Kurdistan and its possible independent, have more promised Israelis to old dream interpretation about creating oil pipeline from Mosul to Haifa. According to Joseph Partysky's statement, minister of national infrastructure services in Israel which have published in the paper of Haarts printed by Tel Aviv, in March 2004: Such a pipeline could also reduce diversification of Israelis energy sources, and the country's dependence on expensive oil of Russia. Since these pipelines will pass through the territory of weak and passive Jordanian state, so there won't be significant security problem for Israel [7].

On the other hand, most analysts believe that water will be the subject of future wars in the Middle East. Imitation of water resources in Israel formed another important factor of this country's consideration to Iraq. Jordan River is now 21% of Israel's freshwater needs. Israel is providing its required fresh water through pipeline and water channels from this lake. Existence of freshwater reservoir and source in northern Iraq has led to that Iraq's freshwater transformation through Jordan to Israel will be part of Israel's strategic goals [5].

Controlling countries and intellectual currents in the Middle East

According to Haarts, Israeli newspaper, some of officials and security experts of this country are accused to that, they attempt to sell military devices and undisclosed information and also attempt to training Kurds special units without permission from the Defence Ministry. According to this newspaper's claim, some former members of Israel army's special force have responsibilities of this training course in Iraq. Apparently this transaction has been done by Israeli company (Kodo) and a top governmental official [7]. On the other hand, Israel is seeking to form militant groups among Kurds and create leverage like Hezbollah in the region against Iran.

Many of Israeli military – security elites working in northern Iraq in the guise of businessmen and employees of private companies. Some of their activities are starting up an espionage and intelligence systems in common border between Iran and Azerbaijan in central Asia and its evolution with starting up horizontal spying system on the border of Iran and Kurdistan [9].

Israel has always tried to create tension and conflict among Islamic groups and creating fronts rated among them with focus on "moderates" and "fundamentalists" groups. To lead thoughts and happenings of the Islamic world by this tool from anti-Zionist orientation to disputes and internal conflicts within the Islamic world.

Promoting disputes between Sunnis and Shiites, escalating the conflicts between them through mutual bombings or leaders and personalities' terror from both sides on one hand, and support from coming to power again of some laicistic elements in Iraq by Israel can be evaluated in this context. It should be noted that, among effective political process and parties in Iraqi Kurdistan, Kurdistan Democratic Party and Massoud Barzani had a greatest role in development and expansion of relations with Israel. Issues such as secular trends among Kurds, historical background of Jews' Kurdish presence in Iraq, internal conflicts between Kurdish groups, Kurds enmity with Arabs and more importantly, Kurds efforts to achieving independence and forming an independent Kurdish state, are a sets of factors that provide context for Israel's presence in the strategic region of northern Iraq [5].

Anyway, Kurdish people have left out the tall wall of distrust and violence that always had with Turks and have established targeted and strategic relations with Israel due to the main reason that typically the their future of life, identity and political entity have tied to them.

Briefly, the reasons and goals of Kurds from expansion and development of their relations with Israel include:

Making context to gain political independence

Kurds, at least from the early 1920 onwards, has always calling loud for achievement of political independence. And in this way they also seek supporters beyond the forged borders of Iraq. But they often have been compromiser of raised regional and international actors. Shah and the United States' support from Barezani and Aylol movement in early 1970 and then conclusion of Hasan treaty in adjacency of Iran and Iraq known as Algeria, suggesting strategic change from supporting betrayal to previous agreements with the Kurds and misusing of them. In the Middle East, only actor who supports forming a Kurdish state is Israel. Nationalist and independence movements of Kurds have always been based on cross-regional systems. In the other words, geopolitical isolation and threats from neighbors, have disappointed Kurdish nationalism from regional actors and their

neighbors and have led them towards finding a strategic c outside the region.

While the Kurds hope to change the United States opinion in conclusively supporting from Kurds' independence by proximity to Israel and gain the support of the Jewish lobby in America.

Of course, undoubtedly, forming an independent Kurdish state will reduce unpleasant attentions and pressure which many decades have been on Israel.

Reducing pressures and regional part balancing

Given to the obvious difficulties and limitations of geopolitics and hostile and aggressive positions of neighbors, Kurdish leaders are well aware that finding life, stability and continuity of an independent Kurdish state are requires satisfaction or reducing the level of hostility and cynicism of Turkey, Syria and Iran. Talabani and Barzani in particular believe that locating beside Israel can help to creating power balancing between Kurdish governments and mentioned three countries. According to Peter Church, Iran, Turkey and Syria have always tried to prevent the occurrence of forming Kurdish government areas. So in this sensitive stage, the Israeli assistance for Kurds can be useful and important. However, given the bitter experience in the past, many separatists and extremists Kurdish believe that Kurds have no trustworthy friends except the mountains [10].

Help to strengthening Kurdish military and security forces

Kurdish relationships with Israel in order to consolidate organized and efficient forces go back to their prior half a century experiences. From establishment of a security entity called (Parastn) to training victim force and giving seized weapons from Arabs to them. But these relations from two-factor entity established in Iraqi Kurdistan have entered to a new phase. As Seymour Hersh on 28 June 2004 has noted in The New Yorker weekly magazine, under a scheme known as "Plan B", Mossad have undertaken training 32 thousands Kurdish victim [5].

It should be noted that according to the latest estimates, victims' quantity amounting about two hundred thousand people on the eve of the year 2013. And this issue wouldn't have any mean except increasing arming for a possible confrontation with the central government. On the other hand security forces of Kurdistan privacy state called "comfort" also has no avoidance from interacting and benefiting from experience of "Mossad".

Inevitable and economic necessities

The Kurdish potential government in order to prolonging its life, supplying the rights of salary earners and large budgets for development and infrastructure projects needs increasing income sources that naturally, is more than seventeen percent of public budget that Iraq have allocated to privacy government. According to Kurdish authorities' opinion, its progress in all areas over the past two decades has been remarkable. So that the per capita income of each Kurds has been updated from 20 dollars in year 1992 to 4500 dollars in year 2011. While, currently 115 thousand barrels per day from oil resources in Kurdistan produced and exported. According to Ezat Issa's statement, economic advisor of the Prime Minister of Kurdistan in strategic plan to the year 2015, situation of oil production and exportation will achieve to one million barrels per days and today, agreements and treaties have been signed with 72 companies [11].

Ezat Issa stipulates that, Iraqi Kurdistan have land of gas resources at the regional level after Iran and Qatar and its oil reserves are totaled 72 billion barrels.

Exchanges of Kurdistan with Iran and Turkey in customs, Bashmakh, Prvizkhan, Mehran, Sheikh Seleh and etc. with Iran and very important custom of Ibrahim Khalil with Turkey have always accompanied by good relations with these countries. For example, following the occupation of the Iranian consulate in Irbil, Iran has blocked its main border with Kurdistan as a protest action. Trading volume of Iran with Iraqi Kurdistan, is 800 million dollars per year that according to Lydia Khalil, leading to at least a million dollars losses a day to privacy government. Therefore, Iraqi Kurdistan in order to achieving independence needs to a vehicle for exporting its oil continuously without Iran, Turkey and Syria's problems, which Mosul - Haifa pipeline is consider as embodiment of this effort. While, as mentioned earlier, a series of Israeli companies are activate in launching projects such as constructing bridge, roads, creating industrial plants and agricultural facilities - often anonymously - in all Kurdistan parts [9].

Kurds and America; Alliances at the Same Time with Pessimism

As described in detail above, looking of Kurdish to providing security, achieving ethnic and human neglected rights and achieving to independence have always been considered as cross-regional. Basically, escalation the Kurdish movement and the emergence of the United States in a superpower stature have a historical and structural concurrency. Mullah Mustafa Barezani hasn't any pleasant memories from his forced migration period to Soviet Union and his sectional phonetic with the Iraqi communist party. And while the second Pahlavi, despite all promises; have left alone Algiers agreement of Kurds in the facing with Baathists oppression. In date 1975/1/16, Mullah Mustafa Barezani have declared his readiness to handing over Iraqi Kurdistan to America as the fifty-first state, in a desperate movement, in a letter to White House's officials. But after all America in recent decades, due to its strategic considerations and concerns about threatening the vital interests of the United States, has never seriously seeking to form a Kurdish government.

However, Kurdish leaders have repeatedly considered Kurds as a strategic ally of America and the West in their negotiation with American representative. Expressing such statements, more than being political complimentary, is retrieved from geopolitical space structure of this area. Structural changes in the international system, incidence of hegemonic tendencies of America and the events of September eleventh and etc. have brought American policy makers to the belief that due to security requirements and its regional objectives, it requires to attract happiness and collaboration with Kurds. Therefore, after state and supporting of fly forbidden zone in northern Iraq and granting partial autonomy to the Kurds since early 1990 and incompatibility of the two main parties of Kurds with Washington treaty conclusion among Kurds, it seek alliance and strengthening their conflicting forces [12].

While the Kurds will never forgotten their distrust and cynicism toward white commitment. Kurdish leaders in particular Barezani, Washington worse promised during the conclusion of the 1975 Algiers treaty, United States' silence in the face of Halabche tragedy, and also America's performance after ending first Persian Gulf War, which first encouraged the Kurds to revolt but then against Saddam's brutal

repression did not support of Kurds. All and all are considered as the horrible memories [13].

However, promising words such as General Jay Gariz statements, the America's first military governor, about the status of Iraqi Kurds in America's foreign policy spoke in 2003:

If America's efforts in Iraq lead to a failure, we should defend from Kurdish independence. Just as Philippines was like a platform for America to maintain its presence in the Pacific, Kurdistan can also serve as America's platform for Arabic Middle East in this ages [14].

But in practice, America's strategy in Iraq after the occupation, prohibition or at least weakening "Kurdistan regional government" and "Kurdish victims", was in order to complete the process of centralization in Baghdad. According to original plan of the United States, Turkey plays a major role in the war and also determining the future of Iraq. According to some reports, Turkey have intended to deploy a significant military force to the region in order to establish a "security arc" - that would have allowed them to enter and dominate of some Kurdish cities - and in form of this plan, victim forces were expelled from Kirkuk. Kurds inactivity in face with such actions was considered as an unexpected and desirable event for the foreign policy of the United States [15].

Of course this obedience of Kurds was in order to attracting attention and consideration of the White House. As in first phase of America's foreign policy in Iraq in formation of interim government and rising of secularism in Iraq, was a desirable and expected event for Americans. But this victory was apparent and sectional. Soon afterwards, they have entered to erosion war with remaining forces of Baath party and Sunni groups that gradually their intensity and scope have increased. Shia's resistance against the secular state and intensified pressure of Kurds to establish their autonomy state towards the United States' centralizing actions were considered as an unexpected and undesirable event for America. Thus, the first phase of the United States' strategy, in order to effort to impose a Secular Iraq on Shiites and a strong central government on Kurds, have threatened this country's interests [16].

Since January 2004, by the failure of secular and rising Shiite parties towards Iran, America have forced to reduce the pressure on the Kurds and trying to gain the support and cooperation of the Kurds. America's attention was attracted to Kurds as second strength block in Baghdad and was led to their closer relations. Also these unwanted events have strengthened the autonomy system of Kurdistan region [17].

Therefore, Americans have accepted a number of important issues that have previously denied. Such as electing Jalal Talabani as President, that was an obvious return in policy of the United States, federalism with a weaker central government or codifying and adopting article 971 of constitution which were an obvious solution to Kirkuk problem, and ultimately the recognition of victims as "guardians of Kurdistan" that have clearly stipulated in Article 121 of the constitution [15].

By continuing efforts of the White House and by rising Barack Obama, also nothing happens. With the escalation of sectarian violence, deepening disputes of regional government and Baghdad especially over Kirkuk, little attention to Iran's position among Shiite ruling power, low boom of prescribed liberal democracy and retrospection of administration and nation-building project and finally, America's military withdrawal from Iraq, all and all were considered as an adverse and inauspicious events for United States

overall strategy in Iraq, and considered usually desirable changes for the Kurds. Because in Iraqi security puzzle, Kurds have tended to be a strategic ally of America with all former freedom and at the same time there wasn't any viable options for Americans in this times. And this wasn't unreasonable that security experts - were famous research institute military and have offered division of Iraq strategy into three regions: Sunni, Kurdish and Shi'ite. Despite, this strategy have reasonable and acceptable appearance, but this implementation given to ethnic - sparsely populated texture of Iraq is very difficult. But it is considered as an appropriate strategy for the Kurds.

Basically the status of Iraqi Kurdistan in United States of America's foreign policy in terms of the degree of importance is:

In an international environment of this level is located in relatively weak level.

In regional environment of this level (Middle East of Caucasus) is in an intermediate level;

In Iraq internal environment, this place has a high degree of significance. In this level Kurds are considered as an America's strategic ally [15].

Landslip of America's ambitions in codifying paradigm state of versed in law Shiite parties' power process, reduction of the United States place from savior to occupier towards Iraqi elite and people and etc. have provided context that due to increasing cooperation of privacy government with Israel, assistance of the Israeli lobby in White House and converging willingness and action of Kurds towards strategic policies in the region, dreamlike claims of Kurds with regard to - perhaps inevitably - the United States is getting closer to reality. On the other hand, existence of a federal sovereign or independent Kurdistan, from one hand have reduced Israel's pessimistic attention and on the other hand, it will become a strategic ally for this country. While it will be an important and sure platform for the United States and its strategic range.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly what is determines the existential reality of Kurdistan region is geopolitical stability problem. Achieving to old dream of independence requires getting rid of this unwanted fence that regarding to the possible and pessimism reaction of neighbors has always been uncertain. Tsunami-like changes of region in recent years and some of approaches' change from the perspective of Kurdish elite, have provide a historic opportunity for them which should not be lost. Secret history relations with the Zionist regime of Israel have disappeared and have deepening in different levels. Kurdish relations with the United States that have been under many rise and fall during the past decade, have the great consistency and dynamics, and due to elimination of some historical pessimism with Turkey and the internal war in Syria, have resolute Kurds that think of achieving the dream of independence in a more serious and lighter way.

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