

MARIANNA CHAROUNTAKI

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EDUCATION

M.A., Postgraduate Certificate in Academic and Professional Practice (PG-Cert), Higher Education Academy, (Level 7, 30 credits), Learning Institute, University of Leicester, 2019

PhD, International Relations & Middle East Studies, University of Exeter, Institute of Arab& Islamic Studies, (UK) 2009

M.A., International Relations, University of Sussex (UK), 2005

B.A., International and European Studies, Panteion University of Political and Social Sciences of Athens (Greece), 2004

AWARDS& HONOURS

BISA, Conference Grant, 2019

Honorarium, Uppsala University, 2018

The British Institute for the Study of Iraq (BISI), Conference Grant, 2018

LSE, Travel Mobility Grant, 2018

KRG, Iraq, Research Grant, 2017

MBI Al Jaber Foundation, Mobility Grant, 2014

Honorarium, RAND Institute, USA, 2013

International Initiatives Fund (IIF), University of Reading, 2013

CBRL Academic Arabic Award Programme, Council for British Research in the Levant, 2013

Governmental Scholarship for Arabic language, Government of Jordan, University of Jordan (Amman), 2009-2010

Ecpr (European Consortium for political research) travel grant, 2007

Al Waleed Scholarship for field work in Iraq, Exeter University, IAIS, May 2006

The Greek State Scholarship Foundation (IKY), Scholarship for PhD studies, 2005

MEMBERSHIP

BISA (Foreign Policy Working Group member)

BRISMES (Trustee)

Greek Council for International Relations (member of Board of Directors)

EISA

ISA

HEA (and indicative Training Courses)

Fellow recognition with Advance HE, (formerly the HEA), University of Leicester, 2018-2019

Associate Fellow recognition with Advance HE, (formerly the HEA), University of Leicester, 2017-2018

Annual FDL Forum (28 November 2017); Good Practice in DL supervision (21 September 2018); Supervising Research Degree Candidates (25 September 2018); Personal Tutor Workshop (26 September 2018); Research Grant Development Workshop (21 February 2018).

EMPLOYMENT

Senior Lecturer in International Politics, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lincoln, 2019 to present

Lecturer in Kurdish Politics and International Relations, School of History, Politics& IR, University of Leicester, 2016-2019

Post-Doctoral Fellow and Sessional Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in International Relations, Department of Politics& IR, University of Reading, 2012-2016

Consultant, Embassy of the Republic of Iraq in Athens, 2011-2012

Researcher and Teaching Fellow, Panteion University of Athens, 2010-2011

ADMIN ROLES

Deputy Programme Leader for Politics and International Relations, University of Lincoln, 2019-2021

Director of KISU (Kurdistan International Studies Unit), University of Leicester, 2016-2018

RESEARCH

THESIS

‘The Kurds and US foreign policy in the Middle East since 1945’ –passed with no corrections, Internal Examiner: Prof Tim Niblock, External Examiner: Anoush Ehteshami, 2009.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Iran and Turkey: International and Regional Engagement in the Middle East, I. B. Tauris, 2018.

The Kurds and US foreign policy: International Relations in the Middle East since 1945, Routledge, 2010, translated in Kurdish (Sorani) by Aras Publishing House, (Erbil, 23 July) 2011 and in Arabic by Al Farabi (Lebanese Publishing House), 2012.

Book Chapters

Chapter1 Non-State Actors as Agents of Foreign Policy: The case of Kurdistan, *Kurdish Autonomy and US foreign policy: Continuity and Change*, (Peter Lang, December 2019), pp.13-32.

Chapter 14 The Kurdish factor in Turkish politics: impediment or facilitator to Turkey's European prospects? Part Five: Politics and International Relations in *Perspectives on Kurdistan's Economy and Society in Transition*, Nova Science Publishers, (New York, September 2012), pp.163-192. Translated in Kurdish (Sorani), *Wata Journal*, No 29, (April 2013).

Book Review

Blood and Belief by Aliza Marcus, Book Review, *Political Studies Review Journal*, University of Sheffield. Vol.6. Issue 2, pp.143-275.May 2008.

Articles

Non-State Actors and Change in foreign policy: the case of a self-determination referendum in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. (online publication, 04 Oct 2019). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2019.1663495>. (printed version summer issue No 33.3).

From Resistance to Military Institutionalisation: The case of the Peshmerga versus Islamic State, *Third World Quarterly*. Vol.39. No 8, pp.1583-1603. August 2018. Translated in Kurdish (Sorani) by Kurdistan Conflict and Crisis Research Center (KCCRC) May 3015.

State and Non-State Interactions in IR: An alternative theoretical outlook, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (in Special Issue – The Kurdish Case in the Middle East and Beyond: An interdisciplinary approach). Vol45. No4, pp.528-542. October 2018.

The GCC in Kurdish politics, *Journal of Arabian Studies: Arabia, the Gulf, and the Red Sea*, Vol.6, Issue 2, pp.201-215. December 2016.

Kurdish policies in Syria under the Arab Uprisings: A revisiting of IR in the New Middle Eastern Order, *Third World Quarterly*. Vol.36. Issue 2, pp. 337-356. 27 March 2015.

US foreign policy in theory and practice: from Soviet-era containment to the era of the Arab Uprisings(s), *Journal of American Foreign Policy Interests: the Journal of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy*. Vol.36. Issue 4, pp.255-267. September 2014.

Turkish foreign policy and the Kurdistan Regional Government, *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, (published by the Turkish Ministry of FA) Volume XVII. No 4, pp. 185-208. Center for Strategic Research. Winter 2012.

TEACHING

Modules (POL3002M: Independent Study)	University of Lincoln
(IST 2006M: Researching Politics and International Relations)	
(IST1100M: Global Conflicts and Contexts)	
(IST 2004M: Thinking International Relations)	
(IST 2014M: International Relations of the Middle East)	
(PL 7076: US foreign policy, MA module)	University of Leicester
(PL2022: Foreign policy Analysis)	
(PO1IRS: International Relations and Strategic Studies)	University of Reading
(PO2MIR: Modern International Relations)	

SUPERVISION

PhD

University of Leicester

MA

Australian National University (Centre for Arab & Islamic Studies), External examiner

Distance Learning MA dissertations (University of Leicester)

BA

BA dissertations (University of Leicester)

Reviewer, Publishing Houses (i.e. Routledge) and Journals (e.g. The European Journal of Development Research, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Third World Quarterly, Defence Studies Journal, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies and others)
ESRC grant applications

Public Engagement

Article The US- Kurdish problematique, Russian International Affairs Council, (20 May 2020) in <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/columns/middle-east-policy/the-us-kurdish-problematique/?fbclid=IwAR2i4vttfdy0jYveX9MwVQqt4mWZEan4YRVBn3w1LSE95uX1MrEBndW91UQ>

Article ‘On a knife Edge’. The HuffPost blog. (Greek Edition). 14.10.2019, https://www.huffingtonpost.gr/entry/epi-xeroe-akmes_gr_5da4377ee4b02c9da04d6c3e?72o.

Article The evolution of the peshmerga vs. the Case of Islamic State in Iraq, Russian International Affairs Council, (17 April 2018) in <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/the-evolution-of-the-peshmerga-vs-the-case-of-islamic-state-in-iraq/>

Article The Washington-Erbil-Moscow triangle through the prism of the 25 September Referendum, LSE blog, 16.04. 2018, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/04/16/the-washington-erbil-moscow-triangle-through-the-prism-of-the-25-september-referendum/>

Interview Ankara- Washington Relations: Turkey is part of the picture, Sputnik, 16.02.2018, <https://soundcloud.com/radiosputnik/turkey-is-part-of-the-picture-rather-than-the-picture-itself-academic>

Article The Aftermath of the Kurdish Referendum and Its Historic Connotations, Harvard International Review, January 2018, Vol.39, No1: 37-38 in <http://hir.harvard.edu/article/?a=14567>

Commentary, ‘The Kurdish dialogue between Baghdad and Erbil’ Greek newspaper Η εφημερίδα των συντακτών [The newspaper of the Authors], 2.10.2017, p.16.

Zerin Efe, *Peyamakurd*, Röportaj ‘Kürdistan Referandumu’, 22.08.2017 in <http://www.peyamakurd.com/tr/2017/08/23/dr-charountaki-abdnin-referandumu-karsi-kati-olumsuz-bir-yaklasimi-yok> (in Turkish) republished in English *Bas News*, Interview, ‘Kurdistan Referendum’, 24.08.2017, <http://www.basnews.com/index.php/en/interviews/373417>

Article ‘The 25th September Kurdish Referendum and its rationales’, The Armenian Interest, 08.07.2017, <http://armenian-interest.com/sozdat-i-uderzhat/?lang=en>

Article ‘Astana Summit: Kurdish Unity Determines External Behaviour’, BasNews, (Kurdish Newspaper), English version <http://www.basnews.com/index.php/en/interviews/327436> 31.01.2017, Kurmaji Version, BasNews, 30.01.2017, p.3.

Article ‘Will the battle for Mosul change the power of the Kurds in Iraq?’ E-International Relations, 14.11.2016, (<http://www.e-ir.info/2016/11/14/will-the-battle-for-mosul-change-the-power-of-the-kurds-in-iraq/>).

*Article ‘The unresolved internal struggle beyond the Turkish coup’, E-International Relations, 09.08.2016, (<http://www.e-ir.info/2016/08/09/the-unresolved-internal-struggle-beyond-the-turkish-coup/>), translated into Kurdish (Sorani) *Bas Newspaper*, Issue 297, 09.08.2016, p.8.*

*Article ‘US foreign policy vis-à-vis the Kurdish Independence Referendum’, KPRC (Kurdish Policy Research Center), 10.07.2016, translated into Kurdish (Sorani) *Bas Newspaper*, Issue 294, 19.07.2016, p.22.*

Article ‘The Syrian Crisis: Aleppo and the Kurds in international geopolitics’, The Washington Review of Middle Eastern and Eurasian Affairs, 4.04.2016.

Interview, Iranian Tasnim News Agency, ‘Greek elections and Iran’, Interview with Mehdi Del Roshan, No 5, 05.10.2015.

Article ‘A European Union without Greece would be a much diminished force’, The London School of Economics’ EUROPPO- European Politics and Policy blog, 30.07.2015.

Interview Sharq (East), Iranian newspaper, « باید انگیزه نیروی کار را تقویت کند » سپر اس, (An Overview of the Greek Crisis: a one way alternative), Interview with Mehdi Del Roshan, Issue 2354, 26.07.2015, p.5.

Article ‘Middle Eastern Politics through the prism of IS: A brief assessment’, The London School of Economics’ Middle East Centre Blog, 11.02.2015.

Article 'Kurdistan: Why International Support is Crucial', *Bianet* (Turkish electronic newspaper), <http://www.bianet.org/english/world/161143-kurdistan-why-international-support-is-crucial>, 28.12.2014

Article 'Why Turkey continues to hold back from full involvement in the conflict in Kobane', *The London School of Economics' EUROPP- European Politics and Policy blog*, 22.10.2014, translated into Bosnian, *Preporod* newspaper, No.21/ 1031, p.24.

Article 'The conflict in Iraq has highlighted the benefits for Turkey in accepting a stable Kurdistan', *The London School of Economics' EUROPP- European Politics and Policy blog*, 19.08.2014.

TV Interview 'Iraq, Refugees and Oil', *BBC Newsnight*, 12.08.2014.

Article 'Turkish- KRG relations in a changing Middle East', *World Bulletin*, 4.06.2014.

Article 'The increasing importance of Iran', *Your Middle East*, online newspaper, 12.12.2013

Interview *Bas* (Kurdish newspaper), interview with Hawar Abdulrazaq Ali, Issue 164, 5.11.2013, p.6 published both in English and Kurdish.

Article 'A battle that should not be lost', *Today's Zaman*, 4.11.2013

Article 'Syria: a considerable factor in a regional crisis', *Today's Zaman*, Turkish newspaper 09.09.2013

Article 'Peace talks: the die has been cast', *Today's Zaman*, Turkish newspaper, 11.06.2013

Article 'Road to autonomy and the Kurdish factor: Help or hurdle for Turkey's EU bid?' published in English, *Sunday's Zaman*, Turkish newspaper, 31.03.2013, p. 14.

Article 'Conceptualizing US foreign policy towards the Kurds', published in English, *Today's Zaman*, Turkish newspaper, 29.05.2012, p. 14 and republished in Arabic, *Asharq Alawsat* newspaper.

Article 'Understanding the Kurdish Issue', online journal, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 23.03.2012

Article 'The US policy of 'containment': Iraq versus Iran', *Today's Zaman*, Turkish newspaper, 24.01.2012, p. 14.

Interview *Yeni Özgür Politika* newspaper (Kurdish/Turkish newspaper published in Germany), interview in Turkish 'Kürt-ABD ilişkilerine bakış' (View of the Kurdish-US relations) with Suna Alân, 16.12.2011, p.2.

Interview *Awena* newspaper (published in North Iraq/Kurdistan), Issue 296, interview in Kurdish with Ako Hamedrabe, 11.10.2011, p.5.

Article, e-journal: *Open Democracy*, 'The role of the Kurds in the Middle East democratization process, 15.06. 2011, republished in Kurdish (Sorani), by *Rudaw* newspaper, Issue 164, (30.05.2011), p.18.

Interview Telgraf newspaper (published in London), Issue 262, interview inn Turkish with Hasan, Uşak, 26.04.2011, p.23, republished inn English *Rudaw* newspaper

Interview Lvin magazine (published in North Iraq/Kurdistan), Issue 157, interview in Kurdish with Kamal Chomani, 1.04.2011, pp.34-37.

Interview The Kurdish Globe newspaper, No285, interview in English with Wirya Rehmany, 19.12.2010, p.14.

Interview AK News& Bizaw newspapers (Kurdistan Region, Erbil), interview in Kurdish with Raber Y. Aziz, 13.10.2010

CONFERENCES (indicative)

Programme committee member. BRISMES 2020 conference. ‘Knowledge, power and Middle East Studies’, University of Kent, 29.06-1.07.2020.

Co-Organiser. The International Workshop: Kurdistan in International and Regional Affairs. Lebanese French University. Erbil/ Iraq. 19.09.2019.

Panel Organiser. Council for European Studies Conference. 26th International Conference of Europeanists. ‘Sovereignties in Contention: Nations, Regions and Citizens in Europe’. Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. Spain. 20-22.06.2019.

Organiser. BISI Conference. One Day event. ‘A century of State making in Iraq: the Middle East in transition’. University of Leicester. 24.04.2019.

Panel Organiser . EISA 12th Pan-European Conference on IR. ‘Non State Actors as Factors of Change’. paper presentation. Prague. 12-15.09.2018.

International Studies Association (Interdisciplinary Studies Section, CISS/IDSS), paper presentation, Conference ‘Cooperation and Contestation in World Politics’, The Role of State and Non-State Actors, (University of Bologna 28-30.06.2017)

University of Kurdistan (Erbil), paper presentation, ‘Current Issues of Domestic and Middle Eastern Politics’, 24-25.05.2017)

Keynote Speech& Organiser, Annual, Symposium, ‘The role of the Kurds in the Middle East and beyond: Regional and International Interactions’, (University of Leicester, 16.03.2017).

Organiser, ‘The Middle East and the Arab Spring: Change, (in) stability and (dis)order’, (University of Reading, 6.06.2013)

‘The Kurds in the Changing Middle East’. University of London: SOAS, 17 – 18.11.2012. Kurdish Academic Forum. SOAS and the Kurdish Society.

Second Scientific World Kurdish Congress (WKC2012), paper presentation, (Erbil, 11-15.10.2012).

The ‘16th Roundtable with the Government of Greece: transforming uncertainty into stability, wisdom and growth’ Economist Conference, (Athens, 2-3.07.2012).

10th Annual International Conference on Politics and International Affairs, (Athens, 18-19.06.2012).

CHP Conference, ‘Seasons in change: the Arab people’s march toward democracy and freedom’, (Istanbul, 28-29.04.2012).

First Scientific World Kurdish Congress (WKC2011), paper presentation, (Rotterdam, 7-9.10.2011).

Middle East Studies Association (MESA), paper presentation, (Boston, 21-24.11.2009).

Second World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES 2), paper presentation, (Amman, 11-16.05.2006).

European Consortium for political research (ecpr), paper presentation, (Pisa, 6-8.09.2007).

‘The Kurds in International Affairs’, Chatham House, (London, 19.12.2007).

WORKSHOPS/SEMINARS (indicative)

Webinar series, Joint Event (BISA/PSA) “Teaching politics and IR online: design matters”. Online.14.07 – 20.08.2020.

Workshop Convenor. “Understanding Foreign Policy Making within Area Studies”. BISA. 17.12.2019.

Chair, “Soft Power Perspective”, (Leicester Global Links & British Foreign Policy Group & Midlands Economic Forum), University of Leicester, 13.02.2019.

Institute of International Economic Relations, 3rd Workshop: Security and Stability in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, Paper presentation: Iran and Turkey in the Middle East, Athens, 5-7.11.2018.

Organiser, Annual Symposium I (University of Leicester& University of Kurdistan): The Role of the Kurds in the Middle East and beyond: Region and International Interactions, 16.03.2017.

Organiser, International Seminar& Public Lecture Series (University of Leicester): Kurdish Independence and EU Aspects, Guest Speaker: Mr Dellawar Ajgeiy, (the KRG Head of Mission to European Union), 1.11.2016; The role of the Kurds in Syria: The Model of Self Governance, Guest Speaker: Mr Salih Muslim, (Co-chair of the Democratic Union Party, PYD/ Kurdish party in Syria) 19.11.2016; The struggle of Yazidis against IS, Guest Speaker: Nadia Murad (Yazidi activist, Nobel Prize Nominee), 25.11.2016; Iraq Casualties of the War against Islamic State: Treatment and Prevention, Guest Speaker: Dr Saleh Husain (Ambassador of the Republic of Iraq in London), 24.02.2017; Commemorating Anfal: Genocide and Reconciliation, Guest Speaker: Nadhim Zahawi (British Minister of Education), 2.03.2017.

Fact-Finding Mission to the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, 23-28 September 2017.

The Henry Jackson Society, Iran's Ambitions in Iraq, Mithul Al Alusi, leader of the Iraqi Ummah Party, *Talk*, House of Commons, 25.01.2016.

Public Forum, Iran's Kurds at a Crossroads? UNPO& Centre for Kurdish Progress, 25.01.2016, Portcullis House, British Parliament.

Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), *Roundtable*, 'New Turkey in light of recent upheavals in the Middle East', with Prof. Dr. Yasin Aktay (Vice Chairman of Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Party) in charge of Foreign Affairs), London, 7/11/2014.

The British Institute in Amman, *Workshop*, 'The Arab Uprising: Researching the Revolutions', Speaker, (Amman, 22-23/09/2014).

IFPO, Beirut, Arabic Course in association with the University of Paris- Sorbonne.

Organiser, *Seminar* 'Discussing Iran after Ahmadinejad: a New Leaf?' by Dr. Ata'ollah Mohajerani (University of Reading, 12/03/2014).

Centre for Turkey Studies, 'Ergenekon and the other side of the story', Portcullis House, Westminster, 16/12/2013.

ELIAMEP *Annual Lecture* 2013, Speaker Dr. Bassma Kodmani, 'Revolutionary processes in Syria and [the rest of] the Arab World. The Quest for New Deals amidst Turmoil', Athens, 5/11/2013.

Iraq's Foreign Policy in a Changing Middle East, Chatham House, 20-21/02/2013.

Centre for Turkey Studies, Turkey's new constitution: possibilities, obstacles, House of Commons, Palace of Westminster, 10/12/2012.

Meeting 'Syria, the Kurds and the New Middle East', chaired by MP Jeremy Corbyn, Houses of Commons, Palace of Westminster, 3/12/2012.

Centre for Turkey Studies, Syria and Turkey's foreign policy, House of Commons, Palace of Westminster, 26/11/2012.

Russia: After the Presidential Elections what? Institute of International Economic Relations, Athens, 5/03/2012.

Greece and NATO: Present and Future Prospects, 60th Anniversary of Greece's accession to NATO, Athens, 16/02/2012, organized by the Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) under the auspices of the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the support of NATO's Public Diplomacy Division.

Transatlantic Security and Financial Crisis, 20th Annual International Symposium in cooperation with the NATO Public Diplomacy Division, Athens, Greece, 2-3/12/2011, organized by the Greek Association for Atlantic& European Cooperation.

The importance of the US mid-term elections (November 2nd), Centre for Euro-Atlantic Studies (K.E.A.M.), Athens, 4/11/2010.

The Balkan Documentation Program of the Foundation of Mediterranean Studies of Athens, 2004.

Greek- Turkish Relations Negotiations simulation game, participant, Panteion University- Bogazici University- Galatasaray University, Bilgi University, Athens –Nafplion, 2003.

Sustainable Development and Environment- European and National perspective, Hellenic society of International Law and International Relations, Levadia- Thebes, 2003.

The role of the Environmental NGO's in the formulation of policy: the case of GreenPeace, European Centre of Environmental Research& Education of the Panteion University of Athens -Greece in cooperation with GreenPeace in Greece, 2003.

INVITED TALKS (indicative)

Soran University. International Workshop. 'How to publish your work in High-Impact Journals'. Faculty of Law and International Relations. Soran, Iraq. 07.08.2019.

The Evgeny Primakov Centre for International Cooperation, Russia- The Middle East, 02-04.08.2019.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Briefing, 16.05.2019.

Uppsala University, Book Launch, 12.06.2018.

University of Leicester, ISSS Student Workshop Series, A Year of Trump, 21.03.2018.

LSE, Middle East Centre, The future of the KRI's international relations, 16.03.2018

Nottingham Trent University, Determinants of Foreign policy: the cases of Iran and Turkey, 14.03.2018.

Institute of International Economic Relations, The Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Regional Dynamics: Interactions and Prospects with Greece, Athens, 29.10.2015.

Bilgi University, Kurds and Kurdistan in 2000's (2000 lerde Kürtler ve Kürdistan)', Kurdish Studies Unit, 9-10.05.2015.

SOAS, Kurdistan: Why international support is crucial, 15.11.2014.

Gulf Research Centre Cambridge, 5th Annual Research Meeting, 'The GCC State's Foreign and Security Policies after the Arab Spring', Cambridge, 25-28.08.2014.

LSE, Turkey's regional policy at a crossroads, 28.04.2014.

RAND Institute, The future of the Kurds: independence, autonomy and interconnectedness', Washington D.C., 28.06.2013.

Dohuk University, KRG, 28.02.2012.

Soran University, KRG, 19.09.2011.

Aras Publishing House, Book Launch, Erbil, 15.09.2011.

SOAS, Seminar 'The Kurds and US foreign policy', 17.03.2011.

FIELD WORK RESEARCH (indicative)

Erbil (Iraq), 2018

Ankara –Turkish Parliament, March 2013

Salahaddin University (Department of Law & Political Science, Iraq) –official invitation for research, 2010

Diyarbakir, 2009

Washington D.C., 2008

American University, (Washington D.C., International Peace and Conflict Resolution Division), 2007

KRG –Official invitation for Research, 2007

CERTIFICATES

Webinar series “Teaching politics and IR online: design matters” (BISA/PSA, 2020)

Associate Fellow, (HEA, 2018)

EISA (Prague, 2018)

Certificate in ‘Learning and Teaching in Higher Education’, British Royal Academy of Education (Exeter University, 2007)

French Diploma (Delf I, 2003)

Spanish Diploma (Bàsico/advanced, 2003)

English Teaching Certificate, Greek Ministry of Education, 2002

English Language Proficiency Certificate Cambridge University, 2001

English Language Proficiency Certificate Michigan University, 2001

INTERESTS

Born Athens, Greece

Languages: Greek; English; Arabic (intermediate)

Research Interests: International Relations, Non-State Actors, Foreign Policy Analysis, international relations of the Middle East, Iraqi politics, EU- Kurdish relations, US foreign policy, Kurdish politics, Turkish-Iranian foreign policies, GCC- Kurdish relations.