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# THE KURDS AND KURDISTAN

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A Selective and Annotated Bibliography

Lokman I. Meho

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# THE KURDS AND KURDISTAN

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*A Selective and  
Annotated Bibliography*

*Compiled by*  
LOKMAN I. MEHO

Bibliographies and Indexes in World History,  
*Number 46*



**GREENWOOD PRESS**  
Westport, Connecticut • London

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Meho, Lokman I., 1968–

The Kurds and Kurdistan : a selective and annotated bibliography /  
compiled by Lokman I. Meho.

p. cm.—(Bibliographies and indexes in world history, ISSN  
0742-6852 ; no. 46)

Includes bibliographical references (p. ) and index.

ISBN 0-313-30397-5 (alk. paper)

1. Kurds—Bibliography. 2. Kurdistan—Bibliography. I. Title.

II. Series.

Z3014.K85M44 1997

[DS59.K86]

016.95667—dc21 97-9008

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 97-9008

ISBN: 0-313-30397-5

ISSN: 0742-6852

First published in 1997

Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881

An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.

Printed in the United States of America



The paper used in this book complies with the  
Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National  
Information Standards Organization (Z39.48-1984).

**To**

**My parents, Hariri Foundation, and the American University of Beirut**

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AI</b>	<b>Abstracta Iranica</b>
<b>HA</b>	<b>Historical Abstracts</b>
<b>IJKS</b>	<b>International Journal of Kurdish Studies</b>
<b>IPSA</b>	<b>International Political Science Abstracts</b>
<b>MEJ</b>	<b>Middle East Journal</b>
<b>PSA</b>	<b>Political Science Abstracts</b>
<b>SA</b>	<b>Sociological Abstracts</b>

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# PREFACE

After nearly two years' labor, in collecting, reading, arranging, and classifying the material included in this work, I am at last able to publish the following bibliographical study. This work has been driven by two main considerations: First, the need to fill one of the major gaps in the world of bibliographies, namely, a general annotated bibliography on the Kurds and Kurdistan. Second, to assist researchers to locate their needed information on the Kurds in a more efficient way.

In the last few years, the Kurdish question has taken on more prominence in Middle Eastern politics, and attracted the interest of media, the academic community as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations. The years 1991 and 1992 are (and will be) remembered by all students of Kurdish topics as the ones during which they were swamped by the press and academic departments to supply answers to everything that needed to be known about the Kurds--and quickly.

Lacking comprehensive bibliographical studies, the Kurdologists have had little choice but to go to the Internet or DIALOG to search for material to complete their work, spending hundreds of hours and dollars in the process. They had to go over many databases, containing plenty of repetitious and misleading records. They have needed to survey all of the outputs for the needed material and yet with no definite positive end result. Soon also, they would discover that almost none of the databases cover materials published before the mid-1960s which certainly include many valuable works. Therefore, a manual search through a well-classified, annotated bibliography seemed to be more fruitful and presented a more economic and rapid method of communication research and retrieval of information. Had there been an up-to-date, multi-disciplinary, annotated bibliography of the Kurds and Kurdistan, the researcher's task would have been much easier, less expensive and more rewarding. In short, no matter how much the Information Science field develops, we

will always need to rely on printed bibliographies. This is due to their accuracy, their savings in time and money, and their multi-disciplinary character.

Books, articles, chapters in edited works, doctoral dissertations, and reports on the Kurds and Kurdistan are many, but scattered and often untraceable when needed. It was this situation which motivated me to consider compiling an annotated bibliography on the subject and make it available to the public, students, academicians, researchers, policy-makers, and the press. The fact that very few works of this kind are now available in English was another important reason.

The first real bibliography on the Kurds and Kurdistan was published in 1968 by the International Society for Kurdistan (*ISK's Kurdish Bibliography*). This impressive work came out in two volumes and was edited by Silvano van Rooy and Kees Tamboer (Amsterdam: International Society for Kurdistan, 1968). The work is exhaustive and includes 9,350 entries in more than twenty languages and on all subjects that had been published before June 30, 1966. The second bibliography on the Kurds in English was by Wolfgang Behn (*The Kurds in Iran: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography*. [2nd ed.] London: Mansell, 1977. The first edition was published in 1969 under the title *The Kurds, a Minority in Iran*). This bibliography, compiled chiefly from holdings of the *Islamic Union Catalogue* in Germany, lists 275 entries in more than four languages, some of which are specialized studies of Iran. It was intended to supplement the ISK's bibliography for the years 1966-1975, yet, as the title reflects, the work is almost exclusively limited to the Iranian sector of Kurdistan. Finally, in anticipation of the rising importance of the Kurdish question in the Middle East, Elizabeth E. Lytle produced a small work entitled *A Bibliography of the Kurds, Kurdistan, and the Kurdish Question* (Monticello, Ill.: Council of Planning Librarians, 1977, 16 p. Exchange bibliography--Council of Planning Librarians; 1301). She says in the introduction that her bibliography cites works that were published between 1837 and 1975, divided into two sections: One is concerned with the Kurds and Kurdistan in general, while the other is limited to the historical and political aspects of the Kurdish question. This small work, however, is merely a list of records (216) written in nine different languages with no subject headings or annotations.

As a researcher and reference librarian in Jafet Library of the American University of Beirut (AUB), and now a graduate student in the MLS program of the School of Library and Information Sciences (SLIS) at North Carolina Central University, I had the opportunity to examine a considerable portion of the material I came in contact with. Of those which did not fall within my reach, I have been compelled to content myself with various sources of abstracts of articles<sup>1</sup> and reviews of books in scholarly journals, all of which are cited following their respective annotations. Many abstracts were surveyed, and the finest ones were chosen for the records. As for the reviews of books, after careful analysis and comparison, those that were chosen were cited almost entirely in

abridged form. A wide range of sources have been used in the preparation of the bibliography, including Jafet Library (AUB), SLIS (NCCU), the U.S. Library of Congress through online catalogue, Perkins Library (Duke University, NC), and Davis Library (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

The bibliography represents mostly English-language material. French sources are included only when there has been no English-language equivalent, or when the French item is superior (French diacritics are not used in the text). Materials in Arabic and other languages are not included in the bibliography since they will be neither readily available nor accessible to the majority of readers. The majority of the items (more than 90%) in the bibliography are annotated (50 to 250 words per item) to provide the reader with a summary of their scope and contents. Users should not assume that a long annotation is an indication of a work's high quality, instead, the need to fully describe it. The work lists 814 entries, most for scholarly items published after World War II--with an emphasis on recent ones (including 1996)--to cover the important works on the Kurds and Kurdistan.

Two main problems were encountered in compiling this bibliography. First, certain sections, such as those on culture and arts, economy, education, and society, are relatively poorly represented. Second, given the general nature of many works on the subject, their classification was not an easy task. The effects of these two problems, however, have been minimized by the use of comprehensive cross-references and thorough author, title, and subject indices. Finally, this comprehensive bibliography includes a brief introduction that might be helpful to provide users with a general background of the Kurds and Kurdistan.

My deep gratitude goes to my family to whom I dedicate this work. Their assistance and encouragement made it possible. I also wish to thank the Hariri Foundation and AUB whose financial contributions to my undergraduate and graduate studies, respectively, allowed me to pursue education and to become that unusual individual, a well-educated Lebanese Kurd.

I also am indebted to other people who have aided me through their personal encouragement and through their scholarship. Among this group, I especially want to thank professors Mehrdad Izady and Seymour Sargent, Benjamin F. Speller, Jr., Dean of the School of Library and Information Sciences at North Carolina Central University, and Nizar Agri.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Sources include: From online databases: *Historical Abstracts*, *Political Science Abstracts*, and *Sociological Abstracts*. From printed materials: *Abstracta Iranica* and *International Political Science Abstracts*.



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# INTRODUCTION: GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE KURDS AND KURDISTAN

## GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION

Kurdistan, or the land of the Kurds, is a strategic area located in the geographic heart of the Middle East. Today it comprises important parts of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Azerbaijan. Since it was, and still is, denied independence, most scholars describe Kurdistan as the area in which Kurds constitute an ethnic majority. Kurdistan was first divided in 1514 between the Ottoman and Persian empires. Four centuries later, Britain and France further altered the political contours of Kurdistan by dividing the Ottoman Kurdistan into three main parts. Iranian Kurdistan stayed where it was. The area thus partitioned consisted of about 190,000 square miles divided as follows: Turkey (43 percent), Iran (31 percent), Iraq (18 percent), Syria (6 percent), and the former Soviet Union (2 percent).<sup>2</sup>

As in the case with most Middle Eastern stateless nations and ethnic groups, estimates of the total number of Kurds vary widely. The subsequent governments of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and the former Soviet Union did not (and still do not) carry out any real official census for the Kurdish populations in their respective countries. Turkey and Azerbaijan have even denied, until very recently, the very existence of Kurds in their countries.<sup>3</sup> However, most agree today that there are about 30 million Kurds. According to the most recent and reliable figures estimated by The Kurdish Library in New York, there are about 30.3 million Kurds living in the region today distributed as follows: Turkey 16.5m (52 percent of the total Kurdish population), Iran 7.3m (25.5 percent), Iraq 4.7m (16 percent), Syria 1.4m (5 percent), and Commonwealth of Independent States (former Soviet Union) 0.41m (1.5 percent).<sup>4</sup> Kurds living in Europe (particularly in Germany, Sweden, France, England, and Denmark), Israel, Lebanon, the United States and other parts of the world comprises around a million.

## KURDISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

### Tribalism vs. Nationalism

The Kurds, the people who are identified as one of the largest stateless nations in the world and whose issue "forever falls off the bottom of the Western liberal agenda,"<sup>5</sup> have a long and complicated history. They have failed to gain statehood partly because their fate has become intertwined with the interests of regional and international powers as will be seen later on, and also because their path to national identity has been impeded by their own social structure.

Apart from the population on the plain and in the foothills, Kurdish society is still basically tribal. Accordingly, the loyalty of these mountain Kurds is primarily directed toward the immediate family clan--the cornerstone of the social system--and thence to the tribe--the largest grouping within traditional Kurdish society. The cohesion of the Kurdish tribe, in turn, is based on a mixture of blood ties and territorial allegiances associated with strong religious loyalties, especially to the *sheikhs*, the local leaders of religious brotherhoods. Beyond the tribe, mountain Kurds (and even some of those living nearby) only occasionally show loyalty to nation, state, or any other entity.

Yet, despite the fact that tribalism has not yet withered amongst the majority of Kurds, it is, nevertheless, steadily retreating. The socio-economic and political changes that the rural Kurds witnessed as of the 1950s--the mechanization of agriculture, industrialization, consequent revolts, rural-urban migration, emigration, political mobilization in party politics, the expansion of public education and mass communications--weakened the tribal structure of the Kurdish society and provided an impetus for developing larger Kurdish nationalism. Taking the Kurds in Turkey as an example, more than 35 percent of the total Kurdish population in Turkey lives today in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and other major Turkish cities, let alone the Kurds who moved into major Kurdish cities like Diyarbakir, Antep, Malatya, and Urfa. Many of these migrants left Kurdistan either voluntarily (social and economic purposes) or forcibly (political difficulties and state terror which took the forms of mass evacuations, village-raiding, etc.). There are also about 400,000 Kurdish immigrant workers in Germany alone,<sup>6</sup> not to mention other European countries.

Becoming aware of the great disparity between their impoverished life in Kurdistan and their new lives in Turkish cities, Kurdish emigrants in Turkey become more socially and politically conscious, and their awareness of their Kurdish identity and ethnic solidarity is strengthened.<sup>7</sup> As for the Kurdish immigrants in Europe and elsewhere, many were able to form their own associations, without harassment from the state. The children of these Kurds attend schools and achieve greater political awareness and self-confidence.<sup>8</sup> Such improvements in the social, economic, and political status of the Kurds has become a vital source for the development of Kurdish nationalism in Turkey.

The experience of Kurds in other parts of Kurdistan is not very much different from those of the Turkish sector. In summary, the social and economic negligence of Kurdistan by the local governments and the protracted cultural and political repression exercised against their Kurdish populations were decisive factors in fostering Kurdish nationalism.

## Language

The Kurds continue to speak many dialects of Kurdish that can be divided into two main groups. The Kurmanji group, which is spoken by about 75 percent of the Kurds today and composed of two major branches: Bahdinani (or North Kurmanji)--the most widely spoken dialect among the Kurds<sup>9</sup>--and Sorani (or South Kurmanji). The Pahlawani group, spoken by the rest of the Kurds and also composed of two major branches: Dimili (or Zaza) and Gurani.<sup>10</sup> All these dialects are members of the north-western division of the Iranic branch of the Indo-European family of languages and are, therefore, unrelated to Turkish or Arabic.

In their attempts to suppress Kurdish identity and revivalism, Turkey, Iran, Syria, and Iraq have used many forms of repression against the Kurds with varying degrees of success. More effective than either political oppression or economic exploitation, cultural oppression has proven itself a weapon by which Kurds may be prevented from asserting their identity. The forms in which cultural oppression are implemented are diverse, among which is the Kurdish language which often serves as a cementing force of Kurdish nationalism and its survival.

In early 1923, Ataturk decided to substitute the alphabet used in Turkish from Arabic for the Latin-based alphabet. Consequently, the Kurds of Turkey were forced to adapt the Latin characters for their language (that incidently fitted Kurdish more) that inhibited the exchange of literature between the Kurds of Turkey, on the one hand, and those of Iran, Iraq, and Syria on the other since the latter still use the Arabic alphabet. On March 3, 1924, strict measures were implemented in Turkey with the aim of suppressing the language of their Kurds. This took the form of banning both the spoken and written use of the Kurdish language, as well as ensuring that education and information are only provided to those who speak the dominant language--Turkish. Possession of written material in Kurdish also became a serious crime punishable by a long-term prison sentence.

Turkish repressive measures against the Kurdish language continued since then, with varying degree of severity: easing during civilian rule and strengthening during military's. The following excerpt extracted from *Otuken*, a Turkish journal sums up the attitude of the Turkish government towards the Kurdish population and their language:

If they [the Kurds] want to carry on speaking a primitive language with vocabularies of only four or five thousand words; if they want to create their own state and publish what they like, let them go and do it somewhere else. We Turks have shed rivers of blood to take possession of these lands; we had to uproot Georgians, Armenians, and Byzantine Greeks ... . Let them go off wherever they want, to Iran, to Pakistan, to India, or to join Barzani. Let them ask the United Nations to find them a homeland in Africa. The Turkish race is very patient, but when it is really angered it is like a roaring lion and nothing can stop it. Let them ask the Armenians who we are, and let them draw the appropriate conclusions.<sup>11</sup>

Only with the beginning of the 1990s, Kurds in Turkey began to widely use their language, but, still much remain to be done.

In Iran, many cultural activities (which include speaking and writing in Kurdish) were forbidden, especially in the period between the fall of the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in 1946 and the Islamic Revolution in 1979. The fact remains, however, that Kurds in Iran were (and still are) enjoying greater cultural freedom than their fellow Kurds in Turkey. No language except Persian, Arabic, and European could be taught in Iran. Otherwise, Kurds, like others, were free to publish nonpolitical material in Kurdish, radio broadcast, TV programs, and foster their customs and traditions.

In Iraq, the Kurdish language, literature, and some other forms of cultural expression were guaranteed by the 1932 Constitution upon the recommendation of the British Mandatory Power then. This situation further progressed after 1958 when the Kurdish language was officially recognized as the second language of the country. Kreyenbroek, however, argues that what the Kurds have achieved in Iraq is indeed a result of a long struggle against official animosity rather than granted by a noble government;<sup>12</sup> the cultural freedom the Kurds of Iraq are enjoying is always under the mercy of the regime's mood.

In Syria, although 90 percent of the Kurds use Kurdish only in their everyday life, the use of the Kurdish language in any form is still against the law since the late 1950s. Despite the greater tolerance the Syrian government is showing these days towards its Kurdish minority, it still prohibits the use of Kurdish in schools, and forbids broadcasting and publishing in the language.<sup>13</sup>

In the former Soviet Union, the situation was excellent before World War II when Kurdish was in steady promotion. After the War, the assimilation processes (carried out by resettlement campaigns of Stalin), the discontinuation of the use of Kurdish as a medium of instruction in schools, the cultural isolation of the Soviet Kurds from their brethren across the borders (e.g., changing the alphabet into Cyrillic), and the recent plight of many of Armenia's Kurds all denied the Kurds an effective development of their language.

## Religion

At least two thirds of the Kurds are Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'i legal school, in contrast to their Arab and Turkish Sunni neighbors who adhere mostly to the Hanafi school, and from their Azeri and Persian neighbors who are Shi'ites.<sup>14</sup> There are, however, many Shi'i Kurds who constitute 10 to 15 percent of the total Kurdish population, i.e., 3 to 4 million concentrated in southern Kurdistan (Iran) and in the districts of Khanaqin and Mandali in Iraq.<sup>15</sup> Most of the remaining Kurds are adherents of heterodox, syncretistic sects "with beliefs and rituals that are clearly influenced by Islam but owe more to other religions, notably old Iranian religion."<sup>16</sup> Such sects include the Alevis (or the Qizilbash), the Ahl-e Haqq ('People of Truth') and the Yezidis, in that order. There are also a few thousands of Christian Kurds and 100,000 Jewish Kurds residing both in and out side Kurdistan.

Until the mid-twentieth century, religion among the Kurds played a prominent role in the Kurdish nationalist movement. In fact, many of the Kurdish rebellions which broke out in the period between 1880 and the mid-1940s were led by *Sheikhs* as will be seen below. These rebellions, however, were intensely affected by the religious diversity of the Kurds. Sunnis, for example, divided into two *tariqas* or mystical orders--the Qadiri and the Naqshbandi--never cooperated effectively with each other in any of the rebellions instigated by either side's leader.<sup>17</sup> The Shi'ite Kurds of Iran, on the other hand, never took part in the Kurdish national movement. The Alevis, fearing Sunni fanaticism, did not support the rebellion of Sheikh Sa'id in 1925; the Alevis, conversely, received no support from Sunni Kurds in their rebellions of 1921 and 1937-1938.<sup>18</sup>

## Other Cultural Aspects of Kurdish National Identity

Often disregarded by many writers, Kurdish national identity is not only manifested in tribe, kinship, language, religion, or history. Other cultural traits, such as literature and folklore and art and music--all affected by the mountainous nature of Kurdistan--have equal primary role in fostering Kurdish nationalism. For example, despite the supremacy of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian which are the only or main languages in which teaching is allowed in Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran, Kurdish literature have retained its originality, have developed, and have contributed to the consolidation of national feeling. Kurdish literature, be it romantic or realist, written or oral was, and still is, a mirror for the Kurdish people through which they recognize the beauty and greatness of their country from the one hand, and the poverty and denial that are imposed on them, on the other. In the words of Blau: "The new blossoming of Kurdish poets, writers and intellectuals who belong to the Kurmanji group strikingly illustrates the relationship between cultural development and political freedom."<sup>19</sup>

Another example, is the sense of a common past represented in the form of storing up the collective memories and carrying them on to subsequent generations: the Kurds have a wealth of famous heroes and sacred dates, memorable places and unforgettable events, that fill the historical catalog in many volumes.<sup>20</sup> In the words of Blau again: "The Kurds' struggle for their national rights is inseparable from their struggle for a decent life and also for the preservation of their culture."<sup>21</sup> In such circumstances, Kurdish national feelings is almost impossible to be terminated from the minds and hearts of the Kurds.<sup>22</sup>

## EDUCATION

The ban on the use of the Kurdish language in most parts of Kurdistan, as well as the severe shortage of both schools and teachers in Kurdish villages have hindered the improvement of the Kurds' educational level. According to the available sources,<sup>23</sup> in Turkish Kurdistan, the illiteracy rate was more than 72 percent in 1975 as opposed to 41 percent in areas populated by Turks. In Iranian Kurdistan, it was 70 percent. Though in the latter, the illiteracy rate declined to 50 percent by 1986, yet, the Kurds remain to be the second least literate of the major nationalities in the country (the Baluchis are first). In fact, Kurdish nationalists today consider native tongue education to be one of the indispensable means by which to protect their ethnic identity from assimilation efforts by the central governments of Turkey, Iran and Syria.

Only in Iraq and the former Soviet Union is the situation significantly better. This is why Izady argues that there is a correlation between the use of Kurdish in the school curriculum and the level of literacy among the Kurds on the one hand, and between the levels of education and social integration, on the other. He concludes that in countries where the Kurdish language is allowed in educational centers, the level of literacy increases, thus explaining why the literacy rate in the former Soviet Union and Iraq is much higher than that of the rest of Kurdistan.<sup>24</sup>

Changes in state policies toward the Kurdish language and education in the last few years whether in Turkey, Iran, or Syria will definitely have positive results which are not very visible now. An example is the great increase in published works in the Kurdish language in the countries concerned.<sup>25</sup>

## ECONOMY

Kurdistan is known to be very rich in its natural resources. Not only oil and water, but also copper, chromium, iron, and sulfur are found with abundance in Kurdish soil. Agriculturally, Kurdistan is also affluent in its high-grade pasture lands as well as with its large and fertile mountain valleys (comprising 28 percent of Kurdistan's total surface area). Wheat, barley, and a great variety of cereals, vegetables, fruits and nuts are the common crops grown in Kurdistan.

As for the cash crops, the most important are tobacco, cotton, olives, and sugar beets. Animal products are also of great importance in Kurdistan's economy with sheep being the most important.

Despite the huge economic production of Kurdistan, whether from its natural resources or from its agricultural goods, only a small portion of its benefits is geared towards the local population. Moreover, heavy modern industries in Kurdistan are almost non-existent. True, oil is produced with abundance from Kurdish areas (and is refined there), nevertheless, skilled laborers are almost entirely non-Kurds and indeed non-locals; even in the mining sector, the Kurds constitute the main unskilled workers. Only light industries can be found in Kurdistan and these are mainly related to handicrafts, construction materials, sugar and textiles. Trade is also of growing importance in Kurdistan and represents a good source of income to many Kurds living near the trade routes. All this, along with the local governments' economic negligence of Kurdistan (e.g., limited investment) explains why Kurdish society is still mainly agrarian with most Kurds working on the land.<sup>26</sup> As a consequence, Kurdistan in the last few decades, has witnessed a sharp increase in the emigration of its productive population to urban centers where they are in effect, "becoming urbanized but not industrialized."<sup>27</sup>

## HISTORY

There is no doubt that the Kurds are one of the oldest nations in the Middle East. Distinct from their Arab and Turkish neighbors, scholars agree that the Kurds are descendants of a mixture of Indo-European peoples formed of indigenous inhabitants and subsequent immigrants who settled the region for more than three thousand years. Their ancient history which stretches from 3000 to 400 BC was a period of high disturbances between Kurdistan and the neighboring powers. According to the records of those powers, a group of Kurds, known as the Gutis then, were able to establish a ruling dynasty in the region between 2250 and 2120 BC. For the next fourteen centuries after the fall of the Gutis, however, Kurdistan was a scene for military invasions, looting, and destruction executed by their neighbors. Those actions which drove the entire region into a social and economic depression led to the transformation of Kurdistan (which was witnessing subsequent Aryan immigration waves) into an Indo-European-speaking society by, perhaps, 300 BC. Kurds along with other Aryan immigrants were able to establish their own empire--the Median Empire--which ruled vast areas of the Middle East between 612 and 549 BC. Since then, the Kurds and Kurdistan remained relatively independent of external rule until the Islamic conquest in the 7th century AD. After that, the Kurds had to wait three centuries of Islamic rule to reemerge powerfully again, with the establishment of Kurdish dynasties that ruled large areas of the region. Among those dynasties were the Buwayhid Daylamites (932-1062), the Ayyubids (1169-15th



century), the Shaddadids (951-1174), the Mamlanids or the Rawwadids (920-1071), the Hasnawayhids (959-1015), and the Marwanids (983-1085).

Yet, from the beginning of the 13th century the Kurds experienced a steady decline in almost every aspect of Kurdish national life. Several important causes were behind this decline but the most important were: the destructive Mongol and Turkic invasions of Kurdistan, the division of Kurdistan as of 1514 among two warring empires, the Persian and the Ottoman and the absolute economic isolation Kurdistan faced as a result of discovering new international trade routes. Sea transportation for instance, denied Kurdistan transit revenues as well as the influx of new technologies, information, and ideas.

Following the defeat of the Persians by the Turks at the battle of Chaldiran in 1514, Kurdistan became divided between two empires with the majority both in terms of people and land, in the Ottoman part. The Ottomans (and the Persians to a lesser extent), aiming at indirect control Kurdistan, allowed the Kurds to organize themselves into semi-independent principalities ruled by Kurdish princes and notable families. This state of affairs continued until the beginning of the 19th century when the Ottomans and the Persians felt the dangers of those powerful and secessionist Kurdish principalities, and set out to eliminate them one by one. Consequently, several Kurdish rebellions broke out: the Baban revolt between 1806 and 1808, the revolt of Mir Mohammed of Soran between 1833 and 1837, the Bedir Khan Bey's revolt of 1847, the Yezdan Sher revolt of 1855, and the 1880 revolt of Sheikh 'Ubaydallah of Nehri, head of the Naqshbandi order. Although led by a religious leader, the revolt of 1880 was the most important of all 19th century Kurdish rebellions for it included both the Kurds of the Ottoman empire and those of Persia, and marked a beginning of the modern Kurdish nationalism.<sup>28</sup>

After the defeat of Sheikh 'Ubaydallah in 1880, Sultan 'Abdulhamid II, hoping to secure the Ottoman domination of the eastern provinces of the empire, decided to follow a different approach towards the Kurds. He made great efforts to integrate them into the state system by allowing them to share in the advantages of the power. Successfully reflecting good intentions towards Kurdish feudals, and stimulating pan-Islamic propaganda among them, 'Abdulhamid was able to create a special Kurdish-dominated cavalry force known as the *Hamidiya* Cavalry which he used to smash the Armenians, and later (under different name) to repress the Kurds as well.<sup>29</sup>

Following the 'Young Turks' revolution in 1908 which overthrew the rule of 'Abdulhamid and promised constitutional reform and representation, the Kurds began to establish their own political organizations. However, the struggle between urban intellectuals and feudalists over leadership denied the Kurds the positive outcomes of political organization and resulted in weakening the Kurdish movement. Consequently, the Kurds fell into the hands of the Turkish rulers during World War I, and were used by them in fighting their wars for them.<sup>30</sup>

As in the case of all other ethnic groups that were subject to the Ottoman Empire, their defeat in the First World War presented the Kurdish people with opportunity to set up their own national state. However, two important factors prevented the creation of a Kurdish state following World War I: one was internal: the absence of a credible, politically competent Kurdish leadership, and the other, external.<sup>31</sup> After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the War, most Middle Eastern peoples under the Ottomans gained their own states. The only exceptions were the Kurds and Armenians although the Allied Powers promised each of them a state in the Treaty of Sevres of August 10, 1920. Unfortunately for the Kurds, the discovery of oil in the Kurdish *vilayet* (province) of Mosul (annexed to Iraq in 1926), the rise of Ataturk who, with the assistance of the Kurds, drove out the Armenians, Greeks, and the Russians from Anatolia,<sup>32</sup> and the unwillingness of Britain and France to implement the Treaty of Sevres, prohibited the Kurds from forming their independent state.<sup>33</sup> Soon after victory was achieved by the Turks, they repudiated the Treaty of Sevres which was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne of July 23, 1923. This new Treaty made no reference to the Kurds by name.

Since then, the Kurds, "victims of peace settlements,"<sup>34</sup> began to face a long series of protracted repressive measures by the subsequent governments of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the Soviet Union and its republics "with hardly a whimper from the West."<sup>35</sup> Mainly divided between four independent countries now, the subsequent history of the Kurds must be treated country by country since the issue of controlling them or trying to assimilate them has varied from one country to the other.

## The Kurds in Turkey Since 1918

Immediately after the signing of the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, Ataturk began a turkification process that included, among other things, the banning of all Kurdish schools, associations, publications, and other forms of cultural expression. Consequently, the Kurds revolted against Ataturk in 1925, 1930 and 1937. These three revolts which were led by Sheikh Sa'id, the *Khoyboun* (Independence) Kurdish National League,<sup>36</sup> and Sayyid Reza of Dersim, respectively, were ruthlessly smashed.<sup>37</sup> Describing the 1925-1938 period of Kurdish history in Turkey, Nezan wrote:

During these thirteen years of repression, struggle, revolt, and deportation... more than one and a half million Kurds were deported [or] massacred ... . The entire area beyond the Euphrates ... was declared out of bounds to foreigners until 1965 and was kept under a permanent state of siege till 1950. The use of the Kurdish language was banned. The very words 'Kurd' and 'Kurdistan' were crossed out of the dictionaries and history

books. The Kurds were never even referred to except as 'Mountain Turks.'<sup>38</sup>

Since then, all Kurdish attempts in Turkish Kurdistan to resuscitate their cultural heritage or their identity have been severely put down by the Turkish army.

Following the fall of Dersim, Turkey witnessed a wave of general discontent resulting mainly from the economic difficulties and famines that took place during most of World War II years. Such discontent forced the Turkish government to liberalize its political system. This decision which took, among other things, the form of legalizing the formation of new political parties benefitted the Kurds greatly. Though they were not allowed to establish their own parties, many Kurds who were in Istanbul and Ankara became politically involved--they joined Turkish political parties (especially the Democratic Party) while attending universities, with many becoming members of the parliament or even state ministers. This period of liberalization in Turkey, however, was interrupted by a military rule between 1960 and 1961 in which a return to Kemalist orthodoxy took place aiming at putting everything back in its right place.

But the Turkish Army failed to suppress the invisible re-emergence of Kurdish nationalism. On the one hand, the Kurds of Turkey were delighted and affected by the success of Barzani in the Iraqi part of Kurdistan and, on the other, they became "aware of both the cultural differences between eastern and western Turkey as well as of the highly unequal development of these two areas of the country."<sup>39</sup> The new constitution adopted by Turkey in 1961 (after the withdrawal of the military from office), moreover, created new opportunity for the Kurds to establish themselves. Many educated Kurds, not allowed to form their own political parties, joined the newly founded Turkish Workers' Party (TWP) that, among other issues, took up the issue of underdevelopment of eastern and southeastern Turkey (i.e. Kurdistan).<sup>40</sup> Then in 1965, a group of pro-Barzani Kurds (mostly educated persons) decided to form their own political party that operated clandestinely under the name the Kurdish Democratic Party of Turkey (KDPT).

Late in the 1960s and early 1970s, Kurdish political parties, but more specifically, radical ones, grew in number. Feeling the rise of the Kurdish movement along with the political disorder that was prevailing in the country, the army decided to step in again on March 12, 1973 to restore order. Only after three years, the army returned power to the civilians, but after making sure that no party would achieve a decisive victory in the government. The Army was convinced that stability and powerful governments are the reasons behind the rise of the Kurds. Consequently, throughout most of the 1970s, the country went into a political deadlock and extremism with no party able to win a majority that would enable it to make vital decisions. At the same time, this period witnessed a turning point in the political demands of Kurdish organizations from economic

development of Kurdistan and the recognition of elementary cultural rights of the Kurds to independence.

According to Van Bruinessen, two major reasons were behind this shift in the Kurdish movement. First, there was widespread dissatisfaction among the Kurds with the Turkish left, which seemed insufficiently responsive to the national dimension of the Kurdish struggle. Second, the weakness of the Turkish government allowed the Kurds considerable freedom thus making them able to organize themselves underground and make propaganda.<sup>41</sup> Edmund Ghareeb mentions a third reason, namely, the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979 that was associated or led to the rise of the Kurdish national movement in Iran to the forefront.<sup>42</sup>

Towards the end of the 1970s, Kurdish organizations were able to control large areas of Kurdistan. However, the ideological differences and, in particular, personal rivalries, caused many splits in and conflicts among the Kurdish organizations which counted more than ten by that time. The severe clashes between these organizations on the one hand, and their clashes with other Turkish groups, on the other, caused thousands of victims among both Kurds and Turks and exposed them to the eyes of the Turkish army. Consequently, the military took over power once again on September 12, 1980 in an attempt to "wipe out Kurdish nationalism,"<sup>43</sup> and end "the political deadlock and extremism as well as the terrible anarchy and terrorism that were threatening the very existence of the Turkish state in the late 1970s."<sup>44</sup>

Immediately after the coup, large scale operations in the Kurdish areas took place to crush the Kurdish movement.<sup>45</sup> For the first time after more than 45 years, however, the Kurds confronted the Turkish Army openly, particularly by the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), which proved to be the most violent of the Kurdish organizations having started a guerrilla war against Turkey in August 1984.<sup>46</sup> This war which is still going on was faced by severe Turkish military campaigns, well described in Laizer's words:

[The Turkish army campaign] is an all-out military on-slaught to end Kurdish resistance in the most brutal fashion (250,000 soldiers versus 15,000 guerrillas and Kurdish civilians). ... [Its aims are] murder, extra-judicial killings, and silencing of the Kurdish opposition--prominent writers, journalists, MP's, and even Kurdish businessmen shot, tortured, or imprisoned, and the opposition press forced into closure. The true face of the [campaigns] is in fact the military target of razing all rebellious Kurdish villages, mass deportations and massacres of the villagers themselves, and the arbitrary killing and detention of Kurdish civilians who refuse to become state-paid militia against the PKK. The killings are carried out by military and death squads with the civil governments' complicity.<sup>47</sup>

Initially criticized because of its violent attacks on Kurdish collaborators along with their families, the extreme nature of PKK's activities against the Turkish army nevertheless increased its popularity among the Kurdish masses. Such activities which were normally associated with Turkish military repression of civilians, resulted in the evacuation and flight of hundreds of thousands of Kurds westwards. Ironically, these displaced persons, now living in major Turkish cities, have made it impossible for Turkish public opinion to ignore the Kurds any longer: the Kurdish population living outside Kurdistan became more of a serious problem than those living inside it. A good indication of this is the role the Kurds play in today's Turkish national elections as well as their success in exposing their nation's plight not only to the West but also to the Turks themselves. Another indication would be the call for Kurdish return to their homes asked by the new Turkish Islamist prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan, no matter what his aims for this are.

All this shows that the Kurdish problem has really become the Achilles' heel of an otherwise promising Turkish future, and an obstacle to Turkey's full entry into the European Community. It will therefore not be surprising that the longer the war goes on, the more radical the demands of the Kurds will be and the stronger the PKK might grow. A Kurdish state in Turkey is very difficult to imagine. Turkish rulers do not believe in Turkey having more than one nation or their land being divided into two. Other regional powers do not support or favor a Kurdish state in Turkey because they have enough troubles with their own Kurds. International powers do not like to see Turkey fall apart because it doesn't serve any of their interests. There are plenty of other reasons to mention why a Kurdish state in Turkey is very difficult to imagine in the foreseeable future. Given the limited space here, one only needs to refer to the list of works mentioned in this bibliography (in the chapter on politics).

### **The Kurds in Iran Since 1918<sup>48</sup>**

Although Kurds in Iran have never been subjected to the level of brutality as that of their counterparts in Turkey and Iraq, the Iranian government has always been no less vehement in its opposition to any form of a separate Kurdish entity. Iran's opposition stems from its fears of what such a prospect may hold for other ethnic groups within its boundaries who may be encouraged by any Kurdish gains, and thus demand a similar treatment; among these ethnic groups are the Arabs, Azeris and Baluchis.

During the period between 1920 and 1930, Ismail Agha Simko, chief of the Shikak tribe, rose several times against central authority. Though initially successful in capturing large areas of the Kurdish region, Simko failed nevertheless in achieving Kurdish independence. After that, the Kurdish movement in Iran had to wait until World War II to re-emerge. A major turning point was the founding of the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Iran (KDPI) in 1945, which was

soon to proclaim the creation of the autonomous Democratic Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad. The Mahabad Republic proved to be short-lived, however (January-December 1946). The KDPI was unable to attract local support to the small republic, especially from the tribes who were extremely reluctant to do away with the close relationship they had cultivated with the Tehran government a decade earlier. As a result, immediately after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran in December 1946, Tehran proceeded to crush the Mahabad Republic—something it did with relative ease considering the absence of a powerful protector. Thereafter, Kurdish nationalists went under-ground, only to be effectively suppressed by SAVAK, the Shah's security service.

In 1978, Kurdish nationalists joined in the overthrow of the Shah thus creating a real opportunity to negotiate a new relationship with Tehran. Interestingly, Kurdish nationalists, mainly led by KDPI and Komala (The Kurdish Communist Party in Iran), were capable of mobilizing large masses both for the popular uprising that was to ensue, as well as for an autonomous Kurdish entity within Iran. However, the Islamic Revolutionary government was swift in rejecting any Kurdish request for autonomy because of the danger that autonomy for the Kurds could excite similar demands by other minorities, thus threatening to break-up the country. What followed was a gradual deterioration in relations between the Kurds and the Tehran government, especially as the Shi'i character of the new regime became increasingly apparent. Tehran's efforts to reimpose central authority over Kurdish regions led to protracted guerrilla warfare in which the Kurds were no match for the technologically superior government forces.

Although the Kurds were able to exploit Iraq's surprise attack on Iran to their advantage by capturing large areas of land in Iranian Kurdistan, the balance was soon tilted in Iran's favor. By 1983, not only Iran had regained territories captured by Iraq and Kurds but had virtually pushed KDPI out of most of the Kurdish regions. By the end of the Iran-Iraq war, the Tehran government had successfully crushed the Kurdish resistance movement which by then had become extremely minimal.

Even the KDPI's attempts to seek a compromise with the government ended in failure too. Indeed, the two occasions on which the Islamic Republic had agreed to negotiate with the Kurdish movement were dedicated more by necessity rather than a sincere desire to resolve the Kurdish problem. First, in October 1979, when it felt both weak and threatened; and, second, in July 1989, when Tehran's aim was the assassination of the KDPI's leader, Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, also reputed as the party's major thinker, strategist, diplomat and organizer.<sup>49</sup> The assassination of Ghassemlou in Vienna, as well as of his successor Sadiq Sharafkandi in Berlin in September 1992, left both the party and the Kurdish movement in Iran in disarray. Although subsequent Iranian Kurdish leaders continue to aspire for Kurdish autonomy, however, they are as far from achieving their aims as ever before.

## The Kurds in Iraq Since 1918

In World War I, Britain decided to create the state of Iraq. Initially, the plan was to unite the two provinces of Basra and Baghdad and making them fall within the jurisdiction of the British mandatory power under the provisions of the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. The discovery of oil in the Kurdish province of Mosul, however, changed British plans. Britain then wanted Mosul to join this planned Iraqi state. So, it decided to occupy Mosul in November 1918 (still under Ottoman jurisdiction) despite the armistice of Mudros signed on October 31, 1918. But, Britain was aware that the population of Mosul were mainly Kurds. Therefore, it planned to set up one or several semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces to be loosely attached to the emergent state of Iraq. The Kurds, however, were against being included in Iraq. Eventually, they came into direct confrontation with the British authorities.<sup>50</sup>

From 1919 to the mid-1940s, there was a long series of Kurdish rebellions against the British army and Iraqi regime for some form of real autonomy for Kurds in Iraq. All attempts by Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji and Barzanis (Sheikh Ahmad and Mulla Mustafa), however, failed. Only with the overthrow of the monarchy on July 14, 1958 by General Qassim, did the Kurdish nationalist movement in Iraq re-emerge. Qassim's coup raised Kurdish expectations for more equal participation in the state. He welcomed Mulla Mustafa back from exile and jointly dealt with many mutual enemies. Hoping to gain some civil and cultural rights to the Kurds, Barzani accepted to assist Qassim in his efforts to eliminate the government's opposition groups. However, Qassim's regime disappointed Kurdish hopes and, eventually, the Kurdish movement erupted again in 1961.

Qassim's efforts to bring Barzani to heel failed, and the war between the latter and successive Iraqi governments continued until March 1970 when a peace agreement between the Kurds and the Ba'th regime was concluded which gave significant cultural, political and economic rights to the Kurds. However, although the March agreement was supposed to be implemented within a period of four years, it proved to be no more than a cease-fire agreement. Consequently, fighting resumed again between the Kurdish forces and the Iraqi army in which the former were openly supported by the Iranians, not to mention receiving secret U.S. aid. In an attempt to defuse the escalating crisis, the Iraqi government resorted to a carrot and stick policy of which it offered Iran a revision of the agreement governing the demarcation of the disputed Shatt al-Arab waterway, upon which Iran and the U.S. withdrew their support for the Kurds, in effect signaling the death knell of the Kurdish revolt. It is argued that Iran has offered Iraq this agreement after it realized that the Kurds are losing ground, despite their assistance to them. Anyway, Barzani gave up the struggle, but others carried on.<sup>51</sup>

An Iranian-Kurdish rapprochement was once again effected during the Iran-Iraq war, 1980-1988, through which the Kurds seized and controlled large portions of Iraqi Kurdistan. Displeased with the Kurds' military gains, the Iraqi regime could not have been more brutal, as demonstrated by the use of chemical weapons on the Kurdish town of Halabja in March 1988. Then, after Iran's acceptance of the cease-fire in August 1988, the Iraqi army directed its attention to squashing the Kurdish movement. In the process, hundreds of Kurdish villages were razed to the ground, with the large majority of their inhabitants either executed, or resettled in new towns or concentration camps. The army also routinely used chemical weapons. According to various sources, up to 100,000 may have been killed in what was described as military operations tantamount to a full-fledged genocide campaign.<sup>52</sup>

As relations deteriorated to a new low between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish population, many Kurds deduced that their situation could only be improved with the removal of Saddam Hussein, under whose reign the abuse of their human rights had become flagrant. By the start of the Gulf War in February 1991 a coalition formed by the Kurds, Shi'ites and other dissenters, declared the removal of Saddam Hussein as its goal. But the outcome of the Gulf War, and that of the Kurdish rebellion, were grossly miscalculated. Only under Allied protection did the Iraqi Kurds escape much more losses. The subsequent establishment of a Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq proved to be no more than a limited guarantee of security, and failed to resolve the underlying problems.<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, some of the major obstacles to a permanent solution of the Kurdish dilemma in Iraq are related to deep internal rivalries among the various Kurdish factions. In addition, reservations are entertained by the international community concerning the repercussions of establishing a Kurdish state on regional powers including Iraq itself. The only other viable alternative in the foreseeable future would be limited autonomy granted by the Iraqi government to the Kurds--an autonomy that is viewed by Kurdish nationalists as falling below minimum expectations.

### **The Kurds in Syria Since 1918**

During the French mandate, 1918-1945, the Kurds in Syria enjoyed many cultural and political rights as perceived by the existence of political and social organizations, publications, use of the Kurdish language, and recruitment into the army and administration. Following Syrian independence, however, these rights began to gradually diminish.

The rise of hostile Arab nationalist movements (Ba'thism, Nasserism, etc.) and the Union of Syria and Egypt into the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1958, marked the first round of oppressive conduct *vis-a-vis* the Kurds. The pretext was the establishment of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria (KDPS) in 1957. That party called for the recognition of the Kurds as an ethnic group



and for democracy in Syria. It also drew attention to the lack of economic development in the Kurdish areas, as well as to the discriminatory practices against the Kurds in education and their ill-recruitment to the police and military academies. Kurdish leaders were then arrested and Kurdish publications were outlawed. The Kurds were to be only Syrians, which was defined as an Arab state.

Following Syria's secession from the UAR in 1961, political repression against the Kurds intensified and took on a legal dimension in its execution. This culminated in the promulgation of Decree 93 which called for a special census in the Kurdish area of Jezira and resulted in loss of Syrian citizenship by 120,000 Kurds. Many of these moved into Lebanon. After the accession of the Ba'ath to the power in 1963, the oppression of the Kurds went farther. An arabization plan which took the form of creating an Arab Belt (*al-Hizam al-Arabi*). It covered most of the Kurdish regions bordering both Iraq and Turkey. This plan aimed to expropriate the Kurds from their lands and push them to emigrate from the border regions to other places in and outside Syria. The evacuated regions and villages were populated by Arabs and renamed to give them an Arab identity in an attempt to arabize Kurdish regions and assimilate those remaining Kurds who became deprived of education.<sup>54</sup>

Only with the coming into power of Hafiz Asad in 1972, the conditions of the Kurds began to improve although not significantly. Asad needed the Kurds for both external and internal reasons. First, he sought to please them, declaring the end of forced transfers from Jezira (1976). Then he used them to wipe out Arab opposition movements.<sup>55</sup>

As of the beginning of the 1980s, the Kurds were allowed to perform and sell tapes of their native songs and speak Kurdish in the streets. But until today, many Kurds continue to be denied citizenship. Teaching in Kurdish language and fostering of the culture continue to be prohibited. The Kurds may celebrate *Nuruz* (New Year's Day), however, only in the countryside - away from public attention. Kurds are still not allowed to form their own political parties. The success of the Kurds in electing fifteen Kurdish candidates to the Syrian Parliament in 1991 was no more than a necessity than a sincere desire to lift the restrictions on the Kurds. The future of the Kurds in Syria is no less bleak than those of their compatriots elsewhere; although suppressed more than any other group, the Kurds of Syria may still face a harsher period of repression once the large Sunni majority comes to power.

### **The Kurds in the Former Soviet Union Since 1918**

Although there are no more indigenous Kurdish territories left in the former Soviet Union, the Kurds there must be mentioned for two main reasons: First, because of the almost similar fate they share with their brethren elsewhere (i.e., their tragic history). Second, because of their distinguished socio-economic

advancement despite the fact that one time they were the most backward and disinherited Kurds of all.

Today, there are about 400,000 Kurds living in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, and different republics or regions of Russia like Krasnodar and Siberia. Like the Kurds in Israel and Lebanon, the Soviet Kurds moved in there in waves with the first apparently taking place in the 1st century BC.<sup>56</sup> Later in the 10th century AD, some Kurdish tribes moved into the Caucasus to discover new fertile lands. Among these tribes were the Shaddadis who ruled a large part of the area between 951 and 1174 AD. In the 16th century, many Kurdish tribes moved into Central Asia as a result of their use by the Persian Shahs to guard their eastern border. This was the third main wave. In the 19th century, the fourth phase of Kurdish migration into the Caucasus took place. The wars between Russia and Turkey (1804-1813, 1828-1829, 1853-1856, 1877-1878) and the Kurdish revolts throughout the century swelled the number of Yezidi Kurdish population with a flood of refugees seeking safety in the region. A final wave took place at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century when tens of thousands of Kurds (mainly Yezidis also) moved from the Ottoman empire into Armenia and Georgia fleeing persecution.<sup>57</sup> Kurdish permanent settlement in the Soviet republics was not final, however.

Soon after the creation of the Soviet state, the two Kurdish-dominated districts of Jewanshir (with its capital Kelbajar) and eastern Zangazur (with its capital Lachin) in Azerbaijan were joined and officially designated in 1920 as "Kurdistan." After three years, the political status of this Kurdish province was elevated to become the "Kurdish Autonomous Province," better known as "Red Kurdistan" with its capital Lachin. However, the period of Kurdish autonomy was very brief. In 1929, "Red Kurdistan" was no longer an entity and Kurds ceased to be reported in Azeri population censuses. Moreover, starting from the 1930s, the Kurds, like many other Caucasian nationalities, began to face a series of repressive measures implemented by Stalin. Thousands of Kurds were deported from Armenia in 1937, and from Georgia in 1944 to Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The men were deported to secret places and the women and children were deported shortly afterwards to a different place. Repressive measures against the Kurds did not stop until the late 1950s, but to be repeated in the 1990s, now at the hands of the nationalists in the different republics in which Kurds find themselves. The most recent of these repressive measures is the outcome of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan since 1988 over Nagorno-Karabakh which resulted in the complete destruction of the Kurdish areas of "Red Kurdistan" and the deportation of 150,000 Kurds from their lands let alone the Muslim Kurds deported from Armenia.<sup>58</sup>

Socio-economically speaking, the Kurds of the former Soviet Union can be divided into two main groups: advantaged and disadvantaged. The former mostly located in Armenia and Georgia (mainly Yezidi Kurds) while the latter in

Azerbaijan and other republics (mainly Muslim Kurds). Unlike the Kurds in Azerbaijan, who are facing continuous cultural repression and grim living conditions, under the Soviet auspices, the Kurds of Armenia and Georgia were, until the early 1990s, enjoying a great degree of state assistance. For example, in Armenia, the Kurds were very well treated and given both encouragement and state funds to develop their culture and improve the socio-economic conditions of their communities. Kurds there had their own network of schools, an institute of Kurdish studies at the Academy of Sciences at Erevan, and a modest national press which includes a bi-weekly Kurdish newspaper *Reiya Taze* (The New Course), published since 1930 in Erevan with a circulation of 2,500-3,500 copies. Kurds studying in Moscow and Leningrad's universities were also a major source for the development of the socio-economic conditions of the local Kurds. All this resulted in the Kurds' preservation of their identity and cultural heritage as well as in their social and economic prosperity. Had the situation of the Kurds in Azerbaijan and other republics been the same as it was in Armenia and Georgia, it would have been easier to talk about a real use of the Soviet Kurds as agents or propagandists of Kurdish nationalism: Kurds in Armenia were very few and in Azerbaijan were (and still are) repressed.<sup>59</sup> As things turned out, it was only the policy of the Soviet Union to foster Kurdish culture in Armenia and Georgia. Once removed, Armenians and Georgians almost instantly fell upon the Kurds with vengeance, stripping them of all those privileges.

## CONCLUSION

As made evident by the twentieth century Kurdish experience, Kurdish national rights has been hindered by three interrelated problem areas: problems of communication (linguistic and religious diversity); problems of common political action (political disunity); and problems of external influence, repeated manipulation, and lack of a superpower's support in the midst of such repressive regimes as Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Azerbaijan.

It is true that all Kurds realize that they belong to a common entity and all have occasionally taken part in Kurdish nationalist movements, yet, there has never been a united Kurdish movement. Division by personal, tribal, regional, and sect has been the rule rather than the exception. The geopolitical situation moreover has made the Kurds vulnerable to manipulation by outside powers. Throughout their revolts, Kurdish leaders have always hoped to achieve national rights through foreign support. However, they seldom realized that they were also fighting the wars of the regional and international powers. The Kurds' limited alternatives, as well as their relative political ignorance, encourage outside powers to exploit them.

The future of the Kurds remains uncertain. Kurdish national identity has developed considerably in the last few years, and will not disappear despite

military pressure. Surrounded from all sides by enemies, however, Kurdish national rights will continue to be denied. For the Kurds, as well as other resembling repressed nations, only nation-states will do, but, in the name of realism, their nationalism today is undermined. Therefore, for years to come, the best hope the Kurds would achieve is autonomy within the existing states. Even this, however, depends on the success of the Kurds in maintaining and preserving their cultural and/or national identities. This is particularly true, because the Kurdish national movement is weakly developed in socio-economic terms and because the international community is not giving great support to the Kurdish people.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup>A few works have been extensively used in this Introduction. Rather than cite them repeatedly, they are listed here; only when very necessary, these, and other sources, are cited. Martin Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1992); Gerard Chaliand, ed., *A People Without A Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*, translated from the French by Michael Pallis (London: Zed Press, 1993); Nader Entessar, *Kurdish Ethnonationalism* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992); Edmund Ghareeb, *The Kurdish Question in Iraq* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981); Michael Gunter, *The Kurds of Iraq: Tragedy and Hope* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); Michael Gunter, *The Kurds in Turkey: A Political Dilemma* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1990); Amir Hassanpour, *Nationalism and Language in Kurdistan, 1918-1985* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992); Mehrdad Izady, *The Kurds: A Concise Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: Taylor & Francis, Inc., 1992); Sheri Laizer, *Martyrs, Traitors and Patriots: Kurdistan After the Gulf War* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1996); David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996); David McDowall, *The Kurds: A Nation Denied*, foreword by John Simpson (London: Minority Rights Publications, 1992); and Robert Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press at Austin, 1988).

<sup>2</sup>Izady, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>In Turkey, for example, it was only in 1991 when it partially lifted restrictions on the use and practice of the Kurdish language and culture, respectively. Before that, Turkey used to claim that those Kurds resident in their home are 'Mountain Turks'.

<sup>4</sup>*International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 8, nos. 1-2 (1995), p. 165.

<sup>5</sup>Helga Graham, "Introduction: The Kurds Cinderella of Liberation Movements," in *Into Kurdistan Under Fire* by Sheri Laizer (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1991), p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Bill Powell, "Kurdistan's Second Front," [Germany], *Newsweek* (April 10, 1995), p. 19.

<sup>7</sup>See Martin Van Bruinessen, "Kurdish Society, Ethnicity, Nationalism and Refugee Problem," in *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*, edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 48-54.

<sup>8</sup>McDowall, *The Kurds* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1991), p. 20.

<sup>9</sup>Actually most of the Kurds in Turkey, a good part of the Kurds of Iran and Iraq, and almost the entire Kurdish population of Syria and the former Soviet Union speak the North Kurmanji dialect.

<sup>10</sup>See Izady, pp. 172-182.

<sup>11</sup>*Otuken* (June 1967). Cited in Kendal (Kendal Nezan), "Kurdistan in Turkey," p. 77.

<sup>12</sup>Kreyenbroek, p. 76.

<sup>13</sup>See Middle East Watch, *Syria Unmasked: The Suppression of Human Rights by the Asad Regime* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 99; and Ismet Cheriff Vanly, "The Kurds in Syria and Lebanon," in *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*, edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 148-151.

<sup>14</sup>Martin Van Bruinessen, "Religion in Kurdistan," *Kurdish Times* 4 (Summer/ Fall 1991), p. 7.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7; and Izady, p. 133. This estimate includes the disciples of Ahl-i Haqq sect whom Izady distinguishes from mainstream Shi'ite Islam.

<sup>16</sup>Van Bruinessen, "Religion in Kurdistan," p. 8.

<sup>17</sup>For example, the Naqshbandis did not participate in any of Sheikh Mahmud's revolts in Iraq in the 1920s. Cited in Sami Shurash, "Tanawwu' Akrad al-'Iraq: Madkhal ila al-Siyasa," [The Diversity of Iraqi Kurds: An Introduction to Politics] *Abwab* [London], no 3 (Winter 1995), p. 49.

<sup>18</sup>Van Bruinessen, "Religion in Kurdistan," pp. 7-14.

<sup>19</sup>Joyce Blau, "Kurdish Written Literature," in *Kurdish Culture and Identity*, edited by Philip Kreyenbroek and Christine Allsion (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1996), p. 27.

<sup>20</sup>Kawa and Nurus, Media and Mahabad are only a few examples.

<sup>21</sup>Blau, p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>For further details, see *The Importance of Cultural Elements in the Struggle of the Kurdish People* (Amsterdam: Research Institute of Oppressed People, 1983); Mehrdad Izady, *Roots and Evolution of Some Aspects of Kurdish Cultural Identity in Late Classical and Early Medieval Periods* (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1992); Philip Kreyenbroek and Christine Allsion,

eds., *Kurdish Culture and Identity* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1996); and Kendal Nezan, "Kurdish Music and Dance," *World of Music* 21 (1979): 19-32.

<sup>23</sup>See Chaliand, *The Kurdish Tragedy*, translated by Philip Black (London: Zed Books Ltd., in association with UNRISD, 1994); A. R. Ghassem-lou (Abdul Rahman), "Kurdistan in Iran," in *People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*, edited by Gerard Chaliand, translated from the French by Michael Pallis (London: Zed Press, 1993), pp. 99-100; Izady, pp. 179-181; and Kendal (Kendal Nezan), "Kurdistan in Turkey," in *People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*, edited by Gerard Chaliand, translated from the French by Michael Pallis (London: Zed Press, 1993) p. 40.

<sup>24</sup>Izady, p. 179. Apart from the scarcity of schools, there are only two universities in Kurdistan: One in Iraq (The University of Salahaddin in Arbil), founded in 1968 as University of Sulaimaniyah; the other is in Turkey (Dicle [Tigris] University), founded in 1966 as a branch of Ankara University, but became independent as of 1973. Both enroll about 15,000 students.

<sup>25</sup>For further details, see Amir Hassanpour, "The Creation of Kurdish Media Culture," in *Kurdish Culture and Identity*, edited by Philip Kreyenbroek and Christiane Allison (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1996), pp. 48-84.

<sup>26</sup>Chaliand, *The Kurdish Tragedy*, pp. 14-15; and Izady, pp. 221-234. Both Chaliand and Izady say that, contrary to what many peoples assume of the Kurds, only a very small number of Kurds (less than 3 percent) still practice a nomadic economy. It was the forced sedentarization policies, introduced in Turkey and Iran as of 1920s, that marked the beginning of the end for the nomads and their traditional modes of economic production. Since then, nomads became farmers, villagers, or even city dwellers.

<sup>27</sup>Chaliand, *The Kurdish Tragedy*, p. 41.

<sup>28</sup>The Kurdish rebellions of the 19th century are well analyzed in Kendal (Kendal Nezan), "The Kurds Under the Ottoman Empire," in *A People Without A Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*, edited by Gerard Chaliand, translated from the French by Michael Pallis (London: Zed Press, 1993), pp. 11-37; McDowall, *A Modern History*, pp. 38-86; and Olson, pp. 1-25.

<sup>29</sup>Kendal (Kendal Nezan), "Ottoman Empire," pp. 24-26.

<sup>30</sup>McDowall, *A Nation Denied*, pp. 30-31; and Kendal (Kendal Nezan), "Ottoman Empire," pp. 26-29. Two good surveys on this period of Kurdish history is Kamal Madhar Ahmad, *Kurdistan During the First World War*, translated from the Arabic by 'Ali Maher Ibrahim (London: Saqi Books, 1994); and McDowall, *A Modern History*, pp. 87-112.

<sup>31</sup>Izady, p. 59. It seems that it was more puzzling for the British to find a Kurdish leader to hold on Kurdistan than an Arab leader [King Faysal] for Iraq and a Persian one [Reza Shah] for Iran!

<sup>32</sup>The Kurds participated extensively in the war against them believing that they are fighting for a Muslim state in which they would have a share.

<sup>33</sup>For a detailed analysis of Kurdish history between the Treaty of Sevres and that of Lausanne, see McDowall, *A Modern History*, pp. 115-150; Theodore R. Nash, "The Effect of International Oil Interests Upon the Fate of an Autonomous Kurdish Territory: A Perspective on the Conference at Sevres, August 10, 1920," *International Problems* 15 (Spring 1976), pp. 119-133; and Olson, pp. 52-90.

<sup>34</sup>Gidon Gottlieb, "Nations Without States," *Foreign Affairs* 73 (May/June 1994), p. 104.

<sup>35</sup>Richard Falk, "The Cruelty of Geopolitics: The Fate of Nation and State in the Middle East," *Millenium: Journal of International Studies* 20, no. 3 (1991), p. 387.

<sup>36</sup>The *Khoyboun* was led by Ihsan Nouri Pasha and the Bedir Khan brothers.

<sup>37</sup>For details on these three revolts and their aftermaths, see Kendal [Nezan Kendal], "Kurdistan in Turkey," pp. 51-58; and McDowall, *A Modern History*, pp. 184-213.

<sup>38</sup>Kendal, "Kurdistan in Turkey," p. 58.

<sup>39</sup>Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State*, p. 32.

<sup>40</sup>In its Congress in October 1970, the TWP adopted a resolution which recognized the Kurdish people. It was the first time that an official body in Turkey take such a position. As a consequence of adopting this resolution, the party was banned.

<sup>41</sup>Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State*, p. 33.

<sup>42</sup>Ghareeb, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup>Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State*, p. 33.

<sup>44</sup>Gunter, *The Kurds in Turkey*, p. 35. For further analysis on the Kurdish national movement in Turkey in the period between World War II and 1980, see Kendal [Nezan Kendal], "Kurdistan in Turkey," pp. 62-92; and McDowall, *A Modern History*, pp. 395-417.

<sup>45</sup>Good accounts on these campaigns are Martin Van Bruinessen, "The Kurds in Turkey," *MERIP Reports* 14 (February 1984), pp. 6-14; and Gunter, *The Kurds in Turkey*, pp. 43-56.

<sup>46</sup>The initial phases of PKK's guerrilla warfare are well discussed in Martin Van Bruinessen, "Between Guerrilla War and Political Murder: The Workers' Party of Kurdistan," *Middle East Report/MERIP Reports* 18 (July-August 1988): 40-46, 50; and Gunter, *The Kurds in Turkey*, pp. 74-83.

<sup>47</sup>Sheri Laizer, "Gerard Chaliand's The Kurdish Factor," *Namah* 2 (Fall 1994), p. 4.

<sup>48</sup>Perhaps the best authorities on the Kurds in Iran are William Eagleton, *The Kurdish Republic of 1946* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963); A. R. Ghassemlou (Abdul Rahman), pp. 95-121; and Archie Roosevelt, Jr., "The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad," *The Middle East Journal* 1 (July

1947), pp. 247-269. Supplements to these works can be found in Nader Entessar, pp. 11-48; McDowall, *A Modern History*, pp. 214-283; and Rouhollah K. Ramazani, "The Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan and the Kurdish People's Republic: Their Rise and Fall," in *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers*, edited by Thomas T. Hammond (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 448-474.

<sup>49</sup>Omar Sheikhmous, "The Kurdish Question: Conflict Resolution Strategies at the Regional level," in *Building Peace in the Middle East: Challenges for States and Civil Society*, edited by Elise Boulding (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), p. 149.

<sup>50</sup>Ismet Cheriff Vanly, "Kurdistan in Iraq," in *People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*, edited by Gerard Chaliand, translated from the French by Michael Pallis (London: Zed Press, 1993), p. 143.

<sup>51</sup>See Alexis Heraclides, *The Self-Determination of Minorities in International Politics* (London: Frank Cass, 1991), pp. 129-146; McDowall, *A Modern History*, pp. 368-391; and Vanly, "Kurdistan in Iraq," pp. 153-190.

<sup>52</sup>Kenneth Anderson, *The Anfal Campaign in Iraqi Kurdistan ...* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993); George Black, *Genocide in Iraq: The Anfal Campaign Against the Kurds* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993); Joost Hiltermann, *Bureaucracy of Repression: The Iraqi Government in Its Own Words* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994); and Kanan Makiya, *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising, and the Arab World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993).

<sup>53</sup>See McDowall, *A Modern History*, pp. 343-367.

<sup>54</sup>Middle East Watch, *Syria Unmasked*, pp. 96-98. See also Mustafa Nazdar, pseud., "The Kurds in Syria," in *A People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*, edited by Gerard Chaliand, translated from the French by Michael Pallis (London: Zed Press, 1993), pp. 198-201; and Ismet Cheriff Vanly, "The Kurds in Syria and Lebanon," in *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*, edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 143-170.

<sup>55</sup>Chaliand, *The Kurdish Tragedy*, p. 87.

<sup>56</sup>"You Too Armenia," *Kurdish Life*, no. 9 (Winter 1994), p. 1.

<sup>57</sup>For further details on Kurdish immigration into the former Soviet Union, see Ismet Cheriff Vanly, "The Kurds in the Soviet Union," in *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*, edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 193-199.

<sup>58</sup>See Nadir Nadirov, "What Do the Soviet Kurds Want?" *Asia and Africa Today*, no. 1 (January-February 1991), pp. 74-76; Vanly, "The Kurds in the Soviet Union," pp. 211-218; and "You too Armenia?" *Kurdish Life*, no. 9 (Winter 1994), pp. 1-5.



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<sup>59</sup>On the social, economic and cultural situation of the Soviet Kurds, see T. F. Arsitova, "Kurds," translated by David Testen, in *Encyclopedia of World Cultures, vol. VI: Russia and Eurasia/China*, edited by Paul Friedrich and Norma Diamond (Boston, Mass: G.K. Hall & Co., 1994), pp. 224-227; and Kendal [Nezan Kendal], "The Kurds in the Soviet Union," in *A People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*, edited by Gerard Chaliand, translated from the French by Michael Pallis (London: Zed Press, 1993), pp. 205-209.

## CHAPTER 1

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### GENERAL WORKS

- 1      Aristova, T. F. "Kurds." Translated by David Testen. In *Encyclopedia of World Cultures, Volume VI: Russia and Eurasia/China*. Edited by Paul Friedrich and Norma Diamond, 224-227. Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall & Co., 1994.

This article presents the Kurds of the Commonwealth of Independent States (or the former Soviet Union). It deals with their orientation (identification, location and demography), history and cultural relations, language and literacy, settlements, economy, religion and culture.

- 2      Blau, Joyce. *Le probleme Kurde: Essai sociologique et historique*. [The Kurdish Problem: A Sociological and Historical Essay.] Brussels: Centre pour l'étude des problemes du monde musulman contemporain, 1963. 80 p. (Le monde musulman contemporain: Initiations, 4)

In this book, Miss Blau has drawn from scholarly works by such experts as V. Minorsky and B. Nikitine to give an excellent thumbnail sketch of the cultural and historical background of the Kurds. The major part of the book is devoted to Kurdish political history, divided into three main parts according to the countries in which the majority of Kurds now live: Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The book is largely an account of numerous Kurdish insurrections erupted during the 19th and 20th centuries, but the earlier ones are cut mercifully short by Miss Blau. The author comes to several conclusions: if the move for Kurdish autonomy is successful, the next logical step would be an independent state; the Kurds would prefer to be neutral in international politics, but if the West continues to be indifferent to their plight, they may be driven into the Soviet camp; and, if the Arabs do not show some sympathy for the Kurdish demands

for autonomy, the Kurds may procure the situation into their own hands. (abridged, Lettie Wenner/*MEJ* 19, Winter 1965: 95)

- 3 Bois, Thomas. *The Kurds*. Translated from the French by M. W. M. Welland. Beirut: Khayats, 1966. 159 p. Bibliography: p. [155]-159.

Translation of *Connaissance des Kurdes* (1965). Father Thomas Bois walks arm-in-arm not only with the Kurds but also with their history and aspirations. A Dominican monk, he has studied Arabic and Kurdish, has lived many years in the Middle East and has written extensively about the Kurds. Opening his book with a striking reference to Kurdistan as "land without frontiers," Father Thomas proceeds with unflinching skill and intellectual mobility to describe the socio-economic and religio-cultural aspects of Kurdish life. Although there is frequent obeisance to the "fathers" of modern Kurdology, V. Minorsky, B. Nikitine and P. Rondot, there is a great deal of original observation and what may be construed as empathy even with some of the Kurdish ancestral superstitions. Fact and myth, nevertheless, are differentiated and assessed; not an easy task with a mythogenic group like the Kurds. The reader gets a corporate image of the people: their villages, homes, education, occupations, art, skills, folklore, weddings, feasts, religious observances, magic rites, joys and sorrows--all following a thematic sequence. Perhaps the best and the most edifying chapter in the book deals with the language and the literature of the Kurds. The author indicates familiarity with the cultural heritage of the people and a hopeful awareness of their intellectual ferment. Somewhat different in tone and genre is the last chapter of the volume, pertaining to Kurdish nationalism and the desire for political self-determination. This chapter seems to be a collection of injustices perpetrated against the Kurds, without much attempt on the part of Father Thomas to analyze the attending circumstances and the political realities. (abridged, Israel T. Naamani/*MEJ* 20, Summer 1966: 398-399)

- 4 Bois, Thomas. "The Kurds and Their Country Kurdistan." In *Encyclopedia of Islam*. New ed. Vol. 5. Edited by C. E. Bosworth and others, 439-447. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986.

This essay was written by Father Bois before his death in 1975. It is a summary of essential information on the Kurds and Kurdistan. Topics discussed include: (A) The Territorial Extent of Kurdistan; (B) The Ethnic and Geographical Extent of Kurdistan; (C) Numerical Extent of the Kurds and; (D) The Geography of Kurdistan: 1) Physical aspect; 2) The living landscape and habitat; 3) The human aspect.

- 5 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Kurdish Society, Ethnicity, Nationalism and Refugee Problems." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 33-67. London: Routledge, 1992.

This paper excellently surveys Kurdish society, ethnicity, nationalism and refugee problems. Those familiar with his doctoral dissertation, *Agha, Shaikh and State* will find further insights. Analyzing the movement of large numbers of Kurds away from Kurdistan, as migrant workers, displaced persons (due to warfare), deportees or political refugees, Van Bruinessen argues that as a result a purely territorial nationalism, aiming at political independence, has become highly unrealistic. (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 135)

- 6 Chaliand, Gerard (ed.). *A People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*. Translated from the French by Michael Pallis. Foreword by David McDowall. London: Zed Books Ltd., 1993. xii, 259 p. Includes bibliographical references (p. 254-256) and index.

Translation of *Les Kurdes et le Kurdistan*. This book was first published in French in 1978 and appeared in English translation in 1980. The first chapter is written by Nezan who describes the history of the Kurds under the Ottoman Empire. Himself and other contributors then present a series of detailed chapters analyzing the Kurdish national movement's achievements and defeats in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the Soviet Union, as well as a piece on the short-lived independent Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in 1946. They also give some useful information about Kurdish life in each of the previously mentioned countries. This work remains a vital source for understanding the Kurdish question in all its complexities. Chapters include: Kendal Nezan, "The Kurds Under the Ottoman Empire," (pp. 11-37); Kendal Nezan, "Kurdistan in Turkey," (pp. 38-94); Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, "Kurdistan in Iran," (pp. 95-121); Archie Roosevelt, Jr., "The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad," (pp. 122-138); Ismet Sheriff Vanly, "Kurdistan in Iraq," (pp. 139-193); Mustafa Nazdar, "The Kurds in Syria," (pp. 194-201); Kendal Nezan, "The Kurds in the Soviet Union," (pp. 202-210); Gerard Chaliand, "Iranian Kurds Under Ayatollah Khomeini," (pp. 211-213); Kamran Karadaghi, "The Two Gulf Wars: the Kurds on the World Stage, 1979-1992," (pp. 214-230); Bill Frelick, "Operation Provide Comfort: False Promises to the Kurds," (pp. 231-237); Aliza Marcus, "Turkey's Kurds After the Gulf War: A Report from the Southeast," (pp. 238-247).

- 7 Chaliand, Gerard. *The Kurdish Tragedy*. Translated from the French by Philip Black. London: Zed Books in association with UNRISD, 1994. viii, 120 p. : maps. Translation of *Le malheur kurde*. Includes bibliographical references and index. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1992).

An internationally acknowledged authority on guerrilla wars and resistance movements, Chaliand, a French-Armenian scholar, was commissioned by the United Nations to report on the situation of the Kurds following the Gulf War. Chaliand's book serves as an excellent introduction to the Kurdish issue. It provides a history of the Kurdish communities from their foundation, covering their eventual incorporation into the Ottoman Empire during the 15th century, the great Kurdish revolts of the 19th century, and the crucial period following the First World War. Chaliand, then, documents the precarious situation of the Kurds in recent times, culminating in the tragic exodus of Kurdish refugees fleeing from Saddam Hussein's brutal repression to a dubious welcome in Turkey. He also deals with the situation in the UN-protected 'safe havens,' where the Kurds have achieved a degree of autonomy in the teeth of the opposition of all the surrounding regimes. The political situation of the Kurds in contemporary Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey is analyzed and the position of the multifarious Kurdish political groups, the legislation affecting Kurdish life, and the role of the Kurds in recent Middle Eastern confrontations are examined. Chaliand's portrayal of the Kurdish political parties and their often conflicting aspirations offers insights that even the specialist reader will find of great relevance. There are also appendices containing UN Security Council Resolution 688 which "condemns the repression of the Iraqi civilian population in many parts of Iraq, including most recently in Kurdish populated areas," the resolution adopted by the European Parliament which "strongly condemns the attempted genocide against the Kurds by Saddam Hussein's regime," a list of "villages bombarded with chemical weapons by the Iraqi air force," and a historical chronology which largely covers events in the twentieth century.

- 8 *Encyclopedia of Islam*. New edition. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960, 1965, 1971, 1978, 1986, 1991 and 1993 for vols. I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, respectively.

In this widely known encyclopedia, several entries are written on or related to the Kurds. These entries include: in volume (I): Agri; 'Annazids; Ardalan; Ayyubids; Baban; Badrkhani, Thurayya and Djaladat; Bahdinin; Baradust; Barzan; Bidlis; Bidlisi, Idriss; and Bidlisi, Sharaf Khan. (II): Colemerik; Dersim; Djaf; Djanbulat; Djawanrud;

Fadlawayh; and Guran. (III): Hakkari; Hamawand; Hasnawayh; and Ibn 'Umar, Djazirat. (IV): Kadi Muhammad. (V): Kirkuk; Kitab Al-Djilwa; Kurds, Kurdistan; Lak; Madjnun Layla; and Mahabad. (VI): Maku; and Marwanids. (VII): Mustafa Barzani. (Supplement, Fasc. 1-2): Amir Nizam.

- 9 Ghassemlou, Abdul-Rahman. *Kurdistan and the Kurds*. Prague: Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science, 1965. 304 p. Includes bibliographical references.

This is a comprehensive analysis, from a Marxist Leninist point of view, written by the former General Secretary of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Iran who was assassinated in 1989 in Vienna by the agents of the Iranian government. The book is made up of three parts. The first provides a condensed geographical and historical outline of the Kurds and Kurdistan. The second investigates the economic life of the Kurds: land-tenure, living standards, industry, commerce and petroleum. The last part discusses the Kurdish question and the right of self-determination.

- 10 Hakim, Halkawt (ed.). *Les Kurdes par-dela l'exode*. [The Kurds After the Exodus.] Paris: L'Harmattan, c1992. 271 p., [1] p.

An excellent work in French which discusses Kurdish history, economy and literature. Chapters include: Annick Hamel, "Gerer l'urgence: Avril 1991 sur la frontiere irano-irakienne" [Urgent Movement: April 1991 on the Iran-Iraq Border] (pp. 17-23); Hans Rimscha and Ralf Schneider, "Les deportations dans le Kurdistan irakien et les refugies kurdes en Iran" [Deportations in Iraqi Kurdistan and Kurdish Refugees in Iran] (pp. 24-40); Yves Jouan, "Azadi, source commune: extraits d'un recueil de poemes encore inedits" [*Azadi*, Common Source: Extracts of a Collection of Unpublished Poems] (pp. 41-53); Laurant Girault, "Kurdistan... dans quel etat?" [Kurdistan... in Which State?] (pp. 54-59); Hamit Bozarslan, "Le Kemalisme et le probleme kurde" [Kemalism and the Kurdish Problem] (pp. 63-89); Hushyar Mariwan, "Un apercu sur la position de l'Iran vis-a-vis des Kurdes" [An Account on the Position of Iran vis-a-vis Kurds] (pp. 90-105); Fazil Karim, "La lutte armee entre le mythe et la realite" [Armed Struggle Between Myth and Reality] (pp. 106-123); Halkawt Hakim, "Le panarabisme irakien et le probleme kurde" [Iraqi Pan-Arabism and the Kurdish Problem] (pp. 124-144); Feredj Nemir, "La politique kurde de la Syrie" [Politics of Syrian Kurds] (pp. 145-156); Glenn Fleming, Jr., "L'ecologie et l'economie des villages kurdes" [The Ecology and Economy of Kurdish

Villages] (pp. 157-181); Joëlle Segerer, "La littérature kurde: quelques grandes lignes" [Kurdish Literature: Some Great Lines] (pp. 185-206); Shwan Jaffar, "Le theatre kurde" [Kurdish Theatre] 207-231; Mela Mahmoud Bayazid, "Mem et Zin" (Mem and Zin) (pp. 232-247); Aha le Cardeur, "Conte populaire" [Popular Stories] (pp. 248-254); Hasan Qizildji, "Le Talisman d'Amina-Khan (nouvelle)" [Talisman of Amina-Khan] (pp. 255-262); Cherko Bekas "Poemes Kurdes d'aujourd'hui" [Kurdish Poems of Today] (pp. 263-268).

- 11 Izady, Mehrdad. *The Kurds: A Concise Handbook*. Washington, D.C.: Crane Russak, c1992. xvii, 268 p. : ill., maps. Includes bibliographical references.

Mehrdad Izady, a leading Kurdologist, a lecturer in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University, and Director of *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* (New York), offers a remarkable reference work on the Kurds. According to the preface, Izady has written this book as a reference manual for the public, the press, teachers, students, scholars, and travellers. He brings together in an encyclopedic format, the best current information on the Kurds. It includes ten well-documented chapters on the geography, land and environment, history, human geography, religion, language/ literature/the press, society, political and contemporary issues, the economy, and culture/arts of the Kurds and Kurdistan. Each chapter is further sub-divided and contains interesting, sometimes interpretive, explanations for the Kurds or Kurdistan. The book, in other words, tries to be all things for all people. Coupled with the thorough introduction to many aspects of Kurdish society, the book is a good starting point for those beginning a study of the Kurds. The book also features 42 maps, several tables and diagrams that are quite impressive in terms of the sheer amount of scholarly research that must have gone into their creation and the abundance of detailed facts which are conveyed to the reader; and each section and chapter is followed by a thorough bibliography of other sources.

- 12 Kashi, Ed., and Christopher Hitchens. *When the Borders Bleed: The Struggle of the Kurds*. Photographs by Ed Kashi; introduction by Christopher Hitchens. New York: Pantheon Books, c1994. 140 p. : chiefly col. ill., map. Includes bibliographical references (p. 139-140).

"The Kurds have no friends--no friends but the mountains." This powerful photo essay masterfully illustrates this Kurdish saying as it chronicles the Kurds' seemingly endless struggle for survival. Hitchens,

columnist for the *Nation and Vanity Fair*, describes the history of the Kurds in a 30-page introductory essay, documenting their legacy as victims of geopolitics. The 100 photographs by photojournalist Kashi, who travelled to Kurdistan, Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Iran, and even Germany, powerfully reveal the plight of contemporary Kurds. This book is unquestionably an apologia for the Kurds meant to keep alive awareness of their struggle. Nevertheless, there is criticism of the Kurds' internal divisiveness; their situation is not entirely a result of actions beyond their control. The book succeeds as a cohesive work. The prose is clear and succinct, the photographs persuasive and directly related to the prose. (Ruth K. Baacke/*Library Journal* 120, February 1, 1995: 89-90)

- 13 Kinnane, Derk. *The Kurds and Kurdistan*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964. 85 p. : map. Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations). Includes bibliographical references.

Mr. Kinnane first became interested in the Kurds and the Kurdish question while in Iraq as a lecturer at Baghdad University. He tells that his direct experience of Kurdistan is small. But, using his sources with care and discrimination, he has written a workmanlike "introduction to a nation which, despite its distinct culture and millions of people, has yet to achieve a durable government of its own." The scene is set by chapters, all of course drastically condensed, on the "Country and People," "Society," and "History" (from the earliest times to the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923). These are followed by short accounts of conditions under the "Turkish Republic," in "Iraq between the Wars," and in "Persia," and by brief references to the small minorities in Syria and the Caucasian Republics. In the last and longest chapter, "The Present War in Iraq," the author traces the causes of the outbreak and the ups and downs of the fighting from the first clashes in July 1961 to the cease-fire announced by President Arif and Mulla Mustafa Barzani on February 10, 1964. (abridged, C. J. Edmonds/*Asian Affairs* 52, January 1965: 64)

- 14 Kreyenbroek, Philip G., and Christine Allison (eds.). *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996. Includes bibliographical references and index.

While Saddam Hussein's persecution of the Kurds and his military attacks on them have drawn world attention to the political plight of the Middle East's largest ethnic minority, much less is known of their culture. The present volume seeks to remedy this gap. Its contributors, who include both leading Western and Kurdish scholars, provide excellent



overviews and some detailed examinations of various dimensions of Kurdish culture and its historical underpinnings. Making clear the differences that exist in a community that is spread across four countries in the region--Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria--and recognizing that Kurdish culture is in the process of change, successive chapters look at Kurdistan's written literature as well as its oral tradition, material culture including textiles and costume, and religion. The book contains chapters on Kurd's current position and their historical background, influence of the media, written literature, oral tradition, religion, Ahl-e Haqq, material culture, costume, rugs and weaving.

- 15 Kreyenbroek, Philip G. and Stefan Sperl (eds.). *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1992. 250 p. (Routledge/SOAS Contemporary Politics and Culture in the Middle East Series). Includes bibliographical references and index.

The position of the 19 million Kurds is an extremely complex one. Their territory is divided between at least 4 sovereign states, none of which has a Kurdish majority. They speak widely divergent dialects, and are also divided by religious affiliations and social factors. It has taken the tragic and horrifying events in Iraq in 1991 to bring the Kurds to the center of the world stage, but their particular problems, and their considerable geo-political importance, have been the source of growing concern and interest during the last two to three decades. There is a remarkable dearth of reliable and up-to-date information about the Kurds, which this book remedies. Its contributors cover social and political issues, legal questions, religion, language, and the modern history of the Kurds in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and the Soviet Union. This book offers extremely useful background information for those with a professional concern for the numerous Kurdish immigrants and asylum seekers in Western Europe and North America.

- 16 Laizer, Sheri J. *Martyrs, Traitors, and Patriots: Kurdistan After the Gulf War*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

What has happened to the Kurds since their great uprising against Saddam and the tragic exodus to the safe havens? What factors condition the course of the continuing guerrilla war in Kurdistan? What policies have Turkey, Iraq and Iran pursued to deal with the Kurdish people, the largest ethnic group devoid of nationhood in the world? Can the Kurds establish their own distinct political identity, on a par with their cultural distinctiveness, or are they condemned to endless internecine conflict and tribal rivalries? These questions are answered in

depth in this book. Informed by frequent visits to the front-line areas, Laizer provides the reader with a clear analysis of Kurdish *realpolitik*, focusing on the political practices of the PKK and the other major Kurdish groups. The issues facing the Turkish parliament and army, the long term strategies pursued by Iran and Iraq, and the evolution of Kurdish democratic institutions are brought to the fore. Chapters include: the Kurdish uprising--March 1991; Kurdish *realpolitik* and the failed uprising; summer of the safe haven, 1991; waiting in the cold--winter 1991-1992; the fraternal war--autumn 1992; the dirty war in Turkey--21 March 1993; death by a thousand cuts; the war of the colours--1994-5; Turkey: only a military solution, 1994-1995; and Kurdish women: identity and purpose.

- 17 McDowall, David. *The Kurds: A Nation Denied*. Foreword by John Simpson. London: Minority Rights Publications, 1992. 150 p., [8] p. of plates: ill. (Minority Rights Group Report). Includes bibliographical references.

In this work, McDowall says that there is no Kurdish state and Kurds themselves are divided--both from without and within. Yet despite this, their distinctive language, culture and way of life has been maintained for centuries in the face of political repression, cultural assimilation and economic deprivation. McDowall starts with a brief, but reliable, summary of the historical and sociological background of the Kurds in general. Then he traces the history of the Kurds in each country alone (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and former Soviet Union), examining the structures of Kurdish society and the growth of Kurdish nationalism. McDowall focuses specifically on human rights abuses suffered by the Kurds from the Treaty of Sevres in 1920 to the aftermath of the Gulf War. This book is based on the highly acclaimed Minority Rights Group report on the subject (*The Kurds*, revised 6th ed. London: MRG, 1991); it is a clearly written objective and accessible guide to the complexities of the Kurdish situation.

- 18 Nikitine, Basile. *Les Kurdes: Etude sociologique et historique*. [The Kurds: Sociological and Historical Study.] Paris: Editions d'Aujourd'hui, 1975. viii, 351 p. : maps. (Reprint of the 1956 ed. published by Klincksieck, Paris). Bibliography: p. [311]-326.

The author served as Russian Consul (1915-18) in Urmia where he gained first-hand knowledge and experience in Kurdish affairs. He has since sustained a scientific interest in every phase of this comparatively little known and frequently misrepresented ethnic minority. The volume

is devoted to the diverse aspects of the Kurdish problem which stems from the desire of the politically fragmented Kurds to preserve their national culture and character and to attain an independent state. Though the author realizes that no solutions are yet in sight for most of the questions posed by the complexity of the Kurdish situation, he sets himself the exacting task of critical analysis and summary of the scientific researches of leading Kurdologists on the sociology and history of the Kurds. One of the contributions of the present study is that it alerts the free world to the sustained and purposeful interest of Soviet Russia in the Kurdish problem. Not only the views of Western scholars, but also those of the Kurds themselves, past and present, are taken into consideration and presented critically yet objectively to the reader. The scope of the work is indicated by the themes of its twelve chapters: racial origins, geography, way of life, character and psychology, family life and the role of women, tribal organization both social and economic, history and distribution of the various tribes, national aspirations pre- and post-fifteenth century, steps in the modern nationalistic movement, religious life, and Kurdish literature. The sociology of the Kurd is treated at greater length than is his history, partly for lack of adequate historical materials and partly because of the author's predominantly sociological interest and method. The fifteen maps, placed to good advantage throughout the work, clarify the shifting geographical distribution of the tribes, indicate natural resources, political boundaries, areas of revolt, religious distribution, and the Kurdish nationalist's conception of a viable Kurdish state as presented to the San Francisco Conference of 1945. The twelve plates placed at the end of the volume convey a realistic idea of the land and its people. (abridged, Nabia Abbot/*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18, January-October 1959: 96-98)

- 19 Picard, Elizabeth (ed.). *La Question kurde*. [The Kurdish Question.] Brussels: Editions Complexe, 1991. 161 p. : map. Includes bibliographical references.

The authors of this anthology observe that the prospect of a fully independent Kurdistan encompassing all Kurdish regions is dim, as it would require the simultaneous collapse of the central authorities in Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. In addition to existing regional and international barriers to the establishment of a sovereign Kurdish nation-state, the authors discuss a range of internal factors within Kurdish societies that have prevented the realization of the goal of Kurdish independence. Chapters in this anthology include: Stephane Yerasimos, "Les Kurdes et le partage du Moyen-Orient, 1918-1926" [The Kurds and the Parti-

tion of the Middle East] (pp. 19-34); Hamit Bozarslan, "Turquie: un défi permanent au nationalisme kemaliste" [Turkey: A Permanent Defiance to Kemalist Nationalism] (pp. 37-51); Yann Richard, "Les Kurdes d'Iran: revoltes, idéalisme et silence" [The Kurds of Iran: Revolts, Idealism, and Silence] (pp. 53-78); Elizabeth Picard, "Irak: la question cruciale de l'autonomie" [Iraq: The Crucial Question of Autonomy] (pp. 79-95); Hamit Bozarslan, "Un nationalisme kurde?" [A Kurdish Nationalism?] (pp. 97-113); Stephan Marquardt, "La protection des minorités en droit international" [The Protection of Minorities in International Law] (pp. 117-134); Ghassan Salame, "Minorite/ modernite: l'affaire kurde et au-dela" [Minority/ Modernity: Kurdish Affair and Its Beyond] (pp. 135-151).

- 20 Simon, Reeva S., Philip Mattar, and Richard W. Bulliet (eds.). *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East*. New York: Macmillan, 1996.

This encyclopedia encompasses the interaction of political, historical, social, economic, and cultural movements as well as relevant persons (both living and dead), places, and events related to Middle Eastern peoples, including the Kurds.

- 21 Vanly, Ismet Cheriff. "The Kurds in Syria and Lebanon." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 143-170. London: Routledge, 1992.

Ismet Cheriff Vanly, a prominent and long-established Kurdologist, refutes the Syrian official denial of the nativeness of the Kurds on its territories, and argues for the historic presence of the Kurds in Syria which he declares is beyond question. He notes, for example, the antiquity of local names such as the Kurd-Dagh, the Mountain of the Kurds (northwest of Aleppo). The name of the medieval Crusader fortress of Kirak [Crac] des Chevaliers, "Fortress of the Knights" (northwest of Damascus) which has been always known to the Syrian Arabs as Hisn al-Akrad, "Fortress of the Kurds," Vanly argues, further speaks to this fact. As for the much smaller Kurdish community in Lebanon, Vanly declares that it is essentially composed of immigrants who left the areas of Mardin and Bohtan in Turkish Kurdistan after the failure of the Kurdish uprisings in the early part of the century and headed to Beirut in the 1920s and 1930s. On the treatment and utility of the Kurds in those states, Vanly notes that although Syrian President Asad's regime has conceded absolutely nothing to the Kurds as a cultural and national minority, it has used them to help buoy up its minority Alawite rule and has given the Turkish-based PKK what may justifiably be called a stra-

tegic alliance. In Lebanon, meanwhile, there is no nationalist anti-Kurdish feeling as there is in Syria, Turkey and Iraq, Vanly observes. (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 137)

- 22 Vanly, Ismet Cheriff. "The Kurds in the Soviet Union." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 193-218. London: Routledge, 1992.

In this article, Vanly examines the little-known history of "Red" Kurdistan as an autonomous region with Lachin as its capital and Gussi Gajev as its first leader from 1923 until in 1929 the Baku government reduced Kurdistan from an *uyzed* to an *okrug*, the lowest territorial unit for the Soviet non-Russian nationalities. Regarding the current population, Vanly writes that the total number of Kurds living within the former U.S.S.R. is unknown. Soviet Kurds themselves give estimates that range from approximately 300,000 to a precise figure of 1,120,000. Although the Armenian response to the massacres of 1895-96 was to massacre the Kurds in Armenia and northern Kurdistan during the Russian incursions of 1914-15, Vanly adds that Armenia is the only Soviet republic which preserved and protected Kurdish cultural infrastructures after the persecutions under Stalin. The effects the current Armenian-Azeri conflict over Karabagh will have upon the former Soviet Kurds who live there and in the vicinity remain to be seen. (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 138)

- 23 Waheed, A. *The Kurds and Their Country: A History of the Kurdish People from Earliest Times to the Present*. Foreword by Muhammad Ayub Khan. 2nd ed. Lahore: University Book Agency, 1958. 187 p.

This is a painstakingly compiled little book by an officer of the Pakistani Army, who appears to have been stationed in Iraq some time in the early 1950s and to have made the acquaintance of the Kurds in their homelands in the course of a tour with his wife on both sides of the Iraqi-Persian boundary. There are chapters or sections, not all of equal merit, on Geography, Ancient History, the Middle Period from the Conversion of the Kurds to Islam to the close of the Eighteenth Century, the Recent Past, Religion, Language and Society, and finally, the Tribes. Those in which the author endeavors to trace the Kurdish thread through the tangled web of Western-Asian history in the Middle Period are perhaps the most interesting. Less satisfactory are those dealing with language and the unorthodox religious groups, and least of all the chapter on the Tribes. (*Asian Affairs* 46, July-October 1959: 301)

## CHAPTER 2

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# DESCRIPTION AND TRAVEL

- 24 Balsan, Francois. *The Sheep and the Chevrolet: A Journey Through Kurdistan*. London: Elek, 1947. 176 p. : ill.

This is an account of a motor tour in Kurdistan by the author and his wife in 1939. The record, unfortunately, is irritating, and misses most of the important angles. Worst of all, there is no map. In fact, the route was by train to Malatya, through Caesarea and Sivas, by horse carriage to Elazig, and on by Chevrolet down the Murad Valley to Van, skirting the southern shores of the lake, then southeast 100 odd miles to the Iranian frontier near Khanasur. No dates, no mileage, no seasons, no altitudes. One suspects this was a light account of the trip for the children, put later into literary battle-dress with forty excellent photographs. (G. M. R./*Asian Affairs* 36, January 1949: 94-95)

- 25 Bazin, Marcel. "L'habitat rural dans la vallee de l'Euphrate a l'est de Malatya (Turquie)." [The Rural Habitat in Euphrates Valley in West Malatya (Turkey).] *Journal Asiatique* [Paris] 277, no. 1-2 (1989): 19-46.

The Karakaya Dam on the Euphrates, as part of the Grand Anatolian Project (GAP--Project of South-East Anatolia), will destroy totally, or partially, 97 Kurdish villages located in West and East of Malatya, and some archaeological sites in Turkish Kurdistan. In ethno-archaeological perspective, Bazin addresses the architectural heritage of these villages and its archaeological sites before its destruction or disappearance under the waters of the dam. Bazin argues that the vernacular habitat of Turkish Kurdistan is composed of the cultural heritage of the Kurds. (Joyce Blau/*AI* 13:323)

- 26 Bosworth, C. E. "The Intrepid Victorian Lady in Persia: Mrs. Isabella Bishop's Travels in Luristan and Kurdistan, 1890." *Iran* 27 (1989): 87-101.
- 27 Coon, Carleton. *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1952. viii, 376 p. : ill., maps. Includes bibliographical references and index.

Professor Coon has set out in this one volume to provide a background of geographical and cultural information, and hence of understanding, for Americans interested in the Middle East. He covers practically all the peoples, past and present, of the countries from Morocco to Afghanistan, before that impact [of the West] had been felt. Although Professor Coon's extensive wanderings in the Middle East seem to have been concerned largely with archaeology and anthropometry, he has also carried out some first-hand ethnographic research. It is the attempt to survey a vast and complex civilization with an anthropologist's interests and anthropological concepts which is the striking and original feature of the book. Professor Coon tells us a great deal about customs and social institutions, and continually seeks to see these customs and institutions in a functional framework. It is the complex inter-dependence of the parts of the mosaic which fascinates him. (abridged, Paul Stirling/*International Affairs* 29, October 1953: 518-519)

- 28 Danziger, Nick. *Danziger's Adventures: From Miami to Kabul*. London: HarperCollins, 1992. xiv, 290 p., [32] p. of plates: ill (some col.), maps.
- 29 Douglas, William O. *Strange Lands and Friendly People*. New York: Harper, 1951. xv, 336 p. : ill., maps.

Justice Douglas presents an unusual combination of romantic sensibility and clear, practical intelligence. This has enabled him to provide his readers with both an exciting tale of travel and a penetrating analysis of some of the basic social problems of the Middle East. Most of the book is devoted to Iran and to the countries of the Fertile Crescent, including Kurdistan. (abridged, *MEJ* 6, Spring 1952: 252)

- 30 Edmonds, Cecil John. *Pilgrimage to Lalish*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1967. xii, 88 p. : ill., map.

Lalish in Iraqi Kurdistan is the shrine of Sheikh Adi, the traditional founder of the Yezidi sect, long though mistakenly known to the West

as Devil-Worshippers. Other travellers--Layard, for instance, Gertrude Bell and Edmonds does not quote from any of them. He has set down only what he saw with his eyes and heard at first hand. Nevertheless his is the nearest approach to a systematic account of Yezidi beliefs and practices, in so far as they can be disclosed to an outsider. (abridged, Evelyn Howell/*Asian Affairs* 55, February 1968: 96)

- 31 Evliya Celebi. *Evliya Celebi in Bitlis: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname*. Edited by R. Dankoff. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990. 395 p.

Evliya Celebi (1611-1683?) is the most famous of Ottoman travellers. His ten-volume *Seyahatname* provides delightful reading. Despite his exaggerations and his love of a good story, he provides valuable information to historians, geographers, and other scholars. In this book, Robert Dankoff offers a carefully edited transcription into modern Turkish letters, with facing pages of English translation, of sections of the work concerning an eastern Ottoman province. Bitlis, just west of Lake Van in Anatolia, was a provincial city of 5,000 houses and 1,200 shops, according to Evliya. Its governor was a Kurdish *khan*, of the Rozhiki tribe, subordinate, to the governor of the Van *eyalet* but in fact nearly independent. Evliya recounts three visits to Bitlis in 1655-56, when he was in the suite of his uncle, Melek Ahmed Pasha, governor of Van. Uncle and retinue stayed in Bitlis ten days on the way out to Van and were royally entertained by the Kurdish governor, Abdal Khan. Then, after a falling out, Melek Pasha attacked Abdal Khan; a detailed account ensues of Melek's victorious siege, directed from his encampment before Bitlis. Finally, Evliya was sent to Bitlis to collect payments from the new *khan*, only to get caught there when Melek lost his governorship and Abdal Khan returned to Bitlis. Evliya made a hair-raising escape through winter snows. The action is colorful. It involves much cruelty, hundreds of heads struck off by both sides, deception, even the tricks of magicians. Evliya recreates dialogue. He provides his reader, further, with copious information on people, places, the city, buildings, weapons, foods, clothes and cloths, books, even attitudes. (abridged, Roderic H. Davison/*MEJ* 45, Autumn 1991: 692-693)

- 32 Evliya Celebi. *Evliya Celebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname*. Edited with translation, commentary and introduction by Martin Van Bruinessen and H. E. Boeschoten. Leiden: E. J. Brill, c1988. xvi, 270 p. [41] p. of plates (2 folded): ill.

In April and May 1655, the Turkish traveller Evliya Celebi spent a few weeks in Diyarbekir, at that time still one of the major cities of the



Ottoman Empire. He left us in the fourth volume of his *Book of Travels*, the *Seyahatname*, a lively picture of this city which, especially if combined with other contemporary sources, gives interesting insights in the social, political, and cultural life, both of the city and of the province of the same name, in a period that the Empire's heyday was over but the decline had not yet really set in. One of the reasons that made the editors of this work select Diyarbekir is that the eastern provinces of the Empire--especially the Kurdish provinces of Diyarbekir, Van and Shehrizur--have so far received relatively little serious attention from scholars as compared to other parts of the Ottoman Empire, particularly the Balkans, Egypt, Palestine and the center of the Empire. Part I of the book discusses the Ottoman conquest of Diyarbekir and the administrative organization of the province into the 16th and 17th centuries, the population of Diyarbekir, the economic life in Diyarbekir in the 17th century, its religious life, the physical aspects of the city, Evliya's style, his spelling and the editors' transliteration, and the *Seyahatname* as a source for linguistic investigation. Part II of the book discusses Evliya's description of Diyarbekir.

- 33 Glazerbrook, Philip. *Journey to Kars, a Modern Traveller in the Ottoman Lands*. Viking: Penguin Books Ltd., 1984. 246 p.

Philip Glazerbrook, born in 1937, is the author of four novels. Inspired by the ancient voyagers, he journeyed through the world. This voyage to the region of Kars, a Kurdish homeland, is the end of a long journey of more than 10,000 squared km. of a talented writer who had read a lot, studied, and particularly wished for such adventure. He wanted to go through the roads traced by his famous predecessors whose narratives aroused the dreams of entire generations. Accompanying their ghosts, in the shade of their works, he travelled till this "fortress where Turks, Russians and Persians" disputed since old times. This book where the present and the past meet harmoniously is proper to read, yet, it bears little useful information about the actual life of the Kurds in that region. (Joyce Blau/AI 9:635)

- 34 Hamilton, Archibald Milne. *Road Through Kurdistan: The Narrative of an Engineer in Iraq*. With a foreword by Major-General Rowan-Robinson. New York: AMS Press, 1975. 331 p., [25] leaves of plates: ill. (Reprint of the 1937 ed. published by Faber & Faber, London)

This is the story of a British engineer who for five years supervised the building of a road from Iraq through Kurdistan to the Persian Plateau. It contains descriptions of, and insights into, the life of the Kurds.

- 35 Kahn, Margaret. *Children of the Jinn: In Search of The Kurds and Their Country*. 1st ed. New York: Seaview Press, c1980. xiv, 302 p., [5] leaves of plates: ill., map.

Different from the other peoples of the Middle East, the Kurds are devout Sunni Muslims whose women, garbed in brilliantly colored clothes, go unveiled. They are fierce defenders of Kurdish independence, but kind and hospitable hosts and neighbors. Traveling to Iranian Kurdistan in 1974 to study the Kurdish language, Margaret Kahn and her husband took jobs teaching English in Rezaiyeh, a northwestern city. Since Kurdish was officially outlawed in Iran, Kahn's task turned into a frustrating maze of false leads and suspicious silences as she attempted to make contact with the Kurds. Slowly breaking through the barriers of language, custom, and politics, Kahn "discovered" Kurdistan and a people clinging firmly to their heritage as well as their undying dream of independence. Unlike the Turks and Persians of Rezaiyeh, the women of Kurdistan warmly welcomed the author. Their rainbow-hued dresses shone among the four black chadors of other Muslim women and their earthy humor contrasted with the primes of urban Iranian women. One of the few Western women to write about the Kurds, Kahn provides a fascinating look at the role of women as members of *harems* and as food providers in subsistence-level villages. Through anecdotes, history, and original insights, Margaret Kahn paints a vivid portrait of the Kurds from their historical origins to the contemporary conflicts inherent in technology, feminism, and urban life. As timely as today's headline, *Children of the Jinn* explains how a persecuted, indomitable people survive in one of the most volatile regions of the world.

- 36 Kasraian, Nasrollah. *Kurdistan*. [photos] Text by Ziba Arshi and Khosro Zabihi. Ostersund, Sweden: Oriental Art Publications. 1990. 139 p. : chiefly col. ill., map. Includes bibliographical references (p. 138-139).

The talents of the Iranian photographer, Nasrollah Kasraian is known for many years. This artist has travelled more often across Iranian Kurdistan and reported his images on the country. Geographically situated in the heartland of the Middle East, Kurdistan is endowed with a wealth of natural resources, and covers an area nearly the size of France. This volume, with its more than 127 color photographs and knowledgeable text, gives the reader an insight into the customs, history and way of life of the Kurds. The photos were taken in Kurdish regions that are hardly accessible and known. The photos that are taken during

the winter season, when snow covers the whole country, are the most exceptional.

- 37 Young, Gavin. *Iraq, Land of Two Rivers*. Photos by Nik Wheeler. London: Collins, 1980. 280 p. : col. ill., maps. Includes bibliography (p. [272]-273) and index.

Iraq is a land of beauty and turmoil. Gavin Young and Nik Wheeler give an impression of this unusual country of twin rivers, and provide some idea of the life of the people who live there (both Arabs and Kurds, Muslims and Christians, and others). This book is mainly concerned with the landscape and people of Iraq and it presents an absorbing study of the place accompanied by beautiful color photographs.

See also 12, 84, 170, 195, 249, 687

## CHAPTER 3

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# HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

### ANCIENT, CLASSICAL, AND MEDIEVAL: PREHISTORY-1496 AD

- 38 Ayalon, David. "Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon: Ayyubids, Kurds and Turks." *Der Islam* [Berlin] 54, no. 1 (1977): 1-32.

Appears also in the author's *The Mamluk Military Society: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979). Ayalon chose to examine here some aspects of the Mamluk institution and of the Turkish elements in the Ayyubid Sultanate for the following reasons: (a) the information on the Ayyubids, though lagging much behind that on the Mamluks, is still far more detailed than and superior to that available on many other important Muslim states in the later Middle Ages, (b) in the study of the Ayyubids there is a strong tendency to stress the role of the Kurds at the expense of that of the Turks, (c) such an examination will help in establishing both the connections and the degree of continuity between the Ayyubid and the Mamluk Sultanates. Ayalon first focuses his attention on the transition period from Fatimid to Ayyubid rule, and then deals separately with evidence of a more general character pertaining to specific events and episodes.

- 39 Boyce, Mary. *A History of Zoroastrianism*. 3 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975, 1982, 1989. Includes bibliographies and indexes.

A work of three well written books on the history of Zoroastrianism, the old religion of the Kurds. The author has written these volumes after she periodically lived for several months among Zoroastrian villagers in Iran in the 1970s and 1980s. Volume I provides a background history to the various pagan cults and their gods, the prehistoric period of the faith

and Zoroaster (628?-751 BC) and his teachings. This volume has been reproduced, with corrections, in 1996. Volume II discusses the period during which Zoroaster was known to be in Iran and the spread of Zoroastrianism, with reference to the historic achievements and religious beliefs of Cyrus the Great (550-530 BC) and the following rulers of Persia to Darius III (336-331 BC). The second volume is a more systematic and uniform study. Volume III treats Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman rule.

- 40 Braidwood, Linda, and others (eds.). *Prehistoric Archeology Along the Zagros Flanks*. Chicago, Ill.: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1983. ix, 695 p. : ill. (University of Chicago Oriental Institute publications; 0069-3367; v. 105) Includes bibliographies.

The Iraq-Jarmo Prehistoric Project sponsored by the Oriental Institute saw three seasons of work between 1948 and 1955, published in preliminary fashion as *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan* (Chicago, 1960). Its goals were to investigate the transition from food-collecting to food-producing economies in Southwest Asia in an area reasoned to be a "nuclear habitat zone," a natural environment favoring the wild ancestors of the earliest domesticates. The 1983 volume presents final reports on the excavations and soundings in northeastern Iraq at Jarmo, Karim Shahir, Banahilk, M'lefaat, Ali Agha and Al-Khan. The report consists of an "Introduction" and 22 sections devoted to individual categories of remains from the excavations and soundings. The papers are the work of a variety of authors, not all affiliated with the original project, and were completed at various times during the last 20 years. (abridged, Ann C. Gunter, *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, January 1985: 175-176)

- 41 Braidwood, Linda. *Digging Beyond the Tigris; an American Woman Archeologist's Story of Life on a "Dig" in the Kurdish Hills of Iraq*. New York: H. Schuman, 1953. 297 p. : ill.

This is the story of an archaeological expedition organized by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. This expedition worked in Iraq in 1949 and the book discusses its development from the original planning stage to the actual fieldwork in the Kurdish hills. It is not only a book on archaeology for it relates the events of the happy journey which the members of the expedition made through this region. It also includes notes on the customs and way of life of the local people (i.e., the Kurds) together with fifty photographs.

- 42 Braidwood, Robert J. "The Agricultural Revolution." *Scientific American* 203 (September 1960): 130-152.

Until some 10,000 years ago all men lived by hunting, gathering and scavenging. Then the inhabitants of hills in the Middle East domesticated plants and animals, and founded in Kurdistan the first village in the region.

- 43 Braidwood, Robert J., and Linda Braidwood. "The Earliest Village Communities of Southwest Asia." *Journal of World History* (1953): 278-310.

It is commonly understood that the earliest village communities of the Middle East were, in fact, the earliest such communities anywhere in the world. There is ever increasing documentary evidence, of a comparative nature, for this idea. Unfortunately, few radioactive carbon dates are yet available from the area. The worldwide Carbon 14 dates in hand do, however, directly support the idea of earliest beginnings in established village life in southwestern Asia (i.e., Kurdistan and the neighboring regions). In this article, the authors are concerned with a description of the available primary archeological documentation. Their attention is focused on the nuclear Middle East.

- 44 Braidwood, Robert J., and Bruce Howe, with contributions by Hans Helback and others. *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. 184 p. : plates, maps. Bibliography. (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago--Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 31).

This is the story of the first three field campaigns carried out by an archaeological expedition working on the Iraq-Jarmo Project. The work of the expedition was mainly to investigate the great changes in mankind's way of life at the time of the first appearance of the settled village-farming society. This volume is a study of early society in the light of archaeological evidence and observations. The book has an extensive bibliography and is illustrated by a series of twenty plates.

- 45 Braidwood, Robert J., and others. "Beginnings of Village-Farming Communities in Southeastern Turkey." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 68 (1971): 1236-1240; 71 (1974): 568-572.

- 46 Diakonoff, I. M. "Elam." In *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods*. Edited by Ilya Gershevitch, 1-24. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Elam is the biblical name for the region which was later called Khuzestan, and in which the level of urban civilization emerged before any other region of present-day Iran. The author covers the history of Elam from the earliest times to the 6th century BC, as well as its cultural, geographical and archaeological significance.

- 47 Diakonoff, I. M. "Media." In *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods*. Edited by Ilya Gershevitch, 36-148. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

The subject of the author's study is Media where the Kurds and other Aryan tribes established their largest empire in the 6th century BC. This paper deals with that region's population structure, and dating as far back as the end of the 23rd century BC. The main topics of discussion in this paper are: Iranian-speaking tribes; the emergence of urbanization at the end of the 9th century BC; the neighboring countries and their advances into Median territory; the rise of the Median kingdom in ca. 673-672 BC, and its campaigns; the society, culture and religion of Media; and, finally, the fall of the Median empire to the Persians in the 6th century.

- 48 Diakonoff, I. M. "Evidence of Ethnic Division of the Hurrians." In *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians: In Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday April 29, 1981*. Edited by M. A. Morrison and D. I. Owen, 77-89. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, c1981.

In the literature on the Hurrians, the pre-Aryan ancestors of the Kurds and some of their smaller ethnic neighbors, it has been repeatedly stated that no proof of any dialectal division in the Hurrian language exists. If that were so, the Hurrians must have been an undivided ethnic unity. Such a unity might have emerged either as the result of inhabiting a particular area under uniform socio-political conditions for a very considerable period of time (hundreds or even thousands of years), or the result of a recent and swift occupation of an area by an ethnic mass having developed as a unity elsewhere. Neither of the hypotheses looks plausible from the historical point of view, thus, the purpose of this paper.

- 49 Evans, Christopher. "On the Jube Line: Campsite Studies in Kurdistan." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 2 (Autumn 1983): 67-77.

This study was conducted as an attempt to examine the spatial organization of a transhumant community's seasonal campsites and tent dwellings. The work was undertaken as part of a general research program to study the contemporary population of Zardeh basin. The program of ethnographic research was approached as an extension of the overall archaeological project in the basin, in which the present Zardeh communities are the most recent or final phase in its settlement sequence.

- 50 Kennedy, Hugh. *The Prophet and the Age of Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*. London: Longman, 1986. 349 p. : maps. Includes a bibliography.

An interpretative introduction to the history of the Middle East in the early Islamic (6th to the 11th century). It discusses the birth of Islam, the Rashidun, Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs, and other political forces including the origins, expansion and decline of the Iranian dynasty, the Buyid, in the northern provinces of Iran during the 10th and 11th centuries. The work also studies the role played in this period by the Kurds. A comprehensive bibliography and six genealogical tables are included.

- 51 Laessoe, Jorgen. *The Shemshara Tablets: A Preliminary Report*. Kobenhavn: I Kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959. 106 p. : ill., fold. plan. Includes bibliographical footnotes.

This report is a preliminary inquiry into a collection of clay tablets, inscribed in the cuneiform character, which were uncovered by the Danish Dokan Expedition in the remains of a building in Tell Shemshara, an ancient mound situated on the right bank of the Lesser Zab, near Rania in Iraqi Kurdistan (Sulaimaniyah *liwa*). The tablets, which were discovered in the summer of 1957, were provisionally registered in the field, and some field photographs of individual tablets in good state of preservation were taken by the present writer. 146 tablets were discovered, and the field numbers SH. 800-SH. 945 were assigned to them.

- 52 Limbert, J. "The Origins and Appearance of the Kurds in Pre-Islamic Iran." *Iranian Studies* 1, no. 2 (1968): 41-51.



- 53 Matheson, Sylvia A. *Persia: An Archaeological Guide*. 2nd ed., rev London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1976. 358 p. : ill., maps.

Iran has been estimated to have some 250,000 archaeological and historic sites, and Sylvia Matheson's book provides a guide to all the most significant of them, which range in period from the earliest known cave dwellers and primitive open settlements some 40,000 years ago, to the turbulent Saljuqs whose power was effectively brought to an end by the Mongol invasion in A.D. 1220. When the author was asked to prepare a new edition, she realized that in the short period since publication, tremendous changes had taken place in Iran. Hotel accommodation and air and land communications have been greatly expanded, entirely new roads often superseding old ones; there have been continuing developments in existing archaeological sites and many new sites discovered. For this second edition the book has been brought up to date as far as humanly possible when changes are taking place so rapidly and constantly. Several photographs, plans and line illustrations have been replaced by new ones.

- 54 Merpert, N. Y., and R. M. Munchaev. "Early Agricultural Settlements in the Sinjar Plain, Northern Iraq." *Iraq* 35 (1973): 93-113.

In the spring of 1969, the Soviet archaeological expedition began extensive studies of early agricultural sites in north-western Iraq. Up to that time, the investigation of archaeological cultures representing the early stages of development of food-producing economies in Mesopotamia had been confined to north-eastern Iraq and western Iran, the mountains of Kurdistan and the Zagros with their foothills and valleys. But in north-western Iraq, from Mosul to the Syrian frontier, there are areas whose natural resources offer an equally fruitful prospect for investigation of this process. One such area particularly favorable to agriculture from its earliest stages is the broad and fertile Kurdish Sinjar plain, the topic of discussion of this paper.

- 55 Minorsky, Vladimir F. "Kurds and Kurdistan: Origins and Pre-Islamic History Up to 1920." In *Encyclopedia of Islam*. New ed. Vol. V, 447-464. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986.

- 56 Minorsky, Vladimir F. *Studies in Caucasian History: I. New Light on the Shaddadis of Ganja; II. The Shaddadis of Ani; III. Prehistory of Saladin*. London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1953. 178 p. (Cambridge Oriental Series, no. 6). The Arabic text of the chapter on the Shaddadis from *Munnejjim-Bashi's Duwal al-Islam*. 18 p.

- 57 Roux, Georges. *Ancient Iraq*. 2nd edition. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1980. 496 p. : ill., tables, maps. Includes bibliographical references.

Of the great civilizations which flourished for over three thousand years between the Tigris and the Euphrates, little seemed to remain. Ages of decline tended to obliterate almost every trace of the art, science, and literature of the Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians, and Assyrians. During the last century, however, there has been an unceasing effort on the part of archaeologists to uncover the monuments and texts which reveal the history and civilization of the region once called Mesopotamia. Ancient Iraq is the first full political, cultural, and economic history to attempt to cover the whole of Mesopotamia from the days of prehistory to the Christian era. Dr. Roux describes the empires, dynasties and religions of each millennium and suggests something of the splendor of Babylon before its capture by Cyrus. That so vast a subject makes such absorbing reading is due not only to the inevitable fascination of the past, but to the light, yet exact, touch of a talented historian.

- 58 Sasson, Jack M., and others (eds.). *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York: Scribner, 1995. 4 v: ill., maps (some col.). Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
- 59 Sinclair, T. A. *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*. London: Pindar Press, 1990. 4 vols.: ill., maps. Includes bibliographies.
- 60 Smith, Philip E. L., and Peder Montensen. "Three New Early Neolithic Sites in Western Iran (Kurdistan)." *Current Anthropology* 21, no. 4 (1981): 511-512.

This article reports on the discovery of three new sites in Kurdistan, discovered on an archaeological survey in 1977. It gives a brief description of recent discoveries in central-western Iran which augment knowledge of the early food-producing period.

- 61 Solecki, Ralph S. "Contemporary Kurdish Winter-time Inhabitants of Shanidar Cave, Iraq." *World Archaeology* 10 (February 1979): 318-330.

A contemporary seasonal settlement of about forty-five Kurds with their animals at Shanidar Cave, a major archaeological site, presents an interesting study. It has possibilities for inferences to the top cultural

horizons in the recent archaeological deposits in the cave. The inhabitants occupy what appear to be unusually small, flimsily constructed huts ranged around the interior of the cave. The floor area of the houses per inhabitant is much smaller than that generally found to be true in ethnographic examples quoted in the literature. The reason for the exception here appears to be that the Shanidar inhabitants sacrificed their house sizes to provide shelter for their animals in the limited cave area. Moreover, but in secondary importance, because the cave formed a primary shelter, large houses were not needed.

- 62 Solecki, Ralph S. *Shanidar: The First Flower People*. New York: Knopf, 1971. xv, 290 p. : ill. maps, ports. Bibliography: p. [273]-280.

This small book, which is part the archaeologist's tale and part an account of how to get along in Kurdistan, is the first popular description of what was found in Shanidar in Iraqi Kurdistan. It provides a background for the archaeological excavations at Shanidar Cave where skeletons of Neanderthal men were unearthed. This discovery led to new and interesting details about these ancient people. Analysis of the soil surrounding some of the skeletal remains showed microscopic pollen from trees, grasses, and flowers as well as fragments from at least eight species of flowers. This and other evidence indicating that the bodies were buried with flowers gave the author a new perspective to the study of the Neanderthals. The belief is presented that these first "Flower People" were endowed with traces of human emotional qualities, that they cared for the aged, assisted the wounded, and thus came closer to present day man than scientists had previously expected. The author's evidence should remove objections to the inclusion of Neanderthal in our family tree.

- 63 Solecki, Ralph S. "Prehistory in Shanidar Valley, Northern Iraq." *Science* 139 (1963): 179-193.

The archaeological investigations of two sites in Shanidar Valley, have been made more significant through the use of interdisciplinary studies. The combined information provide concrete data regarding man and his environment in this region from the Middle Paleolithic age to the present. The significance of the Shanidar Valley investigations is that here, in this one locality, there is an almost continuous sequence of human history dating from the time of the Neanderthals. The information derived from these investigations contributes to biological, paleontological, climatological, and geological studies, as well as archaeological and anthropological ones--the major concerns of the project. The

project is of further special interest because Shanidar lies within the area where domesticated plants and animals--the basis for the great Neolithic economic, social, and cultural revolution--appear to have been first developed. The Shanidar excavations provide data reflecting the effect on the people in this remote valley of the introduction of the new mode of living, which was dependent on the products of the fields and on tamed animals rather than exclusively on the hunt. (abridged)

- 64 Turnbull, P., and C. A. Reed. "The Fauna from the Terminal Pleistocene of Palegawra Cave, a Zarzian Occupation Site in Northeastern Iraq." *Fieldiana, Anthropology* 63, no. 3 (1974). Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
- 65 Watson, Patty Jo. *Archaeological Ethnography in Western Iran*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, c1979. xv, 327 p. : ill. (Viking Fund publications in anthropology; no. 57). Bibliography: (p. 307-322). Includes index.
- 66 Watson, Patty Jo. "Architectural Differentiation in Some Near Eastern Communities, Prehistoric and Contemporary." In *Social Archeology: Beyond Subsistence and Dating*. Edited by C. Redman and others, 131-157. New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Part I of this chapter concerns ethno-archeological research the author carried out in the village of Hasanabad (Iranian Kurdistan) in 1959-1960, and the discussion centers on spatial organization. In Part II, comparative attention is given to the wide variety of spatial organization present in some prehistoric Mesopotamian and Anatolian communities. The book in which this Chapter occurs is a collection of case studies which constitutes a source book of the newest approaches, methods, and organizations in archaeology. The articles are written by 20 leading scholars representing diverse regions, subject matters, time periods, and theoretical positions. Taken together, they demonstrate modern archaeology's increasing methodological rigor and sophistication, and its growing ability to interpret complex societies and deal with such meaningful cultural problems as the origin of states. They also discuss the movement to cultural resource management and the changes it has helped bring about in the organization of archeology.

- 67 Wilhelm, Gernot. *The Hurrians*. Translated by Diana Stein. Warminster, UK: Aris & Philips Ltd., 1989. 132 p. : ill., map, photo. Includes bibliography and index.

Hurrians are the pre-Aryan ancestors of the Kurds and some of their smaller ethnic neighbors. At the time, the Kurdish mountains constituted by far the largest portion of the Hurrian territories and contained the heartland of that society for nearly 3000 years. The Hurrian society and culture subsequently merged with that of the new Aryan settlers of Kurdish by about 2000 years ago. While the Indo-European language of the Aryans replaced that of the Hurrians, the cultural and human legacy of the Hurrians still outweighs all other previous and subsequent peoples and cultures introduced into Kurdistan. Summarizes the entire Hurrian history and human legacy in a mere 132 pages of a brilliant work. Gernot Wilhelm's work is the most useful little book on the Hurrians available. Its translation from German into English has rendered this even more so. The book, which the author rightly calls "an introduction," is basically a concise handbook on the Hurrians. It begins with an excellent introduction for any one unfamiliar with the Hurrians, and follows with chapters on history, society, trade, religion, mythology, folk culture and language and literature. It includes also a clear and informative chapter on art and architecture by Diana Stein. (abridged, Mehrdad Izady/*IJKS* 7, nos. 1-2, 1994: 112-114)

- 68 Xenophon. *The Persian Expedition*. Edited by E. V. Rieu. Translated by Rex Warner. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1949. 309 p.

An excellent record of one of the most famous marches in history, during the early 4th century B.C., in which the author took part by joining Cyrus' army of Greek mercenaries. While narrating the long march into Persia through the mountains of Kurdistan, and the tedious return to Greece, the author also presents a genuine picture of the social life in general.

See also 3, 11, 13, 18, 23, 83, 87, 111

## EARLY MODERN: 1497-1918

- 69 Adle, Ch., and J. -L. Bacque-Grammont. "Quatre lettres de Seref Beg de Bitlis (1516-1520) (Etudes turco-safavides, XI)." [Four Letters of Seref Beg of Bitlis (1516-1520) (Turco-Safavid Studies).] *Der Islam* 63, no. 1 (1986): 90-118.

In their Turco-Safavid studies, the authors continue their publications of the documents kept reserved in the archives of the Topkapı Palace in

Istanbul. These four letters edited in Persian, were sent by the Kurdish *Emir* Sharaf Beg Ruzaki bin Shams-ud-din bin Hajji Muhammad of Bitlis between 1516 and 1520 to his Ottoman superior Biyiqh Mehmed Pasha, Beylerbey of Diyarbekir. These documents describe in detail the activities of both the Ottoman and Persian Empires in relation to the Kurds of Bitlis in a brief period of time. (Jean Calmard/*AI* 10:392)

- 70 Ahmad, Kamal Madhar. *Kurdistan During the First World War*. Translated from Arabic by Ali Maher Ibrahim. Foreword by Akram Jaff. London: Saqi Books, 1994. 234 p. : map. Translated from Kurdish by Muhammad Mulla Karim. Baghdad: Kurdish Academy Press, 1977. Includes bibliography and index.

In spite of the promises made by the Allied powers in the 1920 Treaty of Sevres, the Kurds have so far failed to secure their national independence—a goal achieved by the Arabs and other nations in the region. The author, a Kurdish historian, shows how, before and during the First World War, the political maneuvering of the Allied powers, particularly Britain, concentrated on securing easy access to the region's oil fields and thus ignored the rights of the Kurds. The role and involvement of Germany and Russia are also discussed in detail. Of major importance are the chapters examining the role of the Kurds in the Armenian massacres. In this dispassionate analysis of this sensitive issues, the author sheds new lights on the involvement of the Kurds in the tragedy of the Armenian people under Ottoman rule.

- 71 Blaum, Paul. "A History of the Kurdish Marwanid Dynasty. Part I & II." *International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 5 (Spring-Fall 1992): 54-68; 6 (Fall 1993): 40-65.

- 72 Duguid, S. "The Politics of Unity: Hamidian Policy in Eastern Anatolia" *Middle Eastern Studies* 9 (May 1973): 139-155.

This article analyzes the relations between the central government and the Asiatic provinces of Turkey from 1878 to 1908, focusing on the drive for Muslim unity. The article asserts that centralization and despotism for which Hamidian era is famous were subordinate to unity and are natural development from earlier periods. The article also shows the reforms' impact on unity and studies the response to Kurdish and Armenian revolts and European intervention and finally explains the failure of the policy.

- 73 Gandy, Christopher. "The Case of the Kurdish Agha: Vice Consul Hony in Mosul 1911-1913." *Asian Affairs* 18, N.S. (1987): 138-150.

From a lecture given before the Royal Society for Asian Affairs in London in February 1987. Relates a shooting incident involving Henry Charles Hony, the British vice-consul in Mosul, and Mirza Ali, a Kurdish *Agha* (chieftain) and his retainers in 1912. Since Hony was on an unauthorized journey, without an escort, and outside of his consular district, the reports of the episode were forwarded from the British charge d'affaires in Constantinople, Sir Charles Marling, to the permanent under secretary, Sir Arthur Nicolson, and finally to Sir Edward Grey, the foreign secretary. The remedy, determined and imposed at the highest level, was to pay blood money for taking the chieftain's life. Hony was required to pay personally half of the cost. Based on secondary sources. (S. H. Frank/HA: 39A-8451)

- 74 Hafez, Fahmy Hussein. *History of the Kurdish and Turkish Empire by Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Abi al-Fawaris Abd al-Aziz al-Ansari al-Khazraji, 709 A.H./1309 A.D.* Ph.D., University of Melbourne, 1985. 288 p. DAI 47 (October 1986): 1928-A.

I [Hafez] edited, annotated and translated 153 pages of the manuscript entitled "History of the Kurdish and Turkish Empire," written by Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi al-Fawaris Abd al-Aziz al-Ansari al-Khazraji, who died in the year 709 H / 1309 A.D. The thesis covers the events of the Empire ruled by Salah al-Din from the year 571 H / 1175-1176 A.D. until the year 597 H / 1201 A.D. eight years after his death in the year 589 H. During these years Salah al-Din rose to power, unified the Islamic countries, fought the Crusaders and made a peace treaty with them. The thesis ends with the events of the years covering the aftermath of the death of Salah al-Dine. The author, al-Khazraji, wrote the events of the year separately, supplementing these with tales of the most distinguished jurisprudence poet, sufi or narrator who happened to have died during each year, together with his poetry and / or sayings, thus reflecting the style and standard of literature of that age.

- 75 Hofmann, Tessa, and Gerayer Koutcharian. "The History of Armenian-Kurdish Relations in the Ottoman Empire." Translated from German by Dorothea Lam. *The Armenian Review* 39 (Winter 1986): 1-45.

Following the defeat of the Persians at the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514, the Ottoman Empire extended its rule over western Armenia. The Turks

often used Muslim Kurds as intermediary oppressors between themselves and the Christian Armenians. Less firmly Islamic Kurds, however, often aided persecuted Armenians, and at times when the Kurds themselves were oppressed, Kurdish-Armenian solidarity emerged. The complex history of Turkish-Kurdish-Armenian relations culminated in Kurdish complicity in the genocide committed against the Armenians during World War I. Thereafter, Kurds and Kurdish independence movements became the chief targets of Turkish policies attempting to Turkify all Anatolia. (R. Grove/HA: 40A-988)

- 76 Krikavova, Adela. "A Contribution to the Question of the Formation of the Kurdish Nation." *Archiv Orientalni* [Czechoslovakia] 47, no. 3 (1979): 145-160.

This article represents a summary of several key movements that were the signs of qualitative changes in the Kurds' consciousness in the matter of appurtenance to a tribe and to the originating Kurdish nation. A basic auxiliary aid for following the subject is a schema of three periods: In the first of them (till about the 16th century), the feeling of appurtenance to a general national unite appeared among the more educated individuals. Among the general public there was, rather, a feeling of appurtenance to a tribe. The second phase (the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century) began with the issuing of the first Kurdish periodicals and was characterized by the activity of the rising Kurdish intelligentsia. It was a time of an increasing national campaign and more frequent demonstrations of cooperation between the various parts of divided Kurdistan. The third important period was the postwar period, especially the years 1961-1970, when an armed conflict was going on, on Iraqi Kurdistan territory. This period contributed to the establishment of national unity to a great extent.

- 77 Libaridian, Gerard. "Etude des relations armeno-kurdes et leurs problemes." [A Study of the Armeno-Kurdish Relations and Their Problems.] *Studia Kurdica*, no. 5 (1988): 63-76.

Kurds and Armenians are two peoples who live in the Middle East and were denied, following World War I, the right of self-determination. Since then, the Armenians and Kurds have to face Turkish governments which successively refused to acknowledge their rights. Gerard Libaridian, director of Zoryan Institute for Contemporary Armenian Research and Documentation (Cambridge, USA), studies the Turkish contemporary historiography concerning Kurds and Armenians. (Joyce Blau/AI 12:540)



- 78 Ma'oz, Moshe. "Muslim Ethnic Communities in Nineteenth Century Syria and Palestine: Trends of Conflict and Integration." *Asian and African Studies* [Haifa] 19 (1985): 283-307.

Discusses the relations of the non-Arab Sunni Muslim ethnic and cultural communities with either the Muslim Arab majority, or the minority religious communities. Ma'oz argues that very few attention has been paid to the role of the non-Arab Sunni Muslim ethnic and cultural minorities in the public and social life of the Fertile Crescent during the modern period. In this article, a preliminary attempt is made to examine the trends of conflict and integration as they affected Kurds, Turkomans, North Africans and Circassians. Special attention is given to the political, economic and cultural factors that strengthened the tendencies of these minorities to come into conflict or integrate with other local communities in nineteenth-century Syria and Palestine.

- 79 Mardukh, Abdollah. *Contribution a l'etude de l'histoire des Kurdes sous la dynastie Ardalan du XVIeme siecle au XIXeme siecle*. [A Contribution to the Study of Kurdish History Under the Ardalan Dynasty from the 16th to the 19th Century.] Ph.D., Universite de Paris III-Sorbonne-Nouvelle, 1988. 434 p.

The author studies the history of Ardalan dynasty since its foundation in the 12th century until its collapse during the second half of the 19th century. The principality of Ardalan is considered one of the most ancient and most prestigious Kurdish principalities, and was the most important one in the Persian empire. The author has consulted all the available sources on the subject. He has made access to manuscripts of great value that he uses very skillfully. (Joyce Blau/AI 12:545)

- 80 Olson, Robert. "Five Stages of Kurdish Nationalism: 1880-1980." *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* (Great Britain) 12 (July 1991): 391-409.

The century of Kurdish nationalism that is discussed in this article is divided into five stages: 1) the leadership of Sheikh Ubaydallah of Nehri and his Kurdish League until his death in 1883; Ubaydallah's movement marked the emergence of the *sheikhs* as the most important leaders among the Kurds. This was a development which began with Sheikh Ubaydallah and continued for the next century; 2) the role of the Hamidiya Light Cavalry from their creation in 1891 until the outbreak of World I; 3) the events of World War I to the Treaty of Sevres (August 10, 1920); 4) the aftermath of World War I and post-war

developments until the rebellion of Sheikh Sa'id, and 5) the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad which lasted for precisely one year: 15th December 1945 to 15th December 1946. The significance of each of these stages of Kurdish nationalism is highlighted. According to Olson, a sixth stage of Kurdish nationalism commenced in 1980 and coincided with the outbreak of war between Iraq and Iran in that same year, yet he does not go into detail about it.

- 81 Othman, Siyamend. "Kurdish Nationalism: Instigators and Historical Influences." *The Armenian Review* 42, no. 1 (1989): 39-59.

Compares the development of Armenian, Arab, and Kurdish nationalism within the Ottoman Empire, focusing on the elite Kurdish political leadership which first became organized in Constantinople in 1908, soon after organizing Kurt Kulupreri [Kurdish clubs] in Kurdistan itself, and attempting to gain the support of non-Turkish Islamic ethnic groups and the great powers during World War I and the Paris Peace Conference. (R. Grove/HA: 42B-5368)

- 82 Perry, John R. *Karim Khan Zand: A History of Iran, 1747-1779*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979. [Publications of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, No. 12.] xi, 340 p.

Karim Khan Zand (1751-1779), the founder of the Kurdish Zand dynasty and the *de facto* ruler of the greater part of Persia. Having no claim to the title of *shah*, he instead, assumed, that of *wakil*, "regent lieutenant," and placed on the vacant throne of Persia a Safavid boy of eight, whom he styled Ismail III. This book is divided into three parts. Part One of the book deals essentially with the 1747-1763 power struggles and high level bloodletting while Part Two narrows to the years of 1763-1779 of Karim Khan's "consolidation and expansion" of the Zandian state. Part Three, refreshingly and humanely, touches on some of the major economic, social and diplomatic aspects of Zand rule. Finally, the reader is treated to an excellent discourse of historiographical insights in the appendix as well as to a lengthy and thorough bibliography.

- 83 Safrastrian, Arshak. *The Kurds and Kurdistan*. London: Harvill Press, 1948. 106 p. : ill.

The main content of the book is an able and well-balanced summary of Kurdish history over the last 3,000 years. The author is erudite and cautious in his use of materials, but the reader needs to remember that it

is really only during the last fifty years or so that the Kurds as a whole have moved out of the realm of legend into the arena of power politics. The change has not been a happy one. He concedes that the real troubles of the Kurds only began with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Under the Sublime Porte, four-fifths of the Kurdish "nation" were to be subjects of one administration, however unjust and incompetent. After the failure of the Treaty of Sevres in 1923, the Kurds found their country partitioned among no less than five national authorities, all deeply suspicious of each other's ultimate political intentions. (abridged, Edmund R. Leach/*Asian Affairs* 36, January 1949: 94)

- 84 Sykes, Mark. *The Caliph's Last Heritage: A Short History of the Turkish Empire*. New York: Arno Press, 1973. xii, 638 p. : ill. (Reprint of the 1915 ed. published by Macmillan, London)

See also 2, 6, 11, 13, 17, 18, 23, 31, 32, 55, 87, 91, 111, 269, 275

## MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY: 1919-PRESENT

### General

- 85 Aguado, Laura Donnadiu. "The National Liberation Movement of the Kurds in the Middle East." In *Secessionist Movements in Comparative Perspective*. Edited by Ralph R. Premdas, S. W. R. de A. Samarsinghe and Alan B. Anderson, 153-164. London: Pinter Publishers, 1990.

This chapter examines the secessionist movements of the Kurds since the beginning of the 20th century. United by common ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious characteristics, the Kurds were artificially divided in 1923 among four different national states: Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. Since then there has been a continuous armed struggle between the military forces of the different countries and the militant Kurds, the former fighting to preserve the integrity of the state, and the latter searching for the unification of their communal groups within one territory.

- 86 Anderson, Ewan W., and Khalil H. Rashidian. *Iraq and the Continuing Middle East Crisis*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. 143 p. : maps. Includes bibliographical references and index.

The authors devote a complete chapter, "Colonialism and Liberation Movements in the Middle East," for discussing the Kurdish liberation

movement in the Middle East. The main theme of the chapter is that the Kurds are without a state and without friends.

- 87 Arfa, Hassan. *The Kurds: A Historical and Political Study*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966. xi, 178 p., [8] p. of plates. Bibliography: p. 161-163.

Most of the books about the Middle East are written by people who come from outside that region. It is refreshing, therefore, to find a first-rate, scholarly and yet readable book about the Kurds written by a Persian who, as a general of the Iranian army and Chief of Staff from 1944 to 1956, conducted many of the military operations against the Kurds. The whole book, in its exposition of the history of this people, their ethnic and cultural identity and their will to national expression, constitutes a glowing declaration of the reality and validity of Kurdish nationalism. The book is divided into five chapters, the first a short history, the second, third and fourth an account of the Kurds in Turkey, Iran, and the fifth and weakest, a conclusion. Here and there an authority might argue about factual details, but General Arfa's integrity as a military man is a powerful argument in support of his version of the facts, often drawn from personal experience or information available to members of his family. Much new information never collected in a book is contained in these chapters, particularly regarding military operations. On political matters he is weaker. He obviously finds difficulty in reconciling the fact that Mulla Mustafa Barzani, the leader of the Kurdish national movement in Iraq, is a conservative if not reactionary personality, with the mixture of support he receives from western liberals, leftists and eastern European communists. (Dana Adams Schmidt/ *Asian Affairs* 54, February 1967: 78-79)

- 88 Atarodi, Habibollah. "The Kurds: A Nation of 30 Million Denied Its Freedom." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* 16 (Fall 1991): 273-285.

The author of this article argues that the Kurdish province of Mosul was attached to the Iraqi state after World War I for the convenience and enrichment of the British and their Hashemite puppet regime. Atarodi adds, the constellation of great and local power interests has continued ever since to keep the Kurds a friendless and subject people in all five of the countries they live in, despite more or less continuous agitation and frequent armed resistance by the Kurds themselves.

- 89 Blau, Joyce. "Les Kurdes entre 1918 et 1958." [The Kurds between 1918 and 1958.] *Historiens et Géographes* [France] 83 (1992): 305-320.

In this article, Blau examines the developments in the region of Kurdistan and analyzes Kurdish national aspirations during the period 1918-1958 in the context of the emergence of the Kurdish problem as an international issue after the end of World War I.

- 90 Bois, Thomas. "Kurds and Kurdistan: History from 1920 to the Present Day." In *Encyclopedia of Islam*. New ed. Vol. 5. Edited by C. E. Bosworth and others, 464-470. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986.

- 91 Bulloch, John, and Harvey Morris. *No Friends But the Mountains: The Tragic History of the Kurds*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. 242 p. : ill., map. Includes index.

In their first two chapters, Bulloch and Morris plunge into their fast-paced narrative with a description of the March 1991 Iraqi Kurdish uprising that followed Saddam's defeat in the Gulf War, the ensuing tragic refugee exodus, and the safe haven that was subsequently established for the Kurds by the victorious allies. The authors then fall back to a generally competent discussion of the origins of the Kurds and their pre-1900 history, followed by a recapping of the events brought on by the aftermath of World War I, which they term "the great betrayal." Additional chapters deal with the Republic of Mahabad after World War II, the struggle for autonomy in Iraq during the 1960s and 1970s, the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s and Saddam's chemical gas attack on Halabja in 1988, the PKK in Turkey and the recent Turkish reforms, Iranian Kurdish leader Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou's assassination in Vienna in 1988 along with a few comments on the Kurds in Syria and the former Soviet Union, and some final thoughts on the past, present, and future. Bulloch and Morris have produced a useful introduction for a public that needs to know more about a people who will become increasingly important in the future (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 139-141)

- 92 Carleton, Alford. "The Syrian Coup D'état of 1949." *The Middle East Journal* 4 (January 1950): 1-11.

Focuses on the rapid rise and fall of Colonel Husni Za'im who led a military coup against Shukri al-Quwwatli in March 1949. Za'im's political ineptitude, such as the introduction of compulsory military

service, his reliance on Circassian and Kurdish minority elements, and his surrender of Anton S'adeh (Leader of the Syrian National Party) to the Lebanese authorities, as well as his personal aggrandizement and unpopular foreign policy, led directly to the second coup, of August 1949, by Colonel Sami Hinnawi who himself was then overthrown by Colonel Adib Shishakli in December 1949.

- 93 Dunn, Michael Collins. "The Kurdish 'Question': Is There an Answer? A Historical Overview." *Middle East Policy* 4 (September 1995): 72-87.

Any statement about the Kurds is controversial. Conservatively estimated, at least 20 million Kurds live in the Middle East and Caucasus. Most of them so nationalistic and living in a geographically contiguous region might have been expected to establish their own state. That the Kurds have not may have to do with their location at a key geopolitical crossroads. Kurdish society has many divisions--linguistic, religious, tribal and feudal. These divisions and the tactics of the states with large Kurdish populations have prevented the Kurds from building a nation-state of their own, although there have been attempts over the years. Present conditions indicate that the West is leery of condoning an independent Kurdistan that might undermine the security of NATO ally, Turkey, even though to do so might provide an instrument of dual containment with regard to Iraq and Iran.

- 94 Edmonds, Cecil John. "The Place of the Kurds in the Middle Eastern Scene." *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 45 (April 1958): 141-153.

Report of a lecture delivered at a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society on November 20, 1957. In it, the author argues that Kurdish nationalism seems to be losing its intensity. This article appears also in an updated and revised version in *The Contemporary Middle East: Tradition and Innovation*, edited with an introduction and notes by Benjamin Rivlin and Joseph S. Szyliowicz, 283-293 (New York: Random House, 1965).

- 95 Elphinston, W. G. "The Kurds and the Kurdish Question." *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 35 (January 1948): 38-50.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on September 24, 1947. In this article the author addresses several questions: Who are the Kurds? Does the Kurdish problem constitute a danger to world peace?

The Kurds as a "cement" to Middle East unity? History of the Kurds and their situation in Turkey, Iraq, Persia and Syria? and The solution of the Kurdish problem.

- 96 Elphinston. W. G. "The Kurdish Question." *International Affairs* 22 (January 1946): 91-103.

In this article, Colonel Elphinston surveys the Kurds' history and present conditions. He holds that a centralized Kurdish autonomy is hardly practicable but that assimilation is improbable. He also states that Kurdish traditions must be respected.

- 97 Emadi, Hafizullah. "Conflicts in the Middle East: The Kurdish National Question." *Contemporary Review* 261 (August 1992): 62-71.

The Kurdish struggle for sovereignty dates back to World War I. Since then, Kurdish leaders have been in constant battles with the powers in Turkey, Iraq and Iran. However, they were granted considerable freedom in the former Soviet Union. The few who live in Syria and Lebanon have adopted the Arab culture. With Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War, the Kurds once more tried to regain their independence, hoping for U.S. support. Approximately three million of them fled to Iran and Turkey when they were defeated. Their fight for independence will continue to shape Middle Eastern history.

- 98 Epstein, Eliahu. "Al Jezireh." *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 27 (January 1940): 68-82.

A descriptive survey of the Jazire region, lying between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, in north-east Syria, describing in detail the topography, water resources, climate and soils of the area. It was found that the population included large Kurdish, Yezidi and Assyrian minorities as well as nomadic 'Anaze and Shammar tribes. Although sparsely populated in the 1930s, the author argued that it was potentially a very productive agricultural region.

- 99 Evans, R. "Legacy of Woe." *Geographical Magazine* 63 (June 1991): 34-38.

Looks at the background to the current Kurdish problem on the Iraq-Iran-Turkish border. Whilst the current plight is being blamed on the Iraqi government, the West should take some responsibility for the situation. The Kurds have been used by Western nations attempting to

undermine their enemies and then abandoned when it suits them, invariably to avoid losing trade to the Middle East.

- 100 Feili, Omran Yahya, and Arlene R. Fromchuck. "The Kurdish Struggle for Independence." *Middle East Review* 9 (Fall 1976): 47-59. Appears also in *The Middle East Reader*. Edited by Michael Curtis, 123-134. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1986.
- 101 Gotlieb, Gidon. *Nation Against State: A New Approach to Ethnic Conflicts and the Decline of Sovereignty*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, c1993. xiii, 148 p. Includes bibliographical references (p. 137-139) and index.
- 102 Gotlieb, Yosef. *Self-Determination in the Middle East*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982. vii, 178 p. Bibliography: p. 152-163. Includes index.

A complete chapter of the book is devoted to the Kurdish question, and entitled "Unremitting Passion: The Kurdish National Movement" (pp. 72-105).

- 103 Gualco, Giorgio. "The Kurds." *Mankind* 6, no. 2 (1978): 26-29, 51.

The Kurds today comprise about five million persons residing within the borders of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and the U.S.S.R. Early in their history the Kurds were converted to Islam and were among the most zealous. In the 16th century the Kurds aligned themselves with the Ottoman Turks. The alliance was shattered during the 19th century as the Turks undertook to gain effective control over the Kurdish tribesmen. The Kurds tried to establish a national state following World War I, but their endeavors were undone by Kemal Ataturk and the machinations of the Allies, who divided the Kurdish area among Iran, Iraq, and Syria in 1923. The Kurds have continued to struggle against outside authority throughout the 20th century, fighting a war of national liberation against the Iraqi government. (N. Lederer/HA: 24B-5392)

- 104 Hazen, William E. "Minorities in Revolt: The Kurds of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey." In *The Political Role of Minority Groups in the Middle East*, edited by Ronald D. McLaurin, 49-75. New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1979.

The purpose of this text is to present viewpoints on the roles of specific minority groups in Middle East politics. Edited by McLaurin, a senior



staff member of Abbot Associates, Inc., the book is co-authored by various specialists on the Middle East and North Africa. Excluding the preface, the volume is divided into ten chapters on a "loosely structured" basis. In these chapters the contributors stress the heterogeneous character of near Eastern societies, and emphasize challenges and threats, hence separatist and secessionist movements posed by diverse cultural and political groups in the region. The foci of chapter three are the Kurds of Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey and the Soviet Union. As a disparate cultural sub-collectivity in revolt, the author shows that the Kurds historically have been thrown out of political equilibrium *vis-a-vis* nations in which they reside. (abridged, Feraidoon Shams/*Perspective* January-February 1981: 25)

- 105 Hellier, Chris. "Pawns of the Middle East Mosaic." *Geographical Magazine* 61, no. 8 (1989): 28-32.

By virtue of its position, Kurdistan, if recognized, would constitute a vital part of the Middle East. Governments, aware of this, have sought to break the Kurds either by manipulating them as they did in the Iran-Iraq War or simply by eliminating them using poison gas. With half-a-million Kurds exiled in Europe there is a possibility of the struggle spreading outside the Iraq-Iran-Turkey triangle.

- 106 Hyman, Anthony. "Elusive Kurdistan: The Struggle for Recognition." *Conflict Studies*, no. 214 (September 1988): 1-25.

The author explains the history and development of the Kurdish people, whose strong sense of national identity, despite their political differences, has generated a largely successful resistance to the pressures for cultural assimilation with their host countries. While Kurdish nationalists have failed to exploit the opportunities provided by the Gulf War to negotiate from a position of greater strength, the cessation of hostilities could bring about some concessions to limited autonomy; or the Kurds could be faced with harsh retribution from both protagonists.

- 107 Laffin, John. *The World in Conflict 1986-: War Annual (v. 1): Contemporary Warfare Described and Analysed*. London ; New York: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1986-. v. : ill.

*War Annual* remains the only book (or serial) of its kind to provide a clear, comprehensive account of the world's many wars, as they happen. Each volume follows the progress of the main areas of interstate violence, counter-insurgency, guerrilla warfare and terrorism. Drawing

on interviews with many informed sources including diplomats, journalists and professional observers, Dr. Laffin presents a complete and objective military assessment of each conflict, analyses the tactics of the belligerents and speculates on likely future developments. The Kurdish War of Independence is discussed on pp. 72-87, 105-118, 102-115, 114-120 of volumes 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively.

- 108 Landau, Jacob M. "Soviet Histories of the Middle East." *Middle Eastern Studies* [Great Britain] 27, no. 3 (1991): 518-522.

A review of 18 Soviet books dealing with the general history of the Middle East and North Africa since the 16th century, including works on the Arab-Israeli conflict, Western imperialism in the region, and the Kurdish question.

- 109 Landau, Jacob M. "Irredentism and Minorities in the Middle East." *Immigrants and Minorities* 9 (November 1990): 242-248.

In this article, Landau briefly describes the irredentist aspirations in Somalia, Azerbaijan, Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Israel and Turkey, and of the Kurds and Armenians.

- 110 Matar, Elias Nassib. "The Kurds: A Minority Nation Part I & II." *Panorama of Events* [Beirut], no. 28 (Autumn 1982): 31-53; no. 42 (Spring 1986): 25-42.

This study consists of two articles and has two main objectives: (1) To acquaint the reader with background information as to who the Kurds are. (2) To help the reader reach a deep comprehension of this people's psychology and, ultimately, their aspirations. The first article deals with the origin of the Kurdish people and their ancient history; their country, Kurdistan; and the Kurdish culture. The second article summarizes contemporary Kurdish history from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present time.

- 111 McDowall, David. *A Modern History of the Kurds*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1996. 451 p.

In this book, the first comprehensive history of the Kurds from the nineteenth century to the present day, McDowall examines the interplay of old and new aspects of the struggle, the importance of local rivalries within Kurdish society, the enduring authority of certain forms of leadership and the failure of modern states to respond to the challenge of

Kurdish nationalism. McDowall does not try to hide his sympathies for the Kurds. This is not a book to please the authorities in Ankara, Baghdad and Tehran. But neither is it merely a polemic in support of Kurdish nationalism. In his concluding chapter, "Retrospect and Prospect," McDowall notes that while Kurdish nationalism may have made little progress towards an independent pan-Kurdish state, by the 1990s it had undermined the Kemalist ideology of Turkey and the Arab nationalism of Ba'athist Iraq. He sees the opportunities as brightest (ironically) in Turkey, despite the intensity of the state's opposition to Kurdish separatists. Pressures from Europe for democratization, and concern that the creation of a Kurdish Diaspora in western Turkey may be more destabilizing than providing more autonomy to the Kurds in eastern Turkey, combine to make compromise more likely. McDowall blames the continuing influence of tribally organized traditional society for many of the problems the Kurds have faced in building a real national movement. Certainly the Kurds' own internal divisions have been much exploited by their enemies, and his own historical narrative displays the consequences vividly.

- 112 McDowall, David. "The Kurdish Question: A Historical Review." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 10-32. London: Routledge, 1992.

David McDowall's opening piece of this book offers "a historical review" of the Kurdish question which could serve as an extended abstract of his recent book, *The Kurds: A Nation Denied* (1992), or an updating of his earlier booklet *The Kurds*, issued in various editions by the Minority Rights Groups Ltd. in Great Britain.

- 113 McDowall, David. "The Kurds: An Historical Perspective." *Asian Affairs* [Great Britain] 22, no. 3 (1991): 293-302.

In this article, McDowall traces the struggle of the Kurdish nationalist movement, from the time of its founder, Sheikh Ubaydallah, in the 1880s to events in the early 1990s, noting the role of tribalism and the pressures exerted by the great powers and neighboring states. Based on a lecture given at the Royal Society for Asian Affairs in London in May 1991. (S. H. Frank/HA: 43B-8170)

- 114 *Middle East Contemporary Survey*. [serial] New York ; London: Holmes & Meier, 1976-77-. Currently published by Westview Press, Boulder, Colo.

Established in 1977, the *Middle East Contemporary Survey* (MECS), is acknowledged as the standard reference work on events and trends in the region. Designed to be a continuing, up-to-date reference for scholars, researchers and analysts, policy-makers, students and journalists, it examines in detail the rapidly changing Middle Eastern scene in all its complexity. It provides an annual record and analysis of political, economic and international developments in the Middle East. In each volume, the material is arranged in two parts. The first contains a series of essays on broad regional issues and on the overall relations of the region with other parts of the world. Subjects explored in detail include Arab-Israeli and inter-Arab relations, Islamic affairs, Palestinian issues, economic developments, and the relations between major world powers and the Middle East. The second part consists of country-by-country surveys of the regional Arab states, as well as Iran, Israel, and Turkey. The emphasis here is on elucidating the inner dynamics of each country's policy and society.

- 115 Minorsky, Vladimir F. "The Mosul Question." *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 7, nos. 1-2 (1994): 21-70. Originally published in *Reference Service on International Affairs of the American Library in Paris*, nos. 9-10 (April 1926).

Written by one of the founders of the field of Kurdish studies, this paper is a detailed account of the award of central Kurdistan to the emerging State of Iraq. The paper furnishes numerous documents of diverse origins, and rare statistics and maps seldom seen in subsequent sources and hardly known to most contemporary researchers.

- 116 Munro, David, and Alan J. Day. *A World Record of Major Conflict Areas*. London: Edward Arnold, c1990. vi, 374 p. : maps.

In dealing with some 30 areas of conflict around the world--in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, the Far East, the Americas, and Europe, this Record provides an authoritative compendium of information: a first-rare work of reference and an excellent basis for further reading and research. Each conflict under scrutiny is introduced by an essay providing both historical perspective and current assessment; here then follow six standard-format sections: geographical facts; key words; a chronology of events; key places; who's who; further reading. A map locates the conflict and where appropriate indicates changes that have taken place. The Record is indispensable and unrivaled as a single-volume reference work on the world's major conflicts, providing concise and

reliable data on the key ingredients of each one. The chapter on the Kurds is on pp. 134-144.

- 117 Nezan, Kendal. "The Kurds: Current Position and Historical Background." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 7-19. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

Although the Kurdish issue has yet to be placed on the United Nations agenda, it has at least managed quite evidently to raise questions in the conscience of the world. This chapter is a brief list of facts and data describing the present conditions of the Kurdish people followed by a general overview of the historical background.

- 118 Nisan, Mordechai. *Minorities in the Middle East: A History of Struggle and Self-Expression*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1991. 300 p.

In this book, Nisan looks at the problem of minorities from a regional and international geopolitical framework. Apart from the introduction and conclusions, the book is divided into four parts: "Muslim Minorities," "Heterodox Muslim Minorities," "Christian Minorities," and lastly "Jews, Israel, and Other Middle Eastern Minorities." Under Muslim Minorities, Nisan traces the evolution and development of the Kurds, the Berbers, and the Baluchis. Nisan is careful not to idealize the minorities and not to lay all the blame at the threshold of the majority. But from the case studies he chose, it is obvious where his sympathies lie. Most minorities have suffered and continue to suffer under Arab rule, but their "incoherence," "tribalism," "fragmentation," and "localism" played into the hands of the majority and reduced their power of bargaining and their ability to achieve their goals for autonomy and independence. This contrasts sharply with the majority society whose hierarchical structure and authoritarianism gave it its uncontested power. The author deals with the Kurds in Chapter two, pp. 27-44 entitled: "Kurds: A Legacy of Struggle and Suffering." (abridged, Maurice M. Roumani/*Digest of Middle East Studies* 2, Fall 1993: 12-13)

- 119 O'Ballance, Edgar. *The Kurdish Struggle, 1920-1994*. Houndmills, Basingstoke [England]: Macmillan Press, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996. xxi, 251 p. : maps. Includes bibliographical references (p. 239) and index.

Almost a quarter of a century after writing about the Iraqi Kurds in *The Kurdish Revolt, 1961-70*, Edgar O'Ballance--who served in the British army during World war II and as a journalist since 1948--has produced another fast-paced recounting which this time covers the entire Kurdish landscape. In most cases well informed as to his facts and judicious as to his interpretations, O'Ballance offers a quick, yet wide-ranging survey of the Kurdish political situation in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and western Europe. Despite the various typographical and factual errors that occur in his book, O'Ballance's work is still a good and very readable introduction to the Kurdish problem. It contains a tremendous amount of information most of which are accurate. (Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 10, 1996: 161)

- 120 Postel-Vinay, O. "Quelques elements pour comprendre la question kurde." [Some Elements to Understand the Kurdish Question.] *Revue francaise d'Etudes politiques mediterraneennes* (May 1975): 99-109.

Nearly eight million Kurds are divided among five states--Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Soviet Union. After the rise of Kemalist Turkey in 1923, the Kurdish question began to emerge separately in these states, particularly in Iraq. This article is a very brief but informative overview of the Kurdish national movement.

- 121 Ramazani, Rouhollah K. "The Kurdish Problem." *The Quarterly Review* 305 (January 1967): 71-79.

The Kurdish problem is an ancient one, but it is now posing an unprecedented challenge to the community of nations. The change in the nature of Kurdish challenge, in the last analysis, is partly a reflection of broader social, economic, and political transformations occurring in traditional Muslim societies everywhere. Most of the Kurds live in a number of Muslim countries, and many have been affected by the dynamic cultural changes embracing these countries. The Kurds of today may no longer be stereotyped as a colorful and restless tribal people bent on plunder and raids. Like Arabs, Persians, and Turks, the Kurds have contracted the virus of modern nationalism, and like these other Muslim peoples they are beginning to experience the pangs of social change. Hence, the Kurdish problem today is marked increasingly by many attributes of modern nationalism and social revolution common to developing peoples. Ramazani discusses here in broad terms the challenge of this problem to the community of nations by examining its national, regional and international implications.

- 122 Rambout, Lucien. [Bois, Thomas] *Le Kurdes et le droit. Des textes, des faits.* [The Kurds and Rights: Texts and Facts.] Paris: Les editions du cerf, 1947. 160 p. : map. Includes bibliography.

This monograph is an account of the Kurds and the difficulties they have faced in Turkey, Iraq, and Syria. In general, the monograph follows the principal theme of current Soviet propaganda for the Middle East, particularly its constant reiteration of the Kurdish right, to establish an autonomous state. The author pictures the Turks massacring the Kurds, and the British Royal Air Force (RAF) and the Iraqis hunting them down in their mountain villages; in Iran, they are seen caught between the machinations of governmental reactionaries and the struggle between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. (abridged, F. E. Davidson/*MEJ* 2, July 1948: 356)

- 123 Rondot, Pierre. "Le mouvement kurde." [The Kurdish Movement.] *Etudes* (December 1979): 589-602.

In this article, Rondot studies the movement of autonomy among the Kurds, whose population is shared by Turkey, Iraq, and Iran, and who are fighting to retain their identity and culture. The Kurdish movement, in spite of the great oppression that befalls it, revives tirelessly and demands autonomy for the Kurds. It is exactly in Iran that the Kurdish struggle is now resumed and it is the result of the conflict between the Islamic regime and the Kurds which erupted in early 1979 that will determine partially the fate of the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq.

- 124 Saado, Hussein. "Les Kurdes: entre la Turquie, l'Iran et l'Irak." [The Kurds: Between Turkey, Iran, and Iraq.] *Trimestre du Monde*, no. 14 (1991): 167-177.

This article discusses the situation of the Kurdish people. It is a historical review with an emphasis on the repression which befell the Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The position of the different Kurdish movements during the Iran-Iraq war and the Gulf war are discussed, as well as their consequences on the Kurdish people as a whole.

- 125 Sim, Richard. "Kurdistan: The Search for Recognition." *Conflict Studies*, no. 124 (November 1980): 1-21.

The Kurds, totaling some 17 million and spread over a great arc strategic and mineral-rich regions stretching from the Gulf to central Turkey, have been striving for generations to achieve an autonomous

homeland. The Iraq-Iran war has given fresh prominence to their claims, dependent upon breakdown of regional order and stronger leadership to end factional feuding. There is a centuries-old tradition of rebellion among the Kurds and the Nationalist movement has gathered momentum in recent years. Nowhere has the Kurdish movement sustained itself more strongly than in Iraq where Kurds are now divided into two parties. In Iran the collapse of the Shah's regime has opened the way to Kurdish nationalists who control most Iranian Kurdistan. Soviet and Turkish Kurds are considered. (*IPSA*: 31-4949)

- 126 Sivan, Emmanuel. "The Kurds: Another Perspective." In *Case Studies on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*. Editor in chief, Willem A. Veenhoven. 2 (1975): 137-156.

War is again raging between the Kurdish freedom fighters (*Peshmerga*) and the Iraqi army, focusing world attention on the most acute question of minority oppression in the Middle East. The Kurdish question however, cannot be fully understood in terms of Iraqi Kurdistan alone. A broader view is necessary, both in space and in time. The author hence, subdivides his article into discussing the following topics on the Kurds and Kurdistan: 'Basic Characteristics'; 'Nomadic Society in the Process of Sedentarization'; 'Long History'; 'From Tribalism to Nationalism'; 'Rebellions in Iraq'; 'Nationalism Comes of Age'; 'Struggle Against Turkification'; 'Kurdish Republic Under Soviet Tutelage'; 'The Great Insurrection in Iraq (1961-?)'; and the 'The 1970 Peace Treaty.'

- 127 Sluglett, Peter, and Marion Farouk-Sluglett. "The Kurds." In *The Times Guide to the Middle East: The Arab World and Its Neighbours*. Edited by Peter Sluglett and Marion Farouk-Sluglett, 51-67. London: Times Books, 1991.

- 128 Snyder, Louis Leo. *Global Mini-Nationalisms: Autonomy or Independence*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982. xvii, 326 p. Includes bibliography (p. 303-312) and index.

By mini-nationalisms, Snyder means liberating movements of minorities inside centralized states who demand either more autonomy in local affairs or outright independence. Snyder treats few of the mini-nationalisms he surveys with sympathy, except for the Greenlander, which is arguably the least significant, and the Kurdish which he obviously admires more for the enemies it provokes--Turks, Marxists, radical Iraq, Khomeini's Iran--than for the goals it seeks. Moreover, although he recognizes that mini-nationalisms are probably an inevitable and



enduring consequence of the incompatibility between the absolute right of state sovereignty and the equally powerful claim of self-determination, Snyder considers them of no more than marginal historical significance. They are simply too weak and internally divided between moderates and extremists to resist successfully the centralized states that they oppose. (abridged, Jack E. Reece *The American Historical Review* 91, June 1986: 626-627)

- 129 Taubinger, L. M. von. "Suffering and Struggle of the Kurds." In *Case Studies on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* 1 (1975): 241-259.

Following an interruption of four years, Iraqi Kurdistan has again been the scene of bloody fighting since March 12, 1974. The violence was precipitated by the so called "Law Concerning Self-Administration of the Kurdistan Region," proclaimed unilaterally by the Iraqi Government on March 11. The Kurds refused to accept this statute of autonomy, giving as their reason that it not only failed to fulfill their demands for self-determination but also deviated in part from the undertakings formally agreed to in the armistice concluded in March 1970. This article discusses the demographic and historical background of the Kurds; their condition in Turkey, Iran and Syria; and analyzes the Kurdish war in Iraq from 1961 until before the events of 1975 that culminated in Iraqi-Iranian accommodation at the expense of the Kurds.

- 130 Turner, Arthur Campbell. "Kurdish Nationalism." In *Ideology and Power in the Middle East: Studies in Honor of George Lenczowski*. Edited by Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger, 379-410. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988.

- 131 Viennot, Jean-Pierre. "Le mouvement national kurde." [The Kurdish National Movement.] *Orient* [Paris], no. 32-33 (1965): 29-120, 353-402.

- 132 Zaza, Nouredine. *Ma vie de Kurde, ou, le cri du peuple kurde*. [My Life as a Kurd or the Cry of the Kurdish People.] Lausanne: P. -M. Favre, c1982. 266 p., [16] p. of plates: ill. (Collection "Des causes et des hommes")

This work is an itinerary of the Kurdish writer and Dr. Nouredine Zaza since his childhood in the Ottoman and Kemalist Turkey, through Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Switzerland, and once again through Syria,

Lebanon, and Turkey ending in Switzerland where he spent the rest of his life as a Swiss citizen. An affectionate account that permits to grasp, through Zaza's difficult route, the tragedy of the Kurdish people nowadays. (Dominique Ferrandini/*AI* 5:681)

See also 2, 6, 7, 11, 13, 17-20, 23, 70, 75, 80, 196, 246, 258, 265, 269, 270, 281, 284, 288-291, 369, 666

## Turkey

- 133 Bozarslan, Hamit. "Les Revoltes Kurdes en Turquie Kemaliste (Quelques Aspects)." [The Kurdish Revolts in Kemalist Turkey: Some Aspects.] *Guerres Mondiales et Conflicts Contemporains* [France] 38, no. 151 (1988): 121-136.

Kemalist Turkish national statism suppressed Kurdish aspirations for autonomy even though the Kurds had militarily supported Kemal. The territory occupied by the Kurdish people was strategically significant for Mustafa Kemal, and his government treated them as reactionaries and obscurantists. This put an end to the hope for an independent Kurdistan. Abolition of the Caliphate alienated the Kurds from the Turks, and their tribal organization was treated as a threat to Kemalist republicanism. Based on Turkish and British archives and secondary sources. (G. H. Davis/*HA*: 41B-5648)

- 134 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "The Kurds in Turkey." *MERIP Reports* 14 (February 1984): 6-12, 14.

The author, perhaps the best western specialist on the Kurdish question in Turkey, makes an astonishing review of the Kurdish national movement in Turkey since the end of World War II. His article examines the reaction of Turkey to the existence of the Kurdish minority, and analyzes the relationship between the Kurds and the First Republic, the growth of the Kurdish movement, and the major Kurdish organizations. Van Bruinessen argues that while the organized Kurdish movement appears to have been defeated, it will take a long time for the increased ethnic and national awareness that it stimulated and represented to die out. (Joyce Blau/*AI* 8:364)

- 135 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Popular Islam, Kurdish Nationalism and Rural Revolt: The Rebellion of Shaikh Said in Turkey (1925)." In *Religion and Rural Revolt*. Edited by Janos M. Bak and Gerhard Benecke, 281-295. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

In this Chapter, Van Bruinessen suggests that the anti-Kemalist rebellion of the Kurds in 1925, few months after the Caliphate was abolished, was nationalist rather than religious, in spite of the leadership by Dervish *sheikhs*. In order to end this rebellion, the Turkish government was forced to mobilize 35,000 soldier who in two months pacified the region in a bloody bath. The leaders of the rebellion were executed, as well as other political opponents. The author did an excellent work here. His research is based on interviews held in Turkey, and on Turkish and English documents; the author brings unpublished and precise information about the distorted events. It is an important piece of work on what became to be known as "the rebellion of Sheikh Sa'id of Piran." (Joyce Blau/*AI* 7:413)

- 136 Olson, Robert. "The Defeat of the Kurdish Revolt at Mt. Ararat (1930) and the Role of the Turkish Air Force." *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 7, nos. 1-2 (1994): 17-20.

Although air power was one and, in some cases, the main coercive instrument of control for the British and French empires, little work has been done on the topic. There is even much less about the role of air forces and air power, especially air bombing, in the successor states on the British and French empires and in newly independent states created after World War I. This is true of the case of Turkey. In Turkey, particularly in the 1920s and for most of the 1930s, the development of the Turkish Air Force (TAF), was one of the most important achievements of the Turkish military forces. The most important objective of the Turkish military forces during this period was to restrain, control and destroy the Kurdish Nationalist movement, hence, the purpose and main topic of discussion of this paper.

- 137 Olson, Robert. "The Sheikh Said Rebellion in Turkey in 1925: Estimates of Troops Employed." *Turcica: Revue d'Etudes Turquies* 24 (1992): 263-275.

Reports by the Intelligence Service of the British Air Forces quartered at Mosul and Baghdad, enable the author to give precise details about the forces enlisted during the Sheikh Sa'id rebellion in eastern Turkey in 1925. In the Kurdish rebellious camp, the number of fighters can be evaluated at about 15,000. As for the troops which were sent by the Turkish government to launch repressive and mopping-up operations in the region, English sources provide an amount of 50,000 men as well as details on their arrangement in groups, their officering units and their armament.

- 138 Olson, Robert. "Kurds and Turks: Two Documents Concerning Kurdish Autonomy in 1922 and 1923." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 15, no. 2 (1991): 20-31.

On at least two occasions in the crucial period when the modern state of Turkey was being created, Kemal Ataturk made two references to the possibilities of Kurdish autonomy. These references, which have not been fully acknowledged by Turkey, occurred during the meeting on the evening of 16 January 1923, when Ataturk indicated to Kurdish representatives that he would consider a limited degree of autonomy, and an earlier meeting on 10 February 1922, when the Grand National Assembly discussed a draft law in which Kurdish autonomy was partly conceded. (D. M. Peers/HA: 44B-1107)

- 139 Olson, Robert. "The International Consequences of the Sheikh Said Rebellion." In *Naqshbandis: Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order*. Edited by Marc Gaoirieu, Alexander Popovic, and Thierry Zarcone, 379-406. Paris: Editions Isis, 1990.

- 140 Olson, Robert. *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925*. Introduction by William F. Tucker. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989. xix, 229 p. : ill. Bibliography: p. [213]-220. Includes index.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was crucial for the development of Kurdish nationalism. It coincided with the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), who emphasized Pan-Islamic policies in order to strengthen the Ottoman Empire against European and Russian imperialism. The Pan-Islamic doctrines of the Ottoman Empire enabled *sheikhs*--from Sheikh Ubaydallah of Nehri in the 1870s and 1880s to Sheikh Sa'id in the 1920s--to become the principal nationalist leaders of the Kurds. This represented a new development in Middle Eastern and Islamic history and began an important historical pattern in the Middle East long before the emergence of the religious nationalist leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran. This is the first work in any Western language dealing with the development of Kurdish nationalism during this period and is supported with documentation not previously utilized, principally from the Public Record Office in Great Britain. In addition, the author provides much new materials on Turkish, Armenian, Iranian, and Arab history and new insights into Turkish-Armenian relations during the most crucial era of the history of these two peoples. The book demonstrates categorically that the Kurds are most

emphatically a people with a 'history' in spite of the efforts of many countries at various times to "deny" the Kurds their political and national development.

- 141 Olson, Robert. "The Kocgiri Kurdish Rebellion in 1921 and the Draft Law for a Proposed Autonomy of Kurdistan." *Oriente Moderno* [Rome] 8 N.S. (January-June 1989): 41-56.
- 142 Olson, Robert, and William Tucker. "The Sheikh Sait Rebellion in Turkey (1925): A Study in the Consolidation of a Developed Uninstitutionalized Nationalism and the Rise of Incipient (Kurdish) Nationalism." *Die Welt des Islams* [Netherlands] 18, nos. 3-4 (1978): 195-211.

The rebellion of February 13, 1925 in the Kurdish districts of south-eastern Turkey under the leadership of the Naqshbandi Dervish and tribal leader, Sheikh Sa'id, acted as a catalyst of Kurdish nationalism, contributed to Turk-Kurd estrangement, and was a motivating factor in the rebellions of 1925, 1930, and 1938-39. The author discusses the causes of the rebellion and its role in the consolidation of Turkish nationalism, especially the suppression of the first opposition party in the Republic, the Progressive Party, founded on November 17, 1924. Secondary sources. (A. Menicant/HA: 28B-1000)

- 143 Yegen, Mesut. "The Turkish State Discourse and the Exclusion of Kurdish Identity." *Middle Eastern Studies* 32 (April 1996): 216-229.

According to the author, the present study emerged out of dissatisfaction with the standard view that the Turkish state discourse is an ideological narrative which misrepresents the Kurdish question and conceals the exclusion of Kurdish identity. This essay demonstrates that the Turkish state discourse instead enunciates the exclusion of Kurdish identity. Refusing to consider the exclusion of Kurdish identity as an 'extra-linguistic' practice and the discourse of the Kurdish state as a 'linguistic' epiphenomenon of that practice, this study contends that the Turkish state discourse has been the language of the exclusion of Kurdish identity. The case against the idea that the Turkish state conceals the exclusion of Kurdish identity rests on the conviction that there is an underlying connection between the identification of the Kurdish question with reactionary politics, tribal resistance and regional backwardness and the exclusion of Kurdish identity.

- 144 Zurcher, Erik Jan. *Turkey: A Modern History*. London ; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1994. xii, 381 p. : maps. Includes bibliographical references (p. [326]-343) and index.

The author has written a comprehensive and very readable history of modern Turkey. The book is divided into three parts that follow the author's periodization of the history of modern Turkey. Part I covers the period from the end of the eighteenth century to the Young Turks' ascendancy to power in 1908. Part II, "The Young Turk Era in Turkish History, 1908-1950," is arguably the best section of the book. It is devoted to domestic and international developments that accompanied the demise of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of the newly established Turkish Republic. Part III focuses on the achievements and problems of Turkey's experience with democracy since 1950. Zurcher provides an overview of the growth of democratic pluralism and rapid economic development amidst increasing social and political instability during four decades of competitive politics. He examines the changes and continuities in political parties and their leadership, the breakdown of Turkish democracy and the relatively brief periods of military rule in 1960, 1971, and 1980, and the emergence of extremist political movements belonging to the Marxist left, ultra-nationalist right, Islamic fundamentalism, and Kurdish separatism. In the concluding section, Zurcher discusses important trends in Turkish politics and foreign policy since 1980, such as democratization and economic liberalization, intensification of the Kurdish problem, and Turkey's involvement in Middle Eastern security issues as a result of its participation in the Allied Coalition during the 1991 Gulf War. (abridged, Sabri Sayari *MEJ* 49, Winter 1995: 148-149)

See also 2, 6, 13, 16, 17, 104, 111, 130, 247, 250, 269, 275, 317, 321, 326, 330-334, 336, 338

## Iran

- 145 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Kurdish Tribes and the State of Iran: The Case of Simko's Revolt." In *The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan*. Edited by Richard Tapper, 364-400. London: St. Martin's Press, 1983.

The Kurdish tribe have often played an important role in the history of Persia and contemporary Iran. Van Bruinessen, author of *Agha, Shaikh, and State*, traces the history of the insurrection which erupted at the beginning of the 1920s by Ismail Agha (Simko), head of the pow-

erful confederation of the Shikak tribes. Van Bruinessen presents a careful study of the evolution of the social and political organization of Kurdistan which was divided, until the beginning of the 20th century, between the Ottoman and Persian empires. With the arrival of the Europeans, the numerous Kurdish principalities, some of which were ancient and powerful, started to disintegrate, yet, at the same time, led to the emergence of Kurdish nationalism. Van Bruinessen introduces very interesting information on the development of inter-tribal relations within the Kurdish national movement. This information gives an original and convincing picture of the dynamics of the Kurdish national movement in today Iran. (Joyce Blau/*AI* 7:412)

- 146 Cottam, Richard W. *Iran and the United States: A Cold War Case Study*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, c1988. 298 p. (Pittsburgh series in policy and institutional studies). Bibliography: 275-288.

This book operates at three different levels. It is in some respects a sequel to Cottam's earlier work on Iranian nationalism, extending his analysis through the crucial first 10 years of the Iranian Revolution. It is also a critique of U.S. policy toward Iran since World War II, attempting to understand and explain the origins of U.S. behavior and attitudes toward Iran in the context of cold war perceptions. Finally, this book is a fresh retelling of the story of the Iranian Revolution and its aftermath, drawing on the author's own research and personal experience. (abridged, Gary Sick/*MEJ* 43, Summer 1989: 515)

- 147 Cottam, Richard W. *Nationalism in Iran*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964. ix, 332 p. : map. Bibliographical footnotes.

This is the first comprehensive and systematic study of Iranian nationalism. The first chapter admirably condenses much information, although excessive telescoping of events has made certain statements appear sweeping. Chapter Two analyzes the historical, cultural, linguistic and racial bases of Iranian nationalism while chapter Three treats its social base including the peasantry, labor, intelligentsia, commercial middle class and landlords. Chapters Four through Six take up the linguistic, religious and racial minorities as these affect the development of Iranian nationalism. These chapters shed much light on some of the basic social problems confronting Iranian nationalism. Chapters Seven through Nine deal with the problem of local particularism in historical depth. The tenth chapter stands out as a perceptive discussion of the problem of religion and politics in Iran. Discussion of the interplay of

nationalism with "imperialism," liberalism, communism and royal dictatorship" (chapters 11-17) sheds additional light on the development of Iranian nationalism. (abridged, Rouhollah K. Ramazani/*MEJ* 19, Spring 1965: 232-233)

- 148 Eagleton, William. *The Kurdish Republic of 1946*. London: Oxford University Press, 1963. 142 p. : ill. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Available in Arabic, French, and Turkish, this book is an account of the Kurdish Republic based primarily on interviews and field observations. It is the only full-length work dealing with the ephemeral Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in Iranian Kurdistan. The author, a U.S. foreign officer, reports on the rise and fall of the Republic, pointing out the role of the Soviet Union and relating the episode to the larger problem of Kurdish nationalism. The most interesting parts of the book are those concerned with the role of the Soviets, which should provide a warning to newly independent nations or those seeking independence who look to the Soviet Union for support. The Kurds discovered that they were merely a pawn in the major game the Soviets were playing in Iran as a whole, where their goals at the time of the setting up of the Kurdish Republic were either to detach and satellize the northeast provinces, or, communize the whole of Iran. Forced by the firmness of the West in insisting on evacuation of Soviet troops from Iran, and the weakness of their supporters, the Soviets retreated, at least temporarily, satisfying themselves for the time being with a promise of oil concessions, and cynically abandoned their friends, including the Kurdish nationalists. As Qazi Muhammad himself said, as quoted in the book, "The Kurds have not been defeated by the Iranian Army; rather it was the Soviet Union that was defeated by the United States and Great Britain. (abridged, Archibald B. Roosevelt, Jr./*MEJ* 17, Winter-Spring 1963: 165-166)

- 149 Entessar, Nader. "Causal Factors in Kurdish Ethnonationalism." *International Review of History and Political Science* 22 (May 1985): 57-80.

In this article, Entessar says that Kurdish nationalism has old roots and resists Islamic assimilation imposed on them by the new power in Iran. Territorially implanted, with a language largely practiced and a proper religion, the Kurds have been the object of discrimination which has strengthened their national conscience and their determination to defend themselves.



- 150 Ghods, M. Reza. *Iran in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989. Includes bibliographical references (p. 276-283) and index.

Two chapters are entirely devoted to the autonomous movements of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. The role of superpowers in their rise and fall is examined. Relations between the two republics are also discussed.

- 151 Koochi-Kamali, Fereshteh. "The Development of Nationalism in Iranian Kurdistan." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 171-192. London: Routledge, 1992.

The author examines the historical, social and economic background of the Iranian Kurds to help explain their persistent demands for ethnic and political recognition.

- 152 Lalevee, Thierry. "L'Iran en voie d'implosion." [Iran on Route to Implosion.] *Arabies* [Paris] (February 1993): 18-27.

Discusses socioeconomic and political problems in contemporary Iran, focusing on the Kurdish minority and other nationalist movements. It deals also with the erosion of political power, and expansionist policy in Islamic countries.

- 153 MacDonald, Charles G. "The Kurdish Challenge and Revolutionary Iran." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 13 (Fall-Winter 1989): 52-68.

The dynamic inter-relationship between the Kurds and the Islamic Republic's central government illustrates the struggle between Kurdish nationalists seeking greater freedom of action and the revolutionary government seeking to preserve the integrity of the Islamic state. An integral part of the Kurdish question is the degree of trans-border contact between governments and non-government political groups. The Kurds attempt to survive, their struggle with the Islamic Republic promises to continue indefinitely. (*IPSA*: 41-3300)

- 154 Povey, Terry. "The 'Open Wound' of Kurdistan." *The Middle East*, no. 69 (July 1980): 17-18.

The Kurds are suffering heavy losses in the second major round of fighting since the Iranian revolution. The Journal's correspondent,

Terry Povey, toured the hard-hit areas for this exclusive report to assess the chances of settlement.

- 155 Povey, Terry. "New Leaders on Kurdish Stage: Iran's Autonomy Seekers." *The Middle East* [London], no. 58 (August 1979): 41-42.

The Kurds of Iran have enjoyed *de facto* autonomy since the fall of the Shah and they are demanding that the situation should be officially recognized by the Islamic Republic of Ayatollah Khomeini--Povey visited Iranian Kurdistan and spent some time with the nationalist leaders. He describes the freedom the Kurds are enjoying and looks at the prospects for real Kurdish autonomy in Iran.

- 156 Ramazani, Rouhollah K. "The Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan and the Kurdish People's Republic: Their Rise and Fall." In *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers*. Edited by Thomas T. Hammond, 448-474. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975. Appears also in *Studies on the Soviet Union* [West Germany] 11, no. 4 (1971): 401-427.

Having witnessed earlier Soviet actions in Bulgaria, Poland, North Korea, and other areas where the Red Army had penetrated, observers in the West expected that Iran had lost its Azeri and Kurdish areas permanently when they were similarly occupied. But in 1946 the Red Army withdrew from Iran, and six months later Iranian troops moved into the northern areas, overthrowing the Azeri and Kurdish republics. Why did the Soviet Union relinquish the establishment of two Communist regimes in a neighboring country? Why did it choose this course of action in Iran while it was doing just the opposite in other countries? The Azeri and Kurdish regimes also represent cases of insurgency. What contributed to the rebellion of these two communal groups in Iranian society? Were these insurrections wholly created by the Soviets, or were they also influenced by conditions indigenous to the Iranian situation? What factors, on the other hand, contributed to the dramatic collapse of the two rebel regimes? Did they break up simply because the Red Army eventually withdrew, or were there also internal causes at work? These are the questions that this paper tries to answer.

- 157 Rejwan, Nissim. "The Kurds: Khomeini's Hidden Time Bomb." *Hadassah Magazine* (April 1980): 20-21, 28-29.
- 158 Roosevelt, Archie, Jr. *For Lust of Knowing: Memoirs of an Intelligence Officer*. 1st ed. Boston: Little, Brown, c1988. xiv, 500 p., [16] p. of plates: ill. Includes index.

The period of World War II and its immediate aftermath was a time of discovery for many Americans of the world of Islam, of the intractable problems of the Middle East, and of the resistance of the colonial powers to the idealistic American drive for colonial independence. Archie Roosevelt's book tells the first-hand story of one man's discovery of these realities. The book is the story of political discovery, a memoir by a member of a prominent American family, succinct summaries of history, and a sophisticated travelogue. Through it run the threads of a personal romance and of the experiences of an intelligence officer. In writing the book, Roosevelt had the benefit of notes, letters, and diaries that he wrote over many years. His quotes from these contemporary sources provide vivid pictures of conditions of life and the personalities of the regions he visited, including the impressive Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, his Syrian counselor Sheikh Yusuf Yasin, the dynamic young Habib Bourguiba, the less dynamic shah of Iran, and a host of Kurdish, Arab, and Iranian figures. Roosevelt discusses his experiences with the Kurds, particularly on Mahabad on pp. 248-288. (abridged, David D. Newsom/*MEJ* 42, Autumn 1988: 700-701)

- 159 Roosevelt, Archie, Jr. "The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad." *The Middle East Journal* 1 (July 1947): 247-269. Reprinted in *A People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan* (1993), pp. 122-138.

This article discusses the story of a small independent Kurdish state established in Mahabad in 1946 and lasted almost one year. The author, one of a few witnesses on the scene, describes the event that led to its establishment and fall.

- 160 Vali, Abbas. "Genese et structure du nationalisme kurde en Iran." (The Genesis and Structure of Kurdish Nationalism in Iran) *Peuples Mediterraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 143-164.

There is an influential body of opinion in Kurdish historical writing which traces the origins of the nationalist movement in Iranian Kurdistan to Sheikh Ubaydallah rebellion against the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century. This rebellion, it is contended, planted the seeds of modern nationalism in Kurdish which then developed in a cumulative process. This view of the genesis and development of Kurdish nationalism in Iranian Kurdistan is challenged. Kurdish nationalism in Iran is a modern phenomena, an outcome of the socioeconomic and cultural dislocations caused by the blighted and preserve modernity which followed the advent of the Pahlavi absolutism after the first World War. The Kurdish responses to the politics of territorial centralism and the

cultural process of the construction of a uniform Iranian "national" identity pursued by the Pahlavi State, defined the discursive and non-discursive conditions of formation of the nationalist movement, culminating in the republic of Mahabad.

See also 2, 6, 13, 17, 82, 104, 111, 130, 250, 269, 295, 350-352

## Iraq

- 161 'Ani, Khaled 'Abd al-Mun'im, al- (ed.). *The Encyclopedia of Modern Iraq*. Foreword by Khairallah Telfah. 3 vols. Baghdad: The Arab Encyclopedia House, 1977. [Text in Arabic and English.]

Volume II of this encyclopedia extensively surveys, from the government's point of view, the history of the Iraqi Kurds, their relations with the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party, and the Kurdish autonomous experience. In volume III, the author briefly outlines the Kurdish Scientific Academy, The University of Sulaimaniya, and the Student Union of Kurdistan.

- 162 Attar, Kerim Abdul-Razzak. *The Minorities of Iraq During the Period of the Mandate, 1920-1932*. Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, 1967. 228 p. DA 29 (September 1968): 947-A.

The purpose of the study is to examine the operation of the British mandate in Iraq insofar as it affected the relations of the minorities with the Iraqi Government. It also seeks to answer the question whether the mandate helped to resolve the minorities question in the country. It is thus primarily concerned with the question of the success or non-success of the mandate system in Iraq in the context of the roles of the League of Nations, the Mandatory Power, the Government of Iraq and the minorities themselves. The main finding of the study is that the policies pursued by Great Britain were largely ineffective in regard to the political integration of the more important minorities in the nation. The application of the mandate system to Iraq had the consequence of intensifying divisive tendencies in the country. The main part of the study begins with an examination of the constitutional position of the minorities under the provisions of Iraq's Organic Law of 1925. In this connection the law of personal status of the religious minorities and the cultural rights of the Kurds are emphasized. The handling of the minorities, particularly the Kurds and the Assyrians, by the national Government is then examined in the light of the national unification of the country.

- 163 Bengio, Ofra. "The Iraqi Kurds: The Struggle for Autonomy in the Shadow of the Iran-Iraqi Conflict." *Immigrants & Minorities* [Great Britain] 9 (November 1990): 249-268.

This article examines the intricate relationship between the Kurds of Iraq and the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. In the final analysis, the Kurds were both a major beneficiary but at the same time also a major loser from it. This situation became manifest during the Iraqi-Iranian war, which started in September 1980 and ended in August 1988. Hoping to manipulate the war in order to achieve a meaningful autonomy, the Kurds both received support from Iran and lent it their own in the fighting against Iraq. But at the end of the war, Iran dropped its erstwhile allies. The punishment that the Iraqi government meted to the Kurdish movement and the Kurdish population in general was unprecedented in its harshness and totality. Kurdish hopes for a meaningful autonomy were dashed.

- 164 [Eagleton, William.] "Iraqi Kurdistan: A Little-Known Region." *The World Today* 12 (October 1956): 417-432.

- 165 Edmonds, Cecil John. "The Kurds and the Revolution in Iraq." *The Middle East Journal* 13 (Winter 1959): 1-10.

Kurds, as Muslims, share Arab abhorrence of Jewish settlement of Israel, but they have no sympathy with pan-Arabism. At present the Kurdish press praises the revolution in Iraq. The return of Mulla Mustafa caught the popular imagination of the Kurds, yet, there is no reliable information to indicate what the Kurds in Iraq are thinking about. Many of the younger Kurds welcome the Russophile republicanism of General Qassim and hope for improvement under him.

- 166 Edmonds, Cecil John. "The Kurds of Iraq." *The Middle East Journal* 11 (Winter 1957): 52-62.

A brief history and survey of present conditions of the Kurds in Iraq, the only country where existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized.

- 167 Emanuelsson, Ann-Catrin. "Chasing the Rainbow: Historical and Economic Constraints Affecting Kurdish National Aspirations in Iraq." *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 8, nos. 1-2 (1995): 110-125.

- 168 Foucher, M. "Le Kurdistan d'Irak." [Kurdistan in Iraq.] *Heredote*, no. 50-51 (1988): 221-231.

With the help of some striking maps, explores the devastating recent events in Kurdistan which involves groups in areas of Iraq, Iran, and Turkey, and also small parts of Syria and Armenia. The political history of this part of the Middle East and the claims for a territorial Kurdistan are discussed.

- 169 Grimaldi, Fulvio. "The Kurds in Iraq: New Modus Vivendi." *The Middle East* [London], no. 43 (1978): 44-46.

Kurds suffered a crushing defeat in 1975 and since then Iraq has been trying to re-establish order in its northern region. Fulvio Grimaldi, after an extensive tour of Kurdish areas, looks at the progress which the Iraqi authorities have made in their program for Kurdish autonomy.

- 170 Hay, William Robert. *A Soldier in Kurdistan: Rupert Hay's Two Years in Kurdistan; with an Introduction by Paul Rich.* London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1921. Reprint. Cambridge: Allborough, 1991. 324 p.

A reprint with a new "Introduction" of the personal account of Hay's experiences while administering the largely Kurdish region of Arbil for the Indian Political Service from 1918 to 1920. The British authority at that time was trying to create a civil administration in the area after the collapse of the Ottoman rule.

- 171 Husry, Khaldun S. "The Assyrian Affair of 1933 (I) & (II)." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* [Great Britain] 5, no. 2 (1974): 161-176 and no. 3 (1974): 344-360.

Part I examines the circumstances of the Assyrian Christians in Iraq and their mentality which led to tensions between the Assyrians and the Iraqis and culminated in the 1933 massacre in Simel. Part II concludes the study of the massacre of the Assyrian Christians in the village of Simel in 1933; it discusses the consequences and various interpretations of the events. The work is based on archival material, especially from the British Foreign Office, and secondary sources. (R. B. Orr/HA: 21B-3723 and 22B-2193)

- 172 Ismail, Sadaf. "The Kurdish Problem in Iraq." *Pakistan Horizon* 44 (October 1991): 57-68.

Although the Kurds are the second largest ethnic community in Iraq, they have been deprived of their national rights. The Kurds have been at war with Baghdad since 1961. The Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) reached an agreement with the government for autonomy in 1971, but the central government did not fulfill the promise, and the war began again. That popular movement was ended on 6 March 1975 by the Algiers Agreement between Iraq and Iran. Since then, the Kurds have been fighting for self-determination under the banners of various political parties. (*IPSA*: 43-942)

- 173 Jawad, Sa'ad N. "Recent Developments in the Kurdish Issue." In *Iraq: The Contemporary State*. Edited by Tim Niblock, 47-61. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.

This is an update of the writer's chapter "The Kurdish Problem in Iraq" which appears in *The Integration of Modern Iraq*, edited by Abbas Kelidar, 171-182 (London: Croom Helm, 1979). After a short review of the historical background of the Kurdish issue in Iraq, this paper discusses the March 1970 Manifesto, which have a considerable boost to the Kurdish movement, and its aftermath. The 1974-75 Kurdish-Iraqi war, and the activities of the Iraqi Kurds in Iran are also discussed.

- 174 Khan, M. A. Saleem. *The Monarchic Iraq: A Political Study*. Aligarh, India: Aligarh Muslim University Press, 1977.

The present study covers the gradual emergence of different political forces, their polarization and conflict during the monarchic era. The study being interpretative and issue-oriented does not deal in detail narratively with political events as such. The main issues that have been discussed are: political culture, nation-building, national identity, colonialism, political parties, elections, tribal uprisings, urban protest, elite authoritarianism, military interventions, Western support to the ruling elites, elite conflict with counter-elites and the masses, and the impact of foreign environment on internal political development. They have been discussed in the changing milieu of Iraq during the monarchy.

- 175 Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley. *Iraq 1900 To 1950: A Political, Social, and Economic History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953. 436 p. : tables. Includes bibliographical references. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.]

Brigadier Stephen Longrigg's present book takes up the story where it was left in his *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, published in 1925. Iraq 1900 to 1950 represents an attempt to produce a satisfying history of the territory in our own times--a period treated hitherto only in partial and fragmentary studies and theses. Contrasts could hardly be more striking, within fifty years of a single country's record, than those between Turkish times before 1914, the last years of the age-long Turkish administration of Iraq, the First World War and its aftermath, the Iraqi Kingdom under Mandate, the early and troubled days of its Independence after 1932, the Second World War, and the post-war years of hope and development. All these receive full and critical treatment. Among phases of interest are the insurrection of 1920; the Mosul question and settlement; the Assyrian problem and the tragic episode of 1933; the abiding Kurdish question; the series of military coups d'état of 1936-1939; the attempt at usurpation by Rashid Ali and the Golden Square in 1941; Iraq's relations with the Arab League and with Palestine; the abortive Treaty of Portsmouth; and the rise of an impoverished nation to affluence thanks to its developed oil resources. At the same time, the dangers of political instability are not minimized, and the problems that remain to be solved in every sphere are described.

- 176 Sherzad, A. "The Kurdish Movement in Iraq: 1975-88." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 134-142. London: Routledge, 1992.

In this article, Sherzad briefly reviews the situation before 1975 and then examines the new urban-based leadership that has emerged following the collapse of the traditional social basis in 1975. The rush for the cities is evidenced by noting that Arbil, which four years ago had 400,000 inhabitants, now has [perhaps] 900,000. (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 137)

- 177 Simons, Geoffrey Leslie. *Iraq: From Sumer to Saddam*. Foreword by Tony Benn. New York: St. Martin's Press, c1994. xv, 406 p. Includes bibliographical references (p. 376-381) and index.

This book presents a broad history of Iraq, from the earliest times to the present, with particular attention to the emergence of modern Iraq in the twentieth century, the power struggles that led to the rise of Saddam Hussein, and such recent events as the Iran-Iraq war, the 1990-91 Gulf crisis, and the continuing depiction of Iraq as a 'pariah' nation. Some indication is given of the sufferings of the Iraqi people, not only as victims of a brutal regime but also at the hands of U.S.-led Western gov-



ernments more concerned with perceived strategic interests than with human welfare. Such crucial factors as the historical Western influence in the Middle East, the prolonged Western support for Saddam and the U.S. manipulation of the United Nations are profiled. Detailed information is included, much of it unsympathetic to Western propoganda, to encourage a deeper understanding and a deeper ethical perception of the 'Iraq Question.'

- 178 Sluglett, Peter. "The Kurds." In *Saddam's Iraq: Revolution or Reaction?* Committee Against Repression and for Democratic Rights in Iraq, CARDRI, 2nd ed., revised and updated, 177-202. London: Zed Books, 1989.

In this chapter, Peter Sluglett analyzes the history of the Kurds; the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad (1946); the political behavior of Iraqi Kurds between 1947 and 1958, during Qassim's rule, and under the Ba'th. It is a good summary on the modern history of the Kurds in Iraq. (Joyce Blau/*AI* 13:249)

- 179 Stathatos, John. "Indestructible Kurds." *Geographical Magazine* 48 (January 1976): 231-235.

- 180 Zeidner, Robert. F. "Kurdish Nationalism and the New Iraqi Government." *Middle Eastern Affairs* 10 (January 1959): 24-31.

The history of the Kurds as a distinct ethnic group can be traced back as far as 2500 B.C., but Kurdish nationalism is a comparatively recent development. After World War I the Kurds were distributed among five sovereign states, and the states' control over them tightened by prohibiting tribes from crossing frontiers. Police measures reduced Kurdish revolts in Iran and Turkey. The new government in Iraq tried to gain Kurdish support by appointing Kurds to high office. There can be little doubt of Kurdish antipathy to Arab nationalism and to possible absorption in an expanded UAR. (*IPSA*: 9-568)

- See also 2, 6, 13, 17, 104, 111, 130, 237, 247, 250, 259, 269, 275, 359, 365, 366, 368, 374, 376, 383, 384, 393, 395, 405, 413-421, 543

### The Kurdish War in Iraq, 1961-1975

- 181 Abdulghani, J. M. *Iraq & Iran: The Years of Crisis*. London: Croom Helm, 1984. 270 p.

This study examines and analyses Iraq's relations with Iran since the Ba'th party's accession to power in Iraq in 1968. Chapter Three of the book examines the underlying factors behind the onset of cold war and confrontation in the period 1969-75, with an emphasis on the major points of contention between the two countries such as the Kurdish problem. Special attention has been paid to the realm of political perceptions and its impact on the formulation of the foreign policy of both Iraq and Iran. Between 1969 and 1975 the Iraqi-Iranian confrontation centered around three major issues: (1) rivalry over the strategic Gulf region; (2) the perennial Shatt al-Arab boundary dispute; and (3) Iran's support for the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq. Chapter six discusses the Kurdish question in Iraq and the Ba'thist approach to this issue. The chapter also examines the scope and magnitude of the involvement of regional and extra-regional powers in the Kurdish rebellion and its effects on Iraq's foreign policy orientation.

- 182 Adamson, David C. *The Kurdish War*. New York: Praeger, 1964. 215 p. : ill., maps, ports.

A journalistic report commissioned by the London *Sunday Telegraph* which describes the author's preparation for his trip into Kurdistan in the fall of 1962, and his interviews with Mustafa Barzani and other Kurdish leaders outside of Iraq. The book discusses various aspects of the military and diplomatic campaigns with varying amounts of historical and cultural background of the Kurds. Adamson comes essentially to the conclusion: given today's practical world, it is desirable and still possible to negotiate an agreement leaving Iraq intact, with the Kurds as willing and silent partners in the state. If the Arabs continue to prolong the struggle, extremist elements among the Kurds will take over, making a federal solution impossible.

- 183 Dann, Uriel. "The Kurdish National Movement in Iraq." *Jerusalem Quarterly* (Israel) 9 (Fall 1978): 131-144.

The position of the Kurdish nation in Iraq is ambiguous. Assimilation within the Arab majority is possible, yet the essentials of national existence--self-identification, language, tradition, teaching, a compact territory--continue to exist. However, the Kurds are in a very precarious, in fact, a dangerous, situation. They are in the hands of a regime of whose state-craft some good may be expected, but none of its humanness or liberality. A moderate anarchy has been traditional for Kurdish society, but the government responds with brutality.

- 184 Edmonds, Cecil John. "The Kurdish National Struggle in Iraq." *Asian Affairs* 58 (June 1971): 147-158.

This article is generally a review of Ismet Cheriff Vanly's *La question nationale du Kurdistan irakien*, Neuchatel, 1970. After setting out the geographical, historical and cultural background to the Kurdish question, the four and a half years of the Qassim dictatorship and the nine months of the first Ba'thi regime are discussed at some length. Less space is devoted to "the institutions of the revolution," political, administrative and military, as they worked out during the second and the third armistices, and also to the four years from 1965 to 1969. A final section deals with the attitude of the Kurds and the Kurdish question of Turkey, Persia, Syria, the Arab World in general, other countries and the United Nations. (*IPSA*: 22-2180)

- 185 Edmonds, Cecil John. "Kurdish Nationalism." *Journal of Contemporary History* [Great Britain] 6, no. 1 (1971): 87-107.

The Kurd peoples presently are scattered among five nations, Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire after World War I and the development of new nations from it, failed to provide a Kurdish homeland. Nationalism immediately expressed itself wherever Kurds were found, usually with great violence, but rebellious tactics proved in-eficacious. The Soviet Union has declared itself to be a protector and advocate of Kurdish expectations, but has not failed to sacrifice them when it served its own interests. Recent anti-Kurdish activities in Iraq may have added fuel to the flames of Kurdish nationalism. The future of the movement remains unclear, but surely the last has not been heard of it. (V. Human/*HA*: 19B-1470)

- 186 Edmonds, Cecil John. "The Kurdish War in Iraq: A Plan for Peace." *Royal Central Asian Society Journal* 54 (February 1967): 10-23.

An address given to the Royal Central Asian Society on October 25, 1966. In it, the author describes the conflict between the Kurds and the Iraqi government, surveys the different solutions offered by both parties to the conflict, and suggests his own solution.

- 187 Field, Michael, and James Kinsman. "Iraq and the Kurds." *World Survey* [Great Britain], no. 22 (1970): 1-20.

The Iraqi economy is dependent on foreign-owned oil revenues, although a program is underway to gain national control. Industry is

virtually nonexistent. Agriculture, primarily subsistence, is the chief occupation. Foreign policy is essentially pro-Russian. Iraq has been vocal in opposition to Israel, but has contributed little of substance to the struggle. Iraq's position on the Persian Gulf has been undercut by Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Kurds represent a significant minority, regularly and ferociously in revolt. The most recent example resulted in a number of governmental concessions to the Kurds, including the establishment of an independent autonomous region for them, but practical implementation has not followed, except in a token sense. (V. L. Human/HA: 19B-2598)

- 188 Kelidar, Abbas. "Iraq: The Search for Stability." *Conflict Studies*, no. 59 (July 1975): 1-22.

In this article, the author explains the inherent political instability and violence of Iraq in light of the origins of the country as well as the fragmentation of the society. He also examines the role of the army as a unifying force. Then he discusses the ideology of the Ba'athists and the interaction of Ba'athism with other political forces. Kelidar also explicates the Kurdish problem and explains Iraqi alliance with Soviet Union, their disagreement with Syria over Palestinians, and, finally, the impact of oil politics.

- 189 O'Ballance, Edgar. "The Kurdish Factor in the Gulf War." *Military Review* 61 (June 1981): 13-20.

Describes the roles of the Kurds of Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and U.S.S.R. in Persian Gulf affairs in the past 20 years. Long troubled by divisions within their own movement, the Kurds have fought themselves as well as several national armies. With the start of the 1980 war between Iran and Iraq, the Kurds remain divided, fighting on both sides. If the Kurds unite, however, they could tip the balance of power in the region. (D. H. Cline/HA: 34B: 868)

- 190 O'Ballance, Edgar. *The Kurdish Revolt, 1961-70*. London: Faber & Faber, 1973. 196 p. : maps. Includes bibliographical references.

The Kurdish revolt, although confined to northern Iraq, played a considerable role in the domestic policy of Iran concerning the Kurdish minority's nationalist tendencies and most significantly in the Iran-Iraq relations which culminated in the 1975 Algiers Agreement between the Shah and the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, when the dispute between the two countries was settled. The book is divided into nine chapters:

the first three introductory and entitled "The Kurds," "The Rise of Kurdish Nationalism" and "Kurdish Nationalism Revived"; the next five devoted to the history of the revolt, leaving the final chapter to an assessment of retrospect and prospect. It also includes two appendixes. The first provides a brief synopsis of the twelve-point program for peace with the Kurds, broadcast by the Iraqi premier of the time, Abdul Rahman al-Bazzaz, on 29 June 1966. The second is a chronological summary. One of the drawbacks of the books is that the author does not tell the dates of his own three visits to Iraq, where exactly he went, or the names of the people he interviewed.

- 191 Rejwan, Nissim. "Kurds Rebel Against Iraq." *Hadassah Magazine* 55 (May 1974): 32-33.

It is commonly assumed that the Middle East is an Arab enclave. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Mideast is the home of many non-Arab peoples--Turks, Kurds, Copts, Armenians, Jews, Druzes, Assyrians, and others--a good many of whom have had the misfortune to learn the truth about the legend of Arab "tolerance" for minorities. The Assyrians and the Kurds especially have suffered at the hands of the Arab rulers of Iraq. The Kurds (who number well over eight million, two million of them in Iraq) have rebelled repeatedly against Iraq. Recently there have been renewed rumblings from the Kurdish areas of Iraq, and the Iraqis have had to deal with a minority whom they have never treated fairly. Nissim Rejwan, an Israeli journalist born in Iraq, points to recent developments generally overlooked by the world press in its coverage of the Middle East.

- 192 Santucci, Robert. "Irak: une solution a-t-elle ete trouvee au probleme kurde?" [Iraq: Has the Kurd Problem Been Solved?] *Afrique et L'Asie modernes* [France], no. 1 (1975): 3-21.

The Kurdish nation occupies the mountainous country lying in eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, western Iran, and extending into Syria and the U.S.S.R. It comprises nearly 8,5 million people, of which about 1,5 million are in Iraq. In 1970, the government of Iraq agreed to grant autonomy to the Kurds, but no agreement was reached on the boundaries of Kurdistan. After the expiration of a four-year period of transition, the Iraqi government unilaterally decreed the new statute for the autonomy of Kurdistan and proceeded to implement it. This action, however, has not led to the termination of hostilities between the Iraqi government and Kurd autonomists. Includes the text of 1974 autonomy statute. (J. S. Gassner/*HA*: 23B-834)

- 193 Schmidt, Dana Adams. "The Kurdish Insurgency." *Strategic Review* 2 (Summer 1974): 51-58.

The Kurdish people, some ten million strong, occupy areas of south-eastern Turkey, northeastern Iraq and northwestern Iran, with some spillovers in the Soviet Caucuses and in Syria. As a minority in every country, the Kurds have been subject to opposition or persecution of varying intensity under changing regimes. They have been promised independence or autonomy by powers seeking their support and have been as frequently betrayed. They are a tough, fighting people, led now by Mulla Mustafa Barzani, aged seventy-three, the head of a family long dominant in revolts of the past. Barzani looks to the United States for help in his conflict with the Iraqi Government. Kurdish culture and Kurdish nationalism are cultivated in the Soviet Union. Although the U.S.S.R must now side with its client Iraq, it holds a potential for championing Kurdish nationalism if and when that alternative becomes advantageous. As the pro-American Barzani passes from the scene, new leaders may turn to the Soviet Union unless a better alternative is offered them.

- 194 Schmidt, Dana Adams. "Recent Developments in the Kurdish War." *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 53 (February 1966): 23-31.

This the text of an address given by the author to the Royal Central Asian Society on November 9, 1965. It discusses the military development, noting the Kurdish strength; and the political development, noting Premier Abdul Rahman al-Bazzaz's efforts to deprive the Kurds from their Iranian and Egyptian support.

- 195 Schmidt, Dana Adams. *Journey Among Brave Men*. Foreword by William O. Douglas. 1st ed. Boston: Little, Brown, 1964. xiv, 298 p. : ill., maps, ports.

This book is written by an American journalist who made trips "behind the lines" to interview Mulla Mustafa and other Kurdish leaders. Schmidt of *The New York Times* visited the Mulla in August 1962 and twice again in 1963. He was able in Iraq to inspect military installations, observe some military action and talk with responsible party leaders. The author provides rather personal accounts of his hardships getting into and out of Kurdistan, as well as evaluations of Mulla Mustafa Barzani and other leaders. Schmidt presents a sympathetic yet balanced account of the Kurds' struggle. He portrays Barzani as a popular, almost legendary hero who has succeeded in uniting all Kurdistan, an

effective politician and military strategist, a sincere person and disposed to distrust the communists in spite of his sojourn in the U.S.S.R. The Kurds' goal is local autonomy within an Iraqi republic; that is, economic, governmental and social matters in Kurdistan would be administered by the Kurds, with Baghdad responsible for foreign affairs and national defense. Each succeeding regime in Baghdad has begun with promises of support for Kurdish claims, yet the Arabs have to date made no real concession to the Kurds. Schmidt sees eventual Kurdish victory; they desire now only an autonomous Kurdistan within an Iraqi federation and will not demand a Greater Kurdistan unless driven to it by Iraqi intransigence and un-realism. He concludes that the U.S. should support Kurdish desires, which are just, by applying gentle pressure on Baghdad to make it see reason and by assuring Turkey and Iran of our basic commitment to CENTO. Otherwise the Kurds may become desperate, unreasonable and dangerous. This account is readable, informative, discussing various aspects of the military and diplomatic campaigns with varying amounts of historical and cultural background. (abridged, Ernest N. McCarus/*MEJ* 20, Winter 1966: 116-117)

- 196 Vanly, Ismet Cheriff. *Le Kurdistan irakien: Entite nationale. Etude de la Revolution de 1961*. [Iraqi Kurdistan: National Entity. A Study of the Revolution of 1961.] Neuchatel: Editions de la Baconniere, 1970. 419 p. (Histoire et Societe D'aujourd'hui)

There is a central issue to the Kurdish problem, and it may be simply put: Kurds are different from Arabs in dress, language and culture; they want to remain different and to have their right to do so institutionalized. Those who have ruled in Baghdad have, almost without exception, held to the view that country must be governed from the capital. Local exercise of power-and particularly by non-Arabs-simply does not fit with the prevailing philosophy of a centralized, authoritarian system of government. The consequence has been recurrent fighting between the Kurds and the central government. Ismet Cheriff Vanly's book tells the tale of the latest and longest of these fights in modern times. He is not a neutral reporter; he has in fact been a long time spokesman and publicist for the Kurdish cause. He makes clear where his sympathies lie in asserting that "the Kurds are an oppressed people, whose struggle for liberty is a just one" (p. 10). It is primarily a political history of the Kurdish side of things in the decade since major fighting broke out in 1961. It quotes extensively from Kurdish documents relating to internal administrative affairs, to party matters and to dealings between Baghdad and the Kurds. Included also are a dozen important texts (translated from Kurdish) as appendices. In sum, this is a valuable book, basically

fair despite its author's commitment to the Kurdish cause, and an important contribution to understanding the reasons why these tough mountain men have hung together for ten years against larger and better armed forces, determined to secure a measure of autonomy for themselves. (abridged, John F. Devlin/*MEJ* 26, Spring 1972: 208-209)

- 197 Viotti, Paul R. "Iraq: The Kurdish Rebellion." In *Insurgency in the Modern World*. Edited by Bard E. O'Neill, William R. Heaton, and Donald J. Alberts, 191-210. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1980.

This is an updated version of the writer's chapter "Kurdish Insurgency in Iraq" which appears in *Political Violence and Insurgency: A Comparative Approach*, edited by Bard E. O'Neill, Donald J. Alberts and Stephen J. Rossetti, 327-357 (Arvada, Colo.: Phoenix Press, 1974). The book in which this chapter appears is one of those rare cases where an editor presents an analytic framework and the contributing authors use the framework in a consistent manner as they write their case studies. For this reason, the volume is a valuable comparative tool for understanding (and teaching) the nature of insurgency movements. The analytic framework offered by O'Neill in the opening essay posits six general variables to assist the reader in differentiating various strategies used by insurgents. The variables are popular support, organization, cohesion, external support, environment and the effectiveness of the government in responding to the insurgent movement. Added to these variables is a discussion of four insurgent strategies--Leninist, Maoist, Cuban and Urban. One of the case studies deal with Iraq: the Kurdish Rebellion.

- 198 Zaza, Nouredine. "Les Kurdes et l'accord d'Alger." [The Kurds and Algiers Accord.] *Travaux et Jours*, no. 56-57 (July-December 1975): 43-54.

The Kurdish people, divided politically between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, witnessed with great anguish the breakdown of the Kurdish revolution in Iraq, which was hoped to settle down their fate. Today, the Kurdish problem is still in existent, waiting for a solution through the fraternal democracy of Middle Eastern peoples.

See also 6, 7, 11, 13, 76, 87, 91, 100, 102, 103, 111, 119, 125, 126, 129, 131, 132, 172, 173, 177, 178, 179, 240, 245, 246, 250, 275, 363, 365, 366, 368, 374-376, 378-380, 399, 400, 408, 422, 431, 434, 441, 452, 457-459, 461-464



## The Kurds and Iran-Iraq War, 1980-1988

- 199 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "The Kurds Between Iran and Iraq." *MERIP/Middle East Report* 16 (July-August 1986): 14-27.

A survey of political developments involving the Kurds of Iran and Iraq during 1975-1985 with notes on the major political organizations. The Kurds remain divided by mutual distrust of tribal and urban Kurds, linguistic and other regional cultural differences, class contradictions, and political alliances with outside forces. These factors are seen at work in the guerrilla war in Iraq (resumed in 1976, only a year after the collapse of Barzani's movement), the political turmoil and guerrilla in post-revolutionary Iran, and the shifting alliances and oppositions between Kurdish groups in both countries under the impact of the Gulf War. Both Iran and Iraq support insurgent Kurdish parties in the neighbor country; Turkey intervened militarily in Iraqi Kurdistan. Iranian influence resulted in the emergence of religious-political groupings among the Kurds. During, and because of, the war three Kurdish organizations (PUK, KDP-Iraq and KDP-Iran) have consolidated themselves at the expense of the others. (*IPSA*: 37-3131)

- 200 Chubin, Shahram, and Charles Tripp. *Iran and Iraq at War*. London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1988. x, 318 p. Includes bibliographical references and index.

This book is written by professors Shahram Chubin and Charles Tripp of the Graduate School of International Affairs in Geneva, and the London School of Oriental and African Studies, respectively. A product of research, sponsored by the Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies at the Graduate International Studies in Geneva, the book manifests a scholarly effort to delineate the complex causes and effects of the Iran-Iraq war. Excluding the appendices, the volume is divided into twelve chapters, in which the origin of the Iran-Iraq war, its politico-economic impact upon both societies, and the varying roles of the regional and superpower nature are analyzed. The introductory chapter acquaints the reader with the behavioral sequences of the two warring nations and offers a brief generalized abstraction as to the conduct of war in human societies. In subsequent chapters, the writers expound the social, historical, and political peculiarities of these two neighboring states. Furthermore, the authors elucidate both past and contemporary national political exigencies that compel Iran and Iraq to wage war. (abridged, *Perspective* 18, Winter 1989: 29)

- 201 Eftekhari, Kaja. "Les Kurdes dans la Guerre Irak-Iran" [Kurds in the Iraq-Iran war.] *Afrique et L'Asie Modernes* [France], no. 148 (1986): 65-80.

Analyzes the positions of various Kurdish movements on both sides of the Iran-Iraq border with regard to independence and their attitudes toward the central governments in Tehran and Baghdad. Traces six phases in the war being fought on Kurdish lands between Iran and Iraq since its outbreak in 1980. (*HA*: 39-8905)

- 202 Grimaldi, Fulvio. "Kurds: Dawn Three: A Mountain Raid." *The Middle East*[London], no. 108 (October 1983): 24-25.

Fulvio Grimaldi visited the refugee camps built in northern Iraq for Iranian Kurds who had fled across the border, and talked to Iraqi and Kurdish officials about their subsequent destruction in Iran's 'Dawn Three' attack.

- 203 Khan, Faisal. "Ethnopolitics: The Kurdish Factor in the Iraq-Iran War." *Middle East Focus* 10 (Summer 1988): 22-26.

A pro-Iraqi government survey largely based on secondary sources and inadequate knowledge of Kurdish society and the nationalist movement. While Kurdish society has been, for centuries, a largely rural society with important urban centers, the author describes the Kurds as "essentially a tribal community" politicized by the Kurdish Democratic Party.

- 204 MacDonald, Charles G. "The Impact of the Gulf War on the Iraqi and Iranian Kurds." In *Middle East Contemporary Survey* 7 (1982-1983): 261-272.

- 205 Malek, Mohammed H. "Kurdistan in the Middle East Conflict." *New Left Review*, no. 175 (May-June 1989): 79-94.

A recurrent theme in the long struggle of the Kurdish movement has been to play off the sovereign states of the foreign and enjoy a state of semi-autonomy. While this might have been a useful and effective tool during the 19th century, the effect of this reliance on outside support for the Kurdish movements during the latter part of the present century has been disastrous. The paper updates the Kurdish movement up to Halabja tragedy in March 1988 and asserts that the concrete conditions of the situation at this juncture are very different with what prevailed in

Kurdistan during the 1940s. A realistic appraisal of achievable goals is suggested to take account of these developments. (*IPSA*: 40-5950)

- 206 Yapp, Malcolm. "'The Mice Will Play': Kurds, Turks and the Gulf War." In *The Gulf War: Regional and International Dimensions*. Edited by Hanns Maull and Otto Pick, 103-118. London: Pinter Publishers, 1989.

See also 6, 11, 17, 91, 105, 111, 119, 124, 163, 168, 176, 189, 250, 252, 253, 267, 374, 409, 522

### **The Kurdish War in Turkey, 1984-**

- 207 Button, Stephen H. "Turkey Struggles with Kurdish Separatism." *Military Review* 75 (December 1994-February 1995): 70-78.

The Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) is a militant, separatist organization that aims to create an independent Kurdistan in the Turkish state of Anatolia. Turkey must confront the combined effects of terrorism, ethnic conflict and criminal activity in combating the PKK. Examining how Turkey integrates military forces with internal security forces suggest operational concepts for operations other than war missions.

- 208 Criss, Nur Bilge. "The Nature of PKK Terrorism in Turkey." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 18 (January-March 1995): 17-37.

This study is undertaken to evaluate the profile of the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) and Kurdish political behavior separately in an attempt to distinguish the Kurdish issue from terrorism. PKK's profile has changed between 1978, when it was founded and now, depending on Turkey's internal politics as well as the changing international environment. Basically, it started out as a Marxist-Leninist separatist organization, but by 1990 switched to demanding a federation of Kurds and Turks, and simultaneously bidding for a role in an independent Kurdistan comprising southeastern Turkey and northern Iraq. PKK's only consistent policy is to have remained a Marxist-Leninist organization so far. The first part of this article addresses the roots, objectives, and methods of the PKK. The second part assesses the problem within Turkey's domestic environment, with a focus on whether PKK truly represents Turkey's Kurds. The third section tries to answer the question of who provides the logistical and financial support for PKK, thereby exploring the issue's international dimensions. The last section

evaluates prospects regarding a "political solution" to the problems of the southeast, which is now being voiced in both Turkey and Western capitals.

- 209 Gunter, Michael M. "The Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 13 (Summer 1990): 57-81.

Describes the organization and history of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK), the major Kurdish separatist group operating in Turkey, discussing the continuing clashes between the PKK and Turkish authorities which have led to widespread civilian suffering. (D. M. Peers/HA: 42B-5474)

- 210 Gunter, Michael M. "Kurdish Militancy in Turkey: The Case of PKK." *Crossroads*, no. 29 (1989): 43-59.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the escalating guerrilla campaign the Marxist Workers' Party of Kurdistan has launched in southeastern Anatolia, the less than successful response of the Turkish government, certain international aspects and, finally, some tentative conclusions.

- 211 Kristiansen, Wendy. "Turkey: The Other Kurds Have Their Say." *The Middle East* [London], no. 202 (August 1991): 19-20.

International attention has been monopolized by the plight of the Iraqi Kurds. Meanwhile, however, Kurds in Turkey have been pursuing their own struggle for self-expression. Kristiansen, who recently visited south-eastern Turkey, reports that they are seeking their rights under very different conditions from their brothers over the border.

- 212 Kutschera, Chris. "Qui sont ces combattants du PKK?" (What is the PKK.) *Les Cahiers de l'Orient*, no. 30 (1993): 57-68.

The author summarizes the history of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK), the Kurdish party created in 1974. Unlike other Kurdish parties, the PKK advocates and engages in armed struggle.

- 213 Marcus, Aliza. "With the Kurdish Guerrillas." *Dissent* 41 (Spring 1994): 178-181.

The experience of a woman journalist with Kurdish guerrillas of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) in the Judi mountains of Turkey is

described. The Marxist-Leninist PKK is a ten thousand strong guerrilla group, fighting to control southeast Turkey, which contains millions of Kurds. The guerrillas comprise young teenagers, fighting to establish their identity and for socialism. Unless the Turkish government cooperates, many more Kurds are likely to raise their arms in battle.

- 214 Marcus, Aliza. "The Kurds and the Turks." *Dissent* 40 (Winter 1993): 16-19.

The conflict between the Worker's Party of Kurdistan (PKK) and the Turkish military has been ongoing for eight years, with the situation being aggravated by the government's violation of human rights. The installation of a democratic government failed to check human rights abuses and to institute reforms in the Constitution and the Penal Code. On the other hand, the Kurds have not given up their struggle to establish a federal state and an end to emergency rule and military abuses.

- 215 Marcus, Aliza. "The Other Turkish Revolt: Ethnic Fractionalism." [Civil war in Turkey] *Commonweal* 119 (November 20, 1992): 9-10.

Tension between the Workers' Party of Kurdistan and the Turkish military has caused much fighting and human rights abuses since 1984. The government pledged to help resolve the conflict but has not exerted much effort.

- 216 Maubec, Paul. "On to the Bitter End." *The Middle East* [London], no. 229 (December 1993): 11-12.

The Secretary General of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK), Abdullah Ocalan, is preparing to fight a bloody war against the Turkish government in 1994. The civil war in southeast Turkey has resulted in 10,000 deaths since 1984; 1,600 died between May 1993 and mid-October 1993. The PKK has over 15,000 soldiers, many of whom are young girls which Ocalan hopes will double in preparation for the Kurdish New Year on March 21, 1993. The Turkish National Security Council views the Kurds as assassins and is unwilling to concede to any concessions.

- 217 More, Christiane. "Les Kurdes, une fois encore oubliés: Poursuite de la violence armée en Turquie." [The Kurds Forgotten Again: Pursuit of Armed Violence in Turkey.] *Le Monde Diplomatique* [Paris] 37 (December 1990): 17.

Writing in the middle of the Gulf crisis with newly formed alliances and hostilities developing in the area, the author wondered about the future of 20 million Kurds living between the borders of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, those borders once described as the "burning scars of a colonial divide." Crushed in Iraq and Iran, they live in Turkey under the brutal repressive rule of a state of emergency proclaimed by the central government. The author describes aspects of the continuous repression in Kurdistan but believes that Turkey's eager participation in the Western anti-Iraq alliance during the Gulf crisis makes most unlikely.

- 218 Rugman, Jonathan. "Turkey's 'Wild East': War with the Kurds Drags on with Little Notice." *IPI Report* (April-May 1996): 16-17.

A war photographer recalls the inhibiting experience of covering the long drawn conflict in Turkey's south east, home to separatist rebels of the Kurdistan Workers' Party. Pictures of the Kurds predicament elicited world wide sympathy at the height of the Gulf War and the establishment of a 'safe haven' on the Turkish-Iraqi border. Media coverage has slackened in recent years and instances of under-reporting are rife. The human cost of the on-going crisis is enormous and calls for more urgency in reporting it.

- 219 Skutel, H. J. "Turkey's Kurdish Problem." *International Perspectives* [Canada] 16 (1988): 22-25.

The Kurds, a culturally and linguistically homogenous people located in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, have pursued self-determination from various regimes for over a century. Kurdish separatists, considered a serious threat to Turkey's unity, are now divided into factions aligned variously with Iraq, Iran, or the Soviet Union, and have engaged the Turkish military in a guerrilla war since 1984. The Turks, who have in the past brutally repressed the Kurds, have reassessed their attitude, and have developed a 30-year plan to reverse the economic stagnation of the Kurdish provinces. This is a step in the right direction, but it must be accompanied by a forthright acceptance of Kurdish culture and language. (E. S. Palais/HA: 40B-1217)

- 220 Verrier, Michel. "Kurdes: Le dilemme turc." [The Kurds: Turkey's Dilemma.] *Cahiers de l'Orient*, no. 30 (1993): 49-56.

The Kurdish question remains Turkey's main domestic and international vulnerability. The recent election of M. Demirel as president of

the republic might lock Turkey into positions on the Kurdish issue which are unlikely to resolve the conflict.

- 221 Vidal-Hall, Judith. "Enter the Army." *Index on Censorship* 24 (July-August 1995): 15-16.

The prime minister of Turkey, Tansu Ciller, has stressed the development of a democratic civil society in spite of opposition from the army and has proposed that democracy could be the solution to the Kurdish problem. After the statement by the army opposing amendment of the 8th article of the Constitution, Ciller is left with very few options. The army has occupied a major territory along the Turkish-Iraqi border and around 3000 Iraqi Kurds have fled from Turkey. The army claims that building up PKK forces in Iraq is the only solution to Turkish Kurdistan.

- 222 White, Paul. "The March 1990 Uprising in Turkish Kurdistan & Its Effects on Turkish Politics." *Kurdish Times* 4 (Summer-Fall 1991): 97-106.

- 223 Yavuz, M. Hakan. "Turkey's 'Imagined Enemies': Kurds and Islamists." *The World Today* 52 (April 1996): 99-101.

Turkey is rived by the movements of fundamentalist Islamism, Kurdish nationalism and Kemalist Turkish nationalism. Turkish society is divided into different cultures and smooth government is unlikely in view of the country's chronic economic and foreign relations problems. The 1980 military coup led to a greater connection of church and state. The country's future depends on its ability to remain a democracy which can accommodate different cultures and religions.

- 224 Zaman, Amberin. "Kurds on the Run." *The Middle East* [London], no. 245 (May 1995): 7-9.

Western nations expressed their total disapproval of Turkey's invasion of northern Iraq to seek out guerrillas from the Kurdistan Workers' Party. The Turkish government justified its action by saying that it had been planning the military action to last for only a few weeks. However, the rebels have already moved further within the border and may take longer than a few months to flush out. Reports of harm to civilians caused Germany to withdraw a military grant and the U.S. to ask for a deadline for a pullout of troops.

- 225 Zaman, Amberin. "Kurds at the End of the Road." *The Middle East* [London], no. 223 (May 1993): 8-10.

Turkey's Kurdish guerrillas, battered by military setbacks and abandoned by their foreign allies, have called for a truce in their decade-long war against the government. The leader of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan, Abdullah Ocalan, called for a cease-fire in late March 1993 on condition that the Turkish government meet party demands for a federal setup for the country's 12 million Kurds. Despite the truce offer however, hard-liners on both sides could still derail any peace process.

- 226 Zaman, Amberin. "Caught Between Two Fires." *The Middle East* [London], no. 217 (November 1992): 13-14.

The Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has heightened its terrorist activities against Turkey's ten-month old coalition government. With these developments, both the Kurds and Turkish citizens have increased their support for the rebels and the security forces, respectively. Another group called Hizbullah or Party of God is being suspected of murdering Kurdish supporters. Although President Turgut Ozal has been speaking of a cease-fire, Prime Minister Suleiman Demirel's total war policy makes peace seem like a far-fetched possibility.

See also 6, 11, 16, 91, 107, 111, 119, 241, 250, 287, 304, 308, 310, 313, 315-318, 321, 322, 326, 329, 332, 333, 336, 337, 341, 342, 343, 345-347, 349, 478, 482, 485, 486

### **The Kurds and the Gulf War, 1991-**

- 227 'Abd al-Jabbar, Faleh. "Why the *intifada* Failed." In *Iraq Since the Gulf War: Prospects for Democracy*. Edited by Fran Hazelton for The Committee Against Repression and for Democratic Rights in Iraq (CARDRI), 97-117. London: Zed Books Ltd., 1994. Appears also, under the title "Why the Uprisings Failed" in *Middle East Report 22* (May/June 1992): 2-14.

The roots of the failure of the Iraqi 1991 March uprising can be found in the period of the war between Iraq and Iran, when the opposition developed a belief that war and revolution were indivisibly linked. The Iraqi opposition underestimated the extent to which Saddam Hussein had succeeded in forging a new Iraqi patriotism of national self-defense. The opposition was unprepared for the spontaneous and popular uprisings of March 1991. In that lack of preparation lay some seeds of



the rebellion's failure. This article explores the first Gulf war and the opposition, exhaustion of Iraqi patriotism, exhaustion of the Iraqi army, regime fantasies, opposition blindness, and the rise up of the people. It concludes that the rightful condemnation of U.S. schemes and hidden agendas should have been complemented by a defense of the Iraqi people's legitimate right to democratic freedoms and their right to decide matters of peace and war. (PSA 92-03873)

- 228 Bordewich, Fergus M. "To Save a People." *Reader's Digest*, no. 140 (May 1992): 56-63.

For more than a decade, the Kurds in Iraq have endured a hellish reign of terror at the hands of Saddam Hussein. When President Bush called on Iraqis to overthrow the dictator at the end of the Gulf War, Iraqi Kurds responded instantly. Taking up arms, they drove Saddam's troops from key point in northern Iraq. It appeared as if they would at long last win their freedom. But the U.S.-led coalition inexplicably allowed Saddam to counter-attack. Nearly two million Kurds fled from their lowland villages into the mountains and into Turkey and Iran. Thousands died before coalition pressure compelled Saddam's troops to retreat. The Allies promised safety to those survivors who would return to their devastated villages. *Reader's Digest* roving editor, Bordewich recently travelled over a thousand miles through Kurdish territory in northern Iraq. The situation, he reports, is desperate. Allied air patrols--all that remains to protect the Kurds from Saddam's menacing armies--are scheduled to end in June. Here is the tragic story of a noble people whose survival hangs in the balance. (abridged)

- 229 Bradshaw, David. "After the Gulf War: The Kurds." *The World Today* 47 (May 1991): 78-80.

The Middle East's 20-25 million Kurds are the region's fourth-biggest ethnic group and the biggest in the world without a state of their own. Yet, they live as repressed minorities in states run by nationalist Turks, Iranians and Iraqis. Since the 1880s repression has produced almost continuous series of Kurdish revolts which invariably ended in defeat, and catastrophe for Kurdish civilians. The collapse of the March 1991 rebellion in Iraqi Kurdistan, which followed Iraq's expulsion from Kuwait, led an estimated 2 million Iraqi Kurds to flee to Turkey and Iran. The very scale of the tragedy may however have produced a critical breakthrough, turning the Kurdish question from a refugee problem into an international political and moral issue. For the first time, the

Kurdish question has been raised in the UN Security Council. (*IPSA*: 42-983)

- 230 Gearing, Julian. "Tough to Tear Apart." *The Middle East*, no. 217 (November 1992): 10-11.

With outside powers dictating "exclusion zones" in the Kurdish north and Shi'a south, Iraq is inevitably subject to centrifugal forces. If the country is dismembered, it will be nothing new in the Middle East. However, Julian Gearing writes that Iraq is far from being torn apart yet.

- 231 Gowing, Nik. "The Media Dimension, I: TV and the Kurds." *The World Today* 47 (July 1991): 111-112.

In the Gulf War and its aftermath, the world witnessed a new and unprecedented power of television images. Television reported the glory of a "brilliant military victory." It then went on to record the humanitarian catastrophe which the combined wisdom of military and political planners had failed to predict. Television forced the hands of Western politicians: they could not ignore the horror of the Kurdish catastrophe which unfolded hourly on their television screens. The images forced urgent action. Television laid bare the inadequacies of the politics and the plans which had been drawn up to fight the war. (*IPSA*: 42-798)

- 232 Haberman, C. "The Kurds: In Flight Once Again." *The New York Times Magazine* (May 5, 1991): 32-37+.

- 233 Harriss, John (ed.). *The Politics of Humanitarian Intervention*. London: Pinter Publishers, 1995. xiii, 190 p. Includes bibliography and index.

Problems of the international system for humanitarian assistance and options for its reform; some focus on UN operations in Somalia and on behalf of the Kurds in Iraq. Published in association with the Save the Children Fund and the Centre for Global Governance.

- 234 Hunter, Shireen T. "Two Years After the Gulf War: A Status Report on Iraq and the Region." *Security Dialogue* 24 (March 1993): 21-36.

Questions are being raised whether the time has come to reconsider the strict sanctions against Iraq and try to find new means of coping with the "Saddam" problem and ease the suffering of the Iraqi people. The

economic and human costs of the sanctions have been horrendous. The Iraqi Government has also manipulated the distribution of food, thus aggravating the situation further. Saddam Hussein has been able to maintain the loyalty of the Army. A *de facto* disintegration of Iraq has taken place, with the effective separation of the Kurdish area while the regime largely maintains control in the Shi'a South and in the Sunni heartland. Divisions among various political opposition groups remain deep. It seems unlikely that the Iraqi opposition will be able to establish a viable alternative to Hussein in the foreseeable future. Some states hope that sanctions will help to oust Saddam Hussein from power. But this policy has prevented a discussion of several difficult issues, including whether removal of Hussein is compatible with maintenance of Iraq's territorial integrity.

- 235 Keen, David. *The Kurds in Iraq: How Safe is Their Haven Now?* London: Save the Children, 1993. 74 p. : ill. [Includes an executive summary of 11 pages.] Includes bibliographical references.

Chapter 1 details how Kurdish nationalist aspirations were encouraged and then jettisoned several times in the 20th century, particularly in the 1920s, 1970s and after the Gulf War. Chapter 2 investigates the adequacy of international efforts to protect the Kurds after the collapse of their revolt in March-April 1991. It also investigates how this protection has been significantly eroded. Chapter 3 discusses the inadequacy of assistance and its implications on the Kurdish population in Iraqi Kurdistan. Chapter 4 explores the links between protecting and assisting the Kurds. There can be no lasting protection without adequate assistance, and there can be no adequate assistance and development without proper protection. Chapter 5 looks at some practical ways of improving protection and assistance in the context of ongoing conflict between the Kurds and the government of Iraq.

- 236 Kutschera, Chris. "Kurdistan: On the Brink of War." *The Middle East* [London], no. 205 (November 1991): 13-15.

Iraqi troops are steadily encroaching on Kurdish territory in the north of the country now that allied ground forces have been withdrawn. Talks between the Kurds and the central government have all but broken down. Chris Kutschera has just returned from the area south of the so-called allied "protection zone" and reports on the dilemma of the Kurds.

- 237 Nezan, Kendal. "Une croix sur les Kurdes." [A Cross on the Kurds.] *Politique internationale* 51 (Spring 1991): 133-144.

Saddam Hussein has never hidden his intentions to unite the Arab World. The Kurds were the first to suffer from this forced arabization throughout the last 20 years. The Iraqi Ba'athist regime did not hesitate to create all the necessary conditions for the elimination of the Kurdish minority in Iraq.

- 238 Sahagun, Felipe. "The New Kurdish Protectorate." *European Journal of International Affairs* 12, no. 2 (1991): 82-106.

The author argues that the recent Kurdish tragedy is a direct consequence of the "Desert Storm," but Saddam Hussein and the Kurdish leaders bear responsibility as well. It is the responsibility of the Iraqi leader because he did not respect his promises of autonomy for the Kurds and had launched a terrorist assault against them leading to grave dissensions in Iraq. It is the responsibility of the Kurdish leaders because they accepted an active support from the West to revolt against the central government.

- 239 Shackelford, Collins Guyton. *The Politics and Dilemmas of Humanitarian Assistance (Operation Provide Comfort, Operation Sea Angel, Operation Restore Hope, Military Operations, Disaster Relief)*. Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1995. 436 p. DAI 57, no. 4 (1996): 1826-A.

This study examines three post-Cold War humanitarian relief efforts that included significant levels of military forces. It analyzes the role and effectiveness of military forces in the following three cases: Operation Provide Comfort (Kurdistan, 1991), Operation Sea Angel (Bangladesh, 1991), and Operation Restore Hope (Somalia, 1992). The analysis examines each case over the three phases of entry, execution, and termination of the military involvement. Additionally, the analysis draws on a typology that employs the concepts of "consent" and "level of violence." While traditional humanitarian assistance relies on the consent of the host country, the post-Cold War environment suggests a more turbulent arena for these emergency operations. Therefore, the consent or invitation of a host nation is no longer a fixed commodity. Additionally, the more assertive politicians and analysts reject the idea of humanitarian assistance as simply disaster relief, these politicians and analysts suggest that military forces should forcefully deliver humanitarian assistance in times of intrastate conflict. This is the reasoning behind the second dimension of the typology, "level of violence." This study concludes that military forces have the potential to make significant contributions to the humanitarian relief network.

They can close the gap between the needs of the emergency and the capabilities of the traditional network, yet military forces are a “short-term” response that must also overcome the “neutrality dilemma.” Military forces will also stress “security” functions over humanitarian relief activities when the environment is nonpermissive and there is a threat of violence to the responding forces. While military forces traditionally rely on coercion and physical violence to effect change and control territory, this study notes the employment of negotiations and bargaining to relax the humanitarian security dilemma. The threat of violence may have been necessary for the shift in the security dynamic, but it was not a sufficient condition. Negotiations by military and civilian authorities were needed to gain and maintain access to the areas targeted for humanitarian relief. Military forces are not a *deus ex machina* for the traditional humanitarian relief network.

see also 6, 16, 17, 91, 99, 107, 111, 119, 121, 124, 172, 246, 250, 288-291, 294, 362, 367, 371-374, 385-387, 389, 403, 410, 423, 427, 431, 435, 439, 440, 445, 554

## CHAPTER 4

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# POLITICS

### NATION-STATES AND KURDISH NATIONALISM

#### General

- 240 Andrews, F. David (ed. and introd.). *The Lost Peoples of the Middle East: Documents of the Struggle for Survival and Independence of the Kurds, Assyrians, and other Minority Races in the Middle East*. Salisbury, N.C.: Documentary Publications, 1982. 171 p. : ill.

This book is composed of transcriptions of documents previously classified as confidential and secret materials in the U.S. National Archives, 1945-1950. The subject matter of the documents is mainly concerned with the Iraqi Kurds and Assyrians.

- 241 Bolukbasi, Suha. "Ankara, Damascus, Baghdad, and the Regionalization of Turkey's Kurdish Secessionism." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 14 (Summer 1991): 15-36.

The author examines the regionalization of Turkey's Kurdish problem, i.e., the cooperation between the Turkish *Partia Karkaren Kurdistan* (PKK) and the Iraqi Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), and Syria's assistance to them. Kurdish nationalist parties have in the past operated independently, and there has been little coordination in political and military action between them. This state of affairs began to change during the Gulf War, which led to cooperation between these parties. When Turkey began to intervene in northern Iraq to fight the PKK and occasionally its ally the KDP, the problem really became a regional one. Syria, the major patron of the PKK as well as of the KDP has encouraged their cooperation.

The Syrian role thus explains why the KDP, which has traditionally avoided involvement in Turkish affairs, chose to side with the PKK. (The author) also tries to assess whether the regionalization of the problem is a temporary phenomenon or whether it is here to stay for the foreseeable future. (*IPSA*: 42-979)

- 242 Bozarslan, Hamit. "Etats et modes de gestion du probleme kurde le mouvement kurde." (States and Modes of Management of the Kurdish Problem) *Peuples Mediterraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 185-214.

In four of the states concerned by the Kurdish problem, three do not recognize the tenet of the existence of a Kurdish feature (Syria, and until recently Turkey), or recognize it in a restrictive way (Iran). Only Iraq has formally established a framework but an administrative one. Usually, state violence remains, in the four countries, the principal elements for the management of the Kurdish problem, specially when it engenders a movement of violent opposition (revolt or guerrilla), or when the state coercion must nevertheless combine itself with a certain redistribution of goods, population or some of its segments are willing partners. These goods are economical, political (even military and cultural).

- 243 Bozarslan, Hamit. "La regionalisation du probleme kurde." [The Regionalization of the Kurdish Problem.] In *La Nouvelle Dynamique au Moyen-Orient*. Edited by Elizabeth Picard, 174-191. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993.
- 244 Bring, Ove. "Kurdistan and the Principle of Self-Determination." *German Yearbook of International Law* 35 (1992): 157-169.

The implications of self-determination do not warrant the conclusion that an absolute right to form an independent Kurdish state can be maintained; however, there is a strong legal case for self-determination in some form, and central governments in the region ought to respond in a positive manner to the realization of an acceptable solution. It is not possible to exclude a political process aimed at statehood nor secession as a legal right. The subjection of a people to "intolerable discrimination" within a state has been referred to as a ground for secession. (*IPSA*: 43-6240)

- 245 Buchheit, Lee. *Secession: The Legitimacy of Self-Determination*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978. xi, 260 p. : ill. Includes bibliographical references and index.

The author deals with implications for the international community of appeals to the principal of self-determination by secessionist groups within independent states. When these secessionist movements erupt into open warfare, they may constitute a serious threat to international peace. Where the secessionist group is a minority and a victim of oppression, violations of human rights, or of genocide, international concern may be generated. Case studies are presented of Katanga, the Kurds, Biafra, the Somali-Kenya/Ethiopia dispute, the Nagas and Bangladesh, and some suggestions are offered for establishing the legitimacy of secessionary movements.

- 246 Chand, Attar. *Muslims and the Third World Politics*. New Delhi, India: Anmol Publications, 1993. xv, 208 p. : tables.

- 247 Ciment, James. *The Kurdish Struggle: Turkey, Iraq, and Iran*. New York: Facts on File, c1996. (Conflict and Crisis). Includes bibliographical references and index.

- 248 Cruickshank, A. A. "International Aspects of the Kurdish Question." *International Relations* 3 (October 1968): 411-430.

This article discusses Kurdish communities in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and U.S.S.R., and their nationalistic drive since 1919 to achieve creation of an independent Kurdistan. It reviews the Kurdish movement in each country, finding Iraq the only Muslim country which recognizes Kurds officially with constitutional rights. The article also considers the absence of Kurdish middle class and recent emergence of Kurdish intelligentsia.

- 249 Edmonds, Cecil John. *Kurds, Turks, and Arabs; Politics, Travel, and Research in North-Eastern Iraq, 1919-1925*. London ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. 457 p. : ill. Bibliography: p. [436]-437.

This book, covering the period from 1919 to 1925, is the first installment of the author's diaries and notes based on his long experience in Iraq, first as an officer under the British administration, and later, in the service of the Iraqi government, as an advisor to the Ministries of Interior and Foreign Affairs. This book is more than a mere record of the author's experiences during 1919-1925. It combines a study of the



geography of Iraqi Kurdistan, based on the author's extensive travels and study, and an intimate knowledge of the history, customs and manners of the people and their leading personalities. The author also records and assesses the services of his colleagues and predecessors as administrative officers of north-east Iraq under both the British and Iraq administrations. As a detailed study of the geography and people of this part of Iraq, the book has an added value to the scholar who needs an accurate and detailed study of Iraqi Kurdistan. No less significant a feature of the book is the account of British policy aimed at frustrating the separatist tendencies among the Kurds, led by Sheikh Mahmud, in order to make possible the integration of south Kurdistan, ceded by Turkey under the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), with Iraq. Mr. Edmonds discusses not only the methods used to prevent Sheikh Mahmud from realizing his ambition, but also his own role in carrying out such a policy successfully to Iraq's advantage. The author makes no apology for his opposition to Sheikh Mahmud, justified only, it seems, by *raison d'être*; but Mr. Edmonds does not allow in his account the interpretation that Sheikh Mahmud's "rebellion," viewed from a different angle, was not a manifestation of a Kurdish nationalist movement. The last part of the book is devoted to a detailed account of the investigations of the League of Nations' Commission on the disputed area between Iraq and Turkey. The Mosul Commission, on which Mr. Edmonds served as a liaison officer, reported to the League three recommendations: the first was to keep the disputed area within Iraq, provided the British Mandate was to extend another 25 years (after 1925); the second, to give it back to Turkey; and the third to divide the area into two. The first was the preferable recommendation for economic, geographical and ethnic considerations, and the last was offered as a compromise solution. (abridged, Majid Khadduri/*MEJ* 12, Fall 1958: 469-470).

- 250 Entessar, Nader. *Kurdish Ethnonationalism*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992. viii, 208 p. Includes bibliographical references (p. 193-201) and index.

This book's "central thesis ... is that ethnic conflict constitutes a major challenge to the contemporary nation-state system in the Middle East." Examining the "political and social dimensions of Kurdish integration into mainstream of sociopolitical life in Iran, Iraq and Turkey," the author "challenges the long-held view that assimilation is an inevitable result of modernization and the emergence of the relatively strong and centralized nation-state system in the Middle East" (p. vii). Chapter I (PP. 1-10), "Kurdish Ethnicity," addresses state and ethnicity, Kurdish identity, languages, religion, and socioeconomic marginalization. The

next three chapters examine relations between the Kurds and Iran (pp. 11-48), Iraq (pp. 49-80), and Turkey (pp. 81-111). Chapter 5 (pp. 113-57) explores the "International and Regional Context of Kurdish Nationalism" and focuses on Iran-Iraq relations and the 1991 Gulf war. The last chapter, "Whither Kurdistan?" challenges the feasibility or desirability of "secessionism." At a time when more than a dozen independent states have recently formed out of the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and the disintegrating Czechoslovakia, the author argues that international legal principles do not allow sovereignty for the Kurds. He recommends instead a constitutional restructuring of the existing state systems into federal structures, which will promote Kurdish integration through representation in "the decision making institutions of the national government." (abridged, Amir Hassanpour/*MEJ* 47, Winter 1993: 119)

- 251 Entessar, Nader. "Kurdish Identity in the Middle East." *Current World Leaders* 34 (April 1991): 270-282.

The Kurds, a Muslim ethnic group of 18-20 million people living primarily in Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, are among the most significant non-state nations who have been seeking autonomy for several decades. This article examines the Kurdish movement in each of the three countries, outlining some of the history and speculating on future prospects for independence. Recent events indicate that both internal obstacles (e.g., factionalism) and external realities (e.g., international politics) will continue to thwart the establishment of an autonomous Kurdish state. Kurdish cultural rights, which do not threaten the political viability of Iran, Iraq, or Turkey, must be recognized by the regional and international communities.

- 252 Entessar, Nader. "The Kurdish Mosaic of Discord." *Third World Quarterly* 11 (October 1989): 83-100.

The phenomenon of Kurdish ethnonationalism in the late 20th century within the context of Kurdish autonomy or independence remains a crucial factor in Middle East politics. After a brief introduction to the development of Kurdish ethnic consciousness, the essence of Kurdish nationalism and factors contributing to its persistence are examined. Policies of the Turkish, Iranian, and Iraqi governments towards increasingly politicized Kurdish ethnic demands are then discussed. Kurdish ethnonationalism has found expression in a variety of political movements whose goals and strategies differ radically from each other. Finally, the impact of the Iran-Iraq war on the plight of the Kurds is

analyzed, particularly in view of Iraq's use of chemical weapons against the Kurds and their continuing expulsion from their homeland since the Persian Gulf cease-fire came into effect. (*IPSA*: 40-3279)

- 253 Entessar, Nader. "The Kurds in Post-revolutionary Iran and Iraq." *Third World Quarterly* 6 (October 1984): 911-933.

The integration of ethnic groups in multiethnic Third World societies has generally been unsuccessful. The Kurds, a Muslim ethnic group residing principally in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria, provide an excellent example of the failure of integrative schemes in the Third World. A review of the obstacles to Kurdish integration in the Ba'athist Iraq and Islamic Iran is undertaken within the context of the historical development of Kurdish ethnonationalism. Kurdish demands for autonomy are examined, as are the relationship between the Kurds and the governments in Baghdad and Tehran. Also, inter-Kurdish politics in Iran and Iraq as well as the role played by other opposition groups in bolstering the Kurdish cause in those two countries are analyzed.

- 254 Falk, Richard. "Problems and Prospects for the Kurdish Struggle for Self-Determination After the End of the Gulf and Cold Wars." [essay] *Michigan Journal of International Law* 15 (Winter 1994): 591-603.

The aim of the author in this article is to identify important conceptual issues about the Kurds and their national struggle. He discusses questions like: what is the authoritative way to express the overriding Kurdish demand for self-determination? Who, if anyone, is empowered at this stage to speak on behalf of the Kurdish people as a whole? Or alternatively, should Kurdish self-determination be understood in pluralist terms, as having several distinct embodiments paralleling the separated existence of the Kurdish people over the course of the last seventy years?

- 255 Falk, Richard. "The Cruelty of Geopolitics: The Fate of Nation and State in the Middle East." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20, no. 3 (1991): 383-393.

The peoples of the Middle East have been particularly victimized by the ebb and flow of geopolitics in this century. Small states have either been destroyed or sustained by shifting calculations of Great Powers. The varying fates of the Palestinians, Kurds, Kuwaitis, Lebanese and Israelis illustrate the dual face of geopolitics: cruelty and vulnerability. The most pressing normative challenge is to mitigate geopolitical intrusions,

while encouraging the slower, although no less urgent, undertaking of re-imagining the contours of political community and building popular support for pursuing such political projects.

- 256 Frankland, E. "A New Nationalism for a New World Order? The Kurds." *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 6 (Fall 1995): 183-208.

Nationalism's place in the new world order has yet to be determined. This article places the ongoing Kurdish nationalist development in the context of the literature on nationalism, self-determination, and the emerging new order situation. It first provides the contextual basis for the examination of the Kurdish case as well as an historical overview of the evolution of Kurdish nationalism. It then focuses on the manifestations of nationalism and state-building among the Kurds after 1989. It then applies Buchheit's criteria for recognizing national self-determination (e.g., sense of "self" and a greater stability that would result from institutional realization of the state) to the Kurds. Finally, it evaluates the implications of the Kurdish case and, in general, the role of nationalism in the new world order. (PSA 95-03641)

- 257 Fuller, Graham E. "The Fate of the Kurds." *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Spring 1993): 108-121.

As the fourth national group in the Middle East, the Kurds have become a major factor in the region's future stability. Large Kurdish populations in Iran, Iraq and Turkey are seeking more cultural and political autonomy. In doing so, they are intensifying a number of de-stabilizing pressures- breakaway ethnic movements, human rights, treatment of minorities, democracy and possibly separatism. Though they have a strong self-identity, the Kurds are not ethnically unified, separated as they are by language, customs, neo-feudal obligations and physical distance. However, these barriers are breaking down. The three states with large Kurdish populations are at a crossroads: they must embrace federalism, allowing more autonomy for the Kurds, or prepare for prolonged violence and turmoil.

- 258 Gantner, Serge. "Le Mouvement National Kurde: Ses Origines, son Developpement Historique et ses Perspectives." [The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins, Historical Development and Perspectives.] *Orient* (Paris) 9, nos. 32-33 (4e trim. 1964-1er trim. 1965): 28-120. Documents: pp. 353-402, entitled "Documents Pour Servir a L'histoire du Mouvement National du Peuple Kurde en Iraq."

A well documented article tracing the growth of the Kurdish nationalist movement and the Kurdish endeavors to assert their identity. In addition, there is a map of what might be Kurdistan, a short bibliography and documents, dealing in particular, with the Iraqi-Kurdish dispute. As for the documents, they are a collection dealing with the conflict between the Kurds and the Iraqi government.

- 259 Georgeon, Francois. "De Mossoul a Kirkouk: la Turquie et la question du Kurdistan irakien." [From Mosul to Kirkuk: Turkey and the Question of Iraqi Kurdistan.] *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 132 (April/June 1991): 38-49.

The "Mosul question" grew out of the Mudros armistice of October 30, 1918 between the Turks and the Allies. It is concerned with the fate of an Arab province of the Ottoman Empire, inhabited by a Kurdish majority, occupied by the British, claimed by the Turks, and finally handed over to the Iraqis. Georgeon first recalls the complex vicissitudes of this historical dispute, then the forms that it took when, during the Iraq-Iran War, the occupation of the Kirkuk-Sulaimaniya seemed to have become part of Tehran's objectives. He ends by asking what remains of this in the collective conscience of the Turks.

- 260 Gotlieb, Yosef. "Retrieving Life-Place from Colonized Space: Transcending the Encumbrances of the Post Colonial State." *Political Geography* 11 (September 1992): 461-474.

The thesis advanced in this paper is that the phenomena of impeded development and ethno-national unrest in the Third World are inextricable from one another. Their origins are identified in the spatial structure of post-colonial states, which produce societies that are anthropologically, economically, and ecologically fragmented. Such fragmentation derives from the drawing of colonial borders in a manner aimed at maximizing economic benefit and/or geostrategic advantage to the metropolitan powers. Boundaries drawn in this way did not serve interests of indigenous social formations since they frequently divided such groups and the ecosystems of which they are part. The post-colonial state today is essentially indigenized colonized space. These political perpetuate the fragmentary ethnic and ecological territories pieced together as part of the imperial enterprise; de-colonization simply entailed the transfer of control over these polities to indigenous elites. In this context, the territorial composition of the post-colonial state renders it resistant to sustainable development. The social fragmentation which is so dominant a feature of post-colonial societies seriously chal-

lenges the possibilities for nation-building as well as for development. The fragmentation of the Kurdish Ethno-region as a result of the establishment of the post-colonial states into which it is divided serves as the illustrative case of this study.

- 261 Gunter, Michael M. "The Kurdish Factor in Middle Eastern Politics." *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 8, nos. 1-2 (1995): 94-109.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the regional impact of Kurdish political and military activities within and between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria in the aftermath of the recent events (i.e., the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), the 1991 Gulf War, and the creation of 'Operation Provide Comfort' by the Western powers).

- 262 Gurr, Ted Robert, with contributions by Barbara Harff, Monty G. Marshall, James R. Scarritt. *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993. xii, 427 p. : ill., maps. Includes bibliographical references (p. 365-404) and index.

This study, commissioned by the U.S. Institute of Peace, is a comprehensive survey of 233 different minority or communal groups around the world that methodically analyzes their geographic distribution and their economic, political and cultural situations. It attempts to answer questions such as why minorities rebel and what steps can be taken to settle ethnopolitical conflicts. The methodology is quantitative. While there are individual chapters on regions like Eastern Europe and the Middle East, this book will be more valuable for its completeness and scope than for its detail (Francis Fukuyama/*Foreign Affairs* 73, May-June 1994: 76).

- 263 Gurr, Ted Robert, and Barbara Harff. *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1994. xvii, 206 p. : ill., maps. (Dilemmas in World Politics). Includes bibliographical references and index.

- 264 Hannum, Hurst. *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination: The Accommodation of Conflicting Rights*. Rev. ed. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996. x, 534 p. Includes bibliography and index.

With the end of the Cold War, ethnic conflict appears to be reemerging as subnational groups fight to be heard and represented. Hence the value of this well-researched volume. Focusing on individuals and groups rather than states, the author searches for means of accommodating conflicting claims. This is done through a series of case studies which include Lapps of Norway, Sweden, and Finland, Indians of Brazil, Hong Kong's relationship with China, and the Kurds. Government legitimacy is seen as resting on more than simple majority rule, on respect for human rights and the effective participation of all the various segments of society in the decision-making process.

- 265 Harris, George S. "Ethnic Conflict and the Kurds." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, no. 433 (September 1977): 112-124.

The Kurds seem further from autonomy or independence today than in the past. In part, the cause lies in their disunity in language, religious behavior, and especially tribal structure. The division of their core area among Turkey, Iran and Iraq after the First World War assured Kurdish nationalism major opponents. In Turkey, the government has attempted to deny the very existence of the Kurds as a separate people. While Kurdish leaders can exploit the multi-party system to establish local power bases, they must eschew overt ethnic agitation. In Iraq, the military move of the Barzanis was ultimately squashed by a determined, well-equipped central government. Only minor dissidence seems possible to continue here. In Iran, once the U.S.S.R.'s wartime occupation of the northern part of the country ended in 1946, the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad which the Soviet had stimulated and facilitated collapsed. The shah has since maintained tight political control, while permitting the Kurds some cultural expression. Although there is, thus, little prospect of a renewed Kurdish military bid for autonomy or independence in these three states, among the Kurds.

- 266 Hussein, Fuad Mohammad. *The Legal Concept of Self-Determination and the Kurdish Question*. Amsterdam: Janny Oei, 1985. 71 p.

A study about the concept of self-determination and applied to the Kurdish question by a specialist in international law. The Kurds are now divided among Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria; countries which do not acknowledge the Kurds living in their territories the right to self-determination. After pointing out the concept of self-determination, its definition, interpretation, and development through its various stages, Hussein makes a chronology of the developments in the strategies of the

Kurdish national movement. The author concludes that the Kurds will not enjoy self-determination except within the framework of a democratic state.

- 267 Ibrahim, Ferhad. "The Development of the Kurdish Question Since the Outbreak of the Gulf-War." In *Yearbook of the Kurdish Academy 1990*, pp. 41-58. Ratingen, Germany: The Kurdish Academy, 1990.

This paper discusses the general tendencies of the developments in the Kurdish Question since 1980, outlining the following aspects: 1) the effects of the Iran-Iraq war on the development of the Kurdish Question; 2) the Kurdish Question in regional and international politics; and 3) the Kurds' position after the armistice between Iran and Iraq.

- 268 Ignatieff, Michael. *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994. 263 p., [16] p. of plates: ill.

Modern nationalism is a language of the blood: a call to arms that can end in the horror of ethnic cleansing. But it is also a language of belonging: a call to come home. In this book, Michael Ignatieff explores both sides of nationalism in a personal odyssey that begins in the nightmare of former Yugoslavia and ends with his return to his adopted homeland, Great Britain's disunited kingdom. When he visits the mountains of Kurdistan, he notes that the world's largest stateless people--the Kurds--are fighting the Turks, the Iraqis, and themselves to establish their own nation-state. This is a good work that shows the diversity, complexity, agonies and horrors of nationalism with greater depth and insight than most, if not all, academic treatises and does so in elegant, passionate and memorable prose.

- 269 Jwaideh, Wadie. *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement: Its Origins and Development*. Ph.D., Syracuse University, 1960. 924 p. DA (1959-1960): 152.

The aim of this study is to give an account to the origins and development of the Kurdish nationalist movement from the early part of the nineteenth century to the present. Two chapters are devoted to the geography, history, religion, literature and social organization of the Kurds, and are designed to provide the necessary background against which the study is presented. The study proper begins with an account of the suppression of the semi-autonomous Kurdish principalities as part of a comprehensive scheme for the reorganization of the Ottoman Empire.



This is followed by a chapter on Sheikh Ubaydallah, the precursor and model of a new type of Kurdish national leader. His ideas and political activities are dealt with at some length. An account of his rebellion in Turkey and his invasion of Persia is given in detail. The Young Turk Revolution and Kurdish-Turkish relations form the subject of the following chapter. In the following chapter, the Kurdish policy of Russia, Turkey's historical antagonist, is examined. The fortunes of the Kurds during the First World War are then described. The Postwar period is treated in four chapters. The first of these deals with the situation in Turkey, Persia, and Syria, while the next three are devoted to the complex situation in Iraqi Kurdistan. The growth of Kurdish nationalist activities is examined at length in all four chapters, and the causes of Kurdish rebellions against the new British rulers in Iraq are discussed in detail. Next the Kurdish rebellion of Sheikh Sa'id of Piran, of Agri Dag and of Dersim in Turkey are dealt with, and the revolutionary activities of *Khoyboun*, the Kurdish nationalist organization, are reviewed. The Barzani rebellions of 1931-1932 and 1943-1945 are discussed in two separate chapters. The new leftist tendencies of Kurdish nationalists which came to light during the later rebellion are analyzed. The rise and fall of the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad is the subject of another chapter. Two significant developments, the increasing importance of leftist elements in Kurdish nationalism and the open support given by the Soviet Union to the Mahabad regime are covered. The final chapter deals with the new extremist tendencies in Kurdish nationalism, Soviet support, the attitude of the Kurds toward the governments of the countries which they inhabit and toward the Western powers allied with these governments. It also deals with the ceaseless efforts of the Kurds to gain the support of world opinion and to induce the United Nations to intervene in their favor.

- 270 Kazak, Amin M. "The Kurds and Kurdistan: The Struggle for Statehood." In *Indigenous Peoples' Politics: An Introduction*. Edited by Marc A. Sills and Glenn T. Morris, 147-162. Denver, Colo.: Fourth World Center for the Study of Indigenous Law and Politics - University of Colorado at Denver, 1993.

This chapter is an example from the Third World of patterns which have been built through the hybridization of various colonial legacies and experiences. In this chapter, the author considers the situation of Kurds in three separate sets of circumstances: Turkey, Iraq, and Iran. Each of these three cases within the chapter builds a sense of variability of possible conditions, but all within an over-arching idea that the Third World state has not been successful in establishing its authority over

indigenous non-state nations which have the desire to fight for liberation.

- 271 Khashan, Hilal. "The Labyrinth of Kurdish Self-Determination." *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 8, nos. 1-2 (1995): 5-32.

The Kurdish question is receiving more international attention these days than ever before. At the heart of this interest lies a growing desire to promote Kurdish self-determination without de-stabilizing those Middle Eastern state in which large communities of Kurds live. This study intends to examine closely two variables that are directly related to Kurdish self-determination, i.e., (1) the level of development of Kurdish nationalism and (2) the geopolitical dimension of the Kurdish question. Four components of nationalism were contrived from the pertinent literature, and applied to the Kurdish case in the following order: ethnic distinction and cultural heritage, technological (whence socio-economic) development, ethnic solidarity, and policy demands. True, Kurdish nationalism is lacking in certain respects; nevertheless, it possesses great potential for further development, and is obviously competitive with its regional counterparts. If the Kurds' self-determination were to hinge on nationalistic capacity alone, then they would probably have achieved their nationalistic aspirations. However, regional geopolitics has demonstrated, over the years, its ability in obstructing the Kurds from fulfilling their own cultural and political needs. But there are reasons to believe that the negative impact of geopolitics on Kurdish aspirations is beginning to loosen, even if slowly. Although the Kurdish question has come to the open and is unlikely to subside, it is still premature to ascertain how far Kurdish self-determination can go.

- 272 Khashan, Hilal and Judith Harik. "The Plight of the Kurds." *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 23, no. 2 (1992): 147-158.

At the heart of the Kurdish predicament is the denial of ethnic identification and self-determination for nearly 23 million Kurds. The vast majority of whom live in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. The objective of this paper is to provide a close empirical assessment about the state of Kurdish ethnicity. The following four dimensions will be explored: (1) The magnitude of depressed social and economic conditions; (2) The nature of ethnic and cultural conditions; (3) The weakness of group solidarity; and (4) The range of political demands. Lebanon is the only place in the Middle East today where a Kurdish community can be surveyed without governmental intervention.

- 273 Khosrowshahi, Manouchehr Rostamy. *Management of Communal Conflict in the Middle East: The Case of the Kurds*. Ph.D., North Texas State University, 1983. 264 p. DAI 44 (May 1984): 3481-A.

The objective of this study is to describe and analyze the management of communal conflict in the Middle East, focusing on the Kurds. To this end, effort is made to examine (1) the means that have been used to manage the Kurdish conflict by Middle Eastern countries; (2) the degree of success or failure of applied measures; and (3) possible explanations for the first two questions. The Ottoman Empire, which at one time included most of the Middle East, managed communal conflicts by the means of *dhimmi*s and *millet* system until the beginning of the 20th century. The emergence of nationalism and the principle of self-determination coupled with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire caused these systems to fail. From World War I until 1975, suppression and other violent means were the prevalent means used by Middle Eastern countries to manage the Kurdish problem. Preventive and peaceful measures, on the other hand, were devised to appease the Kurds; the Kurds have been exploited for foreign policy objectives as well. Therefore, management of the Kurdish conflict has been such an integral part of international relations of the region that at times it has been dependent on the interaction of the host countries and other countries over which the Kurds have no control. Over the long history of the Middle East, violent and suppressive means and techniques have been used more than non violent and preventive measures to manage communal conflict. Although the suppressive and violent measures have been successful in the short run, they have failed to manage communal conflicts in the long run. The lack of preconditions for the use of non-violent measures, clash of nationalism, violent transfers of power, lack of unity among communal groups and lack of support of a superpower are some of the important factors which explain the application of suppressive and violent measures in the Middle East.

- 274 Kutschera, Chris. "Parliament or Propaganda?" *The Middle East* [London], no. 246 (June 1995): 11-12.

A 65-member Kurdish parliament in exile was formed at The Hague, Netherlands, on March 26, 1995. The members, 59 men and 6 women, were elected by 500 delegates, who were in turn selected by 200,000 Kurds from various parts of the world. The U.S. and Turkey immediately protested the formation of the new parliament. Moreover, the event drew large numbers of journalists and television teams from various countries.

- 275 Kutschera, Chris. *Le Mouvement National Kurde*. [The Kurdish National Movement.] Paris: Flammarion, 1979. 355 p.

The author, a French journalist with wide experience in the Middle East and an acute political perception, has set himself the task of writing the history of the Kurdish national movement that he feels the Kurds should have undertaken: This is the first book which, in organization, structure and interpretation, treats the Kurdish movement in modern times as a whole and clearly establishes linkages between various Kurdish activities in Turkey, Iran and Iraq. Though journalistic in style, the work is backed by extensive research in French and British archives, an exhaustive reading of the Western press, and interviews with leading participants in the movement, including Mustafa Barzani. While sympathetic to Kurdish aims, the author has critical judgment and an objectivity too often missing in authors on this subject. One of the strengths of the book is that considerable attention is focused on the intellectual and structural underpinnings of the Kurdish movement (the parties and the educated political leaders) although Kurdish heroes (Barzani, Qazi Muhammad, et al.) are given their due. Kutschera concludes that there are distinct lessons to be learned from the Kurdish experience thus far and he does not shrink from spelling them out. First and foremost, the Kurds should cease looking for outside support, fickle at best, and rely on themselves. Just as important, they should develop a pan-Kurd movement aimed at uniting Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Iraq. How this is to be done in the face of governments determined to suppress them is left to the Kurds! (abridged, Phebe Marr/*MEJ* 35, Spring 1981: 239-240)

- 276 MacDonald, Charles G. "The Kurds." In *The Ethnic Dimension in International Relations*. Edited by Bernard Schechterman and Martin Slann, 123-140. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1993.

The Middle East is accurately noted for its political instability. In great part this is because national boundaries often ignore burgeoning nationalisms which directly confront the national interests of their host states. While these states may have little respect for one another's political agendas, they are not interested in complicating their own goals by catering to separatist movements within their borders. This fact has operated against the aspirations of the Kurdish nation. The Kurds have the further misfortune of being spread out over at least five countries: Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and portions of the former Soviet Union. When they are hostile to one another--Iran versus Iraq and Iraq

versus Syria--the Kurds are often shamelessly used by their respective governments and then abandoned.

- 277 MacDonald, Charles G. "The Kurdish Question in the 1980s." In *Ethnicity, Pluralism, and the State in the Middle East*. Edited by Milton J. Esman and Itamar Rabinovitch, 233-252. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988.

According to the author, the resurgence of the Kurdish question in the 1980s reflects certain tendencies which can be used for better understanding the emergence of the role of ethnic minorities in the Middle East. After having exposed the identity of the Kurds, the author gives estimation of the total population of the Kurds, describes their homeland, language, religion, and their search for an autonomy. He analyzes briefly the role of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (KDP) since 1973, describes the Kurdish question and the Islamic world, and the Kurds' reaction towards the Islamic Republic of Iran. The author analyzes the role of the Kurds during the Iran-Iraq war, their conditions in Iraq, and the Turkish incursions in Iraqi territories. The study ends with a statement on the reaction of West towards Kurdish national aspirations. (Joyce Blau/AI 12:541)

- 278 MacDonald, Scott B. "The Kurds in the 1990s." *Middle East Insight 7* (January-February 1990): 29-35.
- 279 Marceau, Akil. "Les droits des minorites et les Kurdes." (Minority Rights and the Kurds) *Peuples Meditteraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 267-280.

From Islam and its system of protection of religious minorities provided for *Ahl al-Kitab* (people of the book), to the Ottoman Empire and its system of *millet*, going through the rights of nationalities and the right of people to dispose of themselves, to the age of the Enlightenment, to the system of human rights and of national minorities in the structures of the UN, has the system of protection of minority rights regressed or evolved? Through the Kurdish case, an analysis of a certain number of concepts relative to minority rights is presented.

- 280 Mayall, James. "Non-intervention, Self-determination and the 'New World Order.'" *International Affairs 67* (July 1991): 421-429.

Has the Kurdish crisis changed the rules of the game on non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states? No, writes the author.

The Western allies were forced to intervene to protect the Kurds because Western media attention to their plight threatened the political dividends they had secured from the Gulf War. But though the New World Order rhetoric promising new support for human rights is without substance, the Kurdish situation will stand as a precedent of a kind for international protection of oppressed national minorities, if a similar situation recurs. However, the principle of self-determination is still unwelcome in the international community.

- 281 McDowall, David. "Addressing the Kurdish Issue." In *Powder Keg in the Middle East: The Struggle for Gulf Security*. Edited by Geoffrey Kemp and Janice Gross Stein, 211-236. Lanham, Md.: American Association for the Advancement of Science and Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1995.

This chapter is a good account on the political history of the Kurdish question since 1918. It discusses the Kurdish issue from a regional and international as well as local viewpoints. Problems of the Kurdish national movement is addressed, the current situation, and future prospects are addressed also.

- 282 McDowall, David. "The Kurdish Question in the 1990s." *Peoples Mediterraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 77-94.

Ever since the 1960s, the Kurdish question has recurred with increasing insistence as a factor of growing significance on the Middle Eastern scene. At first, it was conceived essentially as an internal Iraqi problem. Kurds existed elsewhere primarily in Turkey, Iran (and also in Syria and the Soviet Union) but were not considered as serious problem in any of these places. Indeed, whenever Kurds were discussed one name was invariably mentioned in connection with them, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, the legendary leader of Iraq's Kurds. The dimensions of the Kurdish question have changed radically since those days, and before reviewing its fortunes in the 1990s it is worth reviving the crucial transitional characteristics of the developing Kurdish movement in Iraq, Iran, Turkey since the 1960s. The future of the Kurds remains uncertain. Fundamental questions remain unresolved although some dimensions have changed. Kurdish ethnic identity has developed considerably in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey, and will not disappear despite military pressure. Military activities are restricting the economic development of each of these states. The genocidal tendencies in these states represent an important fact which Kurdish nationalism must recognize. The Kurdish national movement is weakly developed in socio-economic

terms; it cannot draw on a strong Kurdish entrepreneurial class, which in each of these states would give the Kurdish community greater weight and might encourage a more liberal policy on the part of the state. The international community is not giving great support to the Kurdish people; the Kurdish question will continue to give rise to stress in this region. The author believes that the Kurdish population will continue to live through a tragedy.

- 283 Morad, Munir. "The Situation of Kurds in Iraq and Turkey: Current Trends and Prospects." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 115-133. London: Routledge, 1992.

The author examines, with an excellent analysis, the current situation of Kurds in Iraq and Turkey and their future prospects. Comparing the two states, Morad maintains that while the urban middle class and the landed families provided the Kurdish movement in Iraq with most of its leaders, the leaders of the Kurdish organizations in Turkey have tended to come from impoverished families. An inevitable outcome of this situation has been that Turkey's Kurdish politics has been noticeably dominated by radical leftist ideologies. Morad further argues that the diplomatic confusion, breakdown of border controls and the emergence of new regional alliances, precipitated by the Iran-Iraq conflict, enabled the Kurdish militants for the first time to move relatively freely inside Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran. Regarding Turkey, he asserts, a sub-economy is taking hold in many Kurdish areas, based on various shady enterprises such as smuggling, money laundering and drug processing and trafficking. Interestingly, however, Morad believes that in Turkey the prospects of an eventual easing of the state's firm grip on Kurdish affairs are strengthened by Turkey's desire to join the European Community, and that despite the apparent deadlock, the prospects of a new realism *vis-a-vis* the Kurdish population in the region are not too distant. (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 136-137)

- 284 More, Christiane. *Les Kurdes aujourd'hui: mouvement national et partis politiques*. (The Kurds Today: National Movement and Political Parties.) Paris: L'Harmattan, c1984. 310 p. : maps. Bibliography: p. 292-293. Includes index.

This book is divided into three parts. In the first part, More outlines the history of the Kurdish question and of the Kurdish national movement, and gives a clear and ample general survey of the Kurdish people. In parts two and three, More studies, with as much precision as possible,

the history of Kurdish political parties and organizations in each of the countries that divide Kurdistan, namely Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. In these parts, More explains the reasons behind the foundation of these parties in Kurdistan and their representation abroad, and defines their ideologies and their programs. This is an excellent and indispensable book for all those interested in the modern history of the Kurds. (Joyce Blau/AI 8:374)

- 285 Nehme, Michel G., and Hilal Khashan. "Institutionalization and the Enigma of Kurdish Statelessness." *Ethnic Forum* 15 (Spring-Fall 1995): 131-152.

Efforts to form an independent Kurdish nation are hampered by factionalism and inadequate political institutionalization despite international efforts and a Kurdish administration in the protected Kurdish autonomous region of Iraq. Kurdish nationalism is weakened by infighting, geopolitical factors and misplaced aggression. Federalism under an existing state may be the only viable political model.

- 286 Nejad, Hassan Mahamadi. "The Middle East: Building a Community of Nations." *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 23 (June 1992): 159-167.

The purpose of this paper is to explicate briefly the underlying conditions and to suggest certain policy choices and proposals which, if adopted, should greatly reduce political violence and foster 'positive peace' and development in the Middle East. These proposals are based on five fundamental but interrelated assumptions: (1) the Middle East is, for all practical purposes, one culture area; (2) this culture area is essentially an underdeveloped and dependent area; (3) political violence has been the primary cause of underdevelopment in the Middle East; (4) it is only through a community of nations of the Middle East that peace and development can be achieved; and (5) all the requisites of such a community of nations are present in this culture area.

- 287 Olson, Robert. "The Kurdish Question and Chechnya: Turkish and Russian Foreign Policies Since the Gulf War." *Middle East Policy* 4 (March 1996): 106-118.

This article argues that the Kurdish problem in Turkey and Russia's war against Chechnya are linked more closely than is generally realized and acknowledged. The author does not discuss the entire gamut of Turkish-Russian relations which are multi-layered and complex, but rather investigates to what extent their relations are influenced by the



Kurdish nationalist movement in Turkey and by that movement's relationship to the Kurdish nationalist movements in Iraq, Iran and Syria. The author suggests also that Turkey's pre-occupation with its war against the PKK (Partia-Karkaren Kurdistan), the Kurdish nationalist guerrilla organization in Turkey, has greatly weakened Turkey's foreign-policy leverage with Russia, especially regarding its war against Chechnya. Russia in turn has used the "Kurdish" card to reduce effectively Turkey's ability to influence its policy toward Chechnya. This became especially clear in 1995.

- 288 Olson, Robert. "The Kurdish Question and the Kurdish Problem: Some Geopolitic and Geostrategic Comparisons." *Peuples Mediterraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 77-94.

This article discusses the geopolitic and geostrategic changes that have taken place in the Middle East with regard to the Kurdish Question and the Kurdish Problem as a result of the 1991 Gulf war. It discusses especially the developments that occurred from 1992 through mid-1994. This article is concerned primarily with the Kurdish Question with regard to Iraq and the geopolitic posture of other Middle Eastern states that are affected and influenced by the Kurdish Question.

- 289 Olson, Robert. "The Kurdish Question and Geopolitic and Geostrategic Changes in the Middle East After the Gulf War." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 17 (Summer 1994): 44-67.

This article discusses the geopolitic and geostrategic changes that have taken place in the Middle East as a result of the 1991 Gulf war with regard to the Kurdish Question. It discusses especially the developments that occurred in 1992 and 1993. This article is concerned primarily with the Kurdish Problem in Turkey and Iran in terms of how it affects the Kurdish Question with regard to Iraq and the geopolitic posture of other Middle Eastern states that are affected and influenced by the Kurdish Question.

- 290 Olson, Robert. "The Kurdish Question Four Years On: The Policies of Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq." *Middle East Policy* 3, no. 3 (1994): 136-144.

Chances of a peaceful solution to the Kurdish crisis involving the four neighboring Arab countries of Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq have dissolved with the UN's economic embargo on Iraq. While Iran and Turkey are against the creation of an independent Kurdish state, Syria

has tightened the measures to fight Kurdish separatist movements. The Gulf War led to the Kurdish refugee crisis, and Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq have joined forces to fight Kurdish separatists.

- 291 Olson, Robert. "The Kurdish Question in the Aftermath of the Gulf War: Geopolitical and Geostrategic Changes in the Middle East." *Third World Quarterly* (Great Britain) 13, no. 3 (1992): 475-499.

The changes for the creation of a Kurdish state or even a fully autonomous Kurdish Zone in northern Iraq in the 1990s are as poor as in the 1920s than there was after 1925 for the following reasons: (1) Turkey, Iran and Iraq are adamantly opposed to such a state or zone; (2) the U.S. and Europe do not want a Kurdish state, at least at this time, although they may want an autonomous zone; (3) finally the events of the Gulf War have resulted in a greater Turkish presence in northern Iraq and greater Turkish influence over the Kurdish nationalist organizations in Iraq. This latter development is the reverse of the situation in the 1920s and heralds one of the most dramatic changes in the geopolitical and Geostrategic balances in the Middle East in the 1990s. (*IPSA*: 43-3511)

- 292 Olson, Robert. "The Creation of the Kurdish State in the 1990's?" *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 15 (Summer 1992): 1-25.

This article compares geopolitical and geostrategic reasons advanced by European powers especially Britain, for the creation of the Kurdish state in the aftermath of World War I and the policies that led to the unraveling of such a policy. The article considers that the changes for the creation of the Kurdish state in the 1990s are as poor as in the 1920s in spite of the different geopolitical factors. The major factor is that the U.S. does not possess the influence in regional politics that Britain did in the 1920s. The key states (other than Iraq) i.e., Turkey, Iran and Syria do not want a Kurdish state. Thus the prospects for creation of a Kurdish state in the 1990s or later are poor even if this seems to be the West's invention. (*IPSA*: 43-998).

- 293 O'Shea, Maria T. "Between the Map and the Reality: Some Fundamental Myths of Kurdish Nationalism." *Peuples Mediterraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 77-94.

Despite the divisions of Kurdistan and the inadequacy of the national movement, the idea of a Greater Kurdistan is perpetuated. It is a power-

ful amalgamation of myths, facts and ambitions. This article explores the use of various myths in promoting Kurdish nationalism and the perpetuation of the notion of Greater Kurdistan both as a cultural abstraction and as a concrete expression. These myths relate to language and literature, to history, dress, music, cultural traditions and the creation of symbols of national belonging. Maps have been used to fashion the spatial expression of Kurdistan and in some respects to create Kurdistan. The Kurds do not possess a state apparatus that is able to create a common national ideology, but with the help of maps they have succeeded in creating an image of the territorial extent of Kurdistan. Such maps should not be seen a simple propaganda but rather as a form of discourse, representing the only available channel for the consolidation and propagation of ideas linking perceptions of Kurdistan to the nationalist aspirations of the Kurds.

- 294 Otis, P. "Political and Military Considerations of the Kurdish Case 1991: A Window of Opportunity? *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 2, no. 1 (1991): 61-90.

The Kurds presents a precarious problem for the states of the Middle East. They provide the world with an archetypal test of the validity of modern statehood. This article argues that while the problems of the Kurds have long been relegated to the bottom of world concerns it may now be time to take another look at them. It explores their history, culture, political theory and practice, and contemporary political and military goals. Concluding with a political and military assessment it suggests that support for the Kurdish cause by any other state in the region is unlikely unless that state have the backing of other regional powers and it is to their advantage. (PSA 92-04827)

- 295 Pelletiere, Stephen C. *The Kurds: An Unstable Element in the Gulf*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1984. 220 p. (Westview Special Studies on the Middle East). Includes bibliographical references and index.

A major--and often unpredictable--force in the Middle East for centuries, fragmented by the boundaries of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, and Russia, the Kurds remain a nation that steadfastly resists assimilation (and elimination) and that frequently engages in violent revolts. In this book, the author analyzes the factors contributing to the remarkable survival of Kurdish nationalism and places the Kurds in the context of modern Middle East history. First establishing the Kurdish identity and contrasting it with that of surrounding ethnic groups, the author goes on to trace Kurdish history and to examine the configuration of the Kurd-

ish national movement during the world wars and the period immediately following the wars, when the Kurds were temporarily supported by the Soviet Union. He also examines the Kurds' struggles against successive Middle Eastern powers and looks at the national autonomy that was forfeited because of clashes between modern and feudal forces within the Kurdish movement. The book closes with a discussion of possible future developments for the Kurds and the advantages and drawbacks of various sorts of U.S. involvement. The author destroys many myths about the Kurds and treats them not as a cultural artifact but as an important factor in the power equation of the Middle East.

- 296 Qazzaz, Shafiq. *Nationalism and Cultural Pluralism: The Kurdish Case*. Ph.D., The American University, Washington, D.C., 1971. 253 p. DAI 32 (October 1971): 2165-A.

There are two views from which the Kurdish problem must be considered. One is to see it as the manifestation of a belated nationalism which concerns itself with the problem of a divided people and territory, and the other would be to consider it a case of cultural plurality with which the states of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syrian must deal and solve in order to eliminate a chronic source of instability and tension from Middle Eastern politics. As a symbolic concept with common cultural characteristics, Kurdish nationalism is reflected in the Kurds' demand for autonomy, hence in the immediate objective of winning special recognition within each state. As an ideology which seeks national goals, Kurdish nationalism is characterized by the demand of Kurdish independence. Within this framework of locally as well as territorially promoted nationalist aspirations, the limitations inherent in Kurdistan's fragmented status have always had a retarding effect on the social transformation of the Kurdish society and upon the efforts to launch a unified nationalist movement. Hence organized Kurdish political efforts today range from the pursuit of fully articulated political objectives within the framework of an active and organized movement among the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan to the general lack of such organized nationalist efforts among the Kurds in Turkey.

- 297 Rahman, Katherine Irene. *Ethnic Conflict in a World of States*. Ph.D., University of Virginia, 1990. 338 p. DAI 51 (1990): 3895-A.

Investigation of ethnic conflict involves consideration of several critical conceptual issues, including nationalism, self-determination, and intervention. The first underscores the power of ideas in the international arena. Demands for self-determination lead to the questions of who is

the 'self' what can the 'self' determine, and how this conflicts with other international norms. Ethnic conflict illustrates the justification for, and practice of, intervention, as well as its impact on the international system. The use of ethnic conflict as a tool to better understand international relations involves establishing the national basis of the conflict, investigating the relationship of this to other actors in the international system, and considering the instruments of conflict. Case studies furnish the necessary evidence to consider these questions. Four cases, the Nigerian civil war, the emergence of Bangladesh, Northern Ireland, and the Kurds, provide a variety of geographical, developmental, and historical experiences as well as types and extent of external involvement in the conflict. This study draws both practical and theoretical conclusions about the impact of ethnic violence. The former include the requirements for ethnic conflict and the usefulness of theories of nationalism in understanding it, the importance of ethnic conflict to relations between states, the impact of ethnic conflict on the international system, and the role of international organizations in dealing with ethnic conflict. Theoretical implications include a rebuttal of the notion of the nation-state, criticism of the state-centric realist paradigm, the assertion of the importance of non-state actors in policy-making, and the potential for the international solution of ethnic strife. Finally, ethnic conflict poses fundamental questions for the international system. It challenges the legitimacy of the international status quo and exposes the tensions between international norms.

- 298 Saeedpour, Vera Beaudin. "Kurdish Hopes, Kurdish Fears: A Survey of Kurdish Public Opinion." *Kurdish Studies: An International Journal* 5 (Spring-Fall 1992): 5-28.

Historically, and even today, the Kurds are hardly in a position to influence the direction of events. Nonetheless their hopes and their fears will ultimately determine the efficacy of policies developed in their name. To date there has been no systematic effort to solicit their opinions. This pilot study attempted to do just that. As such, it should provide rare insights for Western policy-makers, for scholars and for Kurds who may be learning for the first time what other Kurds are thinking.

- 299 Sheikmous, Omar. "The Kurdish Question: Conflict Resolution Strategies at the Regional Level." In *Building Peace in the Middle East: Challenges for States and Civil Society*, edited by Elise Boulding, 147-161. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

In recent decades, the ethnic conflict involving the Kurds has accelerated and intensified in violence with very serious destructive consequences for the Kurds and the states concerned. This chapter explores the dimensions of the ethnic conflict in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and the former Soviet Union. It then explores a number of strategies a combination of which would be a forceful instrument for establishing peace.

- 300 Whitley, Andrew. "The Kurds: Pressures and Prospects." *Round Table* (Great Britain) 279 (July 1980): 245-257, 279.

There are few dynamic, positive developments which give much room for hope that the Kurds will be able to fend off the many challenges to their existence. The present weakness of the Iranian and Turkish states has provided a breathing space, but in the wake of Barzani no leaders of wide-spread appeal have emerged to take advantage of the opportunity. In addition, any kind of pan-Turkish activity would automatically invoke the coordinated suppressive force of the West and the countries immediately involved. (*IPSA*: 31-4970)

- 301 Yassin, Borhanedin A. *Vision or Reality? The Kurds in the Policy of the Great Powers, 1941-1947*. Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press ; Bromley, Kent: Chartwell-Bratt, c1995. 246 p. : maps. Includes bibliographical references (p. 230-242) and index.

See also 6, 7, 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, 93, 101, 104, 106, 111, 118, 122, 196, 203, 205, 424

## Turkey

- 302 Abramowitz, Morton I. "Turkey After Ozal." *Foreign Policy*, no. 91 (Summer 1993): 164-181.

The sudden death of Turgut Ozal, Turkey's president and former prime minister, in April 1993, will transform the Kurdish political process, adding a new uncertainty to the country's prospects for managing its swirling foreign and domestic currents. The Turks justifiably sense a new international prominence for themselves and believe their country has recovered its strategic importance to the West. From a security perspective, Turkey's situation is the best in its 70-year history. Turkey's main problems are internal; not least is the Kurdish Workers' Party waging war on the Turkish government. (*IPSA*: 43-6231)

- 303 Barkey, Henri J. "Turkey, Islamic Politics, and the Kurdish Question." *World Policy Journal* 13 (Spring 1996): 43-52.

In this article, Barkey discusses the implications of political party strength in the December 1995 parliamentary elections in Turkey with some focus on the Islamist Welfare Party. The Refah Partisi performed well because it had been working for years to establish a nationwide mass-based political party. The country's economic problems together with the ongoing Kurdish rebellion have contributed to the popularity of the Welfare Party. Barkey also discusses the potential influence of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) and Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP).

- 304 Barkey, Henri J. "Turkey's Kurdish Dilemma." *Survival: The International Institute for Strategic Studies Quarterly* [London] 35 (Winter 1993-1994): 51-70.

This article examines the challenge posed by the Kurdish insurrection, led by the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK), as well as the Turkish reactions to this insurrection. The article begins with an overview of the Kurdish insurrection and Turkey's reaction to this challenge. It then examines the domestic costs of the Kurdish rebellion in both political and economic terms. The Turkish government's almost exclusive reliance on force has so far yielded few results. In fact, it has been counterproductive by further exacerbating the conflict and driving increasing numbers of recruits into the arms of its opponents. This rapidly intensifying Kurdish revolt led by the PKK, threatens the integrity of the Turkish state, the process of re-democratization, the economic gains of the last decade, and Turkey's relations with allies and foes alike. It goes on to analyze the implications of this conflict for Turkey's relations with the United States, Europe and other regional actors, such as Syria, Iran, Iraq and the Iraqi Kurds. This article concludes with an assessment of Turkey's options and a discussion of steps the West could take to help contain the conflict in Turkey.

- 305 Barkey, Henri J. "The Silent Victor: Turkey's Role in the Gulf War." In *The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications*. Edited by Efraim Karsh, 133-153. London: Macmillan, 1989.

This chapter addresses two facets in which the Gulf War impacted Turkey. On the one hand, Turkey, by dramatically increasing its exports to both Iran and Iraq immeasurably improved the outlook of its crisis ridden economy. On the other hand, Turkey's strategic importance in

the region was clearly enhanced by the war in general and specifically by a once possible Iranian victory. As a result, its military origins notwithstanding, the Turkish regime derived considerable support from abroad. These two repercussions more than adequately compensated for some of the adverse effects of the war; primarily the resumption of the Kurdish insurrection in border regions in southeastern Turkey. Therefore, Turkey has emerged from this prolonged conflict as a major beneficiary and is now also poised to take advantage of the declared cease-fire.

- 306 Bozarslan, Hamit. "Turkey's Elections and the Kurds." *Middle East Report* 26 (April-June 1996): 16-19.

While Turkish politicians have yet to exhibit the courage necessary to negotiate a political solution to the Kurdish issue, the PKK continues to rely upon guerrilla warfare in its struggle to achieve self-determination for Turkey's 15 million Kurds. This article asks whether the December 1995 Turkish legislative elections offer any glimpse of a political way out of this deadlock.

- 307 Bozarslan, Hamit. "Political Aspects of the Kurdish Problem in Contemporary Turkey." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 95-114. London: Routledge, 1992.

In this article, Hamit Bozarslan argues that the rapid and painful rebirth of Kurdish nationalism only occurred at the end of the 1950s. This was due to a number of causes: the Turkish experiment in political pluralism, a combination of collective memory and a tradition of rebelliousness, the new Kurdish intelligentsia very strongly influenced by left-wing ideas, and the Barzani revolt in Iraq. Given the subsequent development of a *de facto* alliance between Turkey and the Iraqi Kurds following the 1991 Gulf War, Bozarslan proves prophetic when he speculates that it is not impossible that Ankara will be forced to make contact with Kurdish political parties in Iraq in order to neutralize the PKK, and adds that the fact that the Kurdish refugees were accepted in 1988 marks the beginning of the recognition by the Turkish government of a Kurdish entity and of a Kurdish problem with which it must deal on a regional level. (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 136)



- 308 Brown, James. "The Turkish Imbroglia: Its Kurds." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, no. 541 (September 1995): 116-129.

The purpose of this article is to examine the current Kurdish problem in Turkey, the Turkish government's reaction to the issue raised by this problem, and the challenge the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) poses to Ankara through its tactics of intimidation and terrorism. This imbroglia is also detailed in both political and economic terms. The article goes on to analyze the implications of this conflict for Turkey's relations with Europe, the United States, and other regional players, such as Syria, Iraq, and Iran. The conflict could jeopardize Turkey's relations with Europe and Washington and limit Ankara's role as a stabilizing influence in the region, thereby limiting its role regionally and internationally. This linkage to the West will be very difficult to substitute. In addition, civil violence and terrorist acts by the PKK could deter foreign investments and undermine tourism, thus affecting Turkey's long-range economic plans. Finally, the future prospects and options that Turkey might consider in bringing this conflict to a manageable solution are assessed.

- 309 Dalacoura, Katerina. "Turkey and the Middle East in the 1980s." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 19 (Summer 1990): 207-227.

This article considers Turkish foreign policy during the 1980s. The country's perceived identity is examined in the context of its relations with the West and the Middle East. These relations are affected by external factors (economic links, the Iran-Iraq war, the Cyprus and Kurdish issues) and internal factors (foreign interference, the revival of politicized Islam and elite and government responses to the issue). The author concludes by considering the influence that these factors will have upon Turkish foreign policy in the 1990s.

- 310 Dowden, Richard. "The Elusive Golden Apple: A Survey of Turkey." *The Economist* 339 (June 8, 1996): 18-page section following p. 56.

This survey discusses the political, economic and social conditions in Turkey, and the impact of Islamic fundamentalism and the Kurdish insurgency as well. It also discusses prospects for democracy in Turkey and its closer integration with the European Union. The author views that the western part of the country is changing into a more modern, industrial society, but that the eastern (or Kurdish) part is holding back.

- 311 Fuller, Graham E. "Turkey's New Eastern Orientation." In *Turkey's New Geopolitics: From the Balkans to Western China*. Edited by Graham E. Fuller and Ian O. Lesser, with Paul B. Henze and J. F. Brown, 37-97. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993.

Turkey faces tremendous opportunities and new risks in Central Asia and the Middle East. In the Turkic regions of the former Soviet Union, Turkey is emerging as a political, economic, and cultural magnet and an important secular model for development. In this chapter, Graham Fuller surveys this new environment and its meaning for Turkey, including the emergence of a potentially dangerous regional competition with Iran. Looking to the Middle East, the Gulf War has given impetus to a violent Kurdish separatist movement on Turkish soil, with strong implications for Ankara's relations with Iran, Iraq, and Syria as well as with the West. Fuller gives some attention to a strategy attributed by some commentators to the late Turgut Ozal. Assuming the creation of a sovereign Kurdish state to be inevitable, this strategy suggests that Turkey's best option is to support the creation of a Kurdish state in Iraq. Since the majority of Kurds live in Turkey, the logic goes, such a state will look to Turkey as the "... 'natural center of gravity' for the Kurdish speaking world." By adopting a sympathetic stance to the Kurdish state's creation, Turkey "... would have the dominant voice and power over such an entity."

- 312 Gunter, Michael M. "The Kurdish Factor in Turkish Foreign Policy." *Journal of Third World Studies* 11 (Fall 1994): 440-432.

The role the Kurdish factor has played in Turkish foreign policy towards the Middle East and Western Europe has largely been overlooked. The influence is expected to be more with the end of the Cold War and the disappearance of the Soviet threat to Turkey. The foreign policy towards the United States has also been affected as is apparent from the Turkey's reaction to U.S.'s criticism of its human rights records with Kurds. The growing international awareness of the Kurdish factor is likely to make it one of the dominant influences on Turkish foreign policy.

- 313 Gunter, Michael M. "The Changing Kurdish Problem in Turkey." *Conflict Studies* 270 (May 1994): 1-25.

The Kurdish problem in Turkey has once again surfaced in violent exchanges between the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) and government troops. With changing internal politics and shifts in attitude by

the government, a complex situation has become even more desperate. In this scholarly and authoritative study, Michael Gunter traces the background to Kurdish nationalism and its threat to the Turkish Republic. He unravels much of the tangled history of the Kurds and shows how the Kurdish problem has become the Achilles' heel of an otherwise promising Turkish future, and an obstacle to Turkey's entry to the European Union. The country's security dilemma has dramatically affected its economy, and future prospects for cooperation between the Turkish government and the Kurds were dealt a further blow by the local elections in March of this year. Gunter believes that the future may hold still more repressive measures against the Kurds in particular and human rights in general in Turkey.

- 314 Gunter, Michael M. "The Gulf War and Turkey: New Attitudes Towards the Kurds." *Journal of Asian and African Affairs* 4 (Fall 1992): 60-78.

In this article, Gunter says that few years ago, Turgut Ozal, the President of Turkey, indicated that he will follow a new policy towards the Kurds and the Gulf war served as a catalyst for this orientation. Then in 1991, Ozal announced the modification and the partial abrogation of the 2932 Law which was used to explain for the Turkish people the reason for assimilating the Kurds. Turkish authorities seemed disposed to no more considering the Kurdish reality as a threat to the territorial integrity of Turkey.

- 315 Gunter, Michael M. "Transnational Sources of Support for the Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey." *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 16, no. 1 (1992): 64-66.

- 316 Gunter, Michael M. "Turkey and the Kurds: New Developments in 1991." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Affairs* 15 (Winter 1991): 32-45.

In this article, Gunter discusses Turkey's perception of Kurdish national awareness as a threat to its territorial integrity, and the effect of the Persian Gulf conflict on its cultural policy.

- 317 Gunter, Michael M. *The Kurds in Turkey: A Political Dilemma*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1990. 151 p. : ill. (Westview Special Studies on the Middle East). Includes bibliographical references (p. 129-139) and index.

The book concentrates on the conditions of the Kurds in Turkey, where Kurdish identity, until very recently, had been thoroughly suppressed by the Kemalist policy of denying the Kurds a separate cultural identity from that of the majority Turks. After two brief chapters on the origin and history of the Kurds, Gunter examines Kurdish politics in Turkey and Turkish responses to Kurdish militancy in recent decades. As the author states, references to the Kurds as "mountain Turks" and a ban on the use of the Kurdish language were two weapons used by the Turkish state to suppress Kurdish demands for self-determination. Although numerous Kurdish parties and movements have emerged in recent years in Turkey, the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK), has been the most radical as well as the most successful Kurdish element in Turkey. Under the tutelage of its charismatic leader, Abdullah Ocalan, the leftist PKK has had some degree of success in becoming a grassroots Kurdish organization. The author, however, contends that the PKK's violent tactics have alienated many Kurds from the party in recent years. The two chapters on the PKK describe a number of specific events occurring since the mid-1970s that have influenced the fortunes of this party. The book also describes regional and international factors that have affected the condition of the Kurdish movement in Turkey. The impact of the Iran-Iraq war on the Kurds is analyzed within the context of triangular relations between Iran, Turkey, and Iraq. Turkey, and Iraq. The role of the Soviet Union and the United States in using the Kurds to advance their policies is also addressed (abridged, Nader Entessar/*MEJ* 45, Autumn 1991: 685-685).

- 318 Gunter, Michael M. "The Kurdish Problem in Turkey." *The Middle East Journal* 1988 42 (Summer 1988): 389-406.

This article examines, from a Turkish government perspective, the Kurdish problem in Turkey. Also examined is the question of foreign support for the Kurds, instigation and encouragement for Kurdish unrest in Turkey, and, in particular, the role of the Soviet Union, Syria, and other groups, such as the Armenians, with a proven track record of anti-Turkish terrorism. The background to the Kurdish problem, the various Kurdish political organizations, suppression policies of the Turkish authorities, and international influences are also examined.

- 319 Hale, William. "Turkey, the Middle East and the Gulf Crisis." *International Affairs* 68 (October 1992): 679-692.

Can Turkey act out a new role center stage in the Middle East? William Hale looks at Turkey's attitude to foreign policy-making in the past and

its present relations with NATO and the West. He asks whether the Gulf crisis and the Kurdish question have given fresh impetus to Turkey to become more actively involved in the Middle East.

- 320 Henze, Paul B. "Turkey: Toward the Twenty-First Century." In *Turkey's New Geopolitics: From the Balkans to Western China*. Edited by Graham E. Fuller and Ian O. Lesser, with Paul B. Henze and J. F. Brown, 1-35. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993.

Turkey's domestic scene is changing almost as rapidly as its external environment. In this chapter, Paul Henze explores political, social, and economic trends. He suggests that Islamist political elements have not gained ground, despite the growing prominence of Islam in Turkish society. At the same time, Turkish nationalism has emerged as a more potent force in the wake of the Persian Gulf War. Domestic trends are likely to support a more assertive foreign and security policy, but the Kurdish insurgency in southeastern Anatolia and a problematic human rights record will pose continuing internal and external challenges for Ankara.

- 321 Imset, Ismet G. *The PKK: A Report on Separatist Violence in Turkey (1973-1992)*. Ankara: Turkish Daily News, 1992. iv, 450 p. (Turkish Daily News Publications; 1). Includes bibliographical references.

Ismet G. Imset, a Turkish journalist, is one of the most knowledgeable writers on the PKK's decade-old insurgency in Turkey. Despite its massive size, the present work is basically the compilation of many of Imset's earlier reports and articles, printed in the Ankara's English-language weekly *Briefing* and *The Turkish Daily News* since 1988. Even though by necessity he has relied heavily on Turkish intelligence sources for much of his information, the work is one of the best treatments of the overall situation available in print. Although reflecting the views of the Turkish side of the issue, the author tries to be fair in treating the Kurdish side as well. It is thus a required reading for anyone who wants to begin understanding the current Kurdish situation in Turkey in general, and the PKK activities in particular. Imset's analysis begins with a chronological history of the PKK's early years from 1973 to the formal establishment of the party on November 27, 1978 under Abdullah (Apo) Ocalan and the Turkish military coup on September 12, 1980. These first chapters also contain a great deal of detailed data on the early years from 1973 to 1986, such as the initial camps and alliances, as well as the party structure and activities. Imset also analyzes the "village guards" system of local pro-government militia created by

the state beginning in 1985 and argues that it was a successor to the Hamidiya regiments of the 1890s. One of Imset's most valuable discussions is his structural analysis of the PKK. Additional chapters analyze Ocalan's "guerrilla's handbook," PKK financing, internal PKK divisions and executions, foreign and domestic PKK relations, and recent events in the 1990s, including the return to power of Suleiman Demirel. Imset notes that PKK finances consist of voluntary donations, taxation, protection money, small and medium business investments, robberies, and narcotics. Seven appendices then conclude the lengthy analysis (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 142-144)

- 322 Izady, Mehrdad. "Persian Carrot and Turkish Stick: Contrasting Policies Targeted at Gaining State Loyalty from Azeris and Kurds." *Kurdish Times* 3 (Fall 1990): 31-47.

This article was presented as part of the Kurdish panel at the Middle East Studies Association of North America Annual Conference in Los Angeles on November 16, 1988. Izady have attempted here to compare and contrast state policies towards Azeris in Iran and Kurds in Turkey. He analyzes these policies, not from the point of view of these two minorities, but rather, from the point of view of Tehran and Ankara. Attention is focused on the soundness of the mechanics of two similar objectives sought by Tehran and Ankara, namely state loyalty, with strikingly dissimilar results. This study endeavors to demonstrate the reasons for the success of one policy and the failure of the other. Its utility may well be in implications for reversing what is an unsuccessful Turkish domestic ethnic policy that has come under increasing international criticism and contributed to many embarrassing economic and political rebuffs from her European allies.

- 323 Kadioglu, Ayse. "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity." *Middle Eastern Studies* 32 (April 1996): 177-193.

The Turkish Republic encouraged a Jacobean or managerial mentality which sought to synthesize Western materialism and native traditions. A desire early in Republican history to reform old social institutions and dislike for religion led to a lessening of influence of peripheral groups and the emergence of an official, monolithic Turkish identity. Multiple identities including different sects of Islam and the Kurds emerged due to the political situation of the 1980s and early 1990s. The influence of this situation remains to be seen.

- 324 Kirisci, Kemal. "Turkey and the Kurdish Safe-Haven in Northern Iraq." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 19 (Spring 1996): 21-39.

The Turkish armed forces on March 20, 1995 started a massive cross-border operation into northern Iraq. The operation involved 35,000 troops and lasted for six weeks at a cost of \$65 million. This was the largest military involvement that Turkey had been engaged in a foreign country. Previously, Turkey had contributed troops to the United Nations forces in Korea in 1950; it had militarily intervened in Cyprus in 1974, and had mounted several cross-border operations of varying sizes in northern Iraq between 1991 and 1995. However, none of these operations were as extensive as the most recent one. What prompted the Turkish government to intervene in northern Iraq on such a massive scale? What is the nature of the relationship between the Turkish government and the main Kurdish groups in northern Iraq, namely the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)? What are the factors that influence this relationship and what are its future prospects? These are the questions that this article addresses.

- 325 Klieman, Aharon. "Turkey: Geostrategic Stronghold." *World and I* 10 (November 1995): 54-59.

This article analyzes Turkey's position as a regional power, strengthened by ties to both East and West and by a strong relationship to the U.S.. It also discusses Kurdish nationalism, international image, internal political divisions, economic problems, border diplomacy, and other issues.

- 326 Kutschera, Chris. "Mad Dreams of Independence: The Kurds of Turkey and the PKK." *Middle East Report* [Washington, D.C.] 24 (July-August 1994): 12-15. Appears also in French in *Politique internationale* 68 (Summer 1995): 257-270.

In this article, the politics of Kurdish nationalism in Turkey is explored. In it, Kutschera shows how Kurdish organized activism reemerged in the 1960s and was immediately answered by Turkish government repression and outlawing of all leftist Turkish and Kurdish organizations. Continuing marshal law in Turkey resulted in fractionalization of Kurdish leftist nationalist organizations, but also prompted, in the late 1970s, the emergence of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in Ankara. The PKK adopted strategies of armed struggle, guerrilla war-

fare, and mobilization of the peasantry, and subsequently reached agreements with the Kurdish parties of Iraq, though these were short-lived due to conflicts over guerrilla vs. political tactics. In spring 1993, the long-standing PKK feud with the other Kurdish parties was at least temporarily resolved and the PKK agreed to a cease-fire with the Turkish government. The Kurdish government's next step in dealing with the Kurdish question is uncertain. (D. Generoli/SA 95-3244)

- 327 Kutschera, Chris. "A Silent Scream." (Interview with Leyla Zana, first Kurdish woman member of the Turkish parliament) (Interview) *The Middle East* [London], no. 227 (October 1993): 33-35.

Leyla Zana, the first Kurdish woman to become the member of the Turkish Parliament in 1991, was spurred to contest the elections due to the political atrocities committed on her husband, Mehdi. Mehdi was a leader of Turkey Kurdish National Organization and was arrested several times. Leyla Zana's outlook of life changed when she visited Mehdi in prison. She was arrested for protesting against the ill-treatment of the male inmates in the prison and was tortured by the interrogators. Later, she became a member of the Parliament, but found that she was not given due recognition because she was a Kurd.

- 328 MacKenzie, Kenneth. "Turkey in Transition." *The World Today* 42 (June 1986): 101-104.

With the Ozal government exactly half-way through its term of office, mid-term reports on its performance are possible. On the credit side, two notable achievements are discernible, one of them, paradoxically, a non-event: there has been no recrudescence of the internal terrorism which wracked the country in the period before the military intervention of September 1980. True, the perennial Kurdish insurgency, largely instigated by the Syrians, drags on in the southeastern provinces, while recently Libyans have attempted terrorist outrages in Ankara and Istanbul, but these are different phenomena. Broadly speaking, Turkey is again a stable country. (IPSA: 36-6054)

- 329 Makovsky, Alan. "Western Dreams and Eastern Problems: Turkey's Long-Cherished Goal of European Integration is Threatened by Its Kurdish Quandary." *Middle East Insight* 11 (May-June 1995): 23-28.

Examines the effects of the March-May 1995 Turkish invasion of Iraq to fight attacks by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) on Turkey's



potential full membership in the European Union. Some focus on human rights aspects of Turkey's policy toward the Kurds.

- 330 Mango, Andrew. "Turkey in Winter." *Middle Eastern Studies* 31 (July 1995): 620-652.

Evaluations of various books on Turkey's history and Turkish historical figures written by Eric Zurcher, Feroz Ahmad, William Hale, A. L. Macfie, Salahi Sonyel, Saban Kuzgun, C. H. Dodd, and other authors are presented. The books are good references for those who want to understand Turkey's present problems by studying its past. Turkey is in economic turmoil due to the collapse of its national currency in January 1994. Its problems include poverty, growing unemployment and rising inflation rates. These are complicated further by terrorist attacks by Kurdish rebels, revenge groups, disgruntled socialists and Islamic fundamentalists.

- 331 Mango, Andrew. "Turks and Kurds." *Middle Eastern Studies* 30 (October 1994): 975-997.

Some Turkish officials argue that there is no Kurdish problem, but only a problem of terrorism; others take the view that there is indeed a Kurdish problem, but that it should not be confused with the problem posed by terrorism. Those Turks who deny the existence of a Kurdish problem do not also necessarily deny that there are citizens of Kurdish descent or speakers of the Kurdish language in Turkey. They do deny that the Kurds can be termed a minority. These issues are discussed in a variety of books illuminating the struggle in Turkey over how to cope with the problems associated with the nation's Kurds. Books by Musa Anter, Mehmet Bayrak, Kemal Burkay, I. Imset, Michael Gunter, John Bulloch and Harvey Morris, David Keen, and John Guest are discussed.

- 332 Mango, Andrew. *Turkey: The Challenge of a New Role*. New York: Praeger, 1994. 160 p.

Turkey's two main problems today are clearly its economy and the Kurdish dilemma. The former is a political problem. The latter presents a direct threat to Turkey's territorial integrity. The late Turgut Ozal (1989-93) was intimately involved with these issues. On economic and Kurdish matters, Ozal was part of both the problems and the solution. Although it was him who took the first imaginative steps towards recognizing what his predecessor and successor Suleiman Demirel termed 'the Kurdish reality,' it was during Ozal's tenure as prime min-

ister (1983-89) that the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) insurgency exploded in 1984. In discussing solutions to the Kurdish problem, Mango points out that in the last century reforms urged by many European powers contributed to the weakening and eventual disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Many Turks are conscious of this and tend to treat all foreign advocacy of reforms as ill intentioned. Similarly, he argues that those members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg who are loudest in condemning Turkey's human rights record are precisely those are opposed to Turkey for reasons unrelated to human rights. After dismissing autonomy and federalism for the Kurds as unsafe options, Mango then suggests that Turkey should consider reforms in three areas that would: grant full cultural rights to the Kurds; strengthen local government, including the rights of local government bodies to combine territorially; and eliminate all legal obstacles to the formation of nonviolent political parties, including regional and ethnic parties. (abridged, Michael M. Gunter/*MEJ* 49, Summer 1995: 523-524)

- 333 Mango, Andrew. "The Turkish Model." *Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (October 1993): 726-757.

Turkey must solve two sets of problems before it can become a model worthy of imitation. The first involves the material aspirations of its citizens to the standard of living of the advanced industrialized states of the west. The second derives from the ideological aspiration of most its citizens to the rights and freedoms enjoyed in the west. In one respect, Turkey has already achieved a record worthy of imitation: throughout its 70 years of existence, the Turkish republic has avoided involvement in foreign wars. Relations with the newly-independent Turkish republics of the former U.S.S.R. can yield benefits only in the context of Turkey's wider relationship with the advanced industrialized nations. They alone can supply the capital and technology which the Turkic republics need. (*IPSA*: 44-3443)

- 334 Mango, Andrew. "European Dimensions." *Middle Eastern Studies* 28 (April 1992): 397-439.

A review article on 29 books on aspects of Turkey's history, politics, society, and culture in relation to its expressed desire to achieve membership in the European Community and problems associated with the questions of Cyprus, the Kurds, relations with Greece, and relations with other Muslim communities in Europe. Based on the reviewed works. (F. A. Clements/*HA*: 44B-4754)

- 335 Nestor, Sergeant Carl E. "Dimensions of Turkey's Kurdish Question and the Potential Impact of the Southeast Anatolian Project (GAP): Part I." *International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 8, nos. 1-2 (1995): 33-78.

In this two-part study, the author examines dimensions of the Kurdish question in Turkey and the Turkish Government's attempts to address this problem through the introduction of the Southeast Anatolian Project. In this first part, the author examines Kurdish perceptions of the issue, and also outline the purpose, goals and technical aspects of GAP.

- 336 Olson, Robert W. (ed.). *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in the 1990s: Its Impact on Turkey and the Middle East*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996. Includes bibliographical references and index.

- 337 Olson, Robert. "The Kurdish Question and Turkey's Foreign Policy, 1991-1995: From the Gulf War to the Incursion into Iraq." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 19 (Fall 1995): 1-30.

This article addresses the Kurdish question and the Kurdish problem and the role that they play in the foreign policy of Turkey, especially in its relations with Iraq, Iran, Syria and Russia.

- 338 Olson Robert W. "Al-Fatah in Turkey: Its Influence on the March 12 Coup" *Middle Eastern Studies* 9 (May 73): 197-205.

This article identifies various channels of *Al-Fatah* influence on leftist politics in Turkey. It focuses on contributions of *Devgen* (Student Revolutionary Youth Party), Turkish workers party, and *Al-Fatah* members' relations with the Kurds in events leading to the March military coup. It also explores the reasons for Turkish youth's involvement in the Palestinian cause. Finally, it shows *Al-Fatah's* relationship to the "four daggers" cited as necessitating coup.

- 339 Ozel, Soli. "Of Not Being a Lone Wolf: Geography, Domestic Plays, and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East." In *Powder Keg in the Middle East: The Struggle for Gulf Security*. Edited by Geoffrey Kemp and Janice Gross Stein, 161-194. Lanham, Md.: American Association for the Advancement of Science and Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1995.

This chapter traces the foundations and the antecedents for "internationalist" and "nationalist" foreign policy visions that are currently

competing to establish the direction of Turkish foreign policy in the emerging new world order (or disorder). It offers a perspective on their viability in the new regional and international configurations Turkey faces. It also identifies the problems, both domestic and international, that will have a bearing on the evolution of Turkey's foreign policy in its adjacent regions and toward its erstwhile allies. (abridged)

- 340 Pamir, Peri. "Turkey in Its Regional Environment in the Post-bipolar Era: Opportunities and Constraints." In *Building Peace in the Middle East: Challenges for States and Civil Society*. Edited by Elise Bouldin, 133-146. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

The author argues that theoretically speaking, Turkey has considerable potential to play a stabilizing role in a region extending from the Balkan, to the Caucasus, to Central Asia, and southward to the Middle East. This potential will be determined as much by the balance of opportunities and constraints with which it will be faced. This chapter makes an attempt at assessing this by seeking to understand the relationship between the way Turkey conceives its newly emerging role, and the way its potential and performance is being perceived by others. This chapter is based on current analysis, debate, and speculation in Turkish academic, political, and media circles regarding the interests, opportunities, and constraints facing Turkey in its regional environment following the demise of the bipolar world. It should be noted that the analysis presented in the chapter provides more of a reflection than a critique of this ongoing debate.

- 341 Pope, Nicole. "Time to Do Business." *Index on Censorship* 24 (September-October 1995): 86.

The policy of the Turkish government of giving cultural and political rights to the Kurds in Turkey would significantly reduce the power of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK). The strong arm policy of the government is driving the Kurds towards the guerrillas. The majority of the Kurds do not want an independent state and cannot believe that autonomy can be achieved by PKK. A report published by Dogu Ergil about the Turkish Kurds has increased public awareness regarding this fundamental problem of the state although it has had no impact on its policy.

- 342 Rees, John. "Third World Communists May Yet Rule." *Orbis* 36 (Fall 1992): 565-579.

Following the failure of the putsch in Moscow, many in the West have proclaimed the death of communism. However there are still a number of Marxist-Leninist groups that may yet take power around the world. In Cambodia, Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge may conceivably return to power. In the Philippines, the New People's Army has demonstrated a well-developed, adaptable command structure that has survived the capture of many of its leaders, while the party itself has built up a large number of front organizations to serve as recruiting devices. Three particularly flourishing Marxist-Leninist movements in the Third World are the Sendero Luminoso of Peru; the African National Congress of South Africa; and the Partia Karkaren Kurdistan (PKK) of Southeastern Turkey. All three appear to have a reasonable chance of achieving state power by the end of this decade. The totalitarian party structures developed by Lenin, Stalin, and Mao to install socialism are not yet relegated to the ash heap of history. (*IPSA*: 43-1637)

- 343 Robins, Philip. "The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue." *International Affairs* (London) 69 (October 1993): 657-676.

Turkey is widely seen by observers in the U.K. and U.S. as an oasis of stability in a fragmented and uncertain region, a view which has added to the prominence accorded to it in post-cold war NATO politics. However, an examination of the problems posed to Turkey both domestically and in its relations with its immediate neighbors, in particular Iraq, shows this view to be an oversimplification. Turkey's allies would do better to recognize the extent and complexity of the problems relating to the Kurdish southeast of the country for the sake of all involved.

- 344 Robins, Philip. "Turkish Policy and the Gulf Crisis: Adventurist or Dynamic?" In *Turkish Foreign Policy: New Prospects*. Edited by Clement H. Dodd, 70-87. Wistow, England: The Eothen Press, 1992. [Modern Turkish Studies Programme, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London - Occasional Papers, 2.]

The decade of the 1980s witnessed a period of profound changes in Turkey: domestic economy and domestic politics changes did not, however, extend as far as foreign policy. By the end of the decade there were clear signs that even this domain would have to be subject to a critical reappraisal. The impetus was the external environment. It was events to the south and east (i.e., Kurdistan) rather than to the north and west which forced this new debate on Turkish foreign policy. As for many other states, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990 appears to have signaled a new era for Turkey's foreign relations. Turkey's

engagement with the Gulf crisis may be divided into four phases. These were: first, the isolation of Iraq (August 2-8, 1990); second, the period of introspection (mid-August 1990 - mid-January 1991); third, the war (mid-January - end of February 1991); fourth, the immediate post crisis period. It is an analysis of these four phases which forms the body of this paper. The chapter also concludes with a brief discussion on the legacy of the crisis for Turkey's foreign policy.

- 345 Robins, Philip. *Turkey and the Middle East*. London: Pinter Publishers, 1991. vi, 130 p. : map. (Catham House papers) Includes bibliographical references (p. 118-130).

Within Turkey there exist problems and issues which are popularly identified as Middle Eastern in origin, indicating most graphically that Turkey cannot keep that region at arm's length. The two most important 'Middle Eastern issues,' which are inseparable part of Turkey's internal politics, are the Kurdish question and the spread of radical Islam. This chapter considers in particular the threat that these two issues pose to the Turkish state. Robins writes that there are signs that an increasing proportion of younger urban based Kurds are implacably alienated from the Turkish state, although the instability arising from the Kurdish problem is held not to pose a real threat to the Turkish state. This highlights the importance of more investigation in this area.

- 346 Rouleau, Eric. "Turkey: Beyond Ataturk." (Mustafa Kemal Ataturk) *Foreign Policy*, no. 103 (Summer 1996): 70-87.

Turkey's war against the Kurdish nationalist movement has continued largely unabated since it was begun in 1984, and the end is not in sight. It is interfering with Turkey becoming a more important player in international affairs, especially as a key ally of the U.S. in the Middle East and Arab world. It has also led to a resurgence of Islam as a social and political force in the country. Turkey needs to solve its Kurdish dilemma to place itself in the modern community of nations.

- 347 Rouleau, Eric. "The Challenges to Turkey." *Foreign Affairs* 73 (November-December 1993): 110-126.

Turkey's historical knack for melding contradictions continues. Kemal Ataturk, founder of the modern republic, left a legacy that Turks are actively adapting. Relative isolationism is giving way to rising regional power. Secular democracy has let Islam back out of the bottle. And dogmatic homogeneity is being usurped by growing cultural awareness

of, and even fondness for, the Ottoman past. Turks are becoming more Turkish again, and old taboos are falling one by one.

- 348 Sammali, Jacqueline. *Etre Kurde, un delit? Portrait d'un peuple nie.* [Being a Kurd, Is It a Crime? Portrait of a People Denied.] Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995. 303 p.

The author has made several visits to Kurdistan. She says that, in spite of the ongoing cultural oppression against the Kurds in Turkey, Kurdish language is still alive in the villages and towns of Kurdistan. All Turkish, Iranian, Iraqi and Syrian attempts to assimilate the repressed Kurds have failed. This work draws a picture of a people rendered to silence. In it, the relatively unknown struggle of Kurdish women, men, boys and girls in Turkey for the preservation of their culture and dignity is presented. The effects of denying the Kurds of their cultural rights is shown, as well as the Kurdish strategies in face of such policies.

See also 6, 7, 10, 16, 19, 87, 91, 111, 119, 134, 138, 140, 143, 144, 206, 207, 219, 220, 222, 223, 241-243, 247, 250, 252, 261, 270, 273, 275-277, 282, 283, 287, 290, 295, 374, 380, 660, 680-682

## Iran

- 349 Aghajanian, Akbar. "Ethnic Inequality in Iran: An Overview." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15 (1983): 211-224.

Iran is a country of diverse ethnic and linguistic communities. There are Kurds in the west and northwest, Baluchis in the east, Turks in the north and northwest, and Arabs in the south. Persians are situated today in the central areas. Through the history of Iran these various ethnic groups have lived in geographically distinct regions and provinces. Along with this residential separation, social and economic distance has long persisted and still continues among ethnic communities. Yet, there is very little about these inequalities in the contemporary history of Iran. It is argued that the inequality among these groups arose from political centralization and irregular modernization under the Pahlavi dynasty. The measurement of inequality is explored on the basis of data from the 1960s and 1970s on ethnic occupational structure and urbanization, educational attainment, public health and utilities, and the unequal distribution of poverty. Political centralization involved the increasing cultural dominance of Persian language and people. Industry was largely located in the Persian areas of the country. During the 1960s

and 1970s, as industrialization was increasingly stressed, these inequalities widened.

- 350 Ahmadi, Hamid. *The Politics of Ethnic Nationalism in Iran (Kurdish, Azari, Baluchi, Identity)*. Ph.D., Carleton University, Canada. 1995. 554 p. DAI 56 (1995): 4924-A.

This thesis presents a critical study of the questions of ethnic nationalism and ethnic identity formation in order to explain the causes and the origins of the Kurdish, Azari and Baluchi nationalist movements in Iran. By a critical look at existing literature on ethnicity and nationalism, it argues that concepts such as ethnicity, tribe, ethnic groups and ethnic nationalism are contested and thus should not be considered universal, given and bearing the same meaning across time and place. By criticizing the Western and Orientalist approaches to the study of ethnicity, tribalism and ethnic nationalism in the Middle East in general and Iran in particular, it places its emphasis on the historical specificities of the cases under study rather than ahistorical and universal theories and conceptual frameworks. Following such a logic, and after a critical discussion of different theoretical frameworks on ethnicity and ethnic nationalism, this thesis argues that none of these sufficiently explain in themselves the formation of ethnic nationalist movements in the three Iranian cases. It then presents a theoretical framework in which three variables of state, elites, and international forces play key roles in the formation of ethnic identity and the politicization of linguistic, religious and racial ties, or the emergence of what social scientists call ethnic nationalism. In other words, the roots of ethnic nationalism are sought in: (1) the rise of the modern secular centralized state and its confrontation with the traditional autonomous and powerful tribal chiefs; (2) the manipulation of religio-linguistic differences and the construction of ethnic identities by political and intellectual, both ethnic and non-ethnic, elites; and (3) the promotion of ethnic identity and the support/encouragement of secular nationalist tendencies by Western Orientalists and external forces. Considering the historical experiences of the Iranian society, this theoretical framework is applied to explain the emergence of Kurdish, Azari and Baluchi nationalist tendencies and the formation of autonomist/separatist movements in these cases. Given the Iranian historical context, this study concludes that questions of ethnicity and ethnic nationalism are modern political phenomena and according to Eric Hobsbawm, "invented traditions." The existence of ethnic groups with distinct cultural and political identities are 'the states of mind,' or according to Benedict Anderson, "imagined communities."



- 351 Coyle, James John. *Nationalism in Iranian Kurdistan*. Ph.D., The George Washington University, 1993. 369 p. DAI 54 (1993): 1524-A.

This dissertation is a case study in nationalism, and the bases of legitimacy for nationalist movements. It examines the theoretical writings on nationalism, and concludes that all nationalism is based on a combination of ethnic markers and/or an ideology of self-determination. Using the Iranian Kurds as an example, it lends credence to the hypothesis that to the extent nationalism is based on ideology, the nationalist movement has a stronger ability to survive. To the extent that the movement is based on ethnicity, however, sub-national rivalries divide the movement. These rivalries can then be used by the central government to weaken the Iranian Kurds, and thus to defeat the nationalist movement. The dissertation examines six separate manifestations of Kurdish nationalism in Iran: the Ubaydallah Rebellion, the Treaty of Sevres, the Simko Rebellion, the Mahabad Republic, the Post War years, and the Islamic Revolution. In no case did the Kurds ever succeed for longer than a year in establishing an independent or autonomous Kurdistan. During the Ubaydallah and Simko Rebellions, as well as the post War years, Kurdish nationalism was based primarily on ethnicity. As a result, the Iranian Kurds were loyal to leaders of co-equal, segmentary tribes. Inter-tribal rivalries for power and position weakened the nationalist movements, making it easier for the central government to reassert their authority in Kurdistan. At the Treaty of Sevres, during the Mahabad Republic and the Islamic Revolution, nationalism was based primarily on ideology. To the extent that nationalism was identified by the Kurds' self-identification with the movement, then the nationalist movement was able to withstand the central government. This nationalism also had an ethnic element, however, which again allowed the government to exercise its tactics of divide and conquer. The findings of this case study support the hypothesis that ideology is a stronger basis of legitimacy for a nationalist movement than ethnicity.

- 352 Farzanfar, Ramesh. *Ethnic Groups and the State: Azaris, Kurds and Baluch of Iran*. Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992. 192 p. DAI 53 (December 1992): 2085-2086A.

This study is a historical examination of the relationship between the Iranian state and three trans-border ethnic groups inhabiting Iran, Azaris, Kurds and Baluch. A Comparative analysis demonstrates a difference in the way the state has approached these groups. The Iranian state has been accommodating towards the Azaris while "carrot and

stick" have been used to deal with other groups. This differential approach, however, is not a result of the transformation of the state through time. Indeed a relative continuity can be observed in the mutual perceptions and expectations. Such continuity is only explicable by observing the Iranian state and these groups in the historical context in which group encounters originated. As each group has had a different historical experience vis-à-vis the state, its relationship with the state has been different by virtue of that particular experience. Historical precedents, therefore, have had impacts on the nature of the nature of the relationships that have followed. At the same time as these groups share ethnic kin on the other side of the borders with the neighboring countries, the problem of their incorporation for the Iranian state has been linked, partly, to the ties of these communities to their ethnic kin in the neighboring state and to its own relationships with those states. A comparison of the relationships between the Iranian state and these groups within traditional and modern socio-political structures also demonstrates that modernization cannot be directly linked to ethnic conflict. It is the state that through implementation of various policies has been responsible for creation or resolution of conflict. The state, through utilization of myriad of policies ranging from coercion to co-optation of the political elite at the local level [Baluch and Kurds] and power sharing at the national level [Azaris] has been able, at times, to put a cap on ethnic aspirations. The Iranian state, however, due to its unwillingness to install democratic political institutions has not succeeded to create national cohesion. This explains the fact that the state, at different historical junctures, has resorted to force to bring the centrifugal elements within its sphere of influence. This study will also argue that although cultural and economic grievances are tangible and real, political factors are the most salient in the creation or resolution of conflict.

- 353 Lambton, Ann K. S. *The Persian Land Reform, 1962-1966*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969. 386 p.

Professor Lambton's book provides the most comprehensive account of land reform in Iran to date, and complements her *Landlord and Peasants in Persia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953). It is based on data gleaned from Iranian legal and administrative documents, observation of a number of villages in Iran, and conversations with various officials of agencies charged with developing and implementing land reform programs. The author, Professor of Persian at the University of London, treats the first stage of land reform, which began in 1962, and the second stage, which began in 1964, separately and devotes four

chapters to irrigation and cooperatives. She concludes that the first stage changed the structure of land ownership and the second ended the crop-sharing agreement in most of the villages. Consequently, The social and political power of the landlord has been broken. The levy by them of dues and services from the peasant has been abolished. The peasants have thus been liberated from institutions now recognized as obsolete. Further, a major change in the attitude of the peasant has been brought about by convincing him for the first time that change is possible and by giving him a new spirit of confidence. Cooperative societies are considered by the author as the most important institutional arrangement of the land reform program by providing their members with practice in cooperation, fostering a spirit of self-help and independence, and encouraging a sense of responsibility. (abridged, G. H. Razi, *American Political Science Review* 69, March 1975: 324)

- 354 Mojab, Shahrzad, and Amir Hassanpour. "The Politics of Nationality and Ethnic Diversity." In *Iran After the Revolution: Crisis of an Islamic State*. Edited by Saeed Rahnema and Sohrab Behdad, 229-250. New York: I. B. Tauris, 1995.

This chapter deals with the problems of the Islamic regime in integrating non-Persian peoples into the Islamic state. It focuses on the Kurds, who have posed the most serious challenge to the Islamic state.

- 355 O'Shea, Maria T. "The Question of Kurdistan and Iran's International Borders." In *The Boundaries of Modern Iran*. Edited by Keith McLachlan, 47-56. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Keith McLachlan is Director of the Geopolitics and International Boundaries Research Centre at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. The book in which this chapter appears is a collection of some nine essays that examine the historical and diplomatic developments which have set the limits of today's Iranian state. Each of Iran's borders with its principal neighbors is discussed in a separate chapter. In the chapter on the Kurds, O'Shea points out that "Kurdistan exists as a cultural, and increasingly political abstract. It exists as a region within the hearts and minds of the majority of the Kurds ... and yet this region is unlikely to be found on any academic maps, and will certainly not be found on any maps produced by the government agencies of the four countries that Kurdistan overlaps," namely Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. O'Shea then examines the historical antecedents, the struggle between the various states over Kurdistan, and the struggle of the Kurds for self-government. She says that what

has separated the Iranian Kurds from others is that, despite close family, tribal, religious, and economic links across the borders, Iranian Kurds have "been largely willing to view themselves as Iranians, as well as Kurds. This concept of dual identity is reflected in the manifestos of all Iranian Kurdish groupings. However, she warns that Iran's 5,500,000 Kurds might be driven to reassess their moderate demands because the regional conflicts have led to tighter border control and also because the Kurds may begin to feel that moderation pays low dividends. O'Shea chapter is one of the most interesting in the book and the subject most thoroughly studied. (abridged, Nosratollah Rassekh *Digest of Middle East Studies* 4, Summer 1995: 43-44)

- 356 Yalda, Nariman. *Federalism and Self-Rule for Minorities: A Case Study of Iran and Kurdistan*. Ph.D., Claremont Graduate School, 1980. 199 p. DAI 42 (September 1981): 1302A.

This dissertation is a study of the use of a federalist system of government to maintain the national integration of a country of many different religions, languages and cultures, with Iran and Kurdistan as a case study. The purpose of the study is to examine whether federalism is a possibly practical, modern solution to the demands and needs for self-rule by minorities in Iran, taking into account the historical background of Kurdish demands for self-rule, the historical development of Iranian government administration, and the current international context of the Iranian Kurdish situation. Federalism in three countries--Switzerland, Canada, and Yugoslavia--is examined in terms of its use in integrating minorities. Then a detailed summary of the history of government and administration in Iran is provided, with regard to elements of centralization and decentralization that have appeared and developed over the centuries. Kurdistan itself is fully described in its physical, cultural, and historical aspects. The past efforts to establish a government of self-rule in Kurdistan are thoroughly described and analyzed to find the reasons for their failure. Some theories of self-determination are considered as they relate to Kurdistan. First, the essentially Marxist-Leninist approach of the Kurdish nationalist leader Ghassemloo is analyzed and rejected for its failure to maintain national identity and placement of Kurdistan under the domination of a foreign socialist power. Second, an alternative theory of self-determination for Third World countries is put forward, one that provides for independence based on cultural identity and on Dr. Mossadegh's concept of negative political balance (that is, a refusal to accept any foreign domination, regardless of ideology). The dissertation concludes that the Iranian central government and the Kurdish nationalist groups should cooperate in a temporary pre-federal-

ist arrangement designed to prepare both Iran and Kurdistan for the possibility of a full federalist partnership in which Kurdistan would have the appropriate self-rule within a unified Iranian nation.

See also 6, 7, 10, 87, 111, 145, 152, 153, 181, 192, 196, 200, 206, 242, 243, 246, 250, 252, 253, 261, 270, 273, 276, 277, 290, 295, 368, 374, 380

## Iraq

- 357 Agwani, M. S. *Communism in the Arab East*. London, New York: Asia Publishing House, c1969. vi, 259 p. Bibliography: p. [233]-241.

Discusses, in chapters six and eleven, the relations between the Iraqi Communist Party and the Kurds in the period between World War II and 1967.

- 358 Baram, Amatzia. "The Future of Ba'thist Iraq: Power Structure, Challenges, and Prospects." In *The Politics of Change in the Middle East*. Edited by Robert B. Satloff, 31-62. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993. (Published in cooperation with The Washington Institute for Near East Policy).

Since its inception in 1920, instability and violence have been the two most salient characteristics of political life in the modern nation-state of Iraq. Despite its outward sense of continuity, the era marked by the 2nd-half decades of Ba'thist rule-and especially the period since Saddam Hussein came to power in 1979-has been no exception. The unique contribution to Iraq's political culture that Saddam himself has made is an unprecedented degree of violence used both within the Sunni-Arab ruling circle and this circle against the various other segments of Iraq society. This chapter will examine the essential features of the core institutions of the Iraqi Ba'thist state, the internal and structural challenges to he current regime, and the prospects for political change.

- 359 Batatu, Hanna. *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, Ba'thists, and Free Officers*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.

This is the most important study of the social structure of Iraq as inherited from the days of Ottoman rule to the rise of political parties (especially the Communist Party) and movements and their impact on domestic politics. This work is divided into three books: Book one "The

old social classes” contains two sections: ‘Introduction’ and ‘The main classes and status groups.’ Book two ‘The Communists from the beginnings of their movement to the fifties’ contains: ‘Beginnings in the Arab East’; ‘Beginnings in Iraq’; ‘Causes’; ‘Fahd and the Party (1941-1949)’; ‘The Party in the years 1949-1955, or the period of the ascendancy of the Kurds in the Party.’ Book three contains ‘The Communists, the Ba’thists, and the Free Officers from the fifties to the present.’ The Appendixes give documents, supplementary information about early Bolshevik activities, and tables of families and tribes.

- 360 Bengio, Ofra. “The Challenge to the Territorial Integrity of Iraq.” *Survival: The International Institute for Strategic Studies Quarterly* [London] 37 (Summer 1995): 74-94.

Iraq’s assault on the territorial integrity of Kuwait in 1990-91 resulted, ironically, in a profound challenge to the territorial integrity of Iraq itself. Despite desperate attempts by Saddam’s regime to repress them, Kurds in northern Iraq and Shi’is in the south have pushed for more autonomy or even independence ( in the case of the Kurds), partly under the cover of ‘safe-haven’ or ‘no-fly’ zones imposed by the West. The Shi’is probably do not threaten the integrity of Iraq, though they might threaten the current Ba’thi regime. The Kurds, on the other hand, pose a threat to both the Hussein regime and the Iraqi state. Whether this threat does, in fact, result in the disintegration of Iraq will be heavily influenced by the role of regional and international powers.

- 361 Bengio, Ofra. “Experimentation in Kurdish Self-Rule.” In *Middle East Contemporary Survey, vol. 17 (1993)*. Edited by Ami Ayalon, 381-388. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995.

An excellent account on the Kurdish self-rule experiment in Iraqi Kurdistan following the Gulf War. In it, the author divides the paper into four sections discussing “Internal politics and conflicts,” “Iraqi Kurdistan *vis-a-vis* Baghdad,” “The changing role of neighboring countries,” and “Attempts to break regional isolation” by Iraqi Kurdish parties (e.g., trying to contact the Israeli and Kuwaiti governments).

- 362 Bengio, Ofra. “Iraq’s Shi’a and Kurdish Communities: From Resentment to Revolt.” In *Iraq’s Road to War*. Edited by Amatzia Baram and Barry Rubin, 51-66. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993.

Since the formation of the Iraqi state in 1920, political maneuverings have largely resulted from the interplay of the Sunni-Shi’a Kurdish

triangle, with the Sunnis having the major role. The peculiar thing about this triangle is that the Shi'a and the Kurds have no common nationality or religious affinity, though they faced a common problem with the Sunnis in power. To perpetuate their predominance, the Sunnis had to balance their two foes (i.e., the Shi'a and the Kurds) against each other or, at least, to keep them apart as far as possible. History has shown that although the Shi'a and Kurds were united by enmity toward the Sunni government, they made little to join forces with a view to changing this balance of power. This long-standing situation, although jeopardized by the March 1991 uprising, survived that threat. For many reasons, therefore, this uprising offers a good case study of the turbulent history of relations among Sunnis, Shi'a, and Kurds in Iraq.

- 363 Benjamin, Charles. "The Kurdish Nonstate Nation." In *Nonstate Nations in International Politics: Comparative System Analyses*. Edited by Judy S. Bertelsen, 69-97. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

This chapter focuses on and applies the nonstate nation framework to the Kurds. The emphasis of this chapter is on the attempts, since 1958, by the Kurds of Iraq, under the leadership of Mulla Mustafa Barzani, to gain autonomy and control over Kurdish areas within Iraq. These Kurds have been the most audible and durable in recent times and, at least to outside observers, have appeared likely to attain their goals.

- 364 Bozarlsan, Hamit. "L'Irak et ses communautes." [Iraq and Its Ethnic Communities.] *Les Cahiers de L'Orient*, no. 29 (1993): 111-119.

The dismemberment of Iraq according to ethnic lines cannot be excluded. What is Iraq's future? Hamit Bozarlsan has written a comparative analysis of the present situation of the Kurds and Shiites and the strategies adopted by all internal factions. It provides the reader with an in-depth look at Iraq and an analytical grid for the analysis of future trends.

- 365 Dann, Uriel. *Iraq Under Qassem: A Political History, 1958-1963*. New York: Praeger, 1969. xvi, 405 p.

In this work, Dann has attempted the task of writing the political history of events leading to the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy on July 14, 1958, by forces under Colonel 'Abd al Karim Qassim, who then established his own republican regime and maintained it until he was murdered in February 1963 by some of his former colleagues in the original *coup*. Essentially the work is divided into four parts that treat:

the *coup* of July 1958, the founding of the republic, and the nationalist challenge; the Communist threat and challenge to the new republican regime under Qassim; the constitutional challenge to the regime; and the end of the Qassim regime and the unceremonious departure of the "sole leader." Dann observes in his introduction to the book that there is neither an Iraqi nation, a judgment some would challenge, nor any real tradition of cooperation to cement the various religious and ethnic communities within the country. The book is valuable in delineating the character of the various leaders, concerning whom he provides essential biographical data. It also portrays the various programs of party groups, however, meaningless at times, such as those of the Communist, the Constitutional, and the National Democratic parties. There is also useful discussion of the Kurdish problem and of the problems of Arab "unity," especially in connection with possible "union" with the United Arab Republic under Nasser. (abridged, Harry N. Howard/*American Historical Review* 75, February 1970: 893-894)

- 366 Farouk-Sluglett, Marion, and Peter Sluglett. *Iraq Since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship*. London ; New York: KPI, 1987. xvii, 332 p. Bibliography: p. [269]-323.

The history and politics of Iraq and the context which had given rise to Saddam Hussein's violent Ba'thist regime were barely understood. This highly praised book is the first to explore the emergence of modern Iraq from its foundation in 1920 to the August 1990 invasion of Kuwait. It covers the period from the revolution in 1958, concentrating particularly on Saddam Hussein's rise to power and his consolidation as leader. It is the only political history of modern Iraq now available to provide a critical analysis of the Ba'thist regime which has ruled since 1968. The authors also explore the role and decline of the Iraqi Communist Party, the shifting policies towards the Kurds and Shi'is, the nationalization of oil and Iraq's relations within its neighbors. The authors also provide a stimulating analysis of the economy over the last three decades. Concerning the Kurds, the authors treat them largely in this book; they focus on the gains that the Kurds had achieved under Qassim's rule (1958-1961) and lost under the Arab nationalist and Ba'thist regimes. (Joyce Blau/*AI* 13:234)

- 367 Francke, Rend Rahim. "The Opposition." In *Iraq Since the Gulf War: Prospects for Democracy*. Edited by Fran Hazelton for The Committee Against Repression and for Democratic Rights in Iraq (CARDRI), 153-177. London: Zed Books Ltd., 1994.



In this chapter, Francke examines and analyzes the Iraqi political opposition. She abstains from the usual polemical discourse and presents a balanced and realistic perspective on the heterogeneous opposition. She is hopeful about, but does not exaggerate, the democratic potential for Iraq once the Iraqi people throw off the "yoke" of Saddam Hussein. "Disenchantment with the political parties, rigid ideologies and authoritarian systems that have held sway over Iraq in the past thirty years has prompted a search for fresh ideas and new models." Nevertheless, Francke cautions her readers by further explaining that the lack of civil society, the lack of democratic institutions and party structures and the persistence of factionalism make a transition to democracy or "freedom" a very difficult task. "The opposition groups are not united on what constitute possible or desirable methods for achieving change ... The parties and currents found within the Iraqi opposition are implicitly parties of exclusion: the Kurdish parties are not designed to include Arabs; the Arab Nationalist groups are unlikely to win Kurdish, Assyrian, or Turcomen membership; the Shi'i Islamist groups are by definition closed to people of other religions as well as Sunni Muslims." Francke also cautions that even this momentous occasion (i.e., the Kurdish elections of 1992) was threatened by the very same factionalism and sectarianism that divided the opposition and has helped sustain Saddam Hussein's position in Iraq. Instead of facing Saddam Hussein as a united front, the Kurdish minority groups have been experiencing infighting, back-biting and competition for resources and international sympathy. Saddam Hussein has therefore again been able to divide and rule, this time by doing nothing and letting the opposition destroy itself. (abridged, Mia Bloom/*Journal of International Affairs* 49, Summer 1995: 272-274)

- 368 Ghareeb, Edmund. *The Kurdish Question in Iraq*. 1st ed. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981. x, 223 p. : map. (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East). Includes bibliographical references and index.

Originally the author's Ph.D. dissertation (Georgetown University, 1979). In it, Ghareeb examines the history of the Kurdish issue in Iran and Turkey and then concentrates on Iraq, chronicling the Iraqi Ba'th government's attempts since 1968 to achieve a political understanding with the Kurds concerning their status in Northern Iraq. The failure of both sides to reach agreement contributed to widespread Kurdish armed rebellion which was encouraged by covert Iranian, American, and Israeli assistance. Drawing upon extensive personal interviews with pro-and anti-Ba'th Kurdish leaders, including Mulla Mustafa Barzani

and members of his family, Iraqi government and Ba'ath party officials, and U.S. government officials, Ghareeb discusses in detail the positions of the Ba'ath and Kurdish leaders and the factors which led to the failure of negotiations between them and, ultimately, to the collapse of the Kurdish rebellion itself.

- 369 Gunter, Michael M. "The KDP-PUK Conflict in Northern Iraq." *The Middle East Journal* 50 (Spring 1996): 225-241.

This article analyzes the causes of the civil war in the Kurdish region of Iraq between Mas'ud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Jela Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) that broke out in May 1994. The conflict called into question the future of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) that was created after the 1991 Gulf war under the protection of the Allied no-fly zone. The article analyzes the background of the long-standing KDP-PUK rivalry and explain the present relapse into conflict. It also analyzes the French role and its efforts to end the fighting. The United States' role and its peace efforts are also discussed.

- 370 Gunter, Michael M. "The Iraqi National Congress (INC) and the Future of the Iraqi Opposition." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 19 (Spring 1996): 1-20.

The purpose of this article is to analyze whether the opposition Iraqi National Congress (INC)--created in October 1992 by most of the Iraqi opposition groups including the Kurds and on record as favoring a democratic, federal Iraq--is or can be a viable future goal, this article analyzes INC's creation composition strategy, financial support, international and internal links, mediatory role played during the recent internal conflicts among the Iraqi Kurds, strengths, weaknesses, and future prospects. A brief discussion on earlier, formally organized groups opposed to Saddam's rule is also included.

- 371 Gunter, Michael M. "A Kurdish State in Northern Iraq?" *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 20, no. 2 (1994): 45-94.

Factors that led to the May 1992 election and movement toward the creation of a *de facto* Kurdish state and government in northern Iraq following the Gulf war of 1991 are identified: (1) the protection of the Allied Poised Hammer forces stationed in southwestern Turkey, (2) a UN presence sanctioned by Security Council Resolution 688 (1991), and (3) Turkish cooperation and protection. The formation of the gov-

ernment, regional effects on surrounding states and the Kurds living in them, internal fighting, and economic problems are detailed. The nascent Kurdish state in Iraq is likely to become *de facto* due to continuation of neither war nor peace because of the U.S. deterrent, Turkish protection, and inability of Iraqi opposition to overthrow Saddam Hussein. (SA: 95-10914)

- 372 Gunter, Michael M. "A Trip to Free Kurdistan." *PS: Political Science and Politics* [Washington, D.C.] 27 (March 1994): 146-148.

A visit to free (Iraqi) Kurdistan during the United Nations economic blockade against that country reveals that this fledgling democracy is well on its way toward political growth. While the economic burdens on its new government are numerous, first-hand experience in the legislative, academic and administrative sectors, through an official trip to the country, indicates that the populace eagerly embraces democracy and its components.

- 373 Gunter, Michael M. "A *de facto* Kurdish State in Northern Iraq." *Orient* 34 (September 1993): 379-401. Appears also in *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (1993): 295-319.

Since the end of the 1991 Gulf War, the Iraqi Kurds have increasingly moved toward the creation of a *de facto* state and government in northern Iraq. This has been accomplished behind the protection of the Allied Poised Hammer forces stationed in southeastern Turkey, a UN presence sanctioned by Security Council Resolution 688 of 5 April 1991, and Turkish cooperation and protection. Unprecedented elections held in May 1992 led to the formation of an actual government in July and the declaration of a federated state in October of that year. In April 1993, a new government was crested. The purpose of this article is to analyze the various factors that have led to the emergence of this *de facto* Kurdish state and government its regional effects upon surrounding states and the Kurds living in them, and the prospects for the future.

- 374 Gunter, Michael M. *The Kurds of Iraq: Tragedy and Hope*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992. x, 175 p. : map. Includes bibliographical references (p. [153]-166) and index.

The end of World War I marked the collapse of Ottoman power and the decision by Britain to carve out the new, artificial state of Iraq from part of the Empire's ruins. The Kurds who found themselves within Iraq have been in an almost permanent state of revolt over since. For its part,

the Iraqi government has always feared Kurdish separatism not only for itself but because of the precedent it would set for the Shiites, some 55% of the population, and thus the very future of the Iraqi state. This book briefly reviews the back-ground of the Kurdish national movement in Iraq, and then devotes the bulk of its analysis to the uprising which followed the 1991 Gulf War, the subsequent negotiations, UN peacekeeping operation, and creation of a *de facto* Kurdish state, as well as the vitally important policies of turkey. The analysis concludes that, despite many remaining difficulties, there is now reason to hope that the long nightmare of the Kurds in Iraq might perhaps be nearing an end.

- 375 Hajj, Aziz al-. *L'Irak nouveau et le probleme kurde: essai politique*. [The New Iraq and the Kurdish Problem: A Political Essay.] Paris: Khayat, 1977. 168, [14] p. : maps. (Collection Horizons Arabes) Bibliography: p. [173-175].

The author is an Iraqi politician himself. Being a Lori-Feili, and considering himself a Kurd, the Kurdish problem in Iraq is very familiar to him. He has actively participated in the political life of his country; first as a communist leader in opposition to the Ba'athist regime and later on as a representative of his country at UNESCO. This book, which is part of the author's dissertation (Paris), is important and interesting, particularly because it offers mass information that are hardly accessible: official points of view, extracts of laws, decrees, etc. The events described in the book covers the period between 1920 and 1976. (abridged, Joyce Blau/AJ 1:332)

- 376 Harris, George S. "The Kurdish Conflict in Iraq." In *Ethnic Conflict in International Relations*. Edited by Astri Suhrke and Lela Garner Noble, 68-92. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

How and why the Kurdish movement lost its independence and came to be manipulated by political actors from abroad are questions that offer useful insight into the larger problem of the role of ethnicity in international relations. The Kurds of Iraq represent the case of a separatist conflict in which the ethnic group is divided among several neighboring states. Forming a majority in none of these countries, the Kurds nevertheless present a potential danger to the governments in their states of residence while lacking a voice in determining the policy of any. The experience of the Kurds sheds light on the effects of the interaction of such factors as geography, political legitimacy, and leadership on the fate of ethnic movements.

- 377 Hassanpour, Amir. "The Kurdish Experience." *Middle East Report* 24 (July-August 1994): 2-7, 23.

The Kurdish national liberation movement is examined. The Kurdish people number over 22 million and, though their homeland, Kurdistan, is now split between six other nations, Kurdish nationalism is on the rise. The Kurdish struggle for independence has a centuries-old history, but its success has been marred by internal divisions of politics and ideology, social class, dialect, clan, and conflict between traditional leaders and the Kurdish masses. The emergence of middle class nationalism and the establishment of the Kurdistan Democratic Party in the 1940s signaled the first break with feudal and tribal politics. Urbanization and increasing levels of education broadened the social bases of the new nationalism and heightened tension within the movement, which eventually culminated in the pursuit of a more radical nationalism aligned with the people's desire for democratic rule, freedom for women, and land and water reforms. The Kurdish national liberation movement in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey is also discussed. (D. Generoli/SA: 95-3242)

- 378 Hussein, Saddam. *Saddam Hussein on Current Affairs in Iraq*. Translated by Khalid Kishtainy. London: Longman, 1977. 91 p.

An English version of the speeches and interviews Hussein gave during 1973-74 when he was Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and Deputy Secretary of the Regional Command of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party. The translator's preface supplies details of Saddam Hussein's life and outlines his qualities and political achievements. The book includes an interview he gave on 1 June 1973 to the correspondent of *Ath-Thawra* on the issue of the oil nationalization decree and a speech on the Kurdish question, followed by an interview with Arab and foreign journalists. In addition it reproduces Hussein's speech concerning the National Front which he delivered to the National Assembly at a meeting convened by the High Committee of the Progressive Pan-Arab Nationalist Front. The work includes a chronological table of events in Iraq and the Middle East from 1925 to 1974.

- 379 Hussein, Saddam. *Saddam Hussein on Current Affairs*. Baghdad: Ath-Thawra Publications, 1974. 144 p.

A collection of talks delivered by Saddam Hussein when he was Vice-Chairman of Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council. The speeches were delivered between September 1973, and April 1974 and relate to

the Kurdish question, problems of development, and the National Front. The talks reveal the course the revolution took in terms of its ideology, its plans for the future, and its honest attempts to deal with the problems of the masses.

- 380 Jawad, Sa'ad. *Iraq and the Kurdish Question, 1958-1970*. London: Ithaca, 1981. 377 p. : map. Bibliography: p. 350-370. Includes index.

Originally presented as the author's doctoral dissertation (University College of Wales at Aberystwyth, 1977). In this work, Jawad argues that the Kurdish problem is an important feature of modern Iraqi politics. Already apparent under the monarchy, it developed more acutely after the Revolution of July 1958. He says the crux of the problem lay in the Kurds' demand for a distinct status within Iraq, in the face of Arab nationalist fears that its fulfillment would ultimately lead to a call for separation. This study of the development of the Kurdish national movement in Iraq from 1958 until the conclusion of the March Manifesto in 1970 examines the effects of Iraqi politics on the Kurdish national movement and vice versa. Thus the Kurdish question is seen in its Iraqi context rather than as a separate issue. The views and politics of neighboring and other countries, and the course of the political struggle within the Kurdish national movement itself, have also been analyzed.

- 381 Kakai, Falaq al-Din. "The Kurdish Parliament." In *Iraq Since the Gulf War: Prospects for Democracy*. Edited by Fran Hazelton for The Committee Against Repression and for Democratic Rights in Iraq (CARDRI), 118-133. London: Zed Books Ltd., 1994. Published for CARDRI.

- 382 Karsh, Efraim, and Inari Rausti. *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography*. London: Brassey's, 1991.

An excellent account on the political biography of Saddam Hussein encompassing the development of his regime, the key problems of Iraq and the Kuwait crisis. In logical and roughly chronological progression, Karsh and Rausti paint Saddam's background (both his immediate environment in early life, and the wider issues of nationalism and Iraq's difficult history); his rise to power, in tender with his uncle al-Bakr; his assumption of the presidency in 1979 and subsequent consolidation of his position by massive purges and the expansion and enslavement of the Ba'th Party; the nature and characteristics of the totalitarian political system of 1980s Iraq; the circumstances and course of the war with

Iran; the post-war economic and political pressures which were to lead to the Kuwait adventure; and finally, the Kuwait crisis itself. In addition to the focus on Saddam, the key issues of Iraqi politics (Kurds, Shi'ites, strategic bottlenecks) and regional and international linkages are elegantly integrated into the overall argument.

- 383 Khadduri, Majid. *Socialist Iraq: A Study in Iraqi Politics Since 1968*. Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1978, 265 p.

This work is a sequel to the author's *Independent Iraq 1932-1958* (1960) and *Republican Iraq* which covers political developments under the leadership of the Ba'ath Socialist Party which came to power in 1968. Khadduri's deep understanding of Iraqi politics, his access to Iraqi leaders and officers and thorough familiarity with Iraq's previous political evolution have all ensured that this is a well-informed analysis. The author considers the success of the Ba'ath Party in consolidating its power and guiding Iraq's social and economic development.

- 384 Khadduri, Majid. *Republican 'Iraq: A Study in 'Iraqi Politics Since the Revolution of 1958*. London: Oxford University Press, 1969. 318 p.

An account of Iraq's political developments since 1958. The story Khadduri tells is a sad one. The royalist regime of Iraq had been attacked by its critics for its suppression of liberties, its hostility to Pan-Arabism, its socio-economic inequalities, its corruption and its close ties with Western "imperialism." The revolution was expected to eliminate all these evils and put Iraq on the path of democracy, abundance and progress. Actually, the revolutionary ideals suffered grievous setbacks, and the country not only relapsed into the old vices of the Hashemite era but, in addition, was exposed to instability and new abuses of power. The succession of revolutionary regimes imposed restrictions on freedom greater than those of the royalist era; the revolutionary regimes often pushed Iraq into a greater degree of isolation from the rest of the Arab world than was ever the case under the monarchy. The revolution failed to remove the socio-economic inequalities, the gap between the privileged class--this time mainly composed of the bureaucrats, the army officers and the ruling clique--and the masses being as wide as ever. Corruption increased, and, finally, Iraq's emancipation from dependence on foreign ties proved more a mirage than a reality. Furthermore, the revolution was unable to change much of the basic traits and problems of Iraqi society. Confessional divisions remained as strong as ever, permeating much of the political rivalry between pan-Arabists and Iraqi localists. The Kurdish problem fluctu-

ated between the extremes of civil war and conciliatory acts under the premiership of Abd al-Rahman al-Bazzaz, not unlike at the time of the monarchy. And the tradition of authoritarianism remained as strong as ever. On balance, revolutionary Iraq failed, with the exception of al-Bazzaz, to produce outstanding leaders. Political maneuvering took the place of genuine statesmanship and any observer could not help being appalled by the mediocrity of most of the generals and colonels who served in high positions of the revolutionary era. (abridged, George Lenczowski/*MEJ* 26, Summer 1972: 335-336)

- 385 Korn, David A. "Democracy for the Kurds." *Freedom Review* 25 (May-June 1994): 16-18.

The Kurds are attempting to establish democratic self-government in the Kurdistan Autonomous Region of Iraq. In May 1992 they held elections for parliament and established a provisional executive responsible to the Parliament. Laws were passed protecting freedom of speech and other basic human rights, and a beginning was made toward the establishment of an independent judiciary. However, the entire experiment could collapse due to the extreme economic hardships brought on by Baghdad's blockade of Kurdistan combined with the United Nation's embargo on Iraq. (*PSA* 94-03408)

- 386 Kutschera, Chris. "Kurds in Crisis." *The Middle East* [London], no. 253 (November 1995): 6-10.

In this article, Kutschera describes the civil war in Iraqi Kurdistan between the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, and the failure to implement the preliminary agreement for demilitarization reached in Drogheda, Dublin, August 1995.

- 387 Kutschera, Chris. "Repressed, Disorganized, But Living in Hope." *The Middle East* [London], no. 217 (November 1992): 12-13.

Kurdistan is now faced with the challenge of reorganization and dealing with financial matters after achieving autonomy and electing its own parliament. So far, the region has not yet dealt with the responsibilities entailed in autonomy. But the promised aid from the West still has not arrived leaving the Kurds helpless in the face of a novel situation. To further complicate matters, the two main political parties are still fighting over issues of money and armed forces. Progress will be difficult to achieve unless these two factions work together.



- 388 Kutschera, Chris. "L'Opposition Irakienne: le temps des interferences" [The Iraqi Opposition: The Times of Interferences.] *Les Cahiers de l'Orient*, nos. 25-26 (1992): 57-70.

The author puts in perspective the two-track strategy of the Kurdish parties, who are engaged in secret negotiations with the Baghdad regime while at the same time maintaining their contacts with other Iraqi opposition parties. What is the real strength of these parties? What is the diplomatic strategy of Iraq's four powerful neighbors: Syria, Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia?

- 389 Kutschera, Chris. "Autonomy, Federation, Independence." *The Middle East* [London], no. 213 (July 1992): 18-20.

The May 1992 elections in Kurdistan--the first free vote the Kurds have ever had--was an exhilarating event. There were four parties who put up slates for the elections, with the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) of Mas'ud Barzani and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by Jلال Talabani as the main contending parties. Barzani advocates autonomy for the Kurds while Talabani espouses a federal government for Iraq. Election results show the popularity of both the KDP and PUK. Barzani and Talabani are scheduled to meet each other in a run-off election to elect Kurdistan's president. Kutschera witnessed the festival atmosphere and wonders whether the Kurds will be able to limit their aspirations to autonomy, or have independence thrust upon them by Saddam Hussein's intransigence.

- 390 Kutschera, Chris. "Thanks Again, Saddam!" *The Middle East* [London] no. 196 (February 1991): 21-22.

Some Kurdish leaders reacted to the outbreak of the Gulf crisis and the consequent international condemnation of Saddam Hussein with untold glee. Here at last was a chance to harness Western indignation to their own plight. Since then, however, more pragmatic attitudes have come to the fore. Chris Kutschera writes that senior Kurds see their best hopes in allying with other Iraqi opposition groups and steering clear of involvement in the war between Baghdad and the West.

- 391 Kutschera, Chris. "Les Kurdes d'Irak: des revisions déchirantes." [The Iraqi Kurds Review Their Political Choices.] *Les Cahiers de l'Orient*, no. 12 (1988): 63-81.

Sacrificed by Iran, attacked with chemical arms by Iraq, the Kurds are living the darkest days of their history. That's what relates Chris Kutschera, who details the existing conflicts between the two greatest Kurd Liberation Parties and their respective options.

- 392 Laantza, Maianne. "Ethnic Conflicts in Islamic Societies: Politicization of Berbers in North Africa and Kurds in Iraq." In *Regions in Upheaval: Ethnic Conflict and Political Mobilization*. Edited by Sven Taegil. Stockholm: Scandinavian University Books/Esselte Studium, 1984.
- 393 Lukitz, Liora. *Iraq: The Search for National Identity*. London: Frank Cass, c1995. xi, 212 p. Bibliography: p. 191-205. Includes index.

The 1990-1991 crisis in the Middle East and the disturbances that followed in Iraq's Kurdish and Shi'i areas have starkly exposed deep-stated divisions in the Iraqi population. Iraq has essentially been dismembered along the lines of the three Ottoman provinces that were arbitrarily assembled into a state by the British after the First World War. This book examines the complexities stemming from this situation. It focuses on the intertwined and contradictory cultural, political and religious divisions in Iraqi society during the country's formative years, 1920--1960, offers a new explanation of the social categories and 'cultural packages' in conflict since Iraqi's inception as a modern state, and points out the reasons behind the unity or fragmentation of group connections, loyalties and identities. By explaining the volatile nature of 'class' associations, and then redefining 'class' as 'social groups,' conditioned primarily by communal and religious affiliations, Lukitz established improved terms of comparison in a situation where the sheer number of conflicts creates an ambiguity of identify and meaning. *Iraq: The Search for National Identity* shows why the factors that normally express an nation's statehood, such as its army or national political parties, cannot forge national unity while preserving the supremacy of one section of society over others. The Shi'i soldiers' feeble identification with Saddam, Hussein's goals, compared with the loyalty of the Sunni Republican Guards, is a notable example of the lack of national cohesion.

- 394 Marr, Phebe. "Iraq's Future: Plus Ca Change ... or Something Better." In *The Gulf Crisis: Background and Consequences*. Edited by Ibrahim Ibrahim, 145-168. Washington, D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies - Georgetown University, 1992.

This paper is designed to explore Iraq's future and regional role it might play in the aftermath of the war. In order to examine the parameters of change and continuity in Iraq, four questions are addressed. First, how much damage was inflicted on Iraq as a result of the war and the sanctions, and with what impact on Iraq's role in the regional power equation? Second, what can be learned from the 1991 rebellion about the forces at work in Iraqi society and the direction they may take Iraq in the future? Third, what plausible scenarios can be envisioned for Iraq's political structure based on the configuration of these forces? And lastly, what would these scenarios portend for Iraq's regional role?

- 395 Marr, Phebe. *The Modern History of Iraq*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985. xvii, 311 p. Includes bibliographical references and index.

A comprehensive historical account of modern Iraq that focuses on the period since the breakup of the Ottoman empire and the beginning of British occupation in 1920. Marr guides the reader through a maze of unstable politics marked by ethnic and sectarian conflict as well as by intense factionalism based as much on the idiosyncrasies of personalities as on ideological divergencies. In Iraq, as in many other Middle Eastern societies caught between traditionalism and modernization, there is plenty of both sectarianism and factionalism. Marr also does not neglect social and economic developments. She has thus produced a fine example of history at its best. In fact, this may well be the best book on modern Iraq now available, especially for those who lack the stamina or the time necessary to digest the voluminous study of Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq* (1978). (abridged, Frank Tachau/*American Historical Review* 91, October 1986: 968)

- 396 McLaurin, Ronald D., Mohammed Mughisuddin, and Abraham R. Wagner. *Foreign Policy Making in the Middle East: Domestic Influences on Policy in Egypt, Iraq, Israel and Syria*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

In the introduction to this volume, McLaurin, formerly on the staff of the assistant secretary of defense and currently with Abbott Associates, writes that it is the conviction of the authors that "all five political systems under study here manifest different but real concerns about the attitudes, opinions, needs, an perceptions of key publics within their respective populations." Accordingly, in this examination of five Middle East countries--Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Syria--close attention is paid to domestic matters and to interest groups such as

ethnic and religious minorities, political parties insofar as they exist, the military, business interests and so on, and the impact, direct or indirect, that they may have in the formulation of foreign policy in the various countries. Chapters on the individual countries open with a section entitled "Environment," which offer an overview of the nation including some history, especially more recent history. This is followed by analyses on the structure of the government, the political system, interest groups, issue areas, and objectives and policies. Subsections are provided in most of these fields. For example, in the chapter dealing with Iraq (pp. 108-168), Lewis W. Snider, Chairman of the Department of International Relations at the Claremont Graduate School, examines under the rubric of interest groups the Progressive National Front, the Ba'ath party, the Kurdish nationalist movement, and the Iraqi Communist party. (abridged, Daniel M. Kennedy/*Perspective* January-February 1984: 22)

- 397 Moberly, John. "Vigilant Containment: Putting Down a Marker in Iraq." *The World Today* 52 (October 1996): 244-246.

The recent incursion of Saddam Hussein's forces into northern Kurdistan should not have come as a surprise to anybody. The failure of U.S. attempts to reconcile the two main Kurdish factions left Saddam Hussein with an altogether too tempting opportunity to take a step towards reasserting his authority in Kurdistan. Saddam will have calculated rightly that the increasing ambiguity of the situation in Kurdistan, particularly after the appeal to him for help from the Kurdish Democratic Party, would inhibit a clear coordinated international response to his troops' move into Arbil.

- 398 Mylroie, Laurie. "After Saddam Hussein." [Kurdistan] *The Atlantic* 270 (December 1992): 36-38; 49-52.

The Kurds of northern Iraq are successfully administering their territory and meeting the needs of a population of 3.5 million. However, the United Nations embargo on Iraq causes unnecessary economic hardships to the Kurds and will not result in the overthrow of Saddam Hussein.

- 399 Naamani Israel T. "The Kurds in Iraq." *Jewish Frontier* 35 (July-August 1968): 13-16.

This article examines the position and aspirations of the fourth largest ethnic group in the Middle East. It compares their situation in several

Middle East countries. It traces their history as an ethnic minority in Iraq as well as their movement toward Kurdish autonomy. It also describes the efforts of their emissaries who seek support in Arab capitals on the basis that their independence would create a buffer state between Arabs and Iraq.

- 400 Naamani, Israel T. "The Kurdish Drive for Self-determination." *The Middle East Journal* 20 (Summer 1966): 279-295.

The problem of Iraqi Kurds today is that they cannot be subdued but they cannot defeat the Iraqi Army. The Kurds are the fourth largest ethnic group in the Middle East. They inhabit an area rich in coal, copper and oil, but it is landlocked and gives few opportunities for contact with the Western World. Some Kurds are primitive today as their ancestors were but they learn swiftly enough given the opportunity. In Turkey, Iran and Syria the drive for self-determination is not as open as Iraq although there the Kurds form a smaller minority. But they are more geographically concentrated and have more effective military and political leadership. Yet, so far, the Kurds have not produced a leader to capture the imagination and to unite all elements of their compatriots. The main support for insurrection comes from the segregation sector but ultimately the middle class and proletariat will decide the fate of the revolution. (*IPSA*: 17-214)

- 401 Nasser, Munir H. "Iraq: Ethnic Minorities and their Impact on Politics." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 8 (Spring 1985): 22-37.

One of the factors underlying Iraq's instability is the ethnic and sectarian fragmentation. Iraq is predominantly an Arab country with a Muslim majority of population, and ethnic and religious backgrounds have had a far more important influence on its leaders than other socio-economic origins. The Muslim majority is traditionally marked by a split between the Sunnis, who have dominated politics, and the Shi'a who, although the majority of the population, have enjoyed little political power. The Gulf War is the reincarnation of a long historical record of conflict between Arabs and Persians, better conceived in our times as a Shi'a versus Sunni struggle. Intermittent but lengthy periods of Kurdish wars in the north of Iraq--another political issue with an ethnic dimension--have had a similar impact on politics. (*IPSA*: 36-6059)

402 Penrose, Edith, and E. F. Penrose. *Iraq: International Relations and National Development*. London: Ernest Benn, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1978. 569 p: ill., maps, charts.

403 Prince, James M. "A Kurdish State in Iraq?" *Current History* 92 (January 1993): 17-22.

Since the Iraqi government's defeat in the Persian Gulf War, Kurdish leaders have struggled to create a state that will at the very least include them in determining Iraq's future. As regional powers keep a watchful eye on their progress, Kurds in neighboring Turkey, Iran, and Syria are also waiting to see if the dream of Kurdish autonomy almost realized twice in this century emerges or if the situation will become a lightning rod of controversy and conflict.

404 Saeedpour, Vera Beaudin. "Kurdish Times and the New York Times." *Kurdish Times* 2, no. 2 (1988): 39-58.

The author, Director of *Kurdish Times*, a semi-annual journal published in New York, did a very good review of the American press, particularly the *New York Times*, concerning the Kurdish issue. The author wanted to prove that, since 1975, the American press gave a distorted image of the Kurdish issue.

405 Salih, Barham A. "Sources of Conflict in the Middle East: The Kurds." In *Powder Keg in the Middle East: The Struggle for Gulf Security*. Edited by Geoffrey Kemp and Janice Gross Stein, 237-246. Lanham, Md.: American Association for the Advancement of Science and Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1995.

A political history of the Kurdish question in Iraq since 1918.

406 Schemm, P. "Inside the Kurdish Revolution: Barzani-Talabani Feud Hinders Struggle for Independence." *Middle East Insight* 9 (July-August 1993): 36-37.

The Two major Kurdish political parties (the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) have struggled against Saddam Hussein's Iraq, and sometimes against each other. For the past few decades, long, bitter enemies, the two parties finally seemed ready to work together by the end of the Iran-Iraq war. However, their differing beliefs and methods have prevented close cooperation and led to many recent splits. This article explores the strange series of alliances that the

infighting between the Kurdish organizations has caused. (*PSA* 93-08541)

- 407 Schmidt, L. "New Politics in Southern Kurdistan." *Argument* 36 (May-June 1994): 419-430.

After the failure of the opposition movement, which had formed in the uprising against Iraq's rule, the disillusioned Kurdish left has entered a new phase since the elections, helping disadvantaged groups of refugees, women, and the unemployed to organize themselves. The author explains the origin and structures of these organizations and discusses their perspectives.

- 408 *Settlement of the Kurdish Problem in Iraq: Discussion and Documents on the Peaceful and Democratic Settlement of the Problem.* Translated from the Arabic by Ath-Thawra. Baghdad: Ath-Thawra Publications, [between 1974 and 1976.] 198 p.

A translation of a series of articles extracted from the Ba'ath Party newspaper, *Al-Thawra*, which describe various aspects of the Kurdish problem, discuss possible solutions and examine the peaceful settlement of the question which was eventually at crossroads. Includes the texts of such documents as the March Manifesto and the 1974 Law of Autonomy in the Region of Kurdistan. It is effectively the regime's own defense of its policies toward the Kurds.

- 409 Shikara, Ahmad A. R. "Prospects for Peace in Iraq: The Case of the Kurds and the Question of National Integration." In *After the War: Iran and Iraq and the Arab Gulf*. Edited by Charles Davies, 97-114. Chichester, UK: Carden Publications Limited, 1990.

This chapter concentrates on the Kurdish question with a general look at the prospects for national-political integration in Iraq. It is divided into the three sections: (I) The dilemma of achieving Kurdish national aspirations; (II) The aftermath of the Iraq-Iran cease-fire: the perceptions, attitudes and policies of the Iraqi political leadership; (III) The impact of the regional environment on the Kurdish question.

- 410 Waterbury, John. "Strangling the Kurds: Saddam Hussein's Economic War Against Northern Iraq." *Middle East Insight* 9 (July/August 1993): 31-38.

Saddam Hussein has been waging an economic war against the Kurds in the north which has evoked only ad hoc measures from the international community. Hussein is forcing more autonomy on the north on the assumption that Kurdish authorities will not be able to manage their new responsibilities. This article argues that unless the Allies that drove Iraq from Kuwait make a longer term commitment to the rehabilitation of the north, its leadership will have to reach some sort of accommodation with Saddam's regime--and probably on his terms. (*PSA* 93-08540)

- 411 Whitley, Andrew. "Minorities and the Stateless in Persian Gulf Politics." *Survival* 35 Winter 1993/1994: 28-50.

The period following the Gulf war highlighted the problem of minorities and stateless persons in the region. Iran and Iraq have gone some distance towards recognizing the ethnic and religious minorities in their countries, but discriminatory official policies and outright persecution continue. In some Gulf states, there are halting moves underway to codify laws and develop constitutions and forms of popular representation in public life - essential first steps towards the recognition of minority issues. Yet, legislation cannot be the only answer to the problem of minorities. The Gulf state that has the most progressive stance towards minorities on paper is Iraq which is also the country with the worst actual record. (*IPSA*: 44-4873)

- 412 Zeltzer, Moshe. *Aspects of Near East Society*. New York: Bookman Associates, 1962. 276 p.

The aspects of Near Eastern society which professor Zeltzer considers in this set of papers, range from minority problems to Arabic and Hebrew language changes in the twentieth century. When he writes of minorities in the Near East, Dr. Zeltzer pays particular attention to the Kurds and gives in detail their geographical and political positions in the countries where they are important today. Whether he is right in saying that "the Kurdish minority may prove a decisive factor in shaping the destinies of the whole region," or not, he does remind the general reader of their continuing and unsatisfied claims. The material provided here is a useful summary of the Kurdish issue, particularly as it affects Iraq. (abridged, Georgiana G. Stevens/*MEJ* 17, Winter-Spring 1963: 165)



See also 6, 7, 10, 16, 87, 111, 161, 163, 165, 173-176, 178, 180-188, 196, 200, 206, 230, 233, 234, 238, 240-243, 247, 250, 252, 253, 261, 270, 273, 276, 277, 282, 283, 290

## Great Britain

- 413 Ali, Othman. *British Policy and the Kurdish Question in 'Iraq, 1918-1932*. Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1993. 529 p. DAI 56 (1993): 4911-A.

After World War I, in common with other minorities in the former Ottoman Empire, the Kurds wished to form their own nation-state, a sentiment which Britain did much to encourage. Yet, Britain also manipulated Kurdish separatist tendencies in ways calculated to strengthen her hold over Iraq as a viable and united country and hence did much to prevent the formation of a Kurdish state. This dissertation will investigate why Great Britain pursued this seemingly contradictory policy. It will examine this many-faceted question in the light of newly available archival sources. The thesis is primarily concerned with the local and regional factors which shaped Britain's policy in Kurdistan. From 1918 to 1923, Britain's Kurdish policy was indecisive, inarticulate and provisional. This was due mainly to rapid developments in the Kurdish regions of Iraq, Turkey and Iran. The lack of a peace treaty between Turkey and Britain as a mandatory power in Iraq, also contributed to the uncertainty in Britain's policy in Iraqi Kurdistan. With the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 Britain's policy in Kurdistan began to develop. This policy aimed at reconciling Kurdish national aspirations with Britain's desire to strengthen Iran, Iraq and Turkey in order to prevent Bolshevik Russia's southward advance to the Gulf.

- 414 Beck, Peter J. "'A Tedious and Perilous Controversy': Britain and the Settlement of the Mosul Dispute, 1918-1926." *Middle Eastern Studies* 17 (April 1981): 256-276.

The Mosul question was still a matter of dispute following the Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1923, with Britain as the mandatory power, Iraq in *de facto* control of the area, and Turkey claiming sovereignty. The question was whether the area should be assigned to Iraq or Turkey, but it became a dispute between Britain and Turkey, with the presence of oil a vital factor. This aspect was denied by Britain at the time, and further complications resulted from the involvement of various British government departments in negotiations. All attempts failed and Britain handed the dispute to the League of Nations as provided for under the

Lausanne Treaty. A decision favoring Iraq was reached on 16 December 1925. The award was not recognized by Turkey, and Anglo-Turkish relations, which had almost ended in war, remained strained. Resolution of the dispute came only with the Treaty of Angora of 1926, which settled the problem outside the League of Nations and led to the beginning of political and economic progress in Iraq. Based on British Foreign Office Records, League of Nations documents, and secondary sources. (F. A. Clements/HA: 34B-3664)

- 415 Busch, Briton Cooper. *Mudros to Lausanne: Britain's Frontier in West Asia, 1918-1923*. New York: State University of New York Press at Albany, 1976. 430 p. Includes bibliographical references (p. 393-414) and index.
- 416 Honigman, Gerald A. "British Petroleum Politics, Arab Nationalism and the Kurds." *Middle East Review* 15 (Fall-Winter 1982/1983): 33-39.

A double standard prevails in the respective judgments of Arab and Israeli conduct in the Middle East. While Israel is constantly castigated for its treatment of Palestinian Arabs, the Arab repressive policies toward the Kurds are virtually ignored. This paper discusses the history of the Kurdish struggle for autonomy in the context of Arab nationalism and British petroleum politics. In the competing international rivalry for oil resources after World War I, Britain viewed an alliance with Arab nationalists as the most expedient policy for maintaining its interests in the Middle East. Despite the general support for self-determination at the Paris Conference, Kurdish demands for independence were unheeded. In the succeeding decades, the Kurds have been manipulated by a succession of Western and Middle Eastern powers, but their prospects for a homeland seem ever more remote.

- 417 Nash, Theodore Richard. "The Effect of International Oil Interests Upon the Fate of an Autonomous Kurdish Territory: A Perspective on the Conference at Sevres, August 10, 1920." *International Problems* 15 (Spring 1976): 119-133.

The aftermath of World War I brought into focus a set of competing economic and political interests in the Kurdish region of the Middle East. Overlapping territorial claims of the Turks, the Kurds and the Iraqis interacted with expanding Western European and American petroleum interests. This interaction resulted in the suppression of the Kurdish independence movement by Britain and Iraq, the abrogation of

international recognition for the concept of an autonomous Kurdistan (which had been endorsed at Sevres), and the emergence of the first oil consortium in the Middle East. The historical problems which have arisen since the delineation of Kurdistan in the Treaty of Sevres are examined in the light of the aforementioned factors. (*IPSA*: 26-5011)

- 418 Olson, Robert. "The Churchill-Cox Correspondence Regarding the Creation of the State of Iraq: Consequences for British Policy Towards the Nationalist Turkish Government, 1921-1923." *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 5 (Winter 1990-1991): 121-136.

This article appeared also under different title, "Battle for Kurdistan: The Churchill-Cox Correspondence Regarding the Creation of the State of Iraq, 1921-1923," in *Kurdish Studies: An International Journal* 5 (Spring-Fall 1992): 29-44. The article discusses the policy implications of the correspondence of 2 June to 7 December 1921 between Winston Churchill, British colonial secretary, and Percy Cox, British high commissioner in Iraq, and the consequences of this correspondence for British policy towards the Turkish nationalists led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The focus of the correspondence between Churchill and Cox was the question of what territories should be included within the soon-to-be-created state of Iraq. Churchill favored a Kurdish buffer state on the northern border of the new state (Iraq), but Sir Percy Cox, won the argument for incorporating the oil-bearing areas north of Mosul into the British-administered state of Iraq.

- 419 Olson, Robert. "The Second Time Around: British Policy Towards the Kurds (1921-22)." *Die Welt des Islams* [Netherlands] 27, nos. 1-3 (1987): 91-102.

Focuses on documents from the Public Record Office of Great Britain written by Lieutenant Colonel A. Rawlinson on 4 March 1922 and minuted by Colonial Office officials through 17 March (C. O. 730/28). A British spy, Rawlinson served in the Middle East between 1918 and 1922, in particular in Turkey, October 1919-November 1921. Back in England, he wrote reports for various officials. The reports in question, written at the request of colonial Secretary Winston Churchill, urged Great Britain to instigate a Kurdish rebellion in Anatolia (Rawlinson doubtless desired revenge for his own Turkish imprisonment). His suggestions were discordant with British foreign policy and were rejected after much discussion within the government. Primary sources. (R. Grove/HA: 39B-7794)

- 420 Sluglett, Peter. *Britain in Iraq, 1914-1932*. London: Ithaca Press for the Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford, 1976. [13], 360 p. : 2 maps. (St. Antony's Middle East Monographs ; no. 4). Bibliography: p. 332-347. Includes indexes.

The book traces in two parts the origins and development of the system of British control imposed on Iraq from the beginning of World War I to the end of the British mandate in 1932. Part I gives a general historical and political sketch of the entire period. Part II, together with two significant appendices, treats in more detail the specific administrative and military policies that were pursued by the British in order to secure control over Iraq and promote British imperial interests there. The essay on tribal, educational and defense policies in Part II for example, serve to amplify and illuminate themes which would fit very awkwardly into a chronological study, yet they are crucial for an understanding of the extent of British influence in Iraq. (abridged, G. Neal Lendenmann/*MEJ* 31, Spring 1977: 213)

- 421 Spencer, William. *The Mosul Question in International Relations*. Ph.D., The American University, Washington, D.C., 1965. DA 26 (August 1965): 1151-1152.

The basic problem involved in research on the Mosul Question was that of drawing together widely-scattered sources to present an undistorted view of processes of international mediation of a particular issue. As research proceeded, two related problems became apparent. One was that Mosul's importance to Middle East international relations was not limited to the 1924-1926 issue. The second was that northern Iraq's special role as regarded Anglo-Turco-Iraqi relationships had not ended with the Mosul award. These three problems were considered in seven chapters, using both historical and analytical methods of procedure and relying largely on contemporary sources and documents. The first chapter details Mosul's historical background, tracing its role in the Middle East back to Assyrian times especially in geographic and strategic senses. The next four chapters deal successively with the dispute itself and the respective positions, British, Iraqi, and Turkish, taken at the 1922-1923 Lausanne Conference, the Constantinople Conference of 1924, and before the League of Nations when this body undertook mediation. The sixth chapter discusses the procedures of international arbitration by which the League, armed with the reports of its Enquiry Commissions and an Advisory Opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice which upheld its competence to deal with the issue, finally awarded Mosul to Iraq under certain specified conditions. A

terminal chapter describes the effect of the decision on the foreign policies of the states concerned and considers certain by-products of the award: namely, the disposition of the Assyrian and Kurdish minorities included in Iraq through the re-drawing of boundaries.

See also 70, 87, 91, 111, 115, 140, 150, 162, 170, 174, 175, 235, 250, 269, 275, 301, 317, 366,

### United States

- 422 Benjamin, Charles Michael. *Developing a Game/Decision Theoretic Approach to Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis: Some Cases in Recent American Foreign Policy*. Ph.D., University of Southern California, 1981. DAI 42 (June 1982): 5234-A.

This dissertation develops a game/decision theoretic approach to comparative foreign policy analysis. Five cases in recent American foreign policy are described and analyzed: (1) Angola, 1975-76; (2) Cyprus, 1874; (3) Chile, 1962-73; (4) the Kurds, 1972-75; (5) Cuba, 1961-62. Descriptive materials (data) are drawn principally from the published reports of Congressional committees investigating American intelligence agency activities. These reports are supplemented by participant memoirs and the accounts of academics and journalists. Metagame/options analysis is used to systematically examine the foreign policy assumptions implicit in each case. This method of analysis is superior to other decision theoretic models because it explicitly takes into account multiple actors and the interaction of their strategies to produce foreign policy outcomes. Furthermore the method requires only ordinal level measurement assumptions more appropriate to the data used in the study. Particularly highlighted is a comparison of each case study with the findings of an empirical analysis of "Pentagon Papers" documents regarding American foreign policy decision-making toward Vietnam study found that American policy makers held two simultaneous images of Vietnam, a "Regional" and a "global" image. These two images produced policy outcomes analogous to paranoid schizophrenic behavior in an individual. The concluding chapter relates findings from the examined cases to the Vietnam study. Even though the same amount of information was not available in these cases, the use of option analysis was able to locate perceptual discontinuities and multiple imaging the advantages of the metagame/options analytic method in the development of more accurate descriptive theory and more useful normative theory are also discussed and suggestions are made for further research.

- 423 Bhattacharya, Sauri P. "The Situation of the Kurds in the Post-Gulf War Period and U.S. Policy Toward it." *Asian Profile* 22 (April 1994): 151-160.

This is a study of the situation of a trans-national people, but the focus is on the Kurds of Iraq who were encouraged by the Bush administration to rise in rebellion against the Iraqi regime in the aftermath of Saddam's defeat in the Gulf War. Questions about their geography, sociology, language, culture, as also a history of their movement for self-determination since the 19th century are included. The Kurds' failure in achieving self-determination in the past is not being replaced by anything really new and different. Americans, although they were expected to be of help to the Kurds in their effort to carve up a nation for themselves, seem overly cautious torn between two different directions: human rights, rule of law, and new world order on the one hand, and stability, domestic jurisdiction and the need to prove that their friendship for the Turks is real and reliable. This timid U.S. policy seems still determined by considerations of the Cold War (*IPSA*: 45-2030)

- 424 Bozarslan, Hamit. "De la geopolitique a l'humanitaire: le cas du Kurdistan d'Irak." [From the Geopolitical to the Humanitarian: The Case of Iraqi Kurdistan.] *Cultures et Conflits* 11 (Autumn 1993): 41-64. Appears also in *L'Irak du silence*, pp. 41-64, under the title "De l'humanitaire a la geopolitique: le cas du Kurdistan Irak," edited by Marie de Varney (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992).

Discusses the so-called humanitarian Operation Provide Comfort, which sought to provide goods and assistance to the Kurds in northern Iraq at the end of the Gulf War, arguing that it and similar operations merely serve to postpone or suspend real analyses of geopolitical relations. Provide Comfort represented a degree of intervention in the internal affairs of UN member states and disrupted Iraqi territory surrounding Kurdistan, but did not address long-term regional power relations and struggle for Kurdish identity, which has a long history and involves several countries (e.g., Turkey, Iraq, and now the U.S.). General conclusions are drawn about the crisis of the nation-state and the amplification of ethnic conflicts. (*SA*: 95-10899)

- 425 Dammers, Chris. "Post-War Iraq and the Politics of Humanitarianism." In *The Persian Gulf War: Views from the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Edited by Herbert H. Blumberg and Christopher C. French, 399-411. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, c1994.

This paper is mainly based on information gathered during a visit to Iraq in June 1991 whose principal purpose was the assessment of humanitarian needs in the country. It is primarily a description of the situation in Iraq that summer, with some reference to developments over the following year. The paper describes the humanitarian crisis within its political context, and questions the nature of the international response. In the aftermath of the Gulf War, especially the Kurdish refugees crisis, humanitarian factors acquired unusual political significance, at least in the short term. The author argues, however, that the international response to the post-war crisis represents a lost opportunity to allow such humanitarian factors to acquire greater weight in international relations.

- 426 Farer, Tom J. "Human Rights and Foreign Policy: What the Kurds Learned." [A drama in one act--satire] *Human Rights Quarterly* 14 (November 1992): 62-77.

The Bush administration's policy towards the Kurds in Iraq after the Persian Gulf War is satirized in a brief drama involving a national security advisor, a moderate Republican and a foreign policy expert. Casting about for language which would allow the President to engage in human rights rhetoric without committing to action, they finally settle on section 502(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act. This section's provisions on human rights abuses have been interpreted loosely by previous administrations. The stateless Kurds, with no power, may become the subject of political rhetoric but will receive no real assistance.

- 427 Freedman, L. and D. Boren. "'Safe Havens' for Kurds in Post-War Iraq." In *To Loose the Bands of Wickedness: International Intervention in Defence of Human Rights*. Edited by N. Rodley, 43-92. London: Brassey's, 1992.
- 428 Frelick, Bill. "The False Promise of Operation Provide Comfort: Protecting Refugees or Protecting State Power?" *Middle East Report* (May-June 1992): 22-27.

The author, a senior policy analyst with the U.S. Committee for Refugees and associate editor of the *World Refugee Survey*, visited Kurdish refugee camps in Iran in April 1991. This article is based on a longer paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association conference in November 1991 and appearing in *Kurdish Studies* (Spring-Fall 1992, pp. 45-53). The international regime established for refugees has been created and maintained less for their protection than

to preserve the prerogatives of powerful states. Many heralded the U.S. aid to Iraqi Kurds at the end of the 1991 Gulf war as a precedent for future interventions in defense of human rights and humanitarian assistance. In retrospect, the U.S. move appears as yet another exercise designed to enhance the prerogatives of state power by a stronger against a weaker state. Britain, France and the U.S. created an occupied military zone in the name of international stability with the intent to destabilize the government of Iraq. This may have been a legitimate political goal, but it misrepresented the intervention under an essentially humanitarian facade.

- 429 Gallant, J. "Humanitarian Intervention and Security Council Resolution 688: A Reappraisal in Light of a Changing World Order." *American University Journal of International Law and Policy* 7 (1992): 881-920.

Part one of this article discusses traditional concepts regarding the customary international law doctrine of humanitarian intervention, both unilateral and multilateral. Part two addresses the argument for unilateral humanitarian intervention in the context of UN Charter (Charter) prohibitions on the use of force. Part three considers Security Council powers under Chapter VII of the Charter and assesses Security Council membership and voting procedures *vis-a-vis* their effectiveness and adherence to the Charter's goals. Part four analyzes modern notions of sovereignty, domestic jurisdiction, and what constitutes a threat to the peace. In addition, Part four assesses the ability of the UN to intervene for humanitarian reasons as evinced by the Security Council's response to the Kurdish tragedy. Part five recommends a fundamental reassessment of the configuration of Security Council including issues of membership and voting rights in order to revitalize the United Nations collective security system. (abridged)

- 430 Graham-Brown, Sarah. "Intervention, Sovereignty and Responsibility: The Iraq Sanctions Dilemma" *Middle East Report* 25 (March-April 1995): 2-12, 32.

The United States and its allies appear reluctant to come to grips with the consequences of their intervention in Iraq. The Iraqi people express bewilderment and anger at being further punished by economic sanctions for the actions of a regime they have little power to change. The U.S. and its allies have been truly inconsistent on issues relating to Iraq's treatment of its own people. Their rules, such as a no-fly zone, have one little or nothing to prevent grievous human rights abuses.



Humanitarian aid has likewise not always helped. The U.S. accepts that there is great suffering among the ordinary people of Iraq, but the Clinton Administration places sole blame on the Iraqi government. The situation of the Iraqi Kurds, particularly in their northern enclave has become increasingly fragile and dangerous. Decreasing funds have forced agencies to reduce their humanitarian roles sharply. Whatever the U.S. and Allied Help's initial intent, it is difficult to avoid concluding that the humanitarian needs and even the human rights of the Iraqi people have been subordinated to other policy priorities. (PSA 95-02834)

- 431 Gunter, Michael M. "Foreign Influences on the Kurdish Insurgency in Iraq." *Orient* [Germany] 34 (March 1993): 105-119.

This article examines contemporary foreign influences on the Kurdish insurgency in Iraq, and focuses on the U.S. House of Representatives Pike Committee report and secret Israeli Intelligence support for the Iraqi Kurds over the years. Its central thesis is that the policies pursued by the U.S. after the 1991 Gulf War transformed the Kurdish situation inside Iraq providing an excellent opportunity for the creation of a *de facto* Kurdish state in northern Iraq.

- 432 Halperin, Morton, and David J. Scheffer, with Patricia L. Small. *Self-Determination in the New World Order*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, c1992. xiv, 178 p. Includes bibliographical references (p. 165-170) and index.

Even as the world celebrates increased integration among existing states and the spread of democracy in all regions of the world, another trend is shattering the status quo: Smaller groups within states are seeking greater autonomy or independence based on their common language, culture, and tradition. This book examines these movements and the internal conflicts they often trigger. It argues for a systematic and coordinated policy response to some of the most challenging issues facing the world today. In this book, the authors review U.S. and international responses to self-determination claims during and after the Cold War. Arguing that outdated Cold War perspectives continue to influence the current policies of the United States and the international community toward self-determination movements, the authors provide a framework for evaluating the nature and legitimacy of self-determination movements around the world. Whether a movements goal is greater protection of minority right, greater autonomy, or full independence, the authors assert that the international community should require

adherence to important conditions such as democracy, international law, non-use of force, and human rights before granting support or recognition. The authors also examine a number of responses to civil wars and threats of armed conflict, ranging from monitoring and diplomatic intervention to economic sanctions and collective military intervention. They argue that self-determination is not a self-regulating process, but requires a new type of involvement by the United States and multilateral organizations.

- 433 Heraclides, Alexis. *The Self-Determination of Minorities in International Politics*. London: Frank Cass, 1991. xvi, 291 p. : ill., maps. Bibliography: p. 264-279.

In International Relations, in particular, there is a dearth of knowledge on secession. Governments for their part have often reacted to communal assertiveness with contempt and coercion, a course hardly conducive to conflict resolution in a modern world of ever-rising expectations for legitimized rule, effective participation, ethnicity, group self-esteem and pride, distributive justice and new, more exacting standards for human rights and democracy. This book attempts to remedy the situation in International Relations and contribute to the further understanding of this multi-faceted problem. First, the reasons for violent separatism are being examined on the basis of the stimulating literature of communal violence and ethnicity in nearby fields of research. Then the existing international normative regime against separatism and secession is assessed and put to the task. But the main focus is on the international politics of armed separatism, that is on the international activity of secessionist movements, and on world reaction and involvement by external parties. Seven secessionist movements--those of Katanga, Biafra, the Southern Sudan, Iraqi Kurdistan, Bangladesh, Eritrea and the Moros of the Philippines--are examined in detail to shed more light on the above questions and suggest a series of patterns of interaction between the international system and secessionist minorities. On pp. 129-146, focuses on the U.S. involvement in the 1961-1975 Iraqi Kurdish War.

- 434 Heraclides, Alexis. "Secessionist Minorities and External Involvement." *International Organization* 44 (Summer 1990): 341-378.

The author analyzes instances of involvement of a foreign state in seven postwar secessionists movements--those of Katanga, Biafra, Southern Sudan, Bangladesh, Iraqi Kurdistan, Eritrea, and the Moro Region of the Philippines in order to shed light on the possible patterns of inter-

action between the inter-national system and secessionist minorities. The article analyzes the constraints on, content of, and reasons for foreign involvement and tests seven assumptions of conventional wisdom to determine if they hold true in the cases studied. According to the author, although international norms are against involvement with groups that threaten territorial integrity, external state support of these groups is more extensive than would be expected, and support is given for diverse reasons rather than based solely on the prospects for tangible gain.

- 435 Ignatieff, Michael. "The Seductiveness of Moral Disgust." (Rescue: The Paradoxes of Virtue). *Social Research* 62 (Spring 1995): 77-97.

The post-1989 military interventions in Somalia, Kurdish territory and Bosnia-Herzegovina are perceived as having been based on humanitarian reasons. Inspired by noble motives, such interventions are also colored by the rescuers' self perception that they are bringing decency, civility, tolerance and civilization to less rational societies. As a result, failure quickly brings moral disgust and leads to the use of imperial ruthlessness. What newly independent countries of the former colonial empires need is the long-term rebuilding of civil society's structures and institutions rather than instant interventions with quick exit.

- 436 Jones, James L. "Operation Provide Comfort: Humanitarian and Security Assistance in Northern Iraq." *Marine Corps Gazette* 75 (November 1991): 98-107.

In the aftermath of Desert Storm in 1991, Kurds in northern Iraq attempted to topple Saddam Hussein from power, but their villages were attacked by the Iraqi army, forcing them to flee into the mountains of southern Turkey. Operation Provide Comfort launched a multinational relief effort to protect more than one million Kurds and to provide them food, medicine, and shelter. The article highlights the involvement of U.S. marines in the relief effort.

- 437 Kesic, Obrad. "American-Turkish Relations at Crossroads." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 6 (Winter 1995): 97-108.

On 30 September 1994, United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher warned Turkey not to pursue war against Kurdish separatists at the expense of the country's commitment and responsibility to basic standards of human rights. This was the most public event in a series of ongoing incidents that have signaled a change in American-

Turkish relations, pushing them into a period of uncertainty and coolness. Christopher's warning came after other, private warnings from Washington and after Ankara had shown that its patience with Washington's preaching was wearing thin. The Kurdish issue is the most immediate and visible indication that American-Turkish relations are rapidly approaching at crossroads. Both Turkish and American government officials have been expressing their frustration at a series of shared unfulfilled expectations.

- 438 Korn, David A. "The Last Years of Mustafa Barzani." *Middle East Quarterly* 1 (March 1994): 12-27.
- 439 Malanczuk, Peter. "The Kurdish Crisis and Allied Intervention in the Aftermath of the Second Gulf War." *European Journal of International Law* 2, no. 2 (1991): 114-132.

This article examines the legality under international law of the allied intervention in Iraq during the Kurdish Crisis in 1991. While putting the legal issues into proper perspective, the author establishes the relevant factual background of the crisis in details.

- 440 Nagel, Joane, and Brad Whorton. "Ethnic Conflict and the World System: International Competition in Iraq (1961-1991) and Angola (1974-1991)." *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 20 (Summer 1992): 1-35.

Most models of ethnic conflict focus on internal forces and processes that contribute to ethnic tensions. Such domestic explanations ignore an important external sources of resources and support for ethnic conflict, namely international economic, geopolitical, and military competition in the world state system. World system theory has tended to overlook geopolitical and dimensions of the international system. Just as economic competition produces economic dependency, geopolitical and military competition produce military dependency. Like economic dependency, military dependency has negative consequences for dependent states: political instability, internal and external war, and ethnic conflict. This paper explores the role of international competition in two cases, Iraq (1961-1991) and Angola (1974-1991), to reveal the results of military dependency. International competition and military dependency have several consequences for domestic ethnic conflict: (1) a militarization of conflict, (2) an escalation and lengthening of conflict, (3) an ideological transformation of conflict, (4) a strengthening of

supported ethnic group boundaries, and (5) a reduction in the likelihood of negotiated solutions to ethnic conflict.

- 441 Nehme, Michel G., and Lokman I. Meho. "Pawns in a Deadly Game: Iraqi Kurds and the United States, 1972-1975." *International Studies* [New Delhi] 32 (January-March 1995): 41-55.

The United States has failed, in two episodes, to protect the Iraqi Kurds from devastation after instigating them against Saddam Hussein. The second episode (Second Gulf War) was an overt American involvement in the Kurdish-Iraqi relations and thus received an extensive and comprehensive coverage by many scholars and reporters. The first episode (1972-1975) was a covert paramilitary intervention conducted by the CIA upon the request of the U.S. president. The literature that covered this episode is not sufficient and lacks the highlighting of the particularities of American foreign policy. This article explores this gap for it is a pass to the understanding of the Kurdish problem--a time bomb in the Middle East. The Kurds are often depicted as pawns in a deadly game subject to regional and superpower manipulation. The Kurdish leadership repeatedly immolated its people as forfeitures for the dictates of geopolitics, and twice became the sacrifice of the U.S. and its allies.

- 442 Offeringer, Ronald, and Ralf Backer. "A Republic of Statelessness: Three Years of Humanitarian Intervention in Iraqi Kurdistan." *Middle East Report (MERIP)* 24 (March-April/May-June 1994): 40-45.

While it might seem that the UN Security Council Resolution 688 has afforded Iraqi Kurdistan some degree of sovereignty during the three years since the Gulf War ended, in actuality, the UN and various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have obstructed the rehabilitation of Iraqi Kurdistan society and have compromised that society's option for self-determination. Given the deepening economic crisis and growing interference of neighboring states, moreover, the situation of the Iraqi Kurds does not differ much from that of Turkish Kurds, whose oppression continues with the knowledge and even support of the leading North Atlantic Treaty Organization member states. Recommendations are made for alternative UN and NGO courses of action. (M. Maguire/SA: 94-12428)

- 443 Ramsbotham, Oliver, and Tom Woodhouse. *Humanitarian Intervention in Contemporary Conflict: A Reconceptualization*. Cambridge, Mass.: Polity Press, 1996. Includes bibliographical references and index.

This book is a wide-ranging assessment of the international response to devastating contemporary conflicts, such as those in Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda. After a thorough survey of traditional debates, the authors concentrate on an analysis of contemporary conflict, using illustrations from a wide range of post cold-war examples, one of which is humanitarian intervention in Iraq (pp. 69-85). Various options, including non-intervention, peacekeeping, and forcible humanitarian intervention, are illustrated and discussed, with profiles of the most destructive contemporary conflicts and the responses to them by the international community. The roles of governments, UN agencies, the Red Cross and non-governmental organizations are examined. From this material, the authors argue for a reconceptualization of humanitarian intervention and develop principles which should govern all of its uses.

- 444 Roberts, Adam. "Humanitarian War: Military Intervention and Human Rights." *International Affairs* [London] 79 (July 1993): 429-449.

In 1991-1993, in northern Iraq, Somalia and former Yugoslavia, there have been major uses of foreign armed forces in the name of humanitarianism, and with some degree of authorization from the UN. These interventions have revived, but with certain new elements, perennial debates about humanitarian intervention which in its classic form is military intervention in a state, without the approval of its authorities, and with the purpose of preventing widespread suffering or death among the inhabitants. While these interventions do mark a significant turning point in international politics, it is improbable that they can remain impartial and humanitarian in all their aspects. They cannot be a substitute for tough policy choices about the future of the fractured societies involved. There is no prospect of a formal agreement among states as to the circumstances in which humanitarian considerations should prevail over state sovereignty. (*IPSA*: 44-820)

- 445 Rudd, Gordon William. *Operation Provide Comfort: Humanitarian Intervention in Northern Iraq, 1991 (Kurds, Military)*. Ph.D., Duke University, 1993. 485 p. DAI 55 (1994): 694-A.

This dissertation studies Provide Comfort, a military operation that set out to save a half million Kurds who fled from Iraq in the spring of 1991. Unlike most military operation, Provide Comfort enjoyed no prior planning, little specific preparation, and operated beyond the range of most military doctrines. These forces had to work with civilians from the United Nations and other relief organizations with whom they were

not familiar. Yet within a few months, the military operation achieved its goals of relieving the suffering and dying while returning the refugees safely to Iraq. The purpose of this dissertation is to study how the participating military organizations formed on such short notice, resolved friction and obstacles, accomplished their tasks quickly, and departed as soon as the political situation allowed. The materials used for this work include primary and secondary sources on the Kurds, Iraq, and Turkey, but the study is dominated by interviews with over a hundred participants on Provide Comfort supported by the military and civilian documentation that covered and analyzed the operation. The conclusion of this study is that even without doctrine for humanitarian assistance, the capacity of military forces to provide immediate relief on a vast scale to resolve a crisis situation significantly exceeds that of civilian organizations primarily oriented for such tasks. Specifically, military forces can neutralize a hostile environment; mobilize the necessary transportation and logistics assets to sustain the flow of resources; rebuild a civil infrastructure; and provide the command and control necessary to make the overall effort cohesive under a unified command. Finally, the manner in which the military forces were used did not degrade their wartime readiness. Provide Comfort offers new perspectives for military participation on humanitarian assistance operations.

- 446 Schweigman, David. "Humanitarian Intervention Under International Law: The Strife for Humanity." *Leiden Journal of International Law* 6 (April 1993): 91-110.

In this paper, the author investigates whether a rule of customary law exists that would allow for intervention by third states in the territory of another state on grounds of restoring respect for human rights. The main questions related to this problem are: (i) If such a rule exists, what would be the criteria to be used? (ii) What is the relation between the UN Charter, especially Articles 2(4), 2(7), and Chapter VII, and the alleged rule? Following these questions, the author focuses on the intervention on behalf of the Kurds in northern Iraq in 1991. The role of the Security Council in this intervention is examined as well as the justifications for the intervention brought forward by the actors. Finally, the legality of the intervention under customary international law is considered.

- 447 Stopford, Michael. "Humanitarian Assistance in the Wake of the Persian Gulf War." *Virginia Journal of International Law* 33 (Spring 1993): 491-502.

- 448 Stromseth, Jane E. "Iraqi Repression of its Civilian Population: Collective Response and Contingency Challenges." In *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts*. Edited by Lori Fisler Darrosch, 76-117. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993.

The author locates the international response to Iraq's internal conflicts in the context of a long history in which Kurdish aspirations for self-determination have consistently been subordinated to the strategic and economic interests of global and regional powers. The international community had done essentially nothing for the Kurds, even in the face of extensive evidence of a genocidal extermination campaign in the late 1980s. The turning point came in the immediate aftermath of the successful collective military action to eject Iraq from Kuwait, when the Kurds in northern Iraq and the Shi'ites in the south mounted popular uprisings that elicited a swift and brutal response from Saddam Hussein. Thousands upon thousands fled toward and across the borders with Turkey, Iran, and Kuwait, and a humanitarian crisis of vast proportions ensued. Stromseth analyzes the debates in the UN Security Council over what became resolution 688, which condemned Iraq's repression of its civilian populations and found that the consequences of that repression threaten international peace and security. She then examines the implementation of resolution 688 through Operation Provide Comfort and the subsequent negotiations with Iraq over the terms of a UN presence on Iraqi territory for humanitarian purposes. She discusses the establishment by the allied forces of a secure zone to protect the Kurds in the north, and later a no-fly zone over the southern marshlands. (abridged)

See also 6, 93, 158, 159, 196, 233-235, 238, 246, 250, 280, 295, 301, 317, 368, 374, 380, 397,

### Former Soviet Union

- 449 Bekass, N. "Les relations soviéto-kurdes." [The Soviet-Kurdish Relations.] *Critique socialiste* 43 (April 1982): 103-114.

This article discusses the Soviet Union's Kurdish policy which has only one objective, and that is to eliminate western influence to its advantage in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. In this perspective, the U.S.S.R. seems indifferent to the aspirations of the Kurdish people.



- 450 Gasratyan, M. "The Great October Revolution and the Kurds." In *The October Socialist Revolution and the Middle East: A Collection of Articles by Soviet Scholars*. Foreword by Yu V. Gankovsky, 83-97. Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1987.
- 451 Golan, Galia. "Moscow and Third World National Liberation Movements: The Soviet Role." *Journal of International Affairs* 40 (1987): 303-324.

The Soviet Union supports a broad range of national liberation movements throughout the Third World, including the PLO, Kurds, Dhofaris, Baluchis, Pathans, and Polisario. Its ideological justification for doing so views national liberation movements as one of three main revolutionary forces in the world, the other two being the international working class and the socialist states. To some degree, Soviet support of national liberation has been a function of the role the Soviet Union has sought to play at any given time with regard to the Third World in general and national liberation movements in particular. This role has, in turn, determined the degree and type of support the Soviet Union has been willing to accord, and the recipients of that support.

- 452 Hensel, Howard M. "Soviet Policy Towards the Kurdish Question, 1970-75." *Soviet Union* 6, no. 1 (1979): 61-80.

Prior to 1958 the U.S.S.R. provided varying degrees of support for Kurdish independence in hopes of undermining Western influence in Iraq. Following the 1958 revolution Moscow sought to simultaneously maintain good relations with the new government and the Kurds. Soviet policy from 1970-75 supported the formation of a united Iraqi national front, including the Kurdish Democratic Party. But this policy was increasingly complicated by graying antagonism between the Kurds and the central government. Moscow became increasingly critical of the Kurdish Party, accusing it of a pro-West, pro-Israeli bias and of intentionally seeking disagreements with the Iraqi Communists. When the Kurds revolted in March 1974, Moscow threw its support to the Baghdad government, despite continued strained relations between the Ba'athists and Communists. The decision resulted from a Soviet assessment that chances of Kurdish success were low, that their support of the Kurds would have forced Baghdad to turn to the West or China, and that the Iraqi Communists would look also to China or become increasingly independent. Moscow's greatest problem was its basic lack of influence in the country. (H. S. Shields/HA: 31B-941)

- 453 Howell, Wilson Nathaniel, Jr. *The Soviet Union and the Kurds: A Study of National Minority Problems in Soviet Policy*. Ph.D., University of Virginia, 1965. 689 p. DAI 26: 7432A.

This study attempts for the first time to describe systematically and analyze critically the attitude and policies of the Soviet Union toward the Kurds. Such an attempt involves analysis of the underpinning of the Kurdish problem as it concerns principally three Middle Eastern states (Iran, Iraq and Turkey), the interests of the West in the area, and the evolution of the Soviet policy toward the Kurdish minority problem both within and outside the Soviet Union. The fundamental thesis of this study is that the Soviet Union strives to manipulate the Kurdish problem which is primarily influenced by indigenous geographic, ethnic and historical-political factors and forces. The approach to this study is essentially inter-disciplinary, utilizing historical and sociological as well as political data. The study draws upon primary as well as secondary sources, mainly in English, French and Russian, and involves documentary research, personal correspondence and interviews. The study is divided into two parts. Part one, containing three chapters seeks to discuss the Kurdish problem by dealing with the geographic concept of "Kurdistan," the Kurdish demography and social organization, and nationalism. Part two, divided into four chapters, attempts to analyze policy statements and actions of the Soviet Union aimed at exploiting the Kurdish problem toward the achievement of its objectives in the Middle East, by identifying the mainsprings of the Soviet attitude, by analyzing the Soviet Kurdish diplomacy clandestine operations and propaganda, and by discussing the role of the communists in Soviet Kurdish strategy. A few of the basic findings of this study may be cited here. One, the Kurdish problem cannot be attributed to Soviet intrigues alone, although Moscow has frequently sought to exacerbate its effects. Two, the Kurdish problem offers clear opportunities for any great power including the Soviet Union, to seek to later the prevailing status quo in the Middle East, if doing so should accord with its interest. Three, analysis of the Soviet Kurdish policy does not reveal the existence of a master pain for exploiting the Kurdish problem. In fact, Soviet policy-makers have often had difficulty in harnessing the discontent of independent-minded Kurdish nationalists to Soviet objectives. Four, the Soviet government has sought to manipulate the Kurdish problem against Middle Eastern states and the West since the late 1920s. Five, the attempt to maximize Soviet interests in the Middle East has been increasingly apparent since 1945, particularly as evidenced by Soviet policy toward the Kurdish revolution in Iraq since 1961.

- 454 Naby, Eden. "The Iranian Frontier Nationalities: The Kurds, the Assyrians, the Baluchis and the Turkmens." In *Soviet Asian Ethnic Frontiers*. Edited by William O. McCagg, Jr. and Brian D. Silver, 83-114. New York: Pergamon Press, 1979.

When convenient, the Soviet government manipulates the ethnic problems of neighboring states, and it uses the Lenin-Stalin nationality policy as a tool of foreign policy in some situations. But in this paper (and other papers in this volume), one learns how hesitant the Soviets have been to use the border nationalities to export Communism. The most conspicuous manipulation of the border nationalities took place from 1944 to 1946. The Azeris, the Kurds, and the Turkmens of Iran all rebelled at that time and all apparently received aid and encouragement from across the Soviet frontier. Moscow has tended to deal directly with neighboring governments, even when these are autocratic and non-socialist, and even when as a result of Soviet friendship the ethnic brothers are politically injured. This has been a general trend in Soviet dealings with the Third World and is hardly surprising given Moscow's drift away from revolution. In the Soviet borderlands, the most conspicuous victims of the trend have been the Kurds, helped in their struggle for independence from Iran (1944-1946), then abandoned in their struggle with Iraq after 1964 and especially after 1975.

- 455 Nadirov, Nadir. "What Do the Soviet Kurds Want?" *Asia and Africa Today*, no. 1 (January-February 1991): 74-76.
- 456 Olson, Robert. "Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union Toward the Turkoman Rebellion in Eastern Iran in 1924-25 and the Kurdish Rebellion of Shaikh Said in Eastern Turkey in 1925: A Comparison." *Central Asian Survey* [Great Britain] 9, no. 4 (1990): 75-83.

Soviet Foreign Policy toward the Turkoman rebellion in eastern Iran in 1924-25 and toward the Kurdish rebellion of Sheikh Sa'id in 1925 favored the regimes of Kemal Ataturk and Reza Khan over alternative regimes that could have been more hostile toward the U.S.S.R. A corollary of this policy was that it sought rapprochement and détente with Great Britain and Western Europe, and thereby access to their capital markets, acceptance into the League of Nations. Based on documents of the Foreign Office and Air Ministry. (M. Mohamedali/HA: 43B-8178)

- 457 Ro'i, Yaacov. *From Encroachment to Involvement: A Documentary Study of Soviet Policy in the Middle East, 1945-1973*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974.

Issues discussed and related to the Kurds include: (1) The Soviet withdrawal from Iran, pp. 17-21; (2) The repatriation from the U.S.S.R. of Iraqi Kurds, pp. 315-318; (3) The beginnings of the Kurdish war, pp. 355-359; (4) The Kurdish war in Iraq, 1964-1965, pp. 403-405; (5) The Soviet-Iraqi rapprochement, pp. 505-510 and; (6) The Soviet-Iraqi Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, April 1972, pp. 564-569.

- 458 Shemesh, Haim. *Soviet-Iraqi Relations, 1968-1988: In the Shadow of the Iraq-Iran Conflict*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992.

In this thorough study of Soviet-Iraqi relations, Haim Shemesh traces the ups and downs of a stormy association, characteristic of Moscow's experiences in the Third World. He opens with a historical background from 1944, when diplomatic relations were established, to 1968, the year of the Ba'athi coup. Shemesh then examines the period of initial coolness (1968-71), focusing on the issues that gave rise to the differences between Moscow and Baghdad: the fortunes of the Iraqi Communist Party and of the Kurdish minority, Iraq's relations with Iran, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and regional politics of the Persian Gulf. He next covers the "honeymoon" years (1971-73), marked by concurrent deterioration of Iraqi-Iranian and Soviet-Egyptian relations, and the resulting rapprochement between Baghdad and Moscow, culminating in a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. Following this, Shemesh details the events between 1973 and 1975, which were characterized by a gradual cooling of relations and highlighted by the war against the Kurds and the Algiers accord between Iraq and Iran. The author analyzes the impact of the agreement on the Soviet Union and shows how Moscow-Baghdad relations reached their nadir in 1979. He devotes one chapter to the Iran-Iraq war (1980-88), detailing the fluctuations in Soviet-Iraqi relations during this major conflict. In the final section, he summarizes his conclusions. The theme of the work is summed up in the following sentence: "The policy of the Ba'ath Iraq toward the Soviet Union was determined first and foremost by its need for Soviet military support *vis-a-vis* Iran" (p. 249). The Kurds have long fought for the autonomy of their oil-rich region. Because the government had no intention of granting it, the issue had to be resolved by force. It stands to reason that this problem was every bit as important to Baghdad as the question of sovereignty in the Shatt al-Arab. (abridged, O. M. Smolansky/*American Historical Review* 98, October 1993: 1300)

- 459 Smolansky, Oles M., with Bettie M. Smolansky. *The USSR and Iraq: The Soviet Quest for Influence*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991.

This book details the long, complicated history of ties between Moscow and Baghdad. By focusing on bilateral issues, the Smolanskys illustrate the complex nature of superpower-client relations, especially in so volatile a region as the Middle East. The author begins with an analysis of "influence," then dissects the Iraqi-Soviet relationship into overlapping areas of interest to both sides. These include the Kurdish question (pp. 63-98), the nationalization and development of the Iraqi oil industry, the Iraqi Communist Party, regional issues, and the Iran-Iraq war. This layering of issues provides readers with an understanding of the complex nature of the Baghdad-Moscow relationship. (abridged, Carol R. Saivetz/*MEJ* 46, Winter 1992: 109-110)

- 460 Westermann, William Linn. "Kurdish Independence and Russian Expansion." *Foreign Affairs* 70 (Summer 1991): 50-54.

Written for the July 1946 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, this article has been partially republished due to a revived interest in the Kurdish question. A Kurdish independence was officially inaugurated in the San Francisco conference in April 1945. It is important to discuss who the Kurds are, why they are rebellious and what they want. All Kurds have grievances against the states of which they are subjects. Grievances, ammunition and fighting people: this is an explosive combination. (*IPSA*: 42-1114)

- 461 Yodfat, Aryeh. *Arab Politics in the Soviet Mirror*. Jerusalem: Israel University Press, 1973.

The author has set himself the unenviable task of tracing in great detail the attitudes expressed in Soviet sources about the internal affairs of the United Arab Republic (Egypt), Syria and Iraq from the 1950s to the June 1967 War and after. The author has also included a useful introductory chapter outlining various general ideological categories used with regard to developing nations and a chapter on Soviet attitudes toward Arab unity and the several attempts which have been made by various Arab states to unite. Chapter four, pp. 146-191 is about Iraq from 1958 to 1967 with a section, pp. 181-191 entitled "The Kurdish Question."

**Israel**

- 462 Kimche, David. *The Last Option: After Nasser, Arafat & Saddam Hussein: The Quest for Peace in the Middle East*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991. 328 p. maps. Includes bibliographical references and index.

This book is a selective political history of the Middle East, supposedly aiming to dispel myths, but instead consolidating a partisan Israeli version of the post-1967 period. The book is divided into sections dealing with Israeli-Egyptian relations, Israeli involvement in Lebanon, Kurdish-Israeli-Iranian dealing of the 1960s and 1970s, the Iran-Iraq war, Saddam's adventures in Kuwait, and, finally, the PLO and the Intifada. Kimche briefly discusses the infrequently covered Israeli links with Mustafa Barzani's Kurdish uprising in Iraq, in cooperation with Iran and the United States.

- 463 Rejwan, Nissim. "Israel and the Kurds." *Jewish Digest* 25 (Summer 1980): 34-36.
- 464 Rejwan, Nissim. "Israel and the Kurds." *Hadassah Magazine* (April 1980): 21, 29-30.

No one in Israel objected very much when the rumors began to spread that the Government had been secretly sending arms to Mustafa Barzani's Kurdish freedom fighters. The Iraqi-Iranian agreement of March 1975, which enabled Iraq to suppress the rebellious Kurds with unsurpassed ferocity, shocked the Israelis. There were strong reactions to this sellout of the Kurds both in Government circles and among the masses of Israelis. Although Israeli involvement in the Kurdish revolt during the 60s and 70s was made much of by Arab propagandists who greatly exaggerated the extent of this involvement, the Israelis had extended considerable assistance to the Kurds with the aid of the Iranian authorities. The sympathy shown by the Israelis for the Kurdish struggle was due in no small measure to the activities of the 100,000 Kurdish Jews living in Israel.

See also 196, 368, 374, 380

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND REPRESSION

### General

- 465 Amnesty International. *Amnesty International Report* [serial]. London: Amnesty International Publications, 1975/76-. v. annual.

This annual review of human rights violations, covering more than 150 countries including Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, reports on prisoners of conscience, political prisoners denied fair trials, victims of torture, genocides and policies of extermination, disappearances and political killings, and those who have been judicially sentenced to death or executed.

- 466 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices (Washington, D.C.). *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Report Submitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate and Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives by the Department of State in Accordance with Sections 116(d) and 502B(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as Amended* [serial]. Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 1979-. v. annual.

The human rights reports reflect a year of dedicated effort by hundreds of State Department and other U.S. Government employees. The U.S. embassies around the world which prepare the initial drafts of the reports, gather information throughout the year from a variety of sources, including contacts across the political spectrum, government officials, jurists, military sources, journalists, human rights monitors, academics, and labor union members. The draft reports are then reviewed by the U.S. Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, in cooperation with other relevant offices in the State Department. As they corroborate, analyze, and edit the reports, Department officers draw on their own additional sources of information. These include reports and consultations with U.S. and other human rights groups, foreign government officials, representatives from the U.N. and other international and regional organizations and institutions, and experts from academia and the media. The Reports covers human rights violations around the world. It describes a world where people who by right are born free and with dignity too often suffer the cruelties of authorities who deprive them of their rights in order to perpetuate their own power. It mainly covers countries that are ruled by dictators or rent by armed conflict, where bullets, torture, arbitrary detention, rape, disappearances, and other abuses are used to silence those who struggle for

political freedom (like the Kurds); to crush those whose ethnicity, gender, race or religion mark them for discrimination; or to frighten and mistreat those who have no defenses.

- 467 Human Rights Watch. *Human Rights Watch World Report, 1994: Events of 1993-*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993.

This report is a good contribution to the international effort to monitor and promote human rights worldwide. It begins with an insightful introduction, identifying global trends and pressing human rights issues. Each major part of the report, covering Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East, begins with an overview of the regions' most significant human rights events. The 1994 issue of the report spotlights 68 countries with each section divided into four distinct categories: human rights developments; the rights to monitor, U.S., policy during the Clinton administration's first year; and the work of the Human Rights Watch regional divisions.

- 468 King, John. *Kurds*. New York: Thomson Learning, c1994. 48 p. : ill (some col.), map. (Threatened Cultures). First published in 1993 by Wayland (Publishers) Ltd.--T.p. verso. Includes bibliographical references (p. 47) and index.

The Kurds of western Asia, whose homeland is divided among several hostile nations, get sympathetic treatment in this brief account of their history, present situation, and prospects. In a simple text illustrated with well-chosen and -reproduced color photos (including one of a dead mother and baby), King presents, in consultation with an international non-governmental organization working to raise awareness in regard to discrimination against minority cultures, the horrifying facts, using stories of individuals in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey to illustrate differences among the troubles Kurds face in those countries. Making clear their common fear of alien governments that seem to want to assimilate them at the cost of their culture, he makes no rosy predictions. Brief boxed articles fortify the text with quotes from contemporary journalists and brief individual accounts. (*Kirkus Reviews* 62, April 1, 1994: 481)

See also 6, 111, 119, 126, 129, 348, 521



## Turkey

- 469 Bowring, Bill. "The Kurds of Turkey: Defending the Rights of a Minority." In *Nationalism, Minorities and Diasporas: Identities and Rights in the Middle East*. Edited by Kirsten E. Schulze, Martin Stokes and Colm Campbell, 23-38. New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1996.

This chapter focuses on the Turkish Kurds who number up to 14 million, between 15 and 20% of the population of Turkey. The key issue that is examined here is the extent to which individually or as a national minority, the Kurds are able to call upon the protection of international law. The Turkish Kurds' only good fortune, perhaps, is that they live in a state which is a member of the Council of Europe, which as early as 1954 incorporated the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) into its legal system. The central irony discussed in this paper is that the ECHR does not provide any expressed protection for the rights of minorities; and the ratification of the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which does contain such a provision, is likely to be accompanied by a reservation, similar to that made by France, to the effect that Turkey has no minorities in the sense of Article 27 of the ICCPR. The question which this chapter seeks to pose more completely is to see whether the existing instruments are able to protect the Kurds and satisfy their legitimate aspirations.

- 470 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Turkey's Death Squads." *Middle East Report* 26 (April-June 1996): 20-23.

The emergence of legal Kurdish parties and the frequent occurrence of death squad-style political assassinations were two developments in Turkey's political life during the 1990s. For the first time in Turkey's political history, there was a group in parliament that represented--if only implicitly--Kurdish nationalist opinion and systematically protested human rights violations against Kurds. At the same time, a number of influential Kurdish political and community leaders were killed, many of their deaths described as "murders by unknown actors" because the police usually failed to find the assassins. (abridged)

- 471 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "The Kurds in Turkey: Further Restrictions of Basic Rights. *International Commission of Jurists, Review* 45 (December 1990): 46-52.

Turkey systematically violates the fundamental rights and freedoms of its Kurdish citizens. Kurdish ethnic identity is systematically denied,

Kurdish language and other cultural expressions banned. Because the Kurds are not considered an ethnic (or national) minority, they don't enjoy the rights granted to minorities under international treaties signed by Turkey. Because of its ambiguously pro-western attitude in the Gulf crisis, the Turkish government may expect from its western partners a lenient attitude towards its Kurdish policies. There is however no cogent reason why the international community should not make greater efforts to persuade Turkey to stop its large-scale violations of human rights, especially in the southeast, to recognize the Kurds as a separate ethnic group and to grant them basic cultural rights. (*IPSA*: 42-1110)

- 472 Gillotte, Tony. "Testing the Limits." *Columbia Journalism Review* 30 (November-December 1991): 24.

*Yeni Ulke*, Turkey's first Kurdish-owned newspaper, has seen half of its issues confiscated under an anti-terrorism law. The paper's regular coverage of the Turkish government's treatment of Kurds and the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) has earned it official hostility.

- 473 Gunter, Michael M. "The Suppression of the Kurds in Turkey." *Kurdish Times* 3 (Fall 1990): 5-16.

- 474 Helsinki Watch. *Free Expression in Turkey, 1993: Killings, Convictions, Confiscations*. New York: Human Rights Watch - Helsinki Watch Committee, August 1993. 40 p.

Restrictions on freedom of speech, association, the press, and the arts; some focus on the 1991 Anti-Terror Law used to prosecute intellectuals advocating a separate state for the Kurdish minority.

- 475 Helsinki Watch. *Nothing Unusual: The Torture of Children in Turkey*. New York: Human Rights Watch, c1991. 77 p.

Children in Turkey are tortured in police detention centers; the torture is carried out by police officers during the interrogation of children who are suspected of criminal or political offenses. The kinds of torture used range from slapping, punching and hitting with truncheons, to *falaka* (beating the soles of the feet), the Palestine hanger (suspending a naked blindfolded child by the wrists or arms and applying electric shocks to sensitive parts of the body), and other truly horrifying techniques. A Helsinki Watch mission visited Turkey in October 1991 and interviewed nine children between the ages of 13 and 17. All reported that

they had been picked up by police, detained, physically abused and kept at police stations and prisons for between three days and three months. Three of the children were accused of ordinary crimes; six of political offenses, such as hanging up in school a poster saying "No to War" or taking part in a trade union demonstration. None of the children's families were notified by police of their whereabouts. All of the children were detained in adult facilities and those who were incarcerated during the pre-trial period were sent to adult prisons. This report includes dozens of reports received by Helsinki Watch of the torture of children under 18 in Turkey. The report concludes that the torture of children is widespread and is in violation of international agreements and standards that forbid torture and require special protections for children.

476 Helsinki Watch. *Freedom of Expression in Turkey: Abuses Continue*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991. 27 p.

477 Human Rights Watch. *Forced Displacement of Ethnic Kurds from Southeastern Turkey*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994. 27 p.

August 1994 marked the tenth anniversary of the bloody conflict in the Kurdish southeast Turkey between the Turkish government and the separatist Kurdistan Worker's Party guerrilla movement. What began in 1984 with isolated PKK attacks in rural southeastern Turkey has grown into a conflict that has consumed an estimated 13,000 lives, with over half the losses coming in the past year or so. Both Turkish security forces and PKK fighters are guilty of human rights abuses. Security forces operating in the southeast often make little distinction between civilians and PKK members, and the PKK has continued its practice of brutally punishing any cooperation with state authorities.

478 Human Rights Watch. Arms Project. *Weapons Transfers and Violations of the Laws of War in Turkey*. New York: Human Rights Watch, November 1995. vii, 171 p. : map.

Documents Turkey's human rights violations and military assistance from the U.S. and NATO allies in its counterinsurgency campaign against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), focusing on incidents during 1992-95. Links specific weapons systems to individual incidents.

479 Imset, Ismet. "Turkish Roulette: The Freedom Enjoyed by Turkey's Profuse and Colourful Daily Newspapers Does Not Extend to Their Kurdish Counterparts." *Index on Censorship* 25 (March-April 1996): 74-77.

The pro-Kurdish press in Turkey faces the twin problems of official censorship and violent campaigns which restrict its freedom of expression. The press enjoys total freedom in Turkey under the press rules. However, official response to the pro-Kurdish press, focusing on censorship and harassment of the Kurdish *OEzguer Guendem* and *OEzguer UElke*, and violence, including assassination against journalists, presents a contrary picture. Prime Minister Tansu Ciller issued a secret decree on 30 November, 1994, for the elimination of dissident and left-wing press supporting ethnic Kurds. International pressure forced the government to take face saving steps but official and unofficial intimidation still continues.

- 480 Kemal, Yachar. "Turquie: un millenaire d'oppression et de torture." [Turkey: A Millennium of Oppression and Torture.] *Nouveau Afrique et Asie* (October 1995): 32-33.

Discusses the historical and contemporary perspectives on violence against the Kurds and on the Kurdish national movement.

- 481 Kemal, Yachar. "The Dark Cloud Over Turkey." (Violation of human rights in Turkey) *Index on Censorship* 24 (January-February 1995): 141-146.

Inhuman violation of human rights and nature is the most horrifying aspect of the purposeless war between the Turks and Kurds in the Turkish Republic. Racism, and military oppression and coups have robbed the Turks of their humanity and culture, provoking them to perpetrate horrendous crimes against fellow Anatolians [Kurds]. Turks should soon realize the importance of democracy and respect for human rights in strengthening Turkey's cultural and economic wealth.

- 482 Korn, David A. "Turkey's Kurdish Rebellion." *Freedom Review* 26 (May-June 1995): 33-35.

This article examines the persecution of Kurds, particularly their human rights movement and their guerrillas led by the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK).

- 483 Korn, David A., and Gerald Robbins. "Turkey: Repression and Opportunities." *Freedom Review* 25 (July/August 1994): 15-18.

The author looks at the case against six Kurdish parliamentary deputies who have been tried, found guilty, and face the possibility of death

penalty for political speech. He sees this case as illustrative of the Turkish government's misguided policy against the Kurds. (PSA 94-03293)

- 484 Kutschera, Chris. "A Voice from Behind the Bars." *The Middle East* [London], no. 256 (May 1996): 40-41.

Mehdi Zana believes that his more than 15 years in prison has made a writer out of him. He had already published five books from the time he got out of jail in 1991. His most lengthy account is on his 1980 imprisonment, a story of a descent to hell on earth. He describes the prison conditions and the tortures that he and his fellow inmates had been subjected to, from the totalitarian state's de rigueur electric shock to the genitals to the seldom-practiced immersion in shit. Leyla, his wife, who is as politicized as he, is now in prison.

- 485 Laber, Jeri. "The Hidden War in Turkey." *The New York Review of Books* 41 (June 23, 1994): 47-50.

The rift between the Turkish government and the Kurdish rebels in southeastern Turkey has reached a point where the Kurds may win a military coup. If the government had recognized Kurdish rights when the Kurds sought recognition in the 1980s, the present conflict may have been avoided.

- 486 Laber, Jeri. "Turkey's Nonpeople." *The New York Review of Books* 35 (February 4, 1988): 14-17. Reprinted in *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1988): 58-62.

Although the largest group of Kurds live in Turkey, they are absent from Turkey's official census figures because the government denies their existence. In 1984, the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) initiated guerrilla warfare on Turkey's southeastern border. Its terrorist tactics have produced hundreds of deaths in an under reported war that remains largely hidden but has nevertheless forced Turkish authorities to confront the existence of a Kurdish problem. (PSA 88-04868)

- 487 Laber, Jeri, and Lois Whitman. *Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Kurds of Turkey*. New York: U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, c1988. 73 p. : map. (A Helsinki Watch Report). Bibliography: p. 73.

This report is the first Helsinki Watch publication that deals exclusively with the treatment of the Kurdish minority in eastern Turkey. The

report concludes that Kurds--who make up almost one fifth of Turkey's population--are routinely denied their ethnic identity, and that their customs, culture and history are not acknowledged by the Turkish government. There are indications that the Turkish government is planning forced migration of large groups of the Kurdish population. Terrorist warfare in the east has exacerbated the plight of Kurdish villagers who are caught between terrorist attacks and harassment by the government's security forces. This Helsinki Watch report is based on a fact-finding mission to eastern Turkey in June 1987 and on reports in the Turkish press; it has no systematic analysis of the attempted destruction of Kurdish ethnic identity.

- 488 Marcus, Aliza. "Turkey, the Kurds, and Human Rights." *Dissent* 43 (Summer 1996): 104-107.

Turkey's Kurdish problem has evoked worldwide complaints of massive human rights abuses against the Kurds in the southeast. Tortures, mysterious murders and a protracted guerrilla warfare have made the Kurds fugitives in their own homeland. Although outlawed by the Turkish state, the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) has garnered external support for its cause to liberate the Kurdish southeast. However, the years of strife and PKK excesses have adversely affected the Kurdish way of life. A less rigid stance towards uniformity and devolving local power can do much to contain Turkey's Kurds.

- 489 McKiernan, K. "Turkey Terrorizes its Kurds." *The Progressive* 57 (July 1993): 28-31.

Turkey employs U.S.-provided military aid such as Black Hawk helicopters to brutally suppress its separatist Kurdish minority. Turkish Kurdistan has been under martial law since 1984, and international human rights groups say violations are numerous.

- 490 Menard, Robert, and Carmen Gibson. "Shoot on Sight." *Index on Censorship* 23 (May-June 1994): 164-165.

The Kurds in Turkey are suppressed by the Turkish government. *Ozgur Gundem*, a newspaper that supports the interests of the Kurds, is opposed by the government. According to the Association of Contemporary Journalists, the Turkish government used Article 8 of the Turkish anti-terrorist law to arrest writers and reporters.

- 491 Munir, Metin. "Two Conflicting Views Emerge: Have the Kurds in Turkey Been Forced Out?" *The Middle East* [London], no. 28 (February 1977): 54-55.

The recent earthquake in northeast Turkey has led to allegations that aid has failed to reach those in need and that the disaster is being used as an excuse to move the Kurdish population out of their homeland area. Two different views are presented in this article, one from the Journal's correspondent in Turkey and the other from the Secretary of the British-Kurdish Friendship Society.

- 492 Nezan, Kendal. [cf. Kendal.] "La Destruction de L'Identite Culturelle Kurde en Turquie" [The Destruction of Turkish Kurdistan's Cultural Identity.] *Afrique et L'Asie Modernes* [France], no. 140 (Spring 1984): 51-58.

Describes Turkey's attempt to repress Kurdistan's culture between 1924 and 1984 through deportation and outlawing of the Kurdish language and the Kurds' continued attempt to maintain their identity. (HA: 36B-7494)

- 493 Pope, Nicole. "A Culture Denied." (Sentencing of Yachar Kemal for his essays inciting racial and ethnic hatred). *Index on Censorship* 25 (May-June 1996): 120-121.

Yashar Kemal has been convicted by the Turkish court for violating Article 312 of the penal code by inciting racial hatred. Kemal has confronted the law several times for his courageous and balanced writings on Kurdish problems. Born in a feudal Kurdish family, Kemal's first publication was a collection of elegies. His novels reflect the influence of traditional tales in the selection and portrayal of the characters. He refuses to be called a nationalist, either Kurdish or Turkish, and says that he believes in the peaceful coexistence of cultures.

- 494 Pope, Nicole. "Open to Change." [New censors: repressive press laws of Turkey.] *Index on Censorship* 25 (March-April 1996): 155-159.

Turkish authorities have expanded curbs on freedom of expression with a set of new laws, which follow Parliament's earlier revision of Article 8 of the anti-terror law. Article 312, which prohibits provocation of enmity and hatred on regional and racial grounds, is frequently used to curb press freedom. The ongoing Kurdish problem is cited as the main reason for enforcing the restrictions. The publishing industry faces

another crisis in the form of low sales due to reduced sales and readership.

- 495 Pope, Nicole. "Letting Go." (Democracy in Turkey) *Index on Censorship* 24 (January-February 1995): 124-126.

The political and economic uncertainties prevailing in Turkey force the Turks to strengthen their democracy and adopt a liberal stance in politics and society. Persisting clashes between secularists and Islamists and tensions between Kurds and Turks threaten the fundamental political system of Turkey, preventing the younger generation and other democracy proponents from incorporating their liberal ideas. An increasing awareness of the national crisis and political inadequacies should force Turks to make a quick choice between democracy and militancy.

- 496 Power, J. "Turkey's Hard Road: A Review of Yol [film]." *Freedomways* 23, no. 3 (1983): 195-198.

- 497 Rugman, Jonathan. *Ataturk's Children: Turkey and the Kurds*. Photographs by Roger Hutchins. New York: Cassell, 1996. Includes bibliographical references and index.

This book, by Rugman, a freelance journalist working out of Istanbul and Hutchins, an award winning freelance photo-journalist, tells the story of Turkey and the Kurds in a series of concise reports and striking black and white pictures. The book describes the rise of the Kurdish national movement and the emergence of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK); the considerable effect of the Gulf War against Iraq had on the Kurds; the numerous promises that were made and subsequently broken; the massacres and the betrayals. It is a sad and moving story of a people who attempted to hold onto their identity despite overwhelming odds. Bringing the tragedy of the Kurds up-to-date, the authors describe a visit they made to the Kurdish town of Cizre to watch the population welcome in their traditional 'Nuruz' or New Year. (abridged, *The Middle East*, no. 257, June 1996: 40-41)

- 498 Schechla, Joseph. "Ideological Roots of Population Transfer." *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (1993): 239-275.

Includes Armenian deportations 1915, Cyprus since 1974, Turkish Kurdistan, Palestine 1948 and 1967. Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and other large-scale expulsion cases exemplify forcible transfer, sponsored or condoned by states, that commonly affects minorities and indigenous



peoples. International law makers a century ago considered it unconscionable, even in the context of war, but population transfer still coexists with sectarian and discriminatory state ideologies, evades international legal remedies and deepens conflict. The article reveals a continuum of population transfer policies and their underlying state ideologies affecting indigenous peoples, Cypriots, Kurds, Palestinians and indigenous South Africans. Following is a brief assessment of population transfer under international law, which falls short of its protective task. The conclusion reports on relevant UN-level initiatives and advocates stronger treaty protection against the human rights violations inherent in all coercive population transfers. (*IPSA*: 44-1414)

- 499 Whitman, Lois. *The Kurds of Turkey: Killings, Disappearances and Torture*. New York: Helsinki Watch, c1993. i, 59 p. Includes bibliographical references.

Describes the abuses by security forces since Prime Minister Suleiman Demirel's coalition government took office in November 1991.

- 500 Whitman, Lois. *Broken Promises: Torture and Killings Continue in Turkey*. Edited by Jeri Laber. New York: Helsinki Watch, A Division of Human Rights Watch, 1992. i, 78 p.

This report is based largely on a ten-day Helsinki Watch fact-finding mission to Turkey in August 1992 during which Lois Whitman, Deputy Director of Helsinki Watch, met with government officials, lawyers, human rights activists, journalists, recent detainees and others in Istanbul, Ankara, Adana and Antalya. It was written by Lois Whitman and edited by Jeri Laber, Executive Director of Helsinki Watch.

- 501 Whitman, Lois. *Paying the Price: Freedom of Expression in Turkey*. New York: Helsinki Watch, c1989. 136, 39 p.

This report, the seventh on human rights in Turkey issued by Helsinki Watch since 1980, deals with freedom of expression in Turkey--in the press, radio and television, publishing, film, music and in association. It is based on a fact-finding mission to Turkey in October 1988 by Helsinki Watch and the International Freedom to Publish Committee of the Association of American Publishers.

- 502 Whitman, Lois, and Jeri Laber. *Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Kurds of Turkey: An Update*. New York: Human Rights Watch, c1990. (A Helsinki Watch Report). Includes bibliographical references.

This report is based largely on information gathered by Lois Whitman, Deputy Director of Helsinki Watch, and Eric Siseby, Chairman of the Danish Helsinki Committee, during a fact-finding mission to Turkey in May 1990. This mission was sent to Turkey to look into the situation of the Kurdish minority in southeastern Turkey and to investigate a recently-issued decree giving the regional governor broad powers to censor the press and to exile from the region people who present a "danger to law and order." The mission met with lawyers, human rights activists, doctors, business people, journalists and villagers in Istanbul, Diyarbakir, and Siirt. The mission was eager to see what changes had taken place in southeast Turkey since Helsinki Watch's visit in June 1987--and, indeed, it found a number of changes, most, unfortunately, for the worse.

- 503 Whitman, Lois, and Jeri Laber. *State of Flux: Human Rights in Turkey*. New York: U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, December 1987. 159 p.

This is the sixth report of Helsinki Watch Committee since 1982 on human rights in Turkey. It completes and updates the previous report *Freedom and Fear: Human Rights in Turkey* (1986). An important part of this report concerns the Kurdish provinces of the country: the destruction of an ethnic identity (pp. 91-96), the prison of Diyarbakir (pp. 96-102), the guerrilla attacks in the south-east (pp. 102-105), the government reaction (pp. 105-107), the village guards (pp. 107-116), the Compulsory Deportation (pp. 116-121), three Kurdish refugees (pp. 121-130). In the end, the authors discuss the role of the United States and European countries, and present their recommendations (pp. 13-137). A document of great importance in order to more fully appreciate the situation of the Kurds in Turkey. (Joyce Blau/AI 11:635)

- 504 Zaman, Amberin. "Turkey: From Bad to Worse." *The Middle East* [London], no. 238 (October 1994): 20-21.

Strong pressure from the West to correct its human rights record has only strengthened anti-Western sentiment in Turkey. The Ankara government, which has a record of atrocities against Kurds, is currently prosecuting six elected Kurdish deputies for their close links with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party. Turkey shows no signs that it will address the human rights issue to qualify for full membership in the European Union and to continue to receive Western aid.

See also 6, 17, 111, 250, 317, 327, 341, 465-468

## Iraq

- 505 Amnesty International. *Iraq: Human Rights Abuses in Iraqi Kurdistan Since 1991*. London: Amnesty International, 1995. 135 p. : ill., map, tables.

Wide-ranging and serious human rights abuses have been committed by the Kurdish administration and political parties in Iraqi Kurdistan since 1991. These abuses include the detention of suspected political opponents, among them possible prisoners of conscience; torture and ill-treatment of political and common law detainees and the failure to investigate such abuses adequately; the use of the death penalty and the enactment of legislation increasing the number of offenses punishable by death; executions after summary trials; and unlawful and deliberate killings. Iraqi Government forces withdrew from most areas of Iraqi Kurdistan in October 1991. Since then, these areas have been controlled by Kurdish forces. Amnesty International (AI) holds them accountable for the human rights abuses committed by armed political groups. This report is based on research carried out by AI over the past three years, including five fact-finding visits to Iraqi Kurdistan between May 1992 and July 1994. AI is issuing this report in order to make public its concerns in Iraqi Kurdistan and calls on the Council of Ministers and the Kurdish leadership to act on the recommendations contained in it.

- 506 Chaszar, Edward. "International Protection of Minorities in the Middle East: A Status Report." *Middle East Review* 18 (Spring 1986): 37-48.

How does the lack of formal international instruments to rights of minorities affect the situation of minorities in the Middle East? Do minorities enjoy any protection at all? To what extent and by whom? Can their situation be improved? How soon, and by what means? The purpose of this article is to answer these questions. In trying to come to grips with the problem of protecting minorities in the Middle East, a national minority, the Armenians; an ethnic minority, the Kurds; and a religious minority, the Baha'is are selected here for closer scrutiny. The reason for these selections is that while practically all minorities have to suffer some kind of disadvantages or discrimination, these three have been outright persecuted and are, therefore, in dire need of some form of international protection.

- 507 Connors, Jane. "Humanitarian Legal Order and the Kurdish Question." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 84-94. London: Routledge, 1992.

In this Chapter, Connors contends that it is perhaps safe to conclude that while a significant corpus of international humanitarian law exists to regulate intra-state conflict, its application in the Kurdish context is problematic. One is nevertheless left to wonder what exactly is a humanitarian" legal order? International laws and legal systems and orders are neither humanitarian nor in-humanitarian. They are codes of mutual conduct between states and their organs. They are exclusively aimed at keeping international peace and order, assuring prosperity. By simple necessity of our time, these legal codes are now increasingly covering sub-state communities, i.e., minorities of all kinds, who threaten to de-stabilize states from within, and the international relationship from without: they threaten to upset order and shatter prosperity. This extension of "legal order" only seems humanitarian its most common side effect has been to accommodate long-ignored rights of the minorities--religious, linguistic, or behavioral. (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 136)

- 508 Human Rights Watch. *The Lost Agenda: Human Rights and U.N. Field Operations*. New York: Human Rights Watch, June 1993. 173 p.

Examines five of the largest United Nations field operations in recent years, in Cambodia, El Salvador, Iraq (pp. 135-170), Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia. These operations span a broad range of regions and circumstances, yet with the exception of El Salvador, they have in common the low priority given to human rights.

- 509 Khalil, Samir al- [pseud.--Kanan Makiya.] "A Monument to the Gulf War." *Dissent* 39 (Spring 1992): 133-134.

A monument to the Persian Gulf War should acknowledge the large number of noncombatant Kurds who were systematically exterminated by the Ba'th regime of Iraq. Moreover, the monument should also signify the West's failure to condemn such despicable acts. Despite documented evidence of widespread Iraqi atrocities against Kurds, these were largely ignored by both the West and the Iraqi opposition. To date, countless numbers of Kurds remain buried in mass graves located in the outskirts of the southern Iraqi city of Samawa.

- 510 Middle East Watch. *Human Rights in Iraq*. Written by David Korn. New York: Middle East Watch, 1990. 193 p. Includes bibliographical references and index.

The government of Iraq is one of the most brutal and repressive regimes in power today, denying its citizens virtually all basic rights and ruthlessly suppressing even the smallest gestures of dissent. This book, which documents the violations of human rights in Iraq, is a report from Middle East Watch, a division of Human Rights Watch, which monitors violation of human rights around the world. It is the first in an important new series of books to be published jointly by Human Rights Watch and Yale University Press. This timely book discussed the situation in Iraq since the Ba'th Socialist Party came to power in 1968. Written in a chillingly dispassionate style, it describes how the Ba'th regime subjects Iraqi citizens to forced relocation and deportation, arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, "disappearance," and summary political execution. Middle East Watch reveals the methods used by the Iraqi government to impose its rule: a monolithic party organization, a pervasive system of informants, and secret police agencies that are empowered to arrest, detain without trial, torture, and kill. The book also examines the government's treatment of Iraq's Kurdish minority, relating that after using chemical weapons to crush a Kurdish insurgency in 1987 and 1988, the government is now engaged in a forced relocation program of such proportions that it threatens Kurdish ethnic identity and cultural survival. Middle East Watch documents measure taken by the Iraqi government to prevent word of its abysmal human rights record from spreading to the international community. Iraqi citizens who speak out on human rights are severely punished, and even Iraqi émigrés fear violence at the hands of Iraq's overseas security operatives. For several years no international human rights organization has been allowed into Iraq to investigate reports of abuses. Nevertheless, Middle East Watch has mounted an investigation by interviewing scores of émigrés, diplomats, journalists, and scholars and by gaining access to extensive written documentation, including Iraqi government texts. The results is a balanced, comprehensive account of one county's systematic violation of human rights—obligatory reading for students of the contemporary Middle East, political scientist, and individuals interested in the field of human rights.

- 511 Pepper, William F. "Iraq's Crimes of State Against Individuals, and Sovereign Immunity: A Comparative Analysis and a Way Forward." *Brooklyn Journal of International Law* 18, no. 2 (1992): 313-384.

This article attempts to examine the situation in which many thousands of ordinary residents of Kuwait and Kurdistan alike now find themselves as to their legal standing to sue and their ability to recover compensation and damages for their or their deceased relatives' individual

injuries, suffering and loss. The analysis assumes that neither the ruling Ba'th Party itself nor the Iraqi individuals and officials responsible (with the exception of Saddam Hussein) will personally be able to satisfy any judgment awards resulting from their actions in Kuwait and Kurdistan. Part two of this article focuses on the types of injuries inflicted on the Kuwaiti and Kurdish victims which provide the basis for their claims. Part three surveys the relevant municipal laws and practices of Kuwait, the United Kingdom and the United States in bringing such actions and the status of state immunity which might be asserted by Iraq. In considering the immunity afforded to foreign states under United States law, the act of state doctrine is also examined. Part four asserts and examines the principle that sovereign immunity should finally be deemed to be inapplicable to states which as a matter of policy violate the most basic norms of customary international law—the *jus cogens*. In the course of this analysis the growth of customary international law, the relationship between international law and municipal law, and the applicability of the *jus cogens* violations to Iraqi actions in Kuwait and Kurdistan are discussed, as are the historical precedents for intervention in such cases. Part five comments on the possibility of the establishment of an independent international tribunal to hear such cases. Part six argues that, in the absence of such a tribunal, the principles of universal jurisdiction and *erga omnes* have historical and contemporary relevance as to the obligations of all states to prohibit and review *jus cogens* violations so that their municipal courts may be utilized to provide forum to consider the claims. Finally, part seven examines the most significant obstacles and objections to the application of the doctrine of universal jurisdiction to the courts of the United States in such cases.

- 512 Salih, Khaled. "Demonizing a Minority: The Case of the Kurds in Iraq." In *Nationalism, Minorities and Diasporas: Identities and Rights in the Middle East*. Edited by Kirsten E. Schulze, Martin Stokes and Colm Campbell, 81-94. New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1996.

Since the beginning of the 1920s the Kurds have had to adopt new identities as citizens and subjects of states with projects radically different from those of their former imperial rulers. Often referred to as the creation of 'nation-states,' this process was most conspicuous in the case of Iraq on which this chapter focuses.

- 513 Sullivan, H. Emmanuel. "International Human Rights Instruments: A Source of Protection for Indigenous Populations." *Kurdish Times* 1 (Spring 1986): 33-49.

See also 385, 426, 444, 448, 465-468, and under **Genocide and Refugees** as well

## Syria

- 514 Feili, Omran Yahya. "The Status of the Kurds in Syria." In *The Syrian Arab Republic: A Handbook*. Edited by Anne Sinai and Allen Pollack, 63-65. New York: American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East, 1976.
- 515 Middle East Watch. *Syria Unmasked: The Suppression of Human Rights by the Asad Regime*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991. 215 p.

This book looks at human rights in Syria during two decades of rule by President Hafez Asad. It also considers the human rights practices of Asad's predecessors, particularly the governments that emerged from the military coup d'état of March 8, 1963, under the banner of the Arab Ba'th Socialist party.

- 516 Vanly, Ismet Cheriff. *The Syrian Mein Kampf Against the Kurds: Ba'th Thinking Reviewed*. Translated and introduced with commentary and annotations. On cover: The Persecution of the Kurdish People by the Ba'th Dictatorship in Syria. A commentary on *Dirasah 'an Muha-fazat al-Jazirah* by Muhammad Talib Hilal. n.p. : The Committee for the Defence of the Kurdish People's Rights, pref. 1968. 38 p.

See also 6, 21, 132, 465-468, 538, 539

## GENOCIDE

- 517 Akhavan, Payam. "Lessons from Iraqi Kurdistan: Self-Determination and Humanitarian Intervention Against Genocide." *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 11, no. 1 (1993): 41-62.

This article examines the United Nations Security Council intervention against repression in Iraqi Kurdistan. Humanitarian intervention against genocide, the concept of genocide, and the right to self-determination and assistance are also discussed.

- 518 Anderson, Kenneth. *The Anfal Campaign in Iraqi Kurdistan: The Destruction of Koreme, the forced relocation of its inhabitants, the*

*massacre and disappearance of its men and boys, the chemical weapons attack on the village of Birjinni, and the death of Farwan Towa Mostafa, a female infant, at Beharke Camp, in the course of the 1988 Anfal campaign against the Kurds of Iraqi Kurdistan by the Government of Saddam Hussein. Oral testimony and physical forensic evidence. A report by Middle East Watch, a division of Human Rights Watch, and Physicians for Human Rights.* New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993. 116 p. : ill., maps. Includes bibliographical references.

A case study of the disaster that befell the Kurdish village of Koreme during the 1988 *Anfal* campaign, this report depicts in detail the nature of the crimes committed by the government of President Saddam Hussein against one remote mountain village in northern Iraqi Kurdistan. It addresses the following topics: Koreme before the *Anfal* campaign; Kurds flight to Turkey; The Chemical Weapons Attack on Birjinni; The Firing Squad at Koreme; Detention and Disappearance; Forced Relocations, and the Dead Infant Girls in Jeznikam Cemetery; the Destruction of Koreme; Conclusions of Law and Fact; The Prayer Over the Dead at Koreme.

- 519 Black, George. *Genocide in Iraq: The Anfal Campaign Against the Kurds*. New York: Human Rights Watch, c1993. xxx, 370 p. : maps. (Middle East Watch Report). Includes bibliographical references.

This extensive report deals with the brutal genocide campaign (*Anfal*) carried out against the Kurds by the Iraqi government. The report is a product of almost two years of research during which a team of Middle East Watch researchers analyzed several tons of captured Iraqi government documents and carried out field interviews with more than 350 witnesses, most of them survivors of the 1988 campaign. As a result of this painstaking work Middle East Watch concludes that, between 1987 and 1989, the Iraqi regime committed the crime of genocide.

- 520 Bonner, Raymond. "A Reporter at Large: Always Remember." *The New Yorker* 68 (September 28, 1992): 46-51+.

The author argues that Saddam Hussein has been practicing genocide against Iraq's Kurds for decades and will not be deterred by international pressure. A history is presented of the Kurdish fight for autonomy, which they have waged with only restrained support from the West. The article is mainly an overview of the *Anfal* campaigns.



- 521 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Genocide of the Kurds." In *The Widening Circle of Genocide*. Edited by Israel W. Charny; with a foreword by Irving Louis Horowitz, 165-191. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, c1994. (Genocide; v. 3)

In this paper, Van Bruinessen has assembled an important chapter about past and recent massacres and genocide of the Kurdish people in what appears to be a pattern of unending persecution and destruction through most of the twentieth century that continues to this very day. The Kurds have the distinction also of being the subjects of genocide by several governments, including the Turks, Iraqis, Iranians and Soviets. This work is a long-needed introduction for Western scholars to a case history of persecution of a substantial people, who number about 30 million strong in this world today, and whose outcome has not even yet been determined.

- 522 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Genocide in Kurdistan?: The Suppression of the Dersim Rebellion in Turkey (1937-1938) and the Chemical War Against the Iraqi Kurds (1988)." In *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions*, edited by George J. Andreopoulos, 141-170. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

In this paper, Van Bruinessen discusses two earlier massacres in Kurdistan that have by some been called genocide. Both took place in the course of the suppression of Kurdish rebellions, the first in Turkey, in 1937-1938, the other in 1988 in Iraq, where Saddam Hussein bombed his disobedient Kurdish subjects with chemical warheads. Both massacres are borderline cases. While there are those who argue that they constitute genocide by the terms of the 1948 Convention, others (including, hesitantly, Van Bruinessen) are reluctant to use that term. Van Bruinessen argues that it will be hard, on the one hand, to prove that in these two cases the state intended to destroy, in whole or in part, [the Kurds] as such. On the other hand, these were not simply punitive actions carried out against armed insurgents. In fact, these massacres were only the tip of the iceberg and have to be understood within the context of the two regimes' overall policies toward the Kurds. These policies amount to variant forms of *ethnocide*- in the case of Turkey, deliberate destruction of Kurdish ethnic identity by forced assimilation, and in Iraq destruction of Kurdish social structure and its socio-economic base. Both regimes presented these policies as fundamentally benevolent forms of engineered modernization, in the Turkish case even as a civilizing mission.

- 523 Galbraith, Peter. *Chemical Weapons Use in Kurdistan: Iraq's Final Offensive*. A Staff Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 1988. 46 p.

This is a detailed report of Iraq's gas bombing of at least thirty Kurdish villages in August 1988, based on interviews with Iraqi Kurds who fled into Turkey. The report quotes verbatim eyewitness accounts (pp. 14-27) and summarizes the physical evidence of the use of chemical weapons.

- 524 Goldstein, Eric. *Endless Torment: The 1991 Uprising in Iraq and its Aftermath*. Edited by Andrew Whitley. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992. 66 p. (Middle East Watch Report)

A report based on interviews with Iraqi refugees which describes human rights abuses under the Iraqi regime, the repercussions of the failed uprising in the south and the outcome of the uprisings in the north. It contends that the 1991 war revealed how the world community had underestimated the regime's brutality, and strongly critiques the contradictions in U.S. policy toward Iraq, including the lack of significant support to those taking part in the uprisings.

- 525 Hiltermann, Joost. *Bureaucracy of Repression: The Iraqi Government in Its Own Words*. New York: Human Rights Watch, c1994. x, 156 p. (Middle East Watch Report). Includes bibliographical references.

This report is written by Joost Hiltermann, Kurds' Project director at Middle East Watch, and based on fourteen months of archival research by a Middle East Watch-led team, and edited by Andrew Whitley, executive director of Middle East Watch. In two separate shipments in May 1992 and August 1993, eighteen tons of official Iraqi state documents captured by Kurdish parties in the March 1991 uprising arrived in the United States for safekeeping and analysis. A Middle East Watch-led team has conducted research on these documents since October 1992; to date, approximately 40% of the materials has been catalogued and studied. This is the first report that discusses these documents. It constitutes the first attempt at a systematic analysis of a significant portion of the Iraqi state files. The documents project is part of a wider effort by Middle East Watch to provide evidence that the *Anfal* campaign by the government of Iraq against its population of rural Kurds in 1988 amounted to genocide. Among the findings presented in this report is an impressive documentary record on the incremental Iraqi campaign to raze to the ground all Kurdish villages

and the deportation of their populations. In their totality, the documents attest to the existence of a large bureaucracy which, by the nature of the policies that were carried out against the Kurdish population in the 1980s, was a bureaucracy of repression. Through the documents, Iraq's rulers in the Revolutionary Command Council, the Ba'ath Party and the security apparatus speak with great clarity even if their words are filtered through the bureaucratic vernacular servants following a dull routine of inflexible procedures. In this report, Middle East Watch is presenting a very small sample of the documents that were captured by the Kurds of northern Iraq in the March 1991 uprising against the regime of Saddam Hussein. They include highlights as well as other documents that show the methodology and routine character of a bureaucracy of repression in action.

- 526 Human Rights Watch-Middle East Committee. *Iraq's Crime of Genocide: The Anfal Campaign Against the Kurds*. New Haven: Yale University Press, c1995. xxx, 373 p. : ill., maps. (Human Rights Watch Books). Includes bibliographical references (p. 361-364) and index.

Iraq's 1988 *Anfal* campaign of extermination against the Kurdish people living within its borders resulted in the death of at least 50,000 and as many as 100,000 people, many of them women and children. This book, co-published with Yale University Press, investigates the *Anfal* campaign and concludes that this campaign constituted genocide against the Kurds. The book is the result of research by a team of Human Rights Watch investigators who analyzed eighteen tons of captured Iraqi government documents (10 of these documents are reproduced in the appendix) and carried out field interviews with more than 350 witnesses, most of them survivors of the *Anfal* campaign. It confirms that the campaign was characterized by gross violations of human rights, including mass summary executions and disappearances of many tens of thousands of noncombatants; the widespread use of chemical weapons, among them mustard gas and nerve agents that killed thousands; the arbitrary jailing and warehousing of tens of thousands of women, children, and elderly people for months, in conditions of extreme deprivation and without judicial order; the forced displacement of hundreds of thousands of villagers to barren resettlement camps after the demolition of their homes; and the wholesale destruction of some two thousand villages along with their schools, mosques, farms, and power stations. The book is a searing indictment of the Iraqi government's carefully planned and executed program to destroy a people, harrowing in its detailed and objective recounting of crimes against innocents.

- 527 Kurdish Program, The. "The Destruction of Iraqi Kurdistan." *Kurdish Times* 2, no. 2 (1988): 1-6.

Furnishes some detailed information on mass deportations of Iraqi Kurds, deliberate destruction of Kurdish villages, and the use of chemical arms against the Kurds by the Iraqi authorities.

- 528 Makiya, Kanan. *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising, and the Arab World*. 1st ed. New York: W. W. Norton, c1993. 367 p. Includes bibliographical references and index.

The first alarm about the brutality and totalitarian nature of Saddam Hussein's regime was sounded eloquently in the widely praised international bestseller, *Republic of Fear*. Writing then under the pseudonym Samir al-Khalil, Kanan Makiya, an Iraqi dissident in exile, exposed the premise and methodology of Saddam's Ba'th Party and the power it wields over the state. Now, in *Cruelty and Silence*, writing for the first time under his own name, Makiya widens his scope to bravely--and certainly controversially--confront the rhetoric of Arab and pro-Arab intellectuals with the realities of political cruelty in the Middle East. Part one, a compelling example of the literature of witness, is a journey through cruelty told in the words of Khalil, Abu Haydar, Omar, Mustafa, and Taimour--the Arab and Kurdish heroes of this book. In a bid to place cruelty at the center of Arab discourse, the author fashions their testimony into stories, or metaphors for occupation, prejudice, revolution, and routinized violence. In 1991 Makiya entered Northern Iraq on a clandestine mission. He was the first person to bring the Ba'th Party's campaign of mass murder known as the *Anfal*--a campaign comparable to those perpetrated by the Nazis and the Khmer Rouge --to the attention of the outside world. His account of the *Anfal* is contained in "Taimour" and it brings the journey through cruelty to a close. In Part Two, "Silence," Makiya links these tales of survival to an examination of the Arab intelligentsia's response to Saddam Hussein and the Gulf War, showing that flood of condemnation of the West for its handling of the crisis was barely matched by a trickle of protest over Saddam's brutal massacres of Arabs and Kurds. The words of intellectuals, he demonstrates, are separated by a gigantic chasm from those of the survivors. Makiya is sharply critical of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and also of the way the Gulf War was conducted and left unfinished by the Allied coalition. But he also argues that "anti-Zionism" and "anti-imperialism" have been turned by the Arab and pro-Arab intelligentsia into a "politics of silence" towards cruelty. In his exploration of these "landscapes of cruelty and silence," Makiya lays

out the nationalist mythologies that underpin them. He calls for a new politics in the Arab world--a politics that puts absolute respect for human life, and revulsion at cruelty, above all else.

- 529 Makiya, Kanan. "The Anfal: Uncovering an Iraqi Campaign to Exterminate the Kurds." *Harper's* 284 (May 1992): 53-61.

A moving report of a visit to Iraqi Kurdistan in November 1991 and analysis of some of the official documents that were captured by the Kurds in the spring of 1991. Makiya provides new details about the *Anfal* offensives of 1988 and a reasoned estimate that at least 100,000 noncombatant Kurds were murdered in the course of these campaigns. Kurdish spokesman quoted by the author even claim a figure of 182,000 dead or disappeared--an extrapolation based on the number of destroyed villages (1276). The article contains long interviews with survivors of the first gas attacks of 1987 and of the mass murders of 1988.

- 530 Meisalas, Susan, and Andrew Whitley. "The Remains of Anfal." *Middle East Report* 24 (July-August 1994): 8-11.

- 531 Middle East Watch. *Hidden Death: Land Mines and Civilian Casualties in Iraqi Kurdistan*. New York: Human Rights Watch, [1992.] 67 p. : ill., maps. (Middle East Watch Report).

Millions of land-mines were laid by the Iraqi army in Iraqi Kurdistan during the Iran-Iraq war and along the borders with Turkey and Syria before the 1991 war. They do not self-destruct and their locations are not marked or recorded. After mid-1991 the Iraqi army withdrew from Kurdistan and Kurdish civilians returned to their homes and farms, where huge numbers suffered injury. This report documents the problem and concludes that the Iraqi army deliberately intended to make large tracts of land un-usable for all time, and what its actions contravened International Protocols and customary International Law.

- 532 Miller, J. "Iraq Accused: A Case of Genocide." *The New York Times Magazine* (January 3, 1993): 12-17+.

Kurdish rebels captured more than 857 cartons of documents detailing operations of genocide against Iraqi Kurds. The captured files could form the legal foundation for the first case of genocide ever tried in the World Court.

533 More, Christiane. "Les Kurdes a la recherche d'une nouvelle strategie: massacres par les armes chimiques et dernieres victimes de la guerre du golfe." [The Kurds in Search for a New Strategy: Massacres by Chemical Weapons and Last Victims of the Gulf War.] *Le Monde Diplomatique* [Paris] 35 (October 1988): 9.

534 Physicians for Human Rights. *Winds of Death: Iraq's Use of Poison Gas Against Its Kurdish Population: Report of a Medical Mission to Turkish Kurdistan*. Somerville, Mass.: Physicians for Human Rights, 1989. 39 p.

A report by Physicians for Human Rights, written by Robert Mullan Cook-Deegan, Howard Hu, and Asfandiar Shukri. The findings of the report are that Iraqi aircraft attacked Kurdish villages in northern Iraq around Halabja with bombs containing lethal poison gas on 25 August 1988. The report presents the evidence collected from survivors in Turkey.

535 Rose, Steven, and Abraham Baravi. "The Meaning of Halabja: Chemical Warfare in Kurdistan." *Race and Class* (July-September 1988): 74-77.

536 Saeedpour, Vera Beaudin. "Establishing State Motives for Genocide: Iraq and the Kurds." In *Genocide Watch*. Edited by Helen Fein, 59-69. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

This essay argues that the poison gas attacks in August 1988 cannot be explained simply as a response to the Kurdish rebellion or the Kurds' role in the Iran-Iraq War but are better explained as the final phase of a deliberate Iraqi plan to remove Kurds permanently from their ancestral lands for economic and strategic reasons. The author concludes that the depopulation of Iraqi Kurdistan was a deliberate policy, for which the Kurds' siding with Iran during the war was only a pretext. Deportations and earlier use of chemical weapons against the Kurds are briefly discussed.

537 Stover, Eric. *Unquiet Graves: The Search for the Disappeared in Iraqi Kurdistan*. [United States]: Physician for Human Rights: Middle East Watch, c1992. i, 41 p. : ill. Includes bibliographical references.

This report is written by Eric Stover, a writer who specializes in medicine and human rights and a consultant to Human Rights Watch and Physicians for Human Rights, based on research undertaken during

a mission to Iraqi Kurdistan in December 1991. The report was edited by Andrew Whitley, executive director of Middle East Watch and others. In December 1991, Middle East Watch and Physicians for Human Rights sent a delegation to northern Iraq to observe and assist in the exhumation, identification, and determination of probable cause and manner of death of individuals interred in mass and single, unmarked graves. What happened to at least 100,000 men, women, and children who the Kurds say have disappeared without trace? This report describes the efforts underway in Iraqi Kurdistan to investigate the disappearance and murder of tens of thousands of Kurds the Iraqi regime. It examines the methods and procedures Kurdish investigators are using to collect, document, and preserve medico-legal evidence. It also reports the findings of our visit based on first-hand observations, interviews, and the excavation of several unmarked graves. Finally, the report suggests ways in which the international community can help the Kurdish investigators improve their methods of collecting evidence.

- 538 Vanly, Ismet Cheriff. *The Kurdish Problem in Syria: Plans for the Genocide of a National Minority*. [Europe]: The Committee for the Defence of the Kurdish People's Rights, 1968. 40 p. : ill.
- 539 Vanly, Ismet Cheriff. "Genocide in Syria--Anguish of the Kurds." Translated from the German. *Atlas* 16 (August 1968): 43-45.

All too often, events of enormous meaning to humanity are scarcely noted. Examples: the years-long, systematic slaughter of blacks by Arabs in the Sudan (*Atlas*, October 1967), and now the methodical strangling of the Kurds by Syrians. On the fringe of the Mediterranean, 250,000 men, women and children of the Kurdish minority appear doomed in a "final solution" by the Syrian government. In effect, Damascus is doing to the Kurds what it would like to do to the Israelis. What is the process of genocide in Syria? Ismet Cheriff Vanly tells the whole story in *Rheinischer Merkur*, the Cologne Catholic, pro-Christian Democratic Party weekly [Germany].

## REFUGEES

- 540 Adelman, Howard. "The Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention: The Case of the Kurdish Refugees." *Public Affairs Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (1992): 61-88.

In international discourse, there are three traditional solutions to the problem of refugees—voluntary repatriation to the country from which they fled when the conditions which forced them out change, settlement in countries of first asylum, and resettlement in third countries, namely first world western states. The obligations are directed towards helping the refugees temporarily or permanently and not at preventing the outflow in the first place. Adelman direct attention to the rights and duties of states to intervene and prevent the outflow and even production of refugees in the first place. Using the case of the Kurds, Howard Adelman argues for humanitarian intervention, but not to impose democratization, but simply to protect the persecuted population, not when there are cases of human rights violations, massive or otherwise, but only where a mass exodus threatens the peace and security of surrounding states. Instead of setting aside the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of states, Adelman argues that some cases of persecution turn out to be international issues which justify intervention. It is a case of wedding communitarian self-determination and just war doctrine to benefit refugees.

- 541 Adelman, Howard. "Humanitarian Intervention: The Case of the Kurds." *International Journal of Refugee Law* 4 (January 1992): 4-38.
- 542 Ahmad, Abdulbaghi. "Symptoms of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Among Displaced Kurdish Children in Iraq: Victims of a Man-Made Disaster After the Gulf War." *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry* 46, no. 5 (1992): 315-319.

Interviewed 20 Kurdish children (aged 6-16 years) from families who were displaced in temporary camps on the Turkish border after the Gulf war about their experience of stress symptoms, focusing on posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The interviews were conducted two-months after the disaster and again at a two-months follow-up when the selected sample had returned with their families back to the home regions. All of the selected sample showed some PTSD symptoms. At the index interview, however, only 4 of them fulfilled the criteria for PTSD. Children's risk of developing PTSD symptoms is discussed with regard to family construction, social support, and the parents' previous exposure to violence. (*American Psychological Association* 81-01965)

- 543 Babakhan, Ali. *Les Kurdes d'Irak: Leur histoire & leur deportation par le regime de Saddam Hussein*. [The Kurds of Iraq: Their History and Deportation by the Regime of Saddam Hussein.] [Beirut]: Ali Babakhan, 1994. 351 p.



The picture of the mass exodus of Iraqi Kurds upon the Gulf War shows the tragedy and oppression inflicted on the Kurdish people by Saddam Hussein. This event is a historical continuation of the policy of genocide (the extermination campaign of *Anfal*, the chemical attacks on Halabja ...) as well as of the cruel deportation practiced over the years. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds were deported towards southern Iraq or to Iran. The present work deals not only with the causes and effects of these brutal acts that are relatively unknown by the public, but also objectively analyzes the history of the forced annexation of southern Kurdistan to the Iraqi state. The work also deals with the attitude of successive Iraqi regimes towards the Kurds, but with more emphasis under the Ba'th regime.

- 544 Babbile, Marzio [et al.] "Post-Emergency Epidemiological Surveillance in Iraq-Kurdish Refugee Camps in Iran." *Disasters* 18 (March 1994): 58-75.

Describes a computerized epidemiological surveillance system developed in 1991 to monitor health trends among 25,000 displaced Kurds in Nowsood and Saryas refugee camps in the Bakhtaran region of north-western Iran. Weekly population movements, attack rates, point-prevalence estimates, and case fatality ratios were calculated. The overall crude mortality rate (CMR) in the camps under study was still 9 times higher than the reported CMR for Iraq. Health problems with very low rates included measles, meningitis, and tetanus. However, morbidity for the most common conditions (acute respiratory infections, diarrhea, skin infections, eye diseases, and typhoid fever) increased at the end of intervention. It is concluded that such epidemiological surveillance systems should be implemented during mass migrations in developing countries as well as post-emergency settings. (SA 94D-9032)

- 545 Bimpage, Serge. *La seconde mort d'Ahmed Atesh Karagun*. [The Second Death of Ahmed Atesh Karagun.] Preface by Georges Haldas. Carouge-Geneve: Zoe, 1988. 155 p.

A work that deals with the problem of refugees in the Orient. On July 18, 1982, a man, living in an establishment in Geneva, burns and, subsequently, kills himself. This was Ahmed Atesh Karagun, a Kurd from Turkish Kurdistan. Ahmed had left his miserable village two years earlier after certain people assured him that in Switzerland he would be given asylum. The author reviews the confusing path of this man and his family that turned out to be a nightmare. (Abdollah Mardukh/AI 12:524)

- 546 Frelick, Bill. "Kurdish Refugees and the New World Order." *Kurdish Studies: An International Journal* 5 (Spring-Fall 1992): 45-53.

This paper was originally presented on the Kurdish Library Panel, "The Kurds and the New World Order" at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, November 23-26, 1991 in Washington, DC. It analyzes the limitations of rights of asylum and whether or not this presents ethical problems.

- 547 Hooglund, Eric. "The Other Face of War." *MERIP Reports* 21 (July/August 1991): 3-7, 10-12.

- 548 Hottinger, Arnold. "Repression and Rebellion: The Kurdish Tragedy." *Swiss Review of World Affairs* 41 (May 1991): 12-13.

The author explains the background to the current plight of the Kurds who historically have been subjected to brutal and bloody repression in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. These four countries have repeatedly practiced discriminatory treatment over the Kurds and considered them as outsiders and aliens in their respective host countries.

- 549 Karasapan, Omer. "Gulf War Refugees in Turkey." *Middle East Report* 19 (January-February 1989): 33-35.

A largely ignored by-product of the Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq war has been the large influx of refugees into Turkey. The economic benefits of Turkish neutrality during that war led Ankara to downplay the problem. But the recent arrival of Kurdish refugees has strained regional ties and clouded Turkish hopes for lucrative post-war reconstruction deals. The large Iranian refugee population of a million or more is also causing worries as struggle among Iranian political groups spill over into Turkey. (PSA 89-00847)

- 550 Kirisci, Kemal. "'Provide Comfort' and Turkey: Decision Making for Refugee Assistance." *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement* 2 (Autumn 1993): 227-253.

The collapse of the Kurdish rebellion against Saddam Hussein's regime at the end of March 1991 precipitated the massive flight of refugees (Assyrians, Kurds, and Turkomans) toward Iran and Turkey. By April 1991, Turkey faced its third refugee crisis in as many years. Initially choosing to close its borders, Turkey subsequently reversed this decision and supported Operation "Provide Comfort" I and II, as well as UN

humanitarian assistance efforts. Turkish behavior began a political process that seems to have opened new avenues in assisting victims of forced migration. Overall, these experiences had a profound effect on Turkey, fostered international novel solutions to the refugee problems, and made it highly likely that Turkey would continue to take a role in humanitarian interventions. (*IPSA*: 44-3234)

- 551 Kirisci, Kemal. "Refugee Movements and Turkey." *International Migration* [Switzerland] 29, no. 4 (1991): 545-560.

Turkey (and the earlier Ottoman Empire) has a long tradition of accepting political and religious refugees. It has also been a region from which many people (such as Armenians, Greeks, and Jews) have emigrated. In light of Turkey's involvement in refugee problems, the author provides an overview of the situation during the 1980s. During this period there have been three groups of refugees who have sought asylum in Turkey: those from Eastern Europe (assisted by UN agencies), peoples from the Middle East (such as Kurds and Iranians) fleeing war and political repression, and groups of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria and Afghanistan. In addition to economic problems, the refugees have posed health, legal, and foreign policy problems for the Turkish government. During the 1980s, there was also a significant number of Turkish Kurds who fled and sought asylum, particularly in Europe. In turn, this development has led to growing tensions in Turkey's foreign relations with European States. Based on UN and U.S. Committee of refugees reports, Turkish newspapers, and secondary. (*HA*: 44B-1104)

- 552 Kneller, R. W., K. Ingolfsdottir, and J.-P. Revel. "The Mortality Experience of Kurdish Refugees Remaining in Turkey." *Disasters* 16, no. 3 (1992): 249-254.

A survey of one of the camps still holding refugees from Iraq who crossed into Turkey in the spring of 1991 showed that the majority of the population was under 15 years of age and that increased mortality occurred during the first 20 days after the refugees left their homes in Iraq. Infants, young children, and the elderly suffered the highest mortality, with infant mortality rates (IMRs) over the first month of the crisis approximately 18-29 times the IMR in Iraq in the late 1980s. Still unexplained is a greater than two-fold excess mortality among males compared with females. Other demographic and health findings are also reported.

553 Kutschera, Chris. "Safe Haven or Living Hell?" *The Middle East* [London], no. 200 (June 1991): 9-10.

554 Lahoud, Lamia. "Kurds: 'We Never Give Up Hope.'" *The Middle East* [London], no. 198 (April 1991): 18-19.

Kurdish history has been marked by suppression, revolts and tragedy, reaching a climax in 1988 when Saddam Hussein gassed 5,000 Kurds at Halabja. There are now half a million Kurdish refugees living on the border of Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. Negotiations for a separate Kurdish state, however, are hampered by the refusal of many countries to accept the existence of a distinct Kurdish people. Lahoud reports that the Kurds suspect the allies will ignore them in post-war negotiations.

555 Laird, Elizabeth. *Kiss the Dust*. 1st American ed. New York: Dutton Children's Books, 1992. 278 p. (Originally published in Great Britain by William Heinemann, 1991)

Laird weaves compelling facts about the conflicts between the Arabs and the Kurds into her gripping tale about one family's escape to freedom. After witnessing a teen's brutal murder and meeting a wounded revolutionary, 12-year-old Tara begins to realize the extent of persecution in her native Iraq. When her Kurdish father is sought by the secret police, Tara and her family abandon their home and head north to the mountains. Their refuge is short-lived, however; bombs begin to drop and they flee across the Iranian border to a primitive refugee camp. Stripped of their dignity and still not out of danger, the family plots to leave the continent, despite slim chances of asylum. The author personalizes the Kurdish experience by sensitively portraying Tara's feelings of loss, degradation and uprootedness. Although some readers may find the girl's initial naiveté as hard to swallow as her abrupt awakening to violence, most will overlook these minor weaknesses as the story's tension rapidly mounts. Even those familiar with political problems in Iraq and Iran may be shocked by the graphic depiction of tyranny--and may sense that despite their hardships, Tara's family fares better than many people who risk their lives for independence. (*Publishers Weekly* April 27, 1992: 269)

556 Laizer, Sheri. "And the Refugees Suffer." [Turkish Kurdish asylum seekers in Britain.] *Kurdish Times* 3 (Fall 1990): 26-29.

557 Lancaster, Pat. "Refugees: Victims of Circumstance." *The Middle East* [London], no. 200 (June 1991): 5-9.

The enormity of the Kurdish disaster stirred the international community into action, but while the importance of UN and western compassion should not be underestimated, it can never provide a long-term answer for the world's 17 million strong refugee population. While the politicians debate the issues, thousands of Palestinians, Afghans, Kurds, Sahrawis and others can only wait.

- 558 Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. *Asylum Under Attack: A Report on the Protection of Iraqi Refugees and Displaced Persons One Year After the Humanitarian Emergency in Iraq*. New York: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1992. 89 p. : ill.

This report examines the current state of protection for refugees from Iraq and persons presently displaced in northern Iraq one year after fleeing conflict. The report discusses arrangements in law and practice for Iraqi refugees in Turkey, Iran, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The report also discusses arrangements for displaced Iraqis in northern Iraq who inhabit internal safe areas organized and preserved by the United Nations and coalition military forces. Assessments of protection are made, as is an analysis of the arrangements to strengthen humanitarian assistance in the United Nations, which were inspired in large part by the extraordinary arrangements in northern Iraq. The situation of the Kurdish people in the north of Iraq, as well as of Iraqi Arabs in the south, is discussed. Recommendations are made to enhance protection. This report is based on a mission of inquiry led by Arthur C. Helton, accompanied by Joost Hiltermann and Elahe Sharif-Pour, which visited Turkey, northern Iraq and Iran from December 27, 1991 to January 12, 1992, to study the situation of Iraqi refugees and displaced persons. During this period the delegation visited camps in Silopi, Turkey; encampments and habitations in Sulaimaniya and Sayed Sadiq, Iraq; and camps in the Bakhtaran and Khuzestan provinces in Iran.

- 559 Medico International. "Deportations in Iraqi Kurdistan and Kurdish Refugees in Iran." In *Yearbook of the Kurdish Academy 1990*. pp. 59-77. Ratingen, Germany: The Kurdish Academy, 1990.

Report on a visit by German parliamentarians and medical relief workers to Iraqi Kurdistan in November 1989 and a separate visit to refugee camps in Iran. Eyewitness accounts of destruction and new strategic settlements; interviews with Iraqi officials and Kurdish refugees. Quotes calculations by one of the Kurdish parties, the PUK, on numbers of villages destroyed and persons deported. At least

100,000 persons said to have been deported or disappeared in the *Anfal* offensives; another 100,000 Iraqi Kurds are said to live in Iran.

- 560 Mockaitis, Thomas R. "Peacekeeping in Intra-State Conflict." *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 6 (Spring 1995): 112-125.

On April 5, 1991, the UN Security Council passed one of its most significant resolutions. Following an abortive revolt by Iraqi Kurds just after the Gulf War, the UN moved to deliver humanitarian aid to Kurdish refugees stranded in Northern Iraq, to monitor their repatriation, to deploy a small military force to safeguard relief and to create a "no-fly" zone over the areas. For the first time in its history, the Security Council had authorized a collective action under Chapter VII of the UN Charter to intervene in a state's internal conflict without the consent of the warring parties. Many member states held that the move was an act of violation of the territorial integrity of a sovereign nation and set a dangerous precedent for future infringement of the Charter's prohibition of interference in internal affairs. If the UN is to maintain its new role of intra-state peacekeeper, further structural changes will necessitate precise regulation for intra-state peacekeeping. (*IPSA* 46-4828)

- 561 Nadirov, Nadir. "Population Transfer: A Scattered People Seeks its Nationhood." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* (Winter 1992): 38-40.

Discusses deportations of Kurds in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s, with some statistics on dramatic decreases of the Kurdish population of what once was the Kurdish National District (Lachin). As elderly people remember, "all the adult males in a town would be gathered at night and sent off by train. No one knows where they went, and none of them returned. After the men, the women and children were packed into freight cars and also sent to unknown destinations." The scattering of the Kurds hastened the loss of their culture and ethnic identity.

- 562 Nezan, Kendal. "Les Kurdes, un peuple en detresse." [The Kurds: A People in Distress.] *Hommes et migrations* (November 1988): 29-35.

- 563 Porter, J. D. H., and F. L. van Loock. "Evaluation of Two Kurdish Refugee Camps in Iran, May 1991: The Value of Cluster Sampling in Producing Priorities and Policy." *Disasters* 17, no. 4 (1993): 341-347.

Following the end of the Gulf War in March 1991, Kurdish refugees from Iraq crossed the border into Western Iran. To plan public health

interventions and to assist in priority setting for scarce resources, a rapid epidemiological assessment of two camps, Hafez and Kaliche, was conducted in May 1991. A 30-cluster sampling method was used to determine the demographics of the camp population, the morbidity and mortality from certain diseases, and the nutritional status of the children less than five years of age. The survey identified that morbidity was less severe than in the Kurdish camps on the Turkish border and provided information for camp authorities to plan appropriate relief interventions.

- 564 Saeedpour, Vera Beaudin. "From the Lion to the Fox: Iraqi Kurdish Refugees in Turkey." [Press analysis of events surrounding the Iraqi Kurdish refugees in Turkey.] *Kurdish Times* 3 (Fall 1990): 17-23.
- 565 Saeedpour, Vera Beaudin. "The Real Victims of the Iran-Iraq War." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1988): 55-57.

On March 22, 1988, the hitherto obscure Kurdish town of Halabja in the mountains of Iraq skyrocketed to prominence in the western press as the site of a grievous atrocity in the Iran-Iraq war. Despite the impression created by the media, the Iraqi attack on Halabja was not the first of its kind. It was simply the largest. But it was the first for which Iranian officials made an all-out effort to bring in the media to generate international condemnation of Iraq. (PSA 88-04869)

- 566 Sheikmous, Omar. "The Kurds in Exile." In *Yearbook the Kurdish Academy 1990*, pp. 88-114. Ratingen, Germany: The Kurdish Academy, 1990.
- 567 Van Hear, N. "Mass Flight in the Middle East: Involuntary Migration and the Gulf Conflict, 1990-1991." In *Geography and Refugees: Patterns and Processes of Change*. Edited by R. Black and V. Robinson, 64-83. London: Belhaven, 1993.
- The author discusses the pattern and consequences the massive flight of millions workers and resident aliens from Kuwait, Iraq and Saudi Arabia as a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the ensuing Gulf War. This was followed after the war by the temporary flight of large segments of the Iraqi population from Kurdistan and southern Iraq after the failure of the uprisings in Iraq.

See also 5-7, 11, 17, 21, 22, 111, 228, 229, 231-233, 239, 246, 348, 428, 435, 477, 498, 520

## CHAPTER 5

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# MINORITIES AND RELIGION

### MISCELLANEOUS

- 568 Blau, Joyce. "Le role des cheikhs naqshbandi dans le mouvement national Kurde." [The Role of Naqshbandi Sheikhs in the Kurdish National Movement.] In *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman. Actes de la Table Ronde de Sevres, 2-4 mai 1985*. Edited by Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic and Thierry Zarcone, 371-377. Istanbul ; Paris: Institut Francais d'Etudes Anatoliennes, 1990. (Varia Turcica, 18)

Starting from the early years of the 19th century, the Ottomans started to dissolve Kurdish principalities one after the other. The Sublime Porte executed or deported most of the Kurdish princes and heads of these principalities. Failing to fill the gap, however, the Central Government was unable to control the region which remained with no tribal chiefs. This situation led to the emergence of a new type of Kurdish leaders, namely religious leaders. Represented by the Naqshbandi and Qadiri *Sheikhs*, the Kurdish national movement was then led by these *sheikhs* whose influence was exercised independently of tribal divisions. The author here studies the political role of three Naqshbandi *Sheikh* families: the *Sheikhs* of Nehri (in the Ottoman Empire), the *Sheikhs* of Piran (in Kemalist Turkey), and the *Sheikhs* of Barzan (in modern Iraq). (A. M./AI 14:650)

- 569 Blau, Joyce. "Les relations inter-communautaires en Irak." [Inter-communal Relations in Iraq.] *Correspondance d'Orient Etudes* 5-6 (1964): 87-102.



Blau describes the various communities that make up the Iraqi population. These consist of Muslims such as the Sunni and Shi'i Arabs, the Sunni and Shi'i Kurds, and Turkmens, and non-Muslims such as the Yezidis, Christians (Assyrians, Uniate Chaldeans, Jacobites, Syrian Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics [Melkites], Armenian Orthodox, Armenian Catholics), Sabaens (or Mandeans), and Jews. Relations between these communities, especially in the 20th century, are also outlined.

570 Bois, Thomas. "Monasteres chretiens et temples yezidis dans le Kurdistan irakien." [Christian Monasteries and Yezidi Temples in Iraqi Kurdistan.] *Al-Machriq* 61 (1967): 75-103.

571 Bois, Thomas. "La religion des Kurdes." [The Religion of the Kurds.] *Proche Orient Chretien* [Jerusalem] 11, no. 2 (1961): 105-136.

572 Bois, Thomas. "Les Yezidis: Essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse." [The Yezidis: Historical and Sociological Essay on Their Religious Origin.] *Al-Machriq* 55 (1961): 109-128; 190-242.

573 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Kurds, Turks and the Alevi Revival in Turkey." *Middle East Report* 26 (July-September 1996): 7-10.

This article describes the resurgence of the political culture and identity of the Alevis, a schismatic Shiite Muslim group, and their relationship to the government and to the Kurds.

574 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Religion in Kurdistan." *Kurdish Times* [New York] 4 (Summer-Fall 1991): 5-27.

In this paper, Van Bruinessen, analyzes the religious diversity among the Kurdish people. After describing each of the major Kurdish religions or sects (Sunnis, Shiites, Yezidis, Ahl-i Haqq, Alevis, Jews and Christians), he discusses the role of the Sunni mystical order in the Kurdish national movement, the relation between the *sheikhs* and the modern state, radicalism and religious modernism among the Kurds.

575 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "The Naqshbandi Order in 17th Century Kurdistan." In *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman. Acte de la Table Ronde de Sevres, 2-4 mai 1985*. Edited by Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic and Thierry Zarcone, pp. 337-360. Istanbul ; Paris: Institut Francais d'Etudes Anatoliennes, 1990. (Varia Turcica, 18).

The political and social importance of the Naqshbandi *Sheikhs* in the 19th and 20th centuries is well known both in Kurdistan and other parts of the Middle East. In this study, Van Bruinessen, and in contrast to what many has dated back the history of the Naqshbandi order to the 19th century, argues that the Naqshbandiya was present in Kurdistan continuously since the 17th century. This is an important piece of work that uncovers, among other things, the history of the Kurds in 17th century Ottoman Empire. (abridged, Joyce Blau/*AI* 14:680)

- 576 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Religious Life in Diyarbekir: Religious Learning and the Role of the Tariqats." In *Evliya Celebi in Diyarbekir*. Edited by Martin Van Bruinessen and H. E. Boeschoten, 45-52. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988.
- 577 Bumke, Peter J. "The Kurdish Alevis: Boundaries and Perceptions." In *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*. Edited and compiled by Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rudiger Benninghaus, 510-518. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989. (Beihefte zum Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B. Geisteswissenschaften; Nr. 60)
- 578 Cherchi, Maecello, Stephanie Platz, and Kevin Tuite. "Yezidis." In *Encyclopedia of World Cultures, Volume VI: Russia and Eurasia/China*. Edited by Paul Friedrich and Norma Diamond, 407-411. Boston, Mass.: G. K. Hall and Co., 1994.

Subheadings include: Orientation (identification, location and demography), History and Cultural Relations, Settlements, Economy, Kinship, Marriage and Family, Sociopolitical Organization, and Religion and Expressive Culture of the Yezidi Kurds of the former Soviet Union.

- 579 Chevalier, Michel. *Les montagnards chretiens du Hakkari et du Kurdistan septentrional*. [The Mountain Christians of Hakkari and Northern Kurdistan.] Paris: Departement de Geographie de l'Universite de Paris-Sorbonne, 1985.

Michel Chevalier's book is a descriptive reconstruction of the Nestorian community up to the beginning of World War I. It is a lucid, straightforward account of a human population in a specific political and ecological context. It is about the Christian tribes in Kurdistan. Chevalier makes good use of the travel and missionary accounts available, especially the unpublished journals of the French Dominican priest and linguist, Jacques Rhetore (1841-1921), who lived in the area for 20 years.

Beginning with a review of the different theories about the origin of the Nestorians (who are Monophysite Christians), Chevalier proceeds to a discussion of their economic, social, and political life. Chevalier describes their contacts with the Kurds, particularly with the Kurdish feudality, as well as with other non-Muslim groups. Even though Chevalier's book stops short of the full story of the Nestorian-Assyrians, it nonetheless provides a valuable contribution to the study of the Middle Eastern "ethnic mosaic." (abridged, Amal Rassam/*MEJ* 42, Summer 1988: 491-492)

- 580 During, J. "The Sacred Music of the Ahl-i Haqq as a Means of Mystical Transmission." In *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*. Edited by G. M. Smith and C. W. Ernst, 27-41. Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993.
- 581 Edmonds, Cecil J. "The Beliefs and Practices of the Ahl-i Haqq of Iraq." *Iran* 7 (1969): 89-106.
- 582 Guest, John S. *Survival Among the Kurds: A History of the Yezidis*. London ; New York: Kegan Paul International, 1993. xvii, 324 p. [44] p. of plates: ill.

This is a revised, expanded, and updated edition of *The Yezidis* published by Kegan Paul International in 1987. It has been revised and reissued due to popular demand arising from worldwide interest in the Kurdish people, of whom the Yezidis are a long established religious group. The history of the Yezidi community and their place in the annals of the Kurdish people goes back 900 years--even longer if their antecedents are traced back through antiquity. This narrative--which describes the origin of their religion, their discovery by Western travelers and missionaries in the nineteenth century, their traumatic recent history and present condition--fills an important niche in the history of the Near East. The 200,000 members of the Yezidi community live today in the northern parts of Iraq and Syria, in eastern Turkey, in Germany and in the former Soviet republics of Armenia and Georgia. They possess their own religion, quite distinct from Islam, which most other Kurds profess, and from the Christian and Jewish faith. The Yezidis believe that Lucifer, the fallen angel, has been forgiven by God and reinstated as chief angel. Their faith, like their history, is characterized by dignity and survival in the face of great odds. After examining the antecedents of the Yezidis, the life of Sheikh Adi who is venerated as the prophet of the Yezidi religion, and the Yezidi religions itself, the work describes early encounters between the Yezidis and the outside world and the close friendship forged in the 1840s between Yezidi lead-

ers and the British archaeologist Sir Henry Layard. The British ambassador Sir Stratford Canning helped them to obtain civil rights, and a hitherto unpublished letter of thanks from the Yezidi leaders appears as an appendix. Chapters also deal with Sultan Abdulhamid's cruel but vain efforts to force the Yezidis to embrace Islam, leading to the emergence of Mayan Khatun, a strong-willed Yezidi princess who ruled the community from 1913 to 1958. An epilogue reviews the present status of the Yezidi community, based on recent contacts with their political and religious leaders. The author paid three visits to Armenia in 1992, enabling him to bring the history of the Yezidis in Transcaucasia up to date. He also visited the United Nations security zone in northern Iraq in 1991 and 1992. A new appendix presents a recent outline of Yezidi religious doctrine set forth by contemporary Yezidi religious leaders.

- 583 Hakim, Halkawt. *La confrerie des Naqshbandis au Kurdistan au XXe siecle*. [The Naqshbandi Order in Kurdistan in the 20th Century.] Ph.D., Universite de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV, June 1983. 322 p.

This study is divided into three parts. After a long introduction discussing the sources of the book, the author describes the historical background of the Naqshbandi order and its rules. The second part, the more original part, is dedicated to the history of Kurdistan in the beginning of the 19th century, and more precisely to the history of the Baban dynasty which was established on the border area of the Ottoman and Persian empires. At the time when Mawlana Khalid of the powerful Kurdish tribe of Jaf was born (1776 or 1779), the Baban were in decline. While discussing the life of Mawlana Khalid, the author tries to separate between myth and reality. The author insists on the social and political role of the Naqshbandi order that established itself in Kurdistan in the beginning of the 19th century. The last part discusses the national revolts that were lead since 1880 by famous Naqshbandi *Sheikhs*: 'Ubaydallh of Nehri (1880-1882), Sa'id of Piran (1925), and the movements of Sheikh Ahmad and Mulla Mustafa Barzani since 1930 in Iraqi Kurdistan. (Joyce Blau/AI 7:416)

- 584 Hamzeh'ee, M. Reza. *The Yaresan: A Sociological, Historical, and Religio-Historical Study of a Kurdish Community*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1990. 308, 11 p. : ill., map. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen; Bd. 138). Includes bibliographical references (p. 280-302) and index.

Yaresan and Ahl-e Haqq are the names of an important Kurdish community concentrated in South Kurdistan. In this work, which is the

first general study of this community, attempts are made to draw an overall picture of the community and present some outlines for future research. The study will focus on three basic questions regarding the community: who the people are, their origins, and the factors that contributed to the survival of the community. This report consists of nine chapters. The first is devoted to methodological explanations. The remaining eight are divided into three groups, each of which aims at answering one of the questions mentioned above. Chapters Two through Seven are devoted to the introduction of the Yaresan, mainly to answer the first question. Chapters Eight and Nine are meant to answer the other two questions. Chapter Eight looks for an answer regarding the origin of the community. The main problem here lies in the lack of any historical reports about the community. This is mainly due to the complete secrecy in which the Yaresan have always lived. Therefore the attempt is made to reach an answer with the help of Yaresan traditions and a sociological investigation. In chapter Nine, the author tries to find some explanation for the survival of the Yaresan, the answer of the third (and last) question.

- 585 Hourani, Albert. "Shaikh Khalid and the Naqshbandi Order." In *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition*. Edited by M. Stern, Albert Hourani, and Vivian Brown, 89-103. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- 586 Ishow, Habib. "Araden ou le 'Jardin du paradis': La Terre et les hommes dans un village chaldeen du nord de l'Irak." [Araden, or "The Garden of Paradise": Land and People in a Chaldean Village of Northern Iraq.] *Etudes rurales* 76 (October-December 1979): 97-112.

Described is the Assyro-Chaldean village of Araden in northern Iraq. The inhabitants are Christian, their culture and language, Chaldean. Families tend to be patriarchal and form three groups, two of which are in constant conflict, with the third serving a negotiational role. The families have solid social structures. Araden is a rural democracy, since important decisions are made collectively by the men of the village. Collective work is a prominent form of the labor that supplies the needs of the population. The civil war (1961-1975), in which Kurds were opposed to the Baghdad government, had a devastating effect upon Araden and its people. Described is the agricultural potential of the region and the difficult conditions faced by persons there since the civil war. (SA: 82M: 0335)

- 587 Jacobson, C. M. "The Alevi Religion." In *Kurdish Culture: A Cross-Cultural Guide*. Written by Denise L. Sweetnam, 209-217. Bonn: Verlag fur Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1994.
- 588 Joseph, John. *Muslim-Christian Relations and Inter-Christian Rivalries in the Middle East: The Case of the Jacobites in an Age of Transition*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1983. 240 p. : map. Includes bibliographical references.

This work is a useful modern history of the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) and Syrian Catholic Christians, concentrating on their social and political developments since the early 19th century, when the Eastern Christian Churches emerged from several centuries of isolation. Jacobites and Syrian Catholics were victims in the repression of the Kurds in 1925 and many, like the Armenians before them, fled to French-ruled Syria, settling mainly in the Jezire but also in Aleppo, Hama and Homs. Tension later rose in the Jezire following the signing of the Franco-Syrian Treaty of 1936, the Christians feared their own repression in an independent Syria and demanded autonomy. The Christians supported the Kurdish revolt in the Jezire in 1937. Tension between Muslims and Christians in the area subsided from the 1950s with the development of the region's agricultural economy. The author also outlines the development of the Christian community in Syria up to the 1970s.

- 589 Joseph, John. *The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors: A Study of Western Influence on their Relations*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. xv, 281 p. (Princeton Oriental Studies, 20). Bibliography: p. 239-269.

This work is divided into two parts: Part one covers the 19th century, and part two the 20th century. Between them, the author charts the political impact of Western interference on the relations of the local communities of Nestorians (also sometimes called Assyrians or Chaldeans) with the Muslim majority among whom they lived in northern Iraq. He also explains the background to the tragedy of the massacres in 1933.

- 590 Kieser, Hans Lukas. "L'Alevisme Kurde." (Kurdish Alevism) *Peuples Mediterraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 57-76.

Kurdish Alevism is a religious and cultural identity, a minority in many respects, which not only nourishes itself on a heterodox Sufism, but maintains elements from pre-Islamic Anatolia. Its Islamic credo is

fragile; in Dersim, Alevi used to share pilgrimages and marriages with the neighboring Americans. They were contesting all power and doctrines of the State, they did it with the Turkish Republic. The spirit of openness and expectation and the absence of rigid dogmas made them capable of adapting to new situations without questioning their alevity; this still holds true for the European immigrants. Consciousness of their identity was not erased in spite of the almost complete disappearance of the organized and ritualistic make-up formerly entertained by the deed.

- 591 Kreyenbroek, Philip G. "Religion and Religions in Kurdistan." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 85-110. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

The majority of modern Kurds are Sunni Muslims; no attempt to examine the religious side of Kurdish cultural identity could be valid unless this central fact is accepted. The purpose of the present chapter, therefore, is not in any way to deny the predominance of Sunni Islam in Kurdish culture, but rather to suggest that the concept of Islam as it is often understood in the West is not adequate as an explanatory model of the diverse expressions of Kurdish religiosity. It is argued here that those Kurds who are most exposed to the dominant cultures of the region, which tend to uphold mainstream forms of Islam, probably do not differ profoundly from their non-Kurdish neighbors as far as their beliefs and practices are concerned. On the other hand, communities which are more insulated from outside cultural influences have often preserved customs and beliefs, and even developed entire religious systems, which contain elements alien to mainstream Islam. (abridged)

- 592 Le Gall, Dina. *The Ottoman Naqshbandiyya in the Pre-Mujaddidi Phase: A Study in Islamic Religious Culture and its Transmission*. Ph.D., Princeton University, 1992. vii, 264 leaves: map. DAI 51 (1992): 280-A.

A doctoral dissertation which says that the Naqshbandiya is one of the most widespread of Sufi orders. Originating in Transoxiana in the late fourteenth century, it later spread throughout most of the Islamic world, with the exception of Africa west and south of Egypt. The present study examines one early phase of this process: the expansion of the Naqshbandiya into the Ottoman realm in the late fifteenth through the seventeenth century, before the introduction of the better-known Naqshbandiya-Mujaddidiya from India. It takes up the circumstances and the means that facilitated the expansion of the *tariqa* in this realm, its involvement with the Ottoman state and its functioning within Ottoman

society, its cultural orientation and distinctive devotional features, indeed the notion of *tariqa* itself and the nature of the Sufi affiliation as reflected in Naqshbandi fortunes. Chapter One discusses the role of missionaries, pilgrims, and refugees in the early westward expansion of the Naqshbandiya. It attributes much of its success to the sense of mission imparted by 'Ubaydallah Ahrar of Samarqand to his spiritual descendants. Chapters Two through Four examine the establishment of Naqshbandiya in Istanbul, identifying the personalities and spiritual lines that partook in that process, and pointing to the strategies that underlay their work of proselytizing. The importance of individuals is highlighted by the fact that Naqshbandi affiliation was perceived in personal rather than institutional terms and that Naqshbandi circles and *zawiyas*, even when supported by *waqf* and enjoying considerable continuity, never amounted to an integrated network. A Bakri descent, a silent *dhikr*, and an insistence upon adherence to the *shari'a* lent the *tariqa* a distinctive Sunni and orthodox identity that attracted many 'ulama.' Yet, this did not entail a bid for political influence, nor a role in the Ottoman struggle against the Qizilbash. Chapter Five explains the failure of the Istanbul Naqshbandiya to strike roots in most of Anatolia and Rumeli and its disinterest in expansion to Arabia or in contact with the Naqshbandi community of Indian origin that was emerging there. In general, it suggests that Turco-Persian cultural and linguistic milieu proved the most congenial for the *tariqa*'s activities.

- 593 Lescot, Roger. "Le Kurd Dagh et le mouvement mouroud." [Kurd Dagh and the Mouroud Movement.] *Studia Kurdica* (1988): 101-125.

The author divides his study into four parts: 1) Kurd Dagh, its resources, population, and the history of its inhabitants; 2) the political conditions in Kurd Dagh; 3) the beginnings of Mouroudism in Kurd Dagh and; 4) history of Mouroudism in Kurd Dagh between 1933 and 1939. There is also an annex--a study on the tribes that live in Kurd Dagh. (Joyce Blau/AI 12:539)

- 594 Mir-Hosseini, Ziba. "Faith, Ritual and Culture Among the Ahl-e Haqq." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 111-134. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

This chapter aims to sketch the present conditions of the Ahl-e Haqq, as he author encountered them in Kermanshah in 1992. In doing so, the author tries to impart something of the subtlety of their esoteric universe and the harshness of their current experience of the outside world.



Before that, the author gives a brief account on the history and mythology of the sect.

- 595 Mir-Hosseini, Ziba. "Inner Truth and Outer History: The Two Worlds of the Ahl-i Haqq of Kurdistan." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (May 1994): 267-285.

A principal belief of the Ahl-i Haqq, an esoteric sect centered in Iranian Kurdistan, is that the Divine Essence has successive manifestations in human form. The Ahl-i Haqq religious universe comprises two distinct yet interrelated worlds: the inner world (*alam-i batin*) and the outer world (*alam-i zahir*), each with its own order and its own rules. We as ordinary human beings are aware of the order of the outer world, but our life is governed by the rules of the inner world, where our ultimate destiny lies. This article analyzes the events surrounding one of the last manifestations of the Divine Essence, one of those rare moments in which a passage is made between the two worlds, and explores the ways in which these two worlds interact, as perceived by the believers and as reflected in the developments within the sect.

- 596 Mir-Hosseini, Ziba. "Redefining the Truth: Ahl-i Haqq and the Islamic Republic of Iran." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21 (1994): 211-228.

This article traces the roots of a recent split among the followers of an esoteric Shi'a sect known to outsiders as Ahl-i Haqq (literally, the Followers of Truth)--popularly known as 'Ali-Ilahi (defiers of 'Ali). The seeds of the rift were sown three generations ago in a leadership struggle in a village in southern Kurdistan, but the sect's followers divided into two opposing camps only with the onset of the Islamic Republic in Iran. In mapping the split, this article focuses on the diversity and particularly the esoteric side of Shi'a Islam.

- 597 Moosa, Matti. *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1988.

This book is a comprehensive study of the cultural aspects of the different Ghulat (extremist Shiites) sects in the Middle East. The extremism of these sects is essentially religious, and should not be confused with the religio-political radicalism of the Shiite regime in Iran and its antagonism to the West. The extremist Shiites discussed in this book are peaceful people, and, except for the Nusayris of Syria, they do not seem to be political activists or to have assumed political power.

Members of these sects live in an area extending from western Iran to Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. They are known by different names but share common religious beliefs, the most fundamental being that the Imam Ali, the blood cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet of Islam, is God. In Iran, these sects are called Ahl-i-Haqq (truth-worshippers), or Ali-Ilahis (defiers of Ali): in Iraq they are called Shabak, Bajwan, Sarliyya, Kaka'iyya, and Ibrahimiyya. In Syria they are known as Nusayris (Alawis), and in Turkey, as Bektashis, Qizilbash (Alevi), Takhtajis, and Cepnis. They are of different ethnic origins and speak different languages, mainly Turkish, Persian, Kurdish, and Arabic. The main objective of this book is to study the religious, social, political, and cultural life and institutions of these extremist Shiite sects, scattered over several Islamic countries of the Middle East. It focuses on the varying pagan and Christian elements--especially the Armenian Christian elements--of the beliefs and practices of the Qizilbash Kurds of the upper Euphrates valley.

598 Rooy, Slivio E. Van. "Christianity in Kurdistan." In *The Star of the East* 23 (July 1962): 10-14.

599 Sabar, Yona. "The Christian Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Zakho and Dihok: Two Text Samples." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (January-March 1995): 33-51.

Two texts illustrating the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialects of Zakho and Dihok spoken in Iraqi Kurdistan are compared with each other and with adjacent Christian and Jewish dialects. The Zakho example is made up of a monologue and responses to a journalist's questions by a Chaldean Catholic priest. The Dihok example comprises both casual conversation and responses to specific questions by an educated and wealthy Chaldean layman. It is noted that the latter employs a plain colloquial style that differs from the priests eloquent, rhetorical style. The interviews are printed in both phonetic transcription and English translations. Selected semantic and grammatical features of the layman's and priest's texts are analyzed. (SA: 90-0024)

600 Singer, Andre. "The Dervishes of Kurdistan." *Asian Affairs* [Great Britain] 61 (June 1974): 179-182.

Traces the history of the Qadiri Dervishes of Kurdistan. There devout Sunni Moslems follow the teaching and descendants of Sheikh Abd al-Qadir Gilani, a Persian who established himself in Baghdad in 12th century. Their worship and rituals consist of repetitive and rhythmic

chanting and swaying, and on special occasions these activities end in the eating of glass, playing with poisonous snakes, and thrusting skewers and swords into their bodies. These actions are viewed as demonstrations of faith in God and their leaders, and serves as proof of righteousness since the participants suffer no pain or injury. The more extreme acts are undertaken only by the poorer dervishes to gain status in a society where they have none on an economic or political level. These activities account for the survival of Kurdish identity despite invasions by powerful neighboring nations. Based on a field study in the village of Baiveh in Iran. (S. H. Frank/HA: 22B-2171)

- 601 Staley, Allen W. "The Kurds of Iraq: An Historical, Cultural and Religious Study." *Military Chaplain's Review* (July 1992): 37-43.

The Kurds are a people who have been brought from obscurity into the limelight by recent events in the Middle East. Their current situation, strategic location, and likelihood of contact with U.S. troops demands a closer look at them. The following study is an introduction to the Kurds: their background, their society, and their religion/culture. Specific emphasis is given to the Kurds in Iraq. The last section of the paper presents some practical things to remember in dealing with the Kurdish people.

- 602 Vangent, A. "The Yezidi Struggle to Survive." *Swiss Review of World Affairs* 6 (June 1993): 20-21.

Outside the main arena of political events in Iraq, a small religious community known as the "Yezidis" are struggling to survive. In the portion of northern Iraq controlled by the Kurds, the Yezidis have experienced a brief cultural renaissance even though the Baghdad government has forced the community's highest priest to leave and Saddam Hussein's army has razed many Yezidi villages. As Islamic fundamentalism grows among the Kurds, the Yezidis increasingly fear a renewal of persecution.

- 603 Yousif, Ephrem-Isa. *Parfums d'enfance a Sanate: Un village chretien au Kurdistan irakien*. [Odors of Childhood in Sanate: A Christian Village in Iraqi Kurdistan.] Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993. 139 p.

This story takes us to a Christian village lost in the mountains of Iraqi Kurdistan during the 1950s. It gives us a colored vision of the Assyro-Chaldean life, people, family, marriage, death, women, and traditions. The narrator, Yousif, a sensitive and enthusiastic small boy, is endowed

with a rich memory. He considers himself the heir of a very ancient history and the guardian of the Aramean language which Christ spoke. He tells us his joys and his sorrows, his wonders before nature, and his childhood dreams.

See also 3, 6, 7, 11, 17, 18, 20, 23, 32, 39, 111, 135, 139, 142, 250, 269, 661, 665, 666, 798

## JEWS

- 604 Abramovitch, Iva Bader, and Henry H. Abramovitch. "Enuresis in Cross-Cultural Perspective: A Comparison of Training for Elimination Control in Three Israeli Ethnic Groups." *Journal of Social Psychology* 129 (February 1989): 47-56.

Investigating enuresis in the context of different styles of training for bladder control--among Israeli Jews of Moroccan, Kurdish, or Eastern European descent--semi-structured interviews were conducted in ethnically homogeneous agricultural villages with 46 mothers of 248 children aged 3-18. In contrast to previous British and U.S. studies, no sex differences were found, but there were higher rates of primary enuresis. Lower rates of secondary (regressive) enuresis were correlated among siblings in the Kurdish group only and with disorderly sleeping arrangements in the Moroccan group. The Moroccan and Kurdish groups had higher rates of enuresis than the Ashkenazi (East European) group. The higher rates appear to be related to differences in the age of onset of training and a lack of age-appropriate changes in the parent-child interaction, which lead to chronic enuresis and the inability to seek effective assistance. These results are discussed in terms of a proposed typology for training: an early symbiotic style, a strict toddler style, and a communicative partnership. (SA: 90V2689)

- 605 Baharav, G. "Mountain Jews of Kurdistan." *Jewish Digest* 12 (June 1967): 45-48.
- 606 Beller, J. "Jews of Kurdistan." *Jewish Digest* 20 (May 1975): 32-36.
- 607 Ben-Yacob, Abraham, and Edith Gerson-Kiwi. "Kurdistan." *Encyclopedia Judaica* 10: 1295-1301. New York: Macmillan, 1972.

Presents the Jews of Kurdistan. Issues discussed include: Population, History, Economic Conditions, Instability of Living Conditions, The

Organization of the Communities and their Spiritual Foundation, Kurdish Language, Aliyyot to Palestine, and Musical Tradition.

- 608 Blau, Joyce. "Les Juifs au Kurdistan." [The Jews of Kurdistan.] In *Melanges Linguistiques offerts a Maxime Rodinson*. Edited by Ch. Robin, 123-132. Paris: Geuthner, 1985. (Suppl. aux Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linquistique d'Etudes ch. Amito-semitiques, 12)

Blau has gathered in Jerusalem folkloric texts from Jews who came from Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan. The collected texts are part of the Kurdish rich folkloric background. The folkloric corpus is preceded by a brief introduction of the history of the numerous Jewish communities (146) that lived in harmony with the agro-pastoral Muslim, Christian and Yezidi populations of Kurdistan. (Dominique Ferrandini/AI 9:875)

- 609 Brauer, Erich. *The Jews of Kurdistan*. Completed and edited by Raphael Patai. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, c1993. 429 p. : ill. (Jewish Folklore and Anthropology Series).

Following World War II, members of the sizable Jewish community in what had been Kurdistan, now part of Iraq, left their homeland and resettled in Palestine where they were quickly assimilated with the dominant Israeli-Jewish culture. Anthropologist Erich Brauer interviewed a large number of these Kurdish Jews and wrote *The Jews of Kurdistan* prior to his death in 1942. Raphael Patai completed the manuscript left by Brauer, translated it into Hebrew, and had it published in 1947. This new English-language volume, completed and edited by Patai, makes a unique ethnological monograph available to the wider scholarly community, and, at the same time, serves as a monument to a scholar whose work has to this day remained largely unknown outside the narrow circle of Hebrew-reading anthropologists. *The Jews of Kurdistan* is a unique historical document in that it presents a picture of Kurdish Jewish life and culture prior to World War II. It is the only ethnological study of the Kurdish Jews ever written and provides a comprehensive look at their material culture, life cycles, religious practices, occupations, and relations with the Muslims. In 1950-51, with the mass immigration of Kurdish Jews to Israel, their world as it had been before the war suddenly ceased to exist. This book reflects the life and culture of a Jewish community that has disappeared from the country it had inhabited from antiquity. In his preface, Raphael Patai offers data he considers important for supplementing Brauer's book, and comments on the book's values and limitations fifty years after Brauer wrote it. Patai has included additional information

elicited from Kurdish Jews in Jerusalem, verified quotations, corrected some passages that were inaccurately translated from Hebrew authors, completed the bibliography, and added occasional references to parallel traits found in other Oriental Jewish communities.

- 610 Cohen, C. *Grandir au quartier kurde: Rapports de generations et modeles culturels d'un group d'adolescents israeliens d'origine kurde*. [Growth of a Kurdish Neighborhood: A Report of a Generation and Cultural Models of a Group of Israeli Adolescents of Kurdish Origin.] Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, Musee de l'Homme, 1975. 184 p.

- 611 Cohen, Hayyim J. *The Jews of the Middle East 1860-1972*. New York ; Toronto, Canada: John Wiley, 1973. 213 p.

Examines the social conditions, way of life and experiences of Oriental Jews. Begins with historical background and then looks more closely at the Jewish communities in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, the Yemen and Egypt, examining education, demographic features, political activities, social change and economic development.

- 612 Epstein, Shifan. "The Jews of Kurdistan." *Ariel* [Jerusalem] 51 (1982): 65-78.

- 613 Feitelson, Dina. "Aspects of the Social Life of Kurdish Jews." *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* 1, no. 2 (1959): 201-216.

The mass exodus of Kurdish Jews to Israel in 1951 ended the stream of emigrants from the Kurdish mountains of Iraq which has been taking place for the past 40 years by transferring the whole group to Israel. From fieldwork undertaken in 1953-1954 an attempt is made to reconstruct the old social patterns of this group, since "at that time the impact of new surroundings and institutions had as yet left intact many of the usage practiced in Iraq." The following aspects of Kurdish life are treated: (1) The Community--physical surroundings, occupation, and Jews and their neighbors; (2) Culture-language and religion; (3) The Household--the dwelling, extended family, cohesion of the extended family, the men, and womanhood and its tasks; and (4) The Life Cycle of the Individual--marriage, the baby, the toddler, boy becomes man, and girl grows into woman.

- 614 Fischel, Walter J. "The Jews of Kurdistan; a First Hand Report on a Near Eastern Mountain Community." *Commentary* 8 (December 1949): 554-559.

- 615 Frankel, Deniel G., and Dorit Roer-Bornstein. "Traditional and Modern Contributions to Changing Infant-rearing Ideologies of Two Ethnic Communities." *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development* 47, no. 4 (1982): 1-51.

The modernization of infant-rearing ideologies was investigated by interviewing grandmother and granddaughter generations of 2 ethnic communities--Yemenite and Kurdish Jews--about pregnancy and delivery, postpartum care of the mother and newborn, and infant care and development expectations. The sample was limited to 60 biologically unrelated women who lived in ethnically homogeneous semi-communal farming villages. Results show that both traditional and modern influences affected the contemporary infant-rearing ideologies of the 2 communities. Traditional differences in the emphasis on the mother-infant relationship, cognitive development, motor development and physical/biological effects on development and health, as well as relative differences in developmental expectations, all were reflected in the ideologies of the granddaughter generation. Modern contributions were indicated by a rejection of much traditional ritual and the demise of spiritual/magical explanation. Modernization was also associated with an attribution of greater competence to the young infant and an increased recognition of the psychological characteristics of infant development and the psychological demands of infant care-taking. Yemenites were more accepting of psychological explanations, while Kurds were more accepting of the medical/biological/physical explanations of infant behavior and development. (*American Psychological Association* 68-10243)

- 616 Garbell, Irene. "The Impact of Kurdish and Turkish on the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Persian Azerbaijan and the Adjoining Regions." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85 (1965): 159-177.

This paper is the outcome of a study of the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect spoken in Persian Azerbaijan and the adjoining vilayets of Van and Hakkari in East Anatolia, which was undertaken with the aid of the Mary E. Woolley Fellowship awarded to the author by the International Federation of University Women for the year 1956-1957.

- 617 Halper, J., and H. Abramovitch. "The Saharanei as a Mediator of Kurdish-Jewish Ethnicity." In *The Hebrew Language and Language of the Jews; Jewish Folklore and Art. Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1981*. pp. 79-84. Jerusalem: [Congress of Jewish Studies], 1982.

- 618 Hoberman, Robert D. "Formal Properties of the Conjugations in Modern Aramaic." *Yearbook of Morphology* (1991): 49-64.

Several inflectional classes are found in most Semitic languages. These classes are characterized by differences in the canonical syllable shape of their stems and the vowel melodies assigned to them. The system of verb inflectional classes (binyanim) in Modern Aramaic is simpler than in most Semitic languages, providing a convenient subject for study. The system of conjugation in the Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Amadiya in Iraqi Kurdistan is examined. It is argued that each of the only two binyanim is abstract and may trigger various other morphological operations. However, assignment of verbs to one binyanim or the other results not from arbitrary marking in the lexicon but from the operation of a phonological factor, i.e., whether the verb is mono or disyllabic. The possibility that binyanim in other Semitic languages is also abstract is discussed. (B. Annesser Murray/SA: 93-3766)

- 619 Magnarella, Paul J. "Jewish Kurds of Iran." *Jewish Digest* 15 (April 1970): 17-20.

- 620 Magnarella, Paul J. "A Note on Aspects of Social Life Among the Jewish Kurds of Sanandaj, Iran." *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* 11 (June 1969): 51-58.

Data were collected in 1967-68 on the Jewish Kurds of Sanandaj, Iran, through 1 female, 28-year old native from this city. A few other sources are also used. The number of the Jewish Kurds of Iran is estimated at 3,000-4,000. Many of them emigrated to Israel in the 1950s, while Jewish Kurds from Iraq sought refuge in Iran. Iranian Jewish Kurds speak both Kurdish and Persian in public, and "Jewish Kurdish" in their homes. There are 2 private Jewish Schools in Sanandaj, one for boys (grades 1-9), the other for girls (grades 1-6). About 70% of the working Jewish Kurds of Sanandaj are employed in private familiar business, e.g., retail shops, cloth merchants, or MD's in private practice. Most of the remaining 30% work for the government. On the average, their standard of living is better than that of the Muslim Kurds. The ideal household is extended-patrilocal, but in practice, this is modified by a number of factors. The actual household composition is kept in flux due to education, business transfer, government assignment and military service of individuals in the family. The Jewish Kurds are concentrated in a special quarter of the city for residential and business purposes, though some of their shops are interspersed with those of Muslims in the larger bazaars. Polygamy is allowed, but rarely prac-



ticed. A male Jewish Kurd may marry any female in his own generation except his sister, niece, or daughter-in-law. Marriage with the matrilineal or patrilineal parallel cousin is preferred. A few marriages with Muslims have taken place in recent years. Some components of the marriage contract are described. (M. Maxfield/SA: 70E2959)

- 621 Mann, Jacob. "Documents Concerning the Jews in Mosul and Kurdistan." In *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, vol. I, pp. 477-549. Cincinnati, 1931. Reprint. New York, 1972.
- 622 Miller, E. "The Jewish Village that Moved to Israel." *Jewish Digest* 25 (April 1980): 33-37.
- 623 Noy, Dov. "Is There a Jewish Folk Religion?" In *Studies in Jewish Folklore: Proceedings of a Regional Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies Held at the Spertus College of Judaica, Chicago May 1-3, 1977*. Edited by Frank Talmadge, 273-286. Cambridge, Mass.: Association for Jewish Studies, 1980.

Jewish folk religion is described here as the beliefs, rites and customs considered by the 'folk' as a part of their religion but not found in and even opposed to the official normative codes. The author analyzes in detail a story from a Kurdish informant in Jerusalem, which expresses some central characteristics of Jewish folk-religion. It is emphasized as a conclusion that "the element of tension which exists between folk and official levels of religion... is absent in Jewish folk religion, as the observers and performers see their views and practices as part of the official religion."

- 624 Rejwan, Nissim. *The Jews of Iraq: 3000 Years of History and Culture*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985. ix, 274 p.

Covering nearly 3000 years of history, this fascinating and compelling work chronicles the Mesopotamian Jewish community from its beginnings during the Assyrian captivity to the Arab Conquest (731 BC-641 AD), through its encounter with Islam (641-1850), and up to the last 100 years (1850-1951), a period of political upheaval and radical change which culminated in the massive exodus to Israel in 1950 and 1951. The book is comprehensive yet concise, and represents the first English language work to address the history of Iraqi Jewry in its entirety, with the broader framework of Jewish, Iraqi and regional history. (abridged, Wendy Mills *MEJ* 40, Autumn 1986: 759)

- 625 Sabar, Yona. "Jews of Kurdistan." In *Encyclopedia of World Cultures, Volume IX: Africa and the Middle East*. Edited by John Middleton and Amal Rassam, 144-147. Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall & Co., 1995.

Subheadings include: Orientation (identification, location, demography, and linguistic affiliation); History and Cultural Relations; Economy; Kinship, Marriage, and Family; and Religion and Expressive Culture (religious beliefs and practices, medicine, handicrafts and oral arts).

- 626 Sabar, Yona. "Studies of the Folklore, Ethnography and Literature of Kurdistan Jews: An Annotated Bibliography." *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* 11, no. 1-2 (1989): 35-38.

- 627 Sabar, Yona (trans.). *The Folk Literature of the Kurdistani Jews: An Anthology Translated from Hebrew and Neo-Aramaic Sources*. With introduction and notes by Yona Sabar. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982. (Yale Judaica Series, 23)

The Aramaic-speaking Kurdistani Jews are members of an ancient Jewish community which, until its emigration to Israel, was one of the most isolated in the world. Throughout their long and turbulent history, these Jews maintained in oral form a wealth of Jewish literary traditions embellished with local folklore. This volume is the first translation and anthology of their richly imaginative literature. Yona Sabar, himself a Kurdistani Jew, offers representative selections from the types of Kurdistani literature: epic recreations of biblical stories, Midrashic legends, folktales about local rabbis, moralistic anecdotes, folk songs, nursery rhymes, sayings, and proverbs. Sabar's introduction and notes are a storehouse of information on the history and spiritual life of the Kurdistani Jews and on their relationship to the land of Israel. Because almost all the Kurdistani Jews now live in Israel and speak Hebrew, there is very little new literary activity in their Neo-Aramaic dialects. This delightful anthology captures the essence of Kurdistani Jewish literature, presenting it for public enjoyment and preserving it for the future.

- 628 Sabar, Yona. "Kurdistani Realia and Attitudes in the Midrashic-Aggadic Literature of the Kurdish Jews." In *Studies in Jewish Folklore: Proceedings of a Regional Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies Held at the Spertus College of Judaica, Chicago May 1-3, 1977*. Edited by Frank Talmadge, 287-296. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

The author classifies the literature of the Kurdistan Jews into four categories: Midrashic-Agadic literature in Hebrew, Midrashic-Agadic literature in Neo-Aramaic dialects, epic versions of Agadic literature and narratives and lamentations performed orally by and for women. In the second part of his article, the author demonstrates how the life, folk-beliefs and attitudes of the Kurdistan Jews are reflected in the above mentioned types of folk literature.

- 629 Sabar, Yona. "Multilingual Proverbs in the Neo-Aramaic Speech of the Jews of Zakho, Iraqi Kurdistan." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9 (1978): 215-235.

The author has collected 153 Aramaic proverbs from Zakho, presented in their cultural-linguistic context. The proverbs were collected from Jews who emigrated to Israel. The author emphasizes the relationships between the different ethnic groups in Iraqi Kurdistan as reflected in the Jewish proverbs. This material is also very useful for the study of the linguistic integration of different ethnic groups in Israel.

- 630 Sabar, Yona. "A Survey of the Oral and Written Literature of the Kurdish Jews." In *Pesat Wayehi Besallah. A Neo-Aramaic Midrash on Beshallah (Exodus)* by Yona Sabar, 161-178. Wiesbaden: n. p., 1976.

This is a condensed survey of some types of Jewish folk-literature in Kurdistan. The author emphasizes the relationships between oral and written literature and the linguistic character of the literature. The genres discussed here (folktales and legends) are not classified according to the theory of genres in folklore.)

- 631 Sabar, Yona. "Lel-Huza: Story and History in a Cycle of Lamentations for the Ninth of Av in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Zakho, Iraqi Kurdistan." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 21 (1976): 138-162.

This article is a publication and analysis of an important Kurdistan folk-epic, 'Lel Huza.' Lel Huza or 'the demon of Judea' is a cycle of three narratives sung by Kurdistan women on the night of 9th of Av. The author describes the performance and its elements, the structure of the cycle, its sources and language. The second part of the article consists of the publication of the original Neo-Aramaic text (in Latin transcription). This publication is a good example of a text which very few informants still remembered (in the 1960s) and which without its recording by a scholar would have disappeared.

- 632 Sabar, Yona. "The Impact of Israeli Hebrew on the Neo-Aramic Dialect of the Kurdish Jews of Zakho: A Case of Language Shift." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46 (1975): 489-508.

This article is based on two papers, one delivered at the Second North American Conference on Semitic Linguistics, March 25, 1974, and the other at the Western Regional Conference of the National Association of Professors of Hebrew, March 27, 1974, both at Santa Barbara, California.

- 633 Sabar, Yona. "First Names, Nicknames and Family Names Among the Jews of Kurdistan." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 65 (1974-1975): 43-51.

This paper was originally delivered at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, Washington, March 20, 1973. It is based primarily on oral communication with Kurdish Jews in Israel and his personal acquaintance with the Jews of Zakho, Iraq, the author's hometown and the largest center of Kurdish Jews until their emigration to Israel.

- 634 Sabar, Yona. "Nursery Rhymes and Baby Words in the Jewish Neo-Aramic Dialect of Zakho (Iraq)." *American Oriental Society Journal* 94 (July 1974): 329-336.

The purpose of this paper is to make available further linguistic data of the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect from Zakho (Iraq). The sixteen nursery rhymes and the baby words were collected by the author among his immediate relatives who now live in Jerusalem. The linguistic material is analyzed grammatically and etymologically in an appended glossary.

- 635 Schwartz-Be'eri, Ora. "Kurdish Jewish Silversmiths and Their Craft." *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 6 (Fall 1993): 12-24.

In the course of field research on the material culture of Jews who immigrated from Kurdistan to Israel, the author undertook a study of Kurdish Jewish silversmithing. The research of the author was based on interviews with makers and owners of silver pieces, their families, and *hakhamim* (sages) who served as teachers, cantors, circumcisers, ritual slaughterers, etc. Silver pieces from homes, synagogues, and museums were examined both in Israel and Iranian Kurdistan, as was Kurdish jewelry in the Museum of Ethnography, Berlin.

- 636 Schwartz-Be'eri, Ora. "Kurdish Jewish Silvercraft." *Israel Museum Journal* [Israel] 7 (Spring 1988): 75-86.

This article describes the work of silversmiths among the Jewish community of Kurdistan who immigrated into Israel and were still active in the 1930s. These Jews made jewelry as well as Jewish ritual objects. The author classifies their work according to the style and content of the decoration, and the type and quality of the material: ornamented objects in high quality silver, with elaborate and variegated surface ornamentation, often including a Hebrew inscription; smooth and flat inscribed objects: plain work on high quality silver, generally simply styled with clean lines and smooth areas bearing engraved inscriptions; folk art decoration: popular work on sheet alloy or copper with traditional folk motifs, chains, pendants and coins, usually without inscriptions.

- 637 Schwartz-Be'eri, Ora. "Jewish Weaving in Kurdistan." *Journal of Jewish Art* 3/4 (1977): 74-89. Reprinted in *Kurdish Times*, vol. 4 (Summer-Fall 1991, pp. 86-96).

In 1975, the Department of Jewish Ethnography of the Israel Museum, with the aid of a grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, New York, and the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture initiated a survey of the material culture of Jewish immigrants from the Kurdish areas of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Syria. The survey was planned as an attempt to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of the occupations and objects characteristic of this Jewish group in its daily life.

- 638 Sered, Susan Starr. "The Liberation of Widowhood." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 2 (April 1987): 139-150.

An important aspect of the religious world of a group of elderly, pious, Kurdish Jewish women in Jerusalem, Israel, is examined, based on fieldwork. While previous scholars have stressed the connection between menopause (with the resultant loss in fertility, but also menstrual pollution) and the increased religious involvement of old women, it is argued that the broadening of the religious lives that these women experience in old age is connected above all to widowhood. The women studied see old age (and more specifically widowhood) as a time for deepening and expanding their religious lives. Now that they are no longer busy with the demands of husbands and small children, they can devote increased time and energy to religious pursuits. Specifically, the focus of their religious world shifts from the domestic to the public

sphere. The synagogue, senior citizen's day center, cemeteries, and holy tombs are the most important public, sacred spaces frequented. (SA: 88T3147)

- 639 Shai, Donna. "Family Conflict and Cooperation in Folksongs of Kurdish Jews." In *Jewish Societies in the Middle East*. Edited by S. Deshen and W. P. Zenner, 273-284. New York: University of America Press, 1982.

- 640 Shai, Donna. "Changes in the Oral Tradition Among the Jews of Kurdistan." *Contemporary Jewry* 5 (Spring-Summer 1980): 2-10.

Prior to their migration to Israel in the 1950s, the Kurdistan Jews of Iraq had developed an important tradition in oral literature, characterized by linguistic diversity, the use of both Jewish and Islamic literary and historical sources and other influences. According to a commonly accepted scholarly perspective, the modernizing elements in the movement to Israel presumably would weaken this tradition. This presumed weakening was tested among immigrants to Israel from Zakho, Kurdistan, by field research on folk songs and tales conducted in Israel between 1971 and 1974. Rather than the Kurdistan oral tradition being harmed by the immigration experience, analysis of recording indicates that Kurdistan Jews have demonstrated a creative use of Israeli or Zionist themes in their folk tradition, and have been encouraged to continue their traditional expressive forms. (D. Dunseath/SA 83M: 9252)

- 641 Shai, Donna. "A Kurdish-Jewish Animal Tale in Its Sociocultural Context." In *Studies in Jewish Folklore: Proceedings of a Regional Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies Held at the Spertus College of Judaica, Chicago May 1-3, 1977*. Edited by Frank Talmadge, 297-306. Cambridge, Mass.: Association for Jewish Studies, 1980.

The basic hypothesis of the article is that the "boundaries of humanness are defined through the animal metaphor." The author discusses here the tale about the fox that knows a hundred tricks but is caught by the hunters while the cat, which knows only one, climbs the tree and is saved. The author suggests that the "powerless minority ... Kurdish Jews may identify with the trickster fox who lives by his wits" (in this Kurdish version the fox outlives the lion).

- 642 Shai, Donna. "Public Cursing and Social Control in a Traditional Jewish Community." *Western Folklore* 37 (January 1978): 39-46.

In this paper, after some introductory remarks and definition, the author discusses attitudes toward cursing in traditional Jewish literature. He then describes cursing in public among Kurdish Jews in Israel, with particular reference to concepts of honor and shame, self-image, and local norms. Finally, he discusses how traditional Jewish attitude towards cursing may affect the social behavior of persons in a situation of interpersonal conflict.

- 643 Shai, Donna. "A Kurdish Jewish Variant of the Ballad of 'The Bridge Over Arta.'" *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 1 (1976): 303-310.

The ballad 'The Bridge of Arta,' about the girl who was buried alive as a sacrifice for a bridge, was previously considered to exist only in the folk literature of the Balkan Peninsula. The author publishes a Kurdish Jewish version of the ballad in Neo-Aramaic and English translation. She states that the Kurdish version appears to bear great resemblance to the Biblical theme of Jephtah's daughter and international themes and elements from the Moslem Kurdish environment.

- 644 Shai, Donna. "Wedding Customs Among Kurdish Jews in Zakho (Kurdistan) and in Jerusalem (Israel)." *Studies in Marriage Customs, Folklore Research Center Studies* 4 (1974): 253-266.

This article is divided into three parts. In the first two parts, the author describes the wedding customs which were prevalent in the Jewish community in Kurdistan prior to their immigration and contemporary wedding ceremonies in Jerusalem. The third part is an analysis of the changes which these customs underwent during the acculturation process. The changes are divided into five categories: deletions, additions, substitutions, rearrangements and transformations.

- 645 Shapiro, O. "Nissam: A Hill Village Settled by 'Kurds.'" In *Rural Settlements of New Immigrants in Israel*. Edited by O. Shapiro, 103-124. Rehovot, Israel: Settlement Study Center, 1971.

- 646 Shokeid, M. "Immigration and Factionalism: An Analysis of Factions in Rural Israeli Communities." *British Journal of Sociology* 19, no. 4 (1968): 385-406.

- 647 Soen, Dan, and Ruth Ezrachi. "Kurdish Immigrants, Culture Contact and Social Adjustment in Israel." *Sociologus* 40, no. 2 (1990): 97-120.

See also 11, 599, 798

## CHAPTER 6

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# SOCIETY

### NATIONAL IDENTITY

- 648 Antonius, Rachad. "Entre la mosaïque et la vague: l'ethnicité instrumentalisée dans le Machrek arabe." [Between Mosaic and Wave: Instrumentalist Ethnicity in the Middle East.] *Cahiers de recherche sociologique* 20 (1993): 129-155.

It is proposed that ethnicity plays only a limited role in the political conflicts of the Middle East. Drawing on the examples of the Kurds in Iraq, the Palestinians in Israel, and conflicts in Lebanon, it is argued that the importance of ethnic dynamics is in defining group boundaries, rather than in cultural content. The role of nationalist and Islamic currents in ethnic identity formation is analyzed, and regional and international manipulations of ethnicity are evoked to illustrate the exploitation of ethnicity in inciting regional conflicts. (SA: 94-00351)

- 649 Aristova, T. F. "The Reflection of Ethnic Processes in the Traditional Domestic Culture of the Kurds of Azerbaijan and Turkmenia." *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology* 20, no. 1 (1981): 3-24.

- 650 Atabaki, Turaj, and Margreet Dorleijn (eds.). *Kurdistan in Search of Ethnic Identity: Papers Presented to the First Conference on Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity in the Middle East and Central Asia*. Utrecht: Department of Oriental Studies, University of Utrecht, 1990. 78 p. (Houtsma Foundation Publication Series)

In this conference, various discussions have focused on Kurdistan. Papers presented include: Hamit Bozarslan (Paris) on the theme of the Kurdish question in contemporary Turkish policy; Martin Van Bruines-



sen (Netherlands) on Kurdish society and the modern state, nationalism and construction of the nation; Philip Kreyenbroek (London) on Kurdish identity and the language problem and; finally, Munir Murad on Kurdish ethnic identity in Iraq.

- 651 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Nationalisme kurde et ethnicites intra-kurdes." (Kurdish Nationalism and Intra-Kurdish Ethnicities) *Peuples Méditerranéens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 11-38.

While Kurdish nationalism has consolidated itself and awakened a widespread awareness of common identity, differences within Kurdish society have at the same time become more divided than they were before. Iraqi Kurdistan appears to be torn between its Kurmanji-speaking northern part and the Sorani-speaking south. In Iran, the nationalist parties have always found their strongest support in the relatively urbanized, Sorani-Speaking region; during the 1980s these parties were actually fought by Kurmanji-speaking tribes from further north as well as Shi'i Kurds to their south. In Turkey, some of the speakers of the Zaza language, had always been considered, and had considered themselves as a separate people. The dividing line separating orthodox Sunni Muslims from heterodox Alevis has also become more important recently. This resurgence of new identities is perceived by Kurdish nationalists as a competitor of, and a threat to, the Kurdish national movement. But the intra-Kurdish divisions are not a remnant of the past that may gradually wither away. The narrower identities of region, language and religious community have been strengthened by the same factors that stimulated the awareness of Kurdish identity. And at least some of the divisions have become sharper precisely because of and in creation to the growth of the Kurdish movement.

- 652 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "The Ethnic Identity of the Kurds." In *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*. Edited and compiled by Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rudiger Benninghaus, 613-621. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989. (Beihefte zum Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B. Geisteswissenschaften; Nr. 60)

The majority of the Kurds in Turkey are profoundly convinced that they belong to a distinct ethnicity different from that of the Turks and Christian minorities who live beside the Kurds. But what is this ethnic identity and what are its limits? Van Bruinessen answers these questions through a meticulous survey on the notion of Kurdish identity in Turkey. This work is a new contribution to the sociology of the Kurds from one of the best specialists in this field.

- 653 Dawod, Hosham. "Ethnies/Etats au Moyen-Orient: Le cas kurde." [Ethnic Groups/States in the Middle East: The Kurdish Case.] *Peuples Mediterraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 39-56.

Ethnic features are constitutive of the Middle Eastern political field. "Modernization" does not automatically transform them into anachronistic features. "Primordialist" and "instrumentalist" paradigms are insufficient to explain them. At the time, Barth's proposition according to which cultures are not entities but aggregates from which each individual can, more or less, move away from, so much so that ethnic belonging must be consciously maintained by an intense symbolic activity, raises questions. How can one admit the preponderant place given to individual choice in the formation of ethnicity? How do we conceive the elaboration of quasi-objective entities that ethnic identities are from individual choices? Should we not take into account what characterizes the ethnic group as a given group of individuals and the links which this group entertains with other ethnic communities?

- 654 Garthwaite, Gene R. "Reimagined Internal Frontiers: Tribes and Nationalism--Bakhtiyari and Kurds." In *Russia's Muslim Frontiers*. Edited by Dale Eickelman, 130-145. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1993.

This paper offers an historical perspective on the development of "tribe" and national identities. It presumes the persistence of tribe and clan loyalties in two contrasting settings: Bakhtiyaris and Kurds. Among the Kurds, the role of various *sufi* leaders, together with discriminatory state policies, provided the impetus for a political organization that united rural and urban Kurds, shopkeepers, and other urban residents with tribal leaders. Garthwaite argues that the higher level of urbanization has contributed significantly to a rejection of "traditional" leaders in favor of those who claim a national identity and the access that the Kurdish elite has had to education since the time of Ottoman rule. The sustained repression of Kurdish nationalist aspirations has itself provided an impetus toward nationalism.

- 655 Gotlieb, Yosef Shiebaj. *Geo-ethnic Imperatives of Development: The Inter-dynamics of Territory, Society and State in the Third World (Political Geography, Kurdistan)*. Ph.D., Clark University, 1991. 489 p. DAI 52 (November 1991): 1857-1858-A.

This study addresses the problems of entrenched underdevelopment and persistent ethnic unrest in the Third World. The thesis suggests that

these phenomena constitute a single problem. The relationship between these phenomena is adduced from an exploration of evolving theory, historical accounts, and cartographic and quantitative studies. An explanation of the problematic is based on the social and spatial configuration of post-colonial states: These states are largely contiguous with the imperial entities that preceded them. The colonies were demarcated to further the economic and geostrategic interests of the metropolitan powers. Accordingly, the indigenization of colonial space in the form of the post-colonial state perpetuates territorial incongruities between historical geo-ethnic regions and formal borders. Such incoherence has socioeconomic, environmental and political implications which obstruct development: societies emerge which are characterized by weak economies, ethnic stratification, degraded environments and oppressive regimes. These conditions render societies incapable of sustained development. Kurdistan constitutes the case study; it is considered representative of those ethno-regions whose populations suffer doubly from the imperialist legacy of the post-colonial state: the Kurds not only endure the privations of a developing people, but they also suffer subjugation at the hands of the elites governing the post-colonial states into which Kurdistan has been apportioned. The historical and contemporary relationship of the Kurds to Kurdistan exemplifies both the integrity of ethnicity and territory and the disastrous consequences for development which obtain when this relationship is violated. Principles relating to the articulation of modes of production, ethno-science and the imperatives of reversing internal colonialism in post-colonial states are among the building blocks of an incipient geo-ethnic approach to development. The conclusion drawn from this study is that the integral albeit dynamic relationship between society and territory is an essential precondition for development. The spatial realm of development activity should be defined by anthropological and ecological continuities.

656 Izady, Mehrdad. "The Question of an Ethnic Identity: Problems in the Historiography of Kurdish Migration and Settlement." *Kurdish Times* 1 (Spring 1986): 16-18.

657 Leggewie, Claus. "How Turks Became Kurds, Not Germans." *Dissent* 43 (Summer 1996): 79-83.

Turkish-Kurdish differences in Germany led many Turkish immigrants in Germany to discover their Kurdishness. Both the Turkish and German governments deny their Kurds many rights in one way or another, thus igniting the sense of Kurdish nationalism among them. In

other words, Turks in Germany have become Kurds because the Turkish state denies them cultural recognition and the German state denies them political recognition.

- 658 Mutlu, Servet. "Population of Turkey by Ethnic Groups and Provinces." *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 12 (Spring 1995): 33-60. Refined and republished under the title "Ethnic Kurds in Turkey: A Demographic Study," in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28 (November 1996): 517-541.

While there are no less than 51 ethnic groups in Turkey according to a recent and comprehensive study, there is little that is demonstratively known on their present numbers and spatial distribution. Even on the size of the second largest ethnic group, the Kurds, the estimates vary between 3 to 20 million. Yet, knowledge of the sizes of ethnic groups and their geographic location, especially of the Kurds, is of immediate public interest from the standpoint of search, design and implementation of policies towards the solution of what has come to be called the "Kurdish or the Southeastern problem," depending upon the protagonist's ethnic affiliation or sympathies. The objective of this paper is to make an as thorough an analysis of the number and spatial distribution of the Kurds in Turkey as the data permit. In addition, such a study is also of importance from the standpoint of local politics. Recently, the Kurds seem to have been voting in bloc for certain candidates, providing the swing vote. This has given them, especially in the western parts of the country, a degree of importance far out of proportion to their number or to their ratio in the total number of the electorate in a locality. Claiming to be objective, the author, however, fails to present accurate figures on the number of Kurds in Turkey. A reason for that is his disregard of important British and French sources.

- 659 Nagel, Joane P. "The Conditions of Ethnic Separatism: The Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Iraq." *Ethnicity* 7 (September 1980): 279-297.

Outlined are four conditions necessary to the development of a separatist movement in any country: (1) inclusion of the group within a nation containing other, dominant ethnic groups; (2) unequal periphery-center economic and political relations; (3) penetration and activation of this ethnic periphery; and (4) an organized periphery that can both coordinate the movement and link it with outside support. A number of hypotheses related to these conditions are advanced and tested using the case of the Middle Eastern Kurds. Examined are Kurdish separatist movements in Turkey, Iran, and Iraq, particularly the development of a

strong and widespread movement in Iraq during the period 1961-1975. These movements are found to best fit the model of separatist action outlined. Preliminary support for the hypotheses is provided. (B. Annesser/*SA* 81L: 8308)

- 660 Salamone, S. D. "The Dialectics of Turkish National Identity: Ethnic Boundary Maintenance and State Ideology." *East European Quarterly* 23 (March 1989): 33-61.

This culturological analysis of Turkey's five most prominent ethnic minority groups (Kurds, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Arabs) examines their critical role in the dialectical evolution of a distinct national Turkish identity. The author presents a brief socio-historical survey of each of these ethnic minorities, discussing: 1) Their past and present territorial claims; 2) Their geographical origins; 3) Their status as a corporate group or as officially recognized minorities; 4) Their current demographic position in Turkey; 5) Their extent of cultural assimilation; and 6) Their degree of allegiance to the Turkish nation-state.

- 661 Yalcin-Heckmann, Lale. "Ethnic Islam and Nationalism Among the Kurds in Turkey." In *Islam in Modern Turkey: Religion, Politics, and Literature in a Secular State*. Edited by Richard Tapper, 102-120. London ; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1991. [Published in association with the Modern Turkish Studies Programme of the Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies-University of London.] Includes bibliographical references and index.

See also 5, 7, 11, 14, 18, 20, 111, 126, 250, 251, 262, 263, 277, 295, 296, 486, 492, 493, 502, 680-682

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

- 662 Barth, Frederik. *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan*. New York: AMS Press, 1979. 146 p. : ill., maps. (Reprint of the 1953 ed. published by B. Jorgensen, Oslo, which was issued as no. 7 of the Bulletin of the etnografiske museum, universitetet Oslo) Bibliography: p. 145-146.

Based on material collected in Kirkuk and Sulaimaniya provinces in 1951, this anthropological study describes the formal political organizations of two Kurdish tribes, the village scene and local social structures of the area.

- 663 Barth, Frederik. "Nomadism in the Mountain and Plateau Areas of South West Asia." In *The Problems of the Arid Zone*, 341-356. Proceedings of the Paris Symposium. Paris: UNESCO, 1962.

This paper presents an analysis of nomads in the countries of Iran, Afghanistan, and West Pakistan with particular reference to its ecologic bases, economic forms, and the modifications and new problems that are emerging under the present conditions of changes in the area.

- 664 Barth, Frederik. "Father's Brother's Daughter's Marriage in Kurdistan." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 10 (Summer 1954): 164-71. Appears also in *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East: An Anthropological Reader*, edited and with an introduction by Louise E. Sweet, vol. 1, pp. 127-136 (New York: The Natural History Press - The American Museum of Natural History, 1970); and in *Journal of Anthropological Research* 42 (Fall 1986): 389-396.

Assumptions in past writings concerning marriage patterns among the Muslims of the Middle East suggest that close family endogamy and preferential father's daughter marriage are associated with a desire to maintain family property in the face of Koranic rules of inheritance. Among the Kurdish in the Southern districts of Iraq this assumed association is not correct. Data gathered in the field by the author suggest that the Kurdish utilize father's brother's daughter marriage to reinforce the political implications of the lineage by solidifying the first potential lines of fission and segmentation within the minimal lineage itself. Thus a nephew, upon becoming a son-in-law, pledges political allegiance to the father-in-law uncle. Evidence related to this new association of cousin marriage and political allegiance among the Kurdish is offered as (1) expressed norms, (2) relatively lower bride-price for nephews, and (3) actual statistical occurrence.

- 665 Bois, Thomas. "Kurdish Society." In *Encyclopedia of Islam*. New ed. Vol. V, 470-479. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1986.

Subheadings include: (A) The Fundamental Structures of Kurdish Society: 1. The Kurdish family; 2) Tribal organization: a. listings of the Kurdish tribes, b. the Kurdish tribe and its components, c. the chief of the tribe, his obligations, his responsibilities and his compensations and; 3) The economic structures: a. Kurdish nomadism and, b. the Kurdish peasantry; (B) The Religious Aspect and; (C) Customs and Social Tradition: 1) Dress; 2) Marriage and burial customs; 3) Festivals

and seasonal rites; 4) Dances and music and; 5) Games, sports and hunting.

- 666 Bruinessen, Martin Van. *Agha, Shaikh, and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*. London; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1992. 373 p. : ill. Includes bibliographical references (p. 344-361) and index.

This is a revised edition of the author's doctoral dissertation, which originally appeared in 1978. Since then it has become a classic of Kurdish Studies, which has been translated into German and Turkish. This authoritative study of the Kurdish people, written by a distinguished social anthropologist, provides a varied insight into one of the largest primarily tribal communities in the world. The introductory chapter, which contains general information on Kurdistan, has been thoroughly updated since 1978 and includes sections on the Kurdish national movement from 1960 to 1985, on the effects of the Iran-Iraq war, and on recent trends in the policies of the Iranian, Iraqi, and Turkish governments towards the Kurds. The second chapter deals with tribes, examining questions of tribal structure and leadership, and the relations between tribal and non-tribal Kurds. The following chapter, 'Tribe and State,' stresses the importance of national politics on the fate of tribes. It is based on an impressive mass of historical data, and comes to the intriguing conclusion that Kurdish society has passed through what are generally recognized as crucial stages in social evolution: tribe, chiefdom and (proto-) state, but in descending order. Much of the material presented in the treatment of religious institutions in the fourth chapter, entitled 'Sheikhs: Mystics, Saints and Politicians,' is fascinating, and sometimes difficult to find elsewhere in Western literature. The fifth chapter, a well-documented history of the revolt of Sheikh Sa'id in Turkish Kurdistan in the mid-1920s, has been included because the movement involved all the major elements with which the study is concerned. It is followed by a brief concluding chapter, an appendix dealing with family trees of the major Kurdish families of *Sheikhs*, an explanatory list of Oriental terms, and a very good bibliography. The excellent quality of the work's eleven maps should be remarked upon. (abridged, Philip Kreyenbroek/*Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17, January 1994: 172)

- 667 Dziegiel, Leszek. "Life Cycle Within the Iraqi Kurd Family." *Ethnologia Polona* 8 (1982): 247-260.

- 668 Gache, Paul. "Les Kurdes." [The Kurds.] *Revue de psychologie des peuples* 17, no. 1 (1962): 23-54; no. 2 (1962): 191-220.
- 669 Gol-Anbar, Jalil. *A Descriptive Survey of Psychotherapy in Kurdistan and Western Cultures*. Ph.D., United States International University, 1983. 187 p. DAI 44 (August 1983): 436-A.

The Problem: This is a study about psychotherapy practiced by native people living in the mountainous regions of Western Iran. It is concerned primarily with a single province where there is a high concentration of folk healers. This study explores the history of the Kurdish healer and the therapeutic techniques they employ. It also traces the origin of their psychotherapy, which is deeply rooted in Islam. The intent of the study was to present Kurdish psychotherapy within a coherent scientific framework. This was achieved by including a general discussion and comparison of psychotherapy in Western cultures and Kurdistan. Questions regarding the meaning of psychotherapy, the function of the psychotherapist, the theories and techniques they utilize, and therefore answered from both perspectives. Method: The research method was descriptive survey. More specifically, the study was conducted by interview and direct observation of the healers at work over a period of six years, it was past oriented, as the researcher sought to trace the origin of Kurdish psychotherapy to material written by Muslim scholars dated as early as A. D. 620. Results: Psychotherapy used in Kurdistan is effective and rooted in scientific evidence and religious philosophy. The healers of Kurdistan have a well-designed place in their communities, promoting the physical and mental health of the members. In addition, it was found that both similarities and differences exist between psychotherapy practiced in Kurdistan and Western cultures.

- 670 Khesbak, Shakir. "The Trend of Population of Sulaimaniya Liwa: A Case Study of Kurdish Population." *Bulletin of the College of Arts - Baghdad University* 1 (June 1959): 42-64.

This is a demographic study of the province which argues that its population has been largely static because a high mortality rate counterbalanced a high fertility rate, but that the death rate can be expected to drop, leading to a population growth. The article includes many statistical tables.



- 671 Kohli, K. L., and Shugun Yehya. "A Study of Differential Fertility in Iraq by Mohafadhas." *Dritte Welt [Die]* [Germany] 5, no. 2-3 (1977): 291-302.

Because of inadequate registration of vital statistics in Iraq, data on the child/woman ratio (based on the 1965 census) rather than birth data are used to calculate overall fertility as well as regional differentials. These ratios indicate that fertility was highest in the north and lowest in the south, with the central region in an intermediate position (five to nine children). Diverse cultural backgrounds may be responsible for these differences. The Kurds, who live in the north, believe in early marriage for girls (within two years of reaching puberty). Other factors which account for the different fertility figures include proportion married, sex ratio, urbanization, and literacy. Significant correlations support the view that fertility is inversely associated with age at marriage and proportion never married, and is positively associated with sex ratio. Literacy was not significantly associated with fertility. Urban fertility was not always lower than rural; those Mohafadhas (counties) having higher urban fertility, as compared to rural, all lie in the southern region, where most urban population is concentrated in small towns with populations of less than 5,000. Significant differences were found only in six out of sixteen Mohafadhas of Iraq. (S. Whittle/SA: 78J4117)

- 672 Kramer, Carol. "Ethnographic Households and Archaeological Interpretations: A Case from Iranian Kurdistan." *American Behavioral Scientist* 25 (July/August 1982): 663-675.

This article shows how archaeological interpretation based strictly on the evidence of architectural remains may lead to inaccurate conclusions about social patterns in extinct societies. An ethnographic study of an Iranian Kurdish village is used to illustrate the possible variations of residential social relationships within buildings with similar architectural features.

- 673 Kramer, Carol. "An Archaeological View of a Contemporary Kurdish Village: Domestic Architecture, Household Size, and Wealth." In *Ethnoarchaeology: Implications of Ethnology for Archaeology*. Edited by Carol Kramer, 139-163. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

Utilizing data on residential architecture in a contemporary village (Hasanabad) in central Iranian Kurdistan, Kramer attempts to pinpoint some of the causal relationships between variation in architectural features, household size and composition, and economic rank. She

suggests that while both economic variation and aspects of household size and composition might be inferred from the archaeologically retrievable architectural remains of this village, different classes of data may be required to reconstruct each of these aspects of village organization. The article bears on the analysis of excavated early village architecture in Southwest Asia as well as on the more general issue of architectural variability. In short, Kramer provides excellent illustrations and details in her attempt to correlate architectural factors of compounds, household size, wealth, and economic rank; she also suggests which architectural attributes might be indicators of household size and composition in archaeological situations.

674 Mokri, Mohammad. "Le mariage chez les kurdes." [Marriage Among the Kurds.] *L'Ethnographie* N.S. 56 (1962): 42-68.

675 Papoli-Yazdi, Muhammad Husayn. *Le nomadisme dans le nord du Khorassan, Iran*. [Nomadism in North Khurasan, Iran.] Paris: Institut francais de recherche en Iran, 1991. 434 p. : ill., maps. (Bibliotheque iranienne; no. 34)

Abridgment of the author's thesis (doctoral-Universite de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1982) presented under the title: *Le nomadisme et le semi-nomadisme dans le nord du Khorassan: etude de geographie humaine*. A compilation of anthropological research conducted primarily from 1968 to 1977 on small groups of nomads among the Kurdish population of Khurasan in northern Iran. The book opens with a historical survey, beginning with the first appearance of the Kurds in Khurasan. Following are discussions of the geography of the region, land ownership, dwellings, migratory patterns, transport, the economy, and sedentarization. Numerous tables, maps, and graphs, as well as photographs, are provided (*MEJ* 46, Winter 1992: 130).

676 Papoli-Yazdi, Mohammad-Husayn. "La motorisation des moyens de transport et ses consequences chez les nomades kurdes du Khorassan, Iran." [The Motorization of Transport and its Effects Among Kurdish Nomads of Khorassan, Iran.] *Revue Geographique de l'Est* 22 (1982): 99-115.

The 2300 nomadic Kurdish families living in northern Khorassan use mainly camels, as beasts of burden. Since 1972, they have begun to replace their camels by motorcars--they can fetch water from remote places to new dry pastures and avoid trouble in keeping camel flocks out of cultivated lands. Once most of the families in a pastoral unit have

sold their camels, others are obliged to do so to follow the group. Important socio-economic change is bound to the ownership of vehicles. People owning a vehicle get additional income from the remaining families in the same camp. The nomads of northern Khorassan now understand that vehicles bring various drawbacks as well as advantages, and they try now to keep some camels as 'stand-by vehicles.'

- 677 Semo, Ereb. *Sivane Kurd/Le berger kurde, Kurdi-fransizi/Kurde-français*. [The Kurdish Shepherd, Kurdish-French.] Translated from the Kurdish by Basile Nikitine and Noureddine Zaza. Paris: Institut kurde de Paris, 1989. 325 p.

This autobiographic tale romanced by Ereb Semo (1897 in Kars-1978 Erivan) was published for the first time in 1935 in Erivan by the State Publishing House under the title *Sivane Karmatsa*. The work was soon widely distributed and then translated and published in Russian. Basile Nikitine made the French translation which served as a base for Noureddine Zaza's Kurdo-Latin alphabet version that appeared in Beirut in 1947 under the title *Sivane Kurd u Kurden Alagoz*. In 1958, Ereb Semo wrote a new version of the tale, this time in the Cyrillic alphabet under the title *Berbang (The Dawn)*. The present edition is a bilingual (Kurdish-French) translation of the original version. The Kurdish text is Zaza's translation whereas the French text is Nikitine's. This work, which interests both the anthropologists and sociologists, is also a pretty literary work. (Joyce Blau/AI 13:351)

- 678 Vega, Anne. "Tradition et modernité au Kurdistan et en diaspora." [Tradition and Modernity in Kurdistan and Its Diaspora.] *Peuples Méditerranéens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 107-142.

Field research regarding traditional Kurdish views and strategies of parenthood and matrimony is drawn on to describe an extended family in Beytüşebab (Turkish Kurdistan), with diaspora members in Turkey and Syria, and immigrants in Paris, France. The strength of tribal relations is proven remarkably strong. Alliances by marriage (between cousins, tribal members, and same religious sect members), matrimonial transactions (e.g., bride price), and parenting terminology are compared to their equivalents in Turkish and Arabic societies. Beliefs regarding maternity and women's roles in Kurdistan and the Paris region are compared as well, showing splits from the traditional in the process of change; immigrant women miss the sociability of the area of origin, but are drawn to the individual liberty of the new culture. (SA: 95-10407)

- 679 Wolfram, Eberhard. "Nomads and Farmers in Southeastern Turkey: Problems of Settlement." *Oriens* 6 (1953): 32-49.
- 680 Yalcin-Heckmann, Lale. *Tribe and Kinship Among the Kurds*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, 1991. 328 p. ill. maps. bibliog. (European university studies. Series XIX, Anthropology-Ethnology. Section B, Ethnology, 0721-3549; vol. 27). Revision of the author's thesis (Ph.D.--University of London, 1986) under the title: *Kinship and tribal organization of the province of Hakkari, Southeast Turkey*)

Although Kurdish national aspirations and their political difficulties have become relatively well-known, scientific studies of the Kurdish society are rare. Various aspects of their society such as the signification of tribal membership, the ways in which people use marriage and kinship, the interaction between tribal and ethnic identities are some of the themes of this book. The author uses her anthropological fieldwork in Hakkari to throw on processes of Kurdish identity, tribe-state relations, and local politics in southeast Turkey.

- 681 Yalcin-Heckmann, Lale. "Kurdish Tribal Organisation and Local Political Processes." In *Turkish State, Turkish Society*. Edited by Andrew Finkel and Nukhet Sirman, 289-312. London: Routledge, 1990.

This paper intends to look at the assumptions sociologists and political scientists have made about Kurdish and Eastern Turkish tribal organization and to assess them in view of data collected from Hakkari in Southeast Turkey, a province which is generally described as 'tribal' and 'backward.' The paper also looks at the historical and economic basis of Hakkari's tribes and their history. Tribes in the region are said to have existed for many centuries and different forms of autonomous or semi-autonomous tribal structures have long been recorded. The historical background is outlined here in terms of continuities and discontinuities in political structures, which includes the pattern of tribal alliances. Part of Hakkari's peculiar historical legacy may be accounted for by its physical environment (high mountains, narrow valleys, well-protected settlements with little and poor-quality land) and its geopolitical as a buffer zone between various states. From the evaluation of the past and a comparison of the social and political organization of the present, the paper proceeds to discuss tribal ideology as it is constituted by inter-and intra-tribal relations, the type and nature of leadership and authority, and more specifically, the meaning, acquisition and mainte-

nance of *agalik* (being an *aga*) as an institution. Finally, the author looks at local concepts of political machinery, the state and the region.

- 682 Yalcin-Heckmann, Lale. "On Kinship, Tribalism and Ethnicity in Eastern Turkey." In *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*. Edited and compiled by Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rudiger Benninghaus, 622-632. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989. (Beihefte zum Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B. Geisteswissenschaften; Nr. 60)

The present Turkish state having inherited a micro-model of the population composition from the late Ottoman Empire, yet with radically different goals and proposed political structure has had to come to terms with various social formations within its territory. Among these, especially in relation to Eastern Turkey the questions of ethnicity, tribalism, and kinship to a degree, are more salient from a sociological point of view. Any sociological research on Kurds in Turkey has to deal with the above social formations along with the level of economic and political development of the area and of Turkey. Here the author presents an outline of the dominant principles of ethnic, tribal, and kinship organization in Eastern Turkey with special reference to anthropological data collected in a limited area during 1980-1982 as well as the arguments and analyses presented in the sociological studies of Kurdish society by I. Besikci, B. Nikitine, and M. Van Bruinessen.

See also 3, 5-7, 11, 13, 17, 18, 111, 126, 134, 269

## WOMEN

- 683 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Matriarchy in Kurdistan? Women Rulers in Kurdish History." *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 6 (Fall 1993): 25-39.

Kurdish society is known as a male-dominated society, and it has been for all of its known history. Throughout Kurdish history we find, however, instances of women reaching high position and becoming the political, in some cases even military, leaders of their communities. It is hard to find comparable cases among the Kurds' most important neighbors, the Turks, Arabs, and Persians. These recurrent instances of rule by women are interesting enough in their own right, but they also raise a number of questions about the nature of Kurdish society and the position of women in it. Various conflicting interpretations of the phe-

nomenon of rule by women is discussed briefly in this article. The main purpose of the article is to describe the best documented cases of women who became rulers or played other "manly" roles in Kurdistan.

- 684 Fuad, Tania. "National Liberation. Women's Liberation." *Freedom Review* 26 (September-October 1995): 31-33.

Kurdish women are often considered to be more liberated than other Middle Eastern women. In this article, the author questions whether Kurdish women are truly liberated and discusses the role of women in the two major political parties, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the Kurdish Democratic Party. (PSA 95-02020)

- 685 Gearing, Julian. "The Ones Left Behind." *The Middle East* [London], no. 218 (December 1992): 43-45.

Kurdish women are burdened with the enormous responsibility of looking after the children without their menfolk's assistance. An estimated 180,000 lives have been lost since Saddam Hussein waged war on the Kurdish people. Life without a husband, brother or father has become normal among them although some women are still not used to it. In an attempt to further demoralize the rebellious Kurdish men, rape is being carried out by the Iraqi army. Despite the numerous setbacks, the women have managed to remain resilient and optimistic.

- 686 Hansen, Henny Harald. *The Kurdish Woman's Life: Field Research in a Muslim Society, Iraq*. Copenhagen: The National Museum, 1961. xii, 213 p. : ill., maps, diags., plans, tables. (Copenhagen. Nationalmuseet. Nationalmuseets skrifter. Etnografisk række, 7) Bibliography: p. [198]-203.

- 687 Hansen, Henny Harald. *Daughters of Allah; Among Moslem Women in Kurdistan*. Translated from the Danish by Reginald Spink. London: Allen & Unwin, 1960. 191 p. : ill.

Hansen describes her work as a travel book by an ethnographer who visited the area due to be flooded by the Dokan dam in 1957 and carried out research in the surrounding Kurdish villages. It is an account of her work and the life of the local people written for the general reader. A more formal account of her ethnographic research was published as *The Kurdish Woman's Life: Field Research in a Muslim Society, Iraq*.

- 688** Yalcin-Heckmann, Lale. "Gender Roles and Female Strategies Among the Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Kurdish Tribes of Turkey." In *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*. Edited by Sirin Tekeli. London: Zed Books, 1995.

See also **11, 16, 35**

## CHAPTER 7

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### ECONOMY

- 689 Bazin, Marcel. "L'impact du barrage de Karakaya sur la vallee de l'Euphrate a l'Est de Malatya." [The Effect of the Karakaya Dam on the Euphrates Valley, Turkey.] *Revue Geographique de l'Est* 28, no. 1 (1988): 3-17.

The Euphrates valley between the dams of Keban and Karakaya is moderately populated with Kurdish villages getting their irrigation water from the surrounding mountains and not from the river itself. The prosperity won thanks to the apricot cash crop is unequally distributed amongst landlords and tenants. Additional incomes are sought for in Malatya and mostly in Istanbul.

- 690 Dziegiel, Leszek. "Hygiene and Attention to Personal Appearance Among the Iraqi Kurds." *Archiv Orientalni* 50 (1982): 43-50.

As member of a Polish Agricultural Team of Experts, the author carried out field research in 78 villages and country towns of Iraqi Kurdistan in 1977, 1978, and 1980. This paper deals with contemporary Iraqi Kurdistan which since 1975 has been a scene of intensive development carried out by the Iraqi government for political reasons. The Iraqi oil boom has enabled the once poverty-stricken and rather isolated Kurdish villagers to participate in the economic and material advance of the country as a whole.

- 691 Dziegiel, Leszek. *Rural Community of Contemporary Iraqi Kurdistan Facing Modernization*. Krakow, Poland: Agricultural Academy of Krakow, 1981. 208 p.



Dziegel's study was carried out within the framework of a wider agro-economic field-survey by the Polish Institute of Tropical and Subtropical Agriculture and Forestry at Cracow, in the northern Iraqi provinces of Dohuk, Sulaimaniya, and Arbil. The surveys were carried out in autumn 1977, spring 1978, and summer 1979 and 1980. The aim of the research was to investigate socio-economic changes amongst the Kurdish population of these provinces after the collapse of the Barzani revolution. The discussion of this work is primarily descriptive. The part dealing with economic changes in the agricultural and pastoral relevant to the Kurdish population comprises only one fifth of the book. The remaining chapters deal principally with changes in the material culture of the Kurdish population, the domestic and private sphere of Kurdish households (i.e., clothing, hygiene and care over personal appearance), sex relationships and school education. (abridged, E. Orywal *Sociologia Ruralis* 22, 1982: 202-203)

- 692 Fleming, Glenn M., Jr. "The Ecology and Economy of Kurdish Villages." *Kurdish Times* 4 (Summer-Fall 1991): 28-41.
- 693 Gotlieb, Yosef. *Development, Environment, and Global Dysfunction: Toward Sustainable Recovery*. Delray Beach, Fla.: St. Lucie Press, 1996. xi, 188 p.
- Argues that international, growth oriented development, is inevitably accompanied by poverty, environmental degradation, and socio-political unrest, and that global priorities must be reordered toward local development and sustainable communities. Includes case study of Kurdistan.
- 694 Hama, A. "Towards the Reconstruction of the Rural Territory of Kurdistan." *Space and Society* 18 (April-June 1996): 54-61.
- 695 Jafar, Majeed R. *Under-underdevelopment: A Regional Case Study of the Kurdish Area in Turkey*. Helsinki: Social Policy Association in Finland, 1976. 153 p. : ill. (Studies of the Social Policy Association in Finland; no. 24). Bibliography: p. 148-152.
- 696 Kazemi, Abbas Ali. *Economic Analysis of Modifying Cropping Patterns in Selected Regions in Iran*. Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1983. 253 p. DAI 45 (1983): 253-A.

This dissertation examined the implications of modifying cropping patterns in four major regions in Iran (East and West Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, and Khuzestan). The objectives of this study were: (1) to

investigate the overall economic situation, industry and agriculture in Iran; (2) to review regional differentiation in agriculture in these regions to show the factor combination that will improve productivity; (3) to compare the present cropping system with the proposed cropping pattern within the framework of the partial budgeting program; and (4) to evaluate the results of the analysis and suggest alternatives that may shift the operation to a more productive system in these major regions of Iran. The study shows that expansion of cultivated land on typical farms in regions under investigation lead to different results under each investigation. It is possible to encourage the farmers to change some of their current cropping pattern in cultivation and land utilization in order to increase productivity in the area. A sensitivity analysis was performed in this study in order to investigate the effect on the optimal solution provided by the budgeting program. The effect of variation in the parameters on the equilibrium was also observed.

- 697 Masters, William Murray. *Rowanduz: A Kurdish Administrative and Mercantile Center*. Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1954. 367 p. DA 14: 581.

This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile town of northern Iraq. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within which it lies. The materials were obtained from seven weeks' intensive investigation in the summer of 1951. An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) the administrative center; 2) the mercantile center; 3) house, dress, and diet; 4) the society; 5) the family; and 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers about 5000 and is basically made up of merchants, craftsmen, laborers, and servants. The town dominates a large district of agricultural villages both as a center of government administration and as one of commerce. Detailed description of the aspects of life pertinent to the areas of discussion are given. The most important focus of investigation, connected with the second object of the study, is found to be the society of the town. The conclusions implement the two purposes of the study. 1) Kurdish culture, as represented in Rowanduz, is discovered to be strongly regulated by Islam and to have many general similarities to that of Islamic peoples elsewhere, in spite of numerous peculiarities. 2) The impact of the modern state is changing the structure of Kurdish society and threatens to eliminate the native aristocracy by replacing it with the government elite. The Kurdish chieftains have reacted to this

with a series of revolts, while many of the commoners are being absorbed into the new order, particularly in towns like Rowanduz. Popular understanding of the reaction, as well as of the transformation of the commoners into a body of citizenry, is obscured by a nationalistic ideology directed against the rulers (who belong to other ethnic groups) of the Kurds.

- 698 Nezam-Mafi, Mansoureh E. "Merchants and Government Tobacco and Trade: The Case of Kordestan, 1333 A.H./1919 A.D." *Iranian Studies* 20, no. 1 (1987): 1-15.

This article, based on Hajj Rahim's private papers, deals with the collection of the tobacco tax in Kordestan, which the government had farmed out to *Ettehadieh* in 1919-1920. Although the life of this tax farm was brief, this little-known transaction sheds considerable light on the then government's problems in administering tax collection, on the troubled relations between the merchant class and the government, on the changing attitudes toward the state, and on the factors that led, in the Pahlevi period, to the establishment of state monopolies over such items of trade as tobacco and opium.

- 699 Skogseid, H. "Nomadic Pastoralism and Land Use Patterns in Eastern Turkey: The Case of the Kurdish Beritan Tribe." *The Middle East - Unity and Diversity. Papers from the Second Nordic Conference on Middle Eastern Studies, Copenhagen 22-25. October 1992*. Edited by H. Palva and K. S. Vikor, 216-232. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 1993. [Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies, 5.]
- 700 Yalcin-Heckmann, Lale. "Sheep and Money: Pastoral Production at the Frontiers." In *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*. Edited by P. Stirling, 17-26. Hemingford Grey: Eothen, 1993.

This chapter is part of a volume which emerged from an interesting conference which took place in June, 1990 at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, organized by Paul Stirling. Yalcin-Heckmann's chapter on Kurdish sheep smugglers makes an important contribution to this under-studied and difficult-to-access phenomenon. Issues such as accumulation, borders and money come together in her synthetic analysis of the social and political economy of smuggling (dealt with in depth in her monograph *Tribe and Kinship among the Kurds*).

See also 3, 6-7, 9-11, 32, 666, 675-676

## CHAPTER 8

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# LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

- 701 Abdulla, Jamal Jalal, and Ernest Nasseph McCarus. *Kurdish Basic Course: Dialect of Sulaimania, Iraq*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, c1967. 482 p.

Produced under a contract with the U.S. Office of Education, the work has been underway for some six years and the collaboration of professor McCarus with Mr. Abdulla of the Higher Institute of Languages at the University of Baghdad. The Sulaimaniya dialect is used in these volumes, an obvious choice since this is the form which was adopted for purposes of administration and elementary education in Iraqi Kurdistan after the First World War. The *Basic Course* is divided into three sections. Section 1 contains a careful description of the Kurdish sound system with eight pronunciation drills concentrating on phonemic contrasts. The system of transcription is consistent and not overly complex. Section 2 consists of 13 dialogues for memorization, followed by additional vocabulary, grammatical notes and exercises. The latter are mostly substitution drills based on the dialogues. Most of the lessons have more than twenty such exercises. There is also provision for additional guided conversation. The Kurdish writing system is introduced in section 3. The thirteen dialogues are repeated in the Kurdish script and three additional lessons, the last one a story about Mulla Nasr ad-Din, form a transition from the conversational style to a more literary style. (abridged, E. R. Oney/*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, 1970: 295-296)

- 702 Abdulla, Jamal Jalal, and Ernest N. McCarus (eds.). *Kurdish Readers* (three volumes): *I. Newspaper Kurdish*. vii, 180 p. ; *II. Kurdish Essays*. vii, 147 p. ; *III. Kurdish Short Stories*. ix, 115 p. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967.

Assuming a mastery of the contents of the *Basic Course in Kurdish* (by the same authors), this reader presents a variety of 28 articles selected from two Iraqi newspapers *Zhin* and *Khebat*. Each lesson begins with a selection written in Kurdish (modified Arabic-Persian) script, followed by phonemic transcription (in the first 15 lessons), a glossary, exercises on sentence structure and vocabulary, and a Kurdish proverb. The material contained in the three *Readers* gives a cross section of Kurdish writing, newspaper style, short stories and essays. The Newspaper Reader has phonemic transcriptions for the first fifteen selections. Each article is also followed by a vocabulary list and extensive exercises based on the article, a most useful feature which allows the student to continue a controlled development of his grammatical knowledge. On the Kurdish essays (12) and short stories (6) little need be said. All selections are provided with vocabularies and notes. Although full phonemic transcriptions are no longer included, each word in the vocabulary list is transcribed. Original spellings are retained, giving the student experience with the different orthographic conventions which may be found. The six stories in this collection are written in the Kurdish dialect of Sulaimaniya, the language of official publications and textbooks in Iraqi Kurdistan. The various themes included are representative of Kurdish culture and tradition. Each selection (written in Kurdish script) is followed by vocabulary and explanatory notes in order of occurrence in the text. The introduction includes a brief history of Kurdish literary culture and a short bibliography. The vocabulary used in this reader and the preceding readers, *Newspaper Kurdish* and *Kurdish Short Stories*, is included in the *Kurdish-English Dictionary* by the same authors. (abridged, E. R. Oney/*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, 1970: 295-296)

- 703 Ahmad, Abdul-Majeed Rashid. *The Phonemic System of Modern Standard Kurdish*. Ph.D., The University of Michigan, 1986. 169 p. DAI 47 (September 1986): 924-A.

Modern Standard Kurdish (MSK) is a written form of Kurdish adopted by the Iraqi Kurds to establish a standard written Kurdish substituting for the various Kurdish dialects spoken in Iraqi Kurdistan. MSK is based on the Sulaimaniya dialect, a sub-dialect of Southern Kurmanji (Sorani). Written documents published in Iraq after 1970 are the main source for this study. The documents include books and articles listed in the bibliography. They are written by speakers of various Kurdish dialects. I used myself as the only principle reader, i.e., I was not able to find other readers of MSK in the United States; therefore, this initial study should be followed by additional studies. This study is based on

the reading aloud of newly published documents and dozens of spectrograms. My native Kurdish dialect is the Babani dialect of the Kirkuk Altun Kopri area. Since MSK is based on the Sulaimaniya dialect, the sound system of MSK corresponds partially but not entirely to the dialect of Sulaimaniya. Differences between MSK and both Sulaimaniya and Babani dialects are presented. The environments for allophonic variations such as vowel length in different environments, and phonological changes such as substitution, deletion, and insertion are described. The ranges of vowel length are given based on spectrograms. Chapter One is a historical sketch of the written form of Kurdish in Iraqi Kurdistan. Pre-MSK is introduced from early period of written Kurdish when there was no Standard Kurdish until 1958 when the Republic of Iraq was established, and the standardization period evolved following its establishment around 1970. The evolution of Arabic script as adopted for Kurdish is discussed. Chapter Two introduces Kurdish vowels and gives rules for phonological change in Chapter Three consonants are presented. Allophonic features such as voicing, and devoicing, of consonants are described and rules for phonological processes such as deletion, substitution, and insertion are given. Chapter Four demonstrates the predictability of stress in terms of morphology. Chapter Five describes syllable structure in MSK and Chapter Six gives general conclusions.

- 704 Akrawy, F. R. *Standard Kurdish Grammar*. United Kingdom: n. p., 1982. iii, 200 p.
- 705 Amindarov, Aziz. *Kurdish-English, English-Kurdish Dictionary*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994. 400 p.
- 706 Bedir-Khan, Celadat [Jeladet] Ali, and Roger Lescot. *Grammaire kurde (dialecte kurmandji)*. [Kurdish Grammar (Kurmanji Dialect).] Paris: Librarie d' Amerique et d' Orient, 1970. 372 p.
- A grammar of the Kurdish Kurmanji dialect which is generally the language of communication and literature among most Kurds. Bedir Khan was a progressive Kurdish linguist who advocated the romanization of the Kurdish alphabet.
- 707 Bedir-Khan, Kamuran Ali. *Le Kurde sans peine: cours pratiques de la langue Kurdes*. [Kurdish Without Pain: Practical Courses in Kurdish Language.] Paris: Institut kurde de Paris, 1990. 206 p.

- 708 Blau, Joyce. "Le cagani: lori ou kurde?" [Cagani: Luri or Kurdish?] *Studia Iranica* 22, no. 1 (1993): 93-119.

The Luri-Feili Kurdish is classed among the Southern Kurdish dialects spoken essentially in West Iran. The author presents a description of one of the Luri-Feili dialects spoken by the Luris who have moved into Iraq at the turn of the 20th century. Natives of Poshtekuh region, these Luris are Shi'ites who emigrated to Iraq to become closer to the Shi'ite sacred places of Karbala and Najaf. Of course, there are others who came for economical reasons.

- 709 Blau, Joyce. "Gurani et Zaza." [Gurani and Zaza Dialects.] In *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*. Edited by Rudiger Schmitt, 336-340. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989.
- 710 Blau, Joyce. "Le Kurde." [Kurdish Language.] In *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*. Edited by Rudiger Schmitt, 327-335. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989.
- 711 Blau, Joyce. "Le Kurde lori." [Luri Kurdish Dialect.] In *Etudes irano-aryennes offertes a Gilbert Lazard*. Edited by C.-H. de Fouchecour and Ph. Gignoux, 37-58. Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Etudes Iranniennes, diff. Peeters, 1989. (*Studia Iranica*, Cahier 7)
- 712 Blau, Joyce, and Halkawt Hakim. *Perles d'un Collier, textes Kurdes (Sorani)*. [Pearls of Necklace, Kurdish Texts (Sorani).] Paris: Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 1981. 85 p.

Twenty-seven texts chosen from a series of popular tales published by 'Ala'-iddin Sajadi (*Ristey Mirwari*, Baghdad, 1957-1980). Each text is accompanied by lexical, grammatical and sociological notes, with a glossary at the end of the book summing up all the encountered words. It is an indispensable complementary work to *Manuel de Kurde (dialecte sorani)*. This work puts into the disposition of the Francophones the necessary instrument for studying one of the most important forms of Kurdish languages at present. (Dominique Ferrandini/*AI* 5:665)

- 713 Blau, Joyce. *Manuel de kurde (dialecte sorani): grammaire, textes de lecture, vocabulaire kurde-français et français-kurde*. [Handbook of the Kurdish Language (Sorani Dialect): Grammar, Reading Texts, Kurdish-French and French-Kurdish Vocabulary.] Paris: Klincksieck, 1980. 287 p.

This is the first Kurdish grammar handbook for the Sorani dialect of Kurdish to appear in French. It contains material of the language course given at the Institut des Langues et Civilisations Orientales in Paris for the Sorani dialect of Kurdish used in Iraqi Kurdistan. It also contains exhaustive bibliographies, many appendices, and a French-Kurdish and Kurdish-French glossary of more than 2,000 words. It is a 31-chapter book that treats Sorani Kurdish grammar in a very detailed way.

- 714 Blau, Joyce. *Le Kurde de 'Amadiya et de Djabal Sindjar: analyse linguistique, textes folkloriques, glossaires*. [The Kurds of 'Amadiya and Djabal Sindjar: Linguistic Analysis, Folkloric Texts, Glossaries.] Ouvrage publie avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1975. 252 p. (Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Iraniennes de l'Universite de la Sorbonne Nouvelle; 8). Bibliography: p. 12-19.
- 715 Blau, Joyce. *Dictionnaire kurde-francais-anglais*. [Kurdish-French-English Dictionary.] Brussels: Centre pour l'etude des problemes du monde musulman contemporain, 1965. xvii, 263 p. (Correspondance d'Orient, no. 9). Bibliography: p. xiii-xvi.
- 716 Boeschoten, Hendrik, Margreet Dorleijn, and Michiel Leezenberg. "Turkish, Kurdish and Other Languages from Turkey." In *Community Languages in the Netherlands*. Edited by Extra, Guus, and Verhoeven, Ludo, 109-142. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1993.
- The use and acquisition of Turkish, Kurdish, and Christian language varieties (e.g., Syriac and Armenian) spoken in the Netherlands (NL) are examined. Turkish is one of three languages with an officially acknowledged status in the NL and has a well-defined place in the educational system. Turk, Kurd, and Christian minority communities are sketched, language choice patterns are addressed, and the status of varieties is compared. The relative dominant status of Turkish is supported by Dutch governmental policies. (SA: 96-01357)
- 717 Bois, Thomas. "Les dominicains a l'avant-garde de la Kurdologie au XVIIIe siecle." [The Dominicans Are Pioneers of Kurdology in the 18th Century.] *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 35 (1965): 265-292.
- 718 Bordie, John. "Kurdish Dialects in Eastern Turkey." In *Linguistics and Literary Studies in Honor of Archibald A. Hill, Vol. II: Descriptive Linguistics*. Edited by M. A. Jazayery and others, 205-212. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978.



- 719 Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Les Kurdes et leur langue au XVIIeme siecle: Notes d'Evliya Celebi sur les dialectes kurdes." [The Kurds and Their Language in the 17th Century: Notes of Evliya Celebi on Kurdish Dialects.] *Studia Kurdica*, no. 5 (1988): 13-34.

In 1655, the famous Turkish traveler, Evliya Celebi, went to Van Bruinessen with Melek Ahmad Pasha. On this occasion, he made many linguistic remarks from which Van Bruinessen reproduces Sorani and other dialects' vocabularies as well as the grammatical observations of Evliya Celebi. This is an important article for those who want to do research on the Kurdish language.

- 720 Bynon, Theodora. "From Passive to Active in Kurdish via the Ergative Construction." In *Papers from the 4th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*. Edited by Elizabeth Closs Traugott, Rebeca Labrum and Susan Shepherd, 151-163. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V., 1980.

Examined is the rise and fall of the ergative construction in western Iranian by tracing the development of the Old Iranian perfect passive, via the ergative construction of western Middle Iranian and northern Kurdish, to a nominative-accusative type active in certain southern Kurdish dialects. The author focuses particularly on the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya. An attempt is made to show that, although the syntactic change involved may be summarized simply enough as the transfer of surface subject status from the goal (or logical O) to the agent (or logical subject), its implementation cannot be described in terms of constituent structure alone. Only if the descriptive framework is widened to include thematic (topic-comment) structure can the developments be accounted for.

- 721 Bynon, Theodora. "The Ergative Construction in Kurdish." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42, pt. 2 (1979): 211-224.

This paper attempts to trace the way in which the ergative construction has disappeared from a certain area of western Iranian. It bases its arguments upon the assumption that the geographical continuum of the Kurdish dialects, whose grammars exhibit the whole range of possibilities from fully ergative systems in the north to fully accusative systems in the south, reflects the successive stages of a diachronic process. This being granted, it should be possible by ordering the synchronic patterns of representative dialects from the northern, the central and the southern regions, to arrive at a picture of the historical sequence of events

which has led to loss of ergativity in the southern dialects and to isolate the mechanisms involved in their resultant restructuring. The author focuses particularly on the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya.

- 722 Davachi, Fereidoun. *A Study of the Policy of Bilingual-Bicultural Education in the United States, the Controversy About it, and Possibilities of Its Implementation in Iran*. Ph.D., George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1985. 107 p. DAI 46 (April 1986): 2949-A.

This study gathers written data on the historical evolution of bilingual education in the United States. It examines the differing and controversial views regarding the policy of bilingual-bicultural education in the United States and whether it has been useful for the self-esteem of the individual and the improvement of the community. The study utilizes both historical and political-science methodology. The author undertakes an extensive review of literature about the history of bilingual-bicultural education in the United States. the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, the Supreme Court Decision (*Lau v. Nichols*), the 1974 Bilingual Education Act, the rationale and social and philosophical bases of bilingual-bicultural education. In Iran, different linguistic groups such as Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Lurs, Baluchis, Turkmans, Jews, Assyrians, and Armenians exist but in spite of the diversity of dialects, there is more homogeneity of the population in this country than in most other nations of comparable size. Nevertheless, the author proposes the need for some kind of bilingual education in Iran.

- 723 Edmonds, Cecil John. "Prepositions and Personal Affixes in Southern Kurdish." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17 (1955): 490-502.

- 724 Ferhadi, Ahmed. *Some Morphological and Morphophonemic Features of Arbili Kurdish*. Ph.D., The University of Michigan, 1990. 153 p. DAI 51 (January 1991): 2365-A.

This work represents the first major attempt to investigate Arbili (Hawleri) Kurdish which is spoken in Arbil Province by the inhabitants of towns and villages in the area sandwiched between the two Zab rivers all the way northeast to the *Khoshnawati* mountains. Never has this dialect of the *Sorani* group been studied in earnest before because it has been eclipsed by another *Sorani* dialect; viz. Sulaimaniya Kurdish (SLK), on which Standard Kurdish has been based. Studies of Arbili Kurdish (AK) are urgently needed since the speakers of AK have

recently been moved out of their locale under duress to areas where either no Kurdish whatsoever is used or other forms of Kurdish are spoken. The perpetuation of the prevalent circumstances places the very survival of the dialect in dire jeopardy. This work is the first major contribution to recording AK. Furthermore, it provides first-hand data, which have been meticulously selected and checked for accuracy. These data can also be used for other metalinguistic analyses and research purposes. In an endeavor to familiarize the Western linguists and /or scholars with the terminology and nomenclature of Kurdish dialects which their Kurdish counterparts prefer to nowadays, this study has provided the equivalency of what is familiar in the literature of both. The focus has been on presenting the phonology, morphology and morphophonemic of AK as it is actually spoken in everyday life without endeavoring to either deliberately approximate it to Standard Kurdish or purge it of loan words from neighboring languages-two common pitfalls that bedevil many Kurdish linguists nowadays. Emphasis has been placed on the complex system of *clitics* and their functions in AK. These *clitics* combine in a specific order according to their function. They are typologically rare in the sense that they may encliticize onto any element which appears immediately before the verb in AK, whose sentences are verb-final. AK has much more in common with some similar *Sorani* dialects spoken in Koye, Rawunduz and *Khoshnawati* areas than SLK does. Hence this study of AK can account for many of their linguist phenomena better than studies of the latter can. Areas of divergence from Standard Kurdish have been particularly elaborated upon.

- 725 Ferhadi, Ahmed. "Boosters in the Interlanguage of Kurds." *PALM* 3 (Fall 1987): 23-45.

The use of intensifiers and quantifiers in the interlanguage of three groups of Kurdish speakers learning English is examined. Three groups of 20 students, each with two years more exposure to English than the previous group, are studied. In Kurdish, the lexical items/*zo*:correlation/ and/*gelek*/act as "boosters," having a meaning of "much, a lot, a good deal, a great deal." These can interfere with learning of the comparable English terms, e.g., where the Kurdish student used "I like him much" rather than, e.g., "I like him very much." An elicitation task was completed by all students in which they were asked to translate 20 Kurdish sentences involving boosters into English. Results show evidence of transfer as well as indicating that learners move within an interlanguage continuum of usage. Implications for facilitation of the acquisition process are discussed. (SA 88-07526)

- 726 Friend, Robyn Christine. *Some Syntactic and Morphological Features of Suleimaniye Kurdish*. Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985, 236 p. DAI 46 (October 1985): 964-A.

This dissertation examines some syntactic and morphological features of the verbal system of the Suleimaniye dialect of Southern Kurdish. This examination is based on my analyses of data in the form of sentences from Suleimaniye Kurdish, which were gathered both from a native speaker and from written texts. The particular features under investigation in this dissertation are the following: the past transitive construction, person/number *clitics*, adpositions (particularly enveloping adpositions), compound verbs, and preverbal verbs. In the course of my analysis, I [the author] found evidence that the Suleimaniye dialect of southern Kurdish employs a linguistically significant combination of two different systems of marking (i.e., distinguishing) subjects and objects in sentences. In the general linguistics literature, these two systems are termed *ergative/absolutive* and *nominative/accusative*. I then undertook to determine the extent of *ergativity* in this grammar. This was accomplished by developing a set of test-criteria which could measure the degree to which the specified features (and the combination marking system), reflected the presence of an *ergative/absolutive* marking system, or on the other hand represented a *nominative/accusative* construction. The results of these tests demonstrated that there is obvious evidence of *ergativity* in Kurdish morphology in the past transitive tense, although there is no evidence of *ergativity* in the syntax. In addition to the examination of *ergativity* in Suleimaniye Kurdish, this dissertation brings together the works of three other scholars in Kurdish linguistics. E. N. McCarus, D. MacKenzie, and Taufiq Wahby, and presents their theories in a coherent way.

- 727 Fuad, Kamal. "On the Origins, Development and State of the Kurdish Language." In *Yearbook of the Kurdish Academy 1990*, pp. 11-21. Ratingen, Germany: The Kurdish Academy, 1990.
- 728 Hakim, Halkawt, and Gerard Gautier. *Dictionnaire Francais-Kurde*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1993. 247 p.
- 729 Hassanpour, Amir. "The Internationalization of Language Conflict: The Case of Kurdish." In *Language Contact-Language Conflict*. Edited by Eran Fraenkel and Christina Kramer, 107-155. New York: Peter Lang, 1993. (Studies in the Balkans and Turkey in Europe, vol. 1)

- 730 Hassanpour, Amir. "The Pen and the Sword: Literacy, Education and the Revolution in Kurdistan." In *Knowledge, Culture and Power: International Perspectives on Literacy as Policy and Practice*. Edited by Peter Freebody and Anthony R. Welch, 35-54. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993.

The struggle of the Kurdish people to promote their national language and education while under the control of hostile Ottoman, Arab, and Persian empires is described. The intimate connection between state power and literacy in the process of gaining independence for a unified nation is also examined. The history of the domination and repression of the Kurds is traced from the seventh century onward to explain Kurdish literacy and forced foreign-language education. Controlled at most times by some part of the Arab, Ottoman, or Persian empires, the Kurds who lacked political independence found it difficult to develop a literate tradition in their native tongue. The rise of Kurdish political power was found to coincide with the literary use of Kurdish in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but the endless wars with the Ottomans and the Persians are blamed for the language's repression, but also for a sort of Kurdish national awakening. The accomplishments are related to two Kurdish poets and nationalists, Ahmad Khani and Haji Qadir Koyi, who worked to develop a prestigious Kurdish literacy. But in order to develop a Kurdish literate tradition, it is concluded that the Kurds must have political independence and the means to educate their peoples because language use is closely related to social, economic, and political power. (J. Repath/SA 94-0531)

- 731 Hassanpour, Amir. *Nationalism and Language in Kurdistan, 1918-1985*. San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, c1992. xlii, 520 p. : ill., maps. Includes bibliographical references (p. [469]-520).

This book is originally the author's doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1989 under the title: *The Language Factor in National Development: The Standardisation of the Kurdish Language, 1918-1985*. The sources of information of this work were based on written/oral material, participant observation, interviews, correspondence, documents, etc. The first four chapters present information on the speech community, methodology, the formation of the Kurdish nation, and literary dialects. Chapter five examines state policy on Kurdish, language rights, and linguicide. Next comes the selection of a dialect base, Sorani (chapter six), and function differentiation of Kurdish, i.e., its use in print and broadcast media, education, administration, science, theater, cinema and phonograph

records (chapter seven). Chapter eight deals with the codification of Kurdish-its phonology, orthography, vocabulary, grammar, and literary forms. Chapter nine examines the acceptance of Sorani standard. Urbanization, literacy, the formation of a reading public and language planing are discussed in chapter ten which is followed by summary, findings and conclusions (chapter eleven).

- 732 Hassanpour, Amir. "State Policy on the Kurdish Language: The Politics of Status Planning." *Kurdish Times* 4 (Summer-Fall 1991): 42-85.

In this article, Hassanpour examines the changes in the use of the Kurdish language since 1918 in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union. He excellently surveys the policies of these states towards the use of the Kurdish language and its consequences on the Kurdish people.

- 733 Izady, Mehrdad. "A Kurdish Lingua Franca?" *Kurdish Times* 2, no. 2 (1988): 13-24.

One of the problems that concerns Kurdish intelligentsia is the unification of the Kurdish language. In this article, Izady proposes the formation of a synthetic language from a "Northern Kurmanji" and a "meridional Kurmanji" (i.e., the central Kurdish). This language will be easily understood without difficulty by all Kurds, confirms Izady. (Joyce Blau/*AI* 12:135)

- 734 Jaba, Alexandre Auguste. *Dictionnaire kurde-francais*. [Kurdish-French Dictionary.] Osnabruck: Biblio-Verlag, 1975. 463 p. (Reprint of the 1879 ed. published by Commissionnaire de l'Academie imperiale des sciences, Saint Petersburg)

- 735 Kahn, Margaret. *Borrowing and Variation in a Phonological Descriptive of Kurdish*. Ph. D., The University of Michigan, 1976. 164 p. *DAI* 37 (December 1976): 3591-A.

This work discusses the phonology of Kurmanji (Northern Kurdish) as it is spoken around Rezaiyeh in Iranian Azerbaijan. The discussion is based on data collected in the field and includes a treatment of borrowing and variation as well as a traditional phonemic analysis. One feature, pharyngealization, is traced successively through phonetic, phonemic, and generative analyses and, finally, is considered in the context of loan assimilation and possible change in progress. The data are examined in relation to Kurmanji's complex multi-lingual social

setting. Over time, Kurmanji has been in contact with Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Aramaic, and Armenian. Past and present political changes have caused the first three of these language to carry prestige in relation to Kurmanji, a nonstandard language. For a long time Arabic was most prestigious, while in the present Persian appears to be a dominant influence. In order to provide a basis for later analysis of change and borrowing, the segmental phonemes, stress rules, and phonotactics of Kurmanji are discussed in detail. The assimilation of loan-words, mainly from Arabic and Turkish, is considered according to the relative strength of prohibition against various types of incoming sequences. Kurmanji is shown to have had a high degree of tolerance for foreign segments in the past. This is reflected by two series of consonants, voiceless unaspirated and pharyngealized, which appear to have been borrowed. Finally, social information on the linguistic sources used in this analysis is compared to types of variation across speakers. A correlation is found between degree of education and/or bilinguality and the production of 'Persianized' variants. If the social change continues in the present direction and the sample taken here is representative of the population, then these variants indicate the direction of change in progress. The dissertation takes highly variable data from a linguistic crossroads and organizes it into a coherent phonological description. Although the main phonological description was seen as primary to a relatively unstudied language, evidence from borrowing and variation proved to be integral to that description.

- 736 Kreyenbroek, Philip G. "On the Kurdish Language." In *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, 68-83. London: Routledge, 1992.

This article on the Kurdish language is a useful supplement to Amir Hassanpour's lengthy analysis presented in his doctoral dissertation (1988), and subsequently published as *Nationalism and Language in Kurdistan, 1918-1985*. Kreyenbroek briefly reviews the origin and early history of the Kurdish languages, but contrary to Hassanpour's contribution, argues that from a linguistic, or at least grammatical point of view, its two main dialects of Sorani and Kurmanji "differ as much from each other as English and German, and it would seem more appropriate to refer to them as 'languages.'" While variations between the Kurmanji-Sorani group of dialects on one hand and the Gurani-Dimili group on the other, allows for classification of the two groups as separate languages, Kreyenbroek is clearly exaggerating when he compares Sorani's variations from Kurmanji with those between English and German. Sorani and Kurmanji are mutually intelligible to a large extent

(clearly not the case between English and German), and comprehension improves markedly with a few days of exposure of the speaker of one to the other. Kreyenbroek goes on to analyze at length the recent history and present position of the Kurdish language in Turkey, Iraq and Iran, with special reference to the development of written forms of Kurdish. He notes that "two different standard languages have now emerged," of which Kurmanji, is one of the very few languages in the world whose modern standard form has so evolved almost entirely in exile. This he attributes to the hostile attitude of Turkey towards the Kurdish language. (abridged, Michael Gunter/*IJKS* 8, nos. 1-2, 1995: 135-136).

- 737 Krotkoff, Georg. *A Neo-Aramic Dialect of Kurdistan: Text, Grammar, and Vocabulary*. New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1982. 172 p. (American Oriental series; v. 64) Includes bibliographical references (p. [171]-172) and index.
- 738 MacKenzie, David N. "The Role of the Kurdish Language in Ethnicity." In *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*. Edited and compiled by Peter Alford Andrews with the assistance of Rudiger Benninghaus, 541-542. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989. (Beihefte zum Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B. Geisteswissenschaften; Nr. 60)
- 739 MacKenzie, David N. "Kurdish Language." In *Encyclopedia of Islam*. New ed. Vol. V, 479-480. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986.
- 740 MacKenzie, David N. *Kurdish Dialect Studies, I & II*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961-1962. maps, diags. Includes bibliography. (London Oriental Series, vols. 9-10)
- A study based on the author's Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of London in 1957. The book examines Kurdish dialects spoken in Northern Iraq. Part I contains a grammar and Part II provides a text illustrating grammatical descriptions of individual dialects.
- 741 MacKenzie, David N. "The Origins of Kurdish." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1961): 68-86.
- 742 McCarus, Ernest N. "Kurdish." In *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Editor in chief William Bright. vol. 2, pp. 289-294. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.



After the introduction, issues discussed include: 1) Phonology; 2) Writing system; 3) Noun morphology; 4) Verb morphology; and 5) Syntax. All descriptions are based on the Sulaimaniya (Sorani) dialect.

- 743 McCarus, Ernest Nasseph. *A Kurdish-English Dictionary: Dialect of Sulaimania, Iraq*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1967. x, 194 p. (University of Michigan Publications in Kurdish; 5)

Produced under a contract with the U.S. Office of Education. The work has been underway for some six years and the collaboration of Professor McCarus with Mr. Abdulla of the Higher Institute of Languages at the University of Baghdad. This dictionary contains all the words occurring in the *Kurdish Basic Course* and the three *Kurdish Readers*, some 3,500 entries. Each word is given in the Kurdish alphabet and in transcription. Every word of more than one syllable has the stress marked. The scope of this dictionary is considerably less than the recent Kurdish dictionary by Wahby and Edmonds, but it should serve adequately for additional reading. The McCarus volume has an advantage over that of Wahby and Edmonds in that a more accurate phonemicization is used. However, one who is familiar with the McCarus volume will have no difficulty in using Wahby and Edmonds. (abridged, E. R. Oney/*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, 1970: 295-296)

- 744 McCarus, Ernest R. "David N. MacKenzie, Kurdish Dialect Studies, Vols. I and II, 1961-1962." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 84, no. 3 (1964): 305-310. [Review article.]
- 745 McCarus, Ernest R. "Kurdish Language Studies." *The Middle East Journal* 14 (Summer 1960): 325-335; 15 (1961): 123-125.
- 746 McCarus, Ernest Nasseph. *A Kurdish Grammar; Descriptive Analysis of the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya, Iraq*. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. xi, 138 p. : map, tables. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications. Series B: Aids, no. 10) Bibliography: p. 119-124.

Originally a doctoral dissertation (University of Michigan, 1957), this work is a synchronic description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Sulaimaniya Kurdish. The corpus of data was obtained by the author in the field as a member of a University of Michigan expedition to Iraq and Iran in 1951. Texts were recorded in phonetic notation from several literate adult male natives of Sulaimaniya, and covered a period to four months. In Chapter I there is a description of the gathering of

the data, with an accounting of the primary and secondary materials. The status of previous studies on Kurdish is described, with brief annotation of certain of the works. There is also presented in this chapter a correlation of native Kurdish orthographic systems with the phonemic system arrived at in this thesis. In Chapter 2, nine vowels and thirty-one consonants are described. The distribution of vowels and consonants and syllable structure are also presented. Also described in this chapter are morphophonemic process involving vowels and consonants. Morphology is presented Chapter 3 "Form classes and their inflections," and Chapter 4 "Word Formation." Form classes are formally defined by their inflections; they are nouns, adjective, pronoun, verb, and particle. Chapter 5, "Syntax," treats of the structure of utterances larger than a word: nominal and verbal phrases, both minimal, expanse, and clauses. The Appendix contains two illustrative texts in phonemic transcription with interlinear as well as free translations.

- 747 Mahamedi, Hamid. "Notes on Some Phonological Developments in Kurdish." *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 8, nos. 1-2 (1995): 79-93.

Despite its large number of dialects and a rather large body of borrowed words from other Iranian/Iranian and non-Iranic/non-Iranian languages, Kurdish as a unit preserves its separate character and features. Kurdish, along with Persian, is thus the most important (and popularly spoken) West Iranian language. In this article, some of the phonological characteristics of Kurdish and its development are examined in comparison to those of other ancient and modern Iranian languages. The South Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish, better known as Sorani, is here used almost exclusively for the Kurdish paradigms. The article also shows that Parthian (Pahlawani) and Kurdish being both Northwest Iranian languages, reveal the most similarity in their phonological development.

- 748 Matras, Y. "Ergativity in Kurmanji (Kurdish): Notes on Its Use and Distribution." *Orientalia Suecana* [Sweden], no. 41-42 (1992-1993): 139-154.

This paper aims at presenting some data on the formal use of the ergative construction in the Kurmanji variety of Kurdish. Data on spontaneous speech was collected from a number of native speakers of Kurmanji, most of whom are Kurdish Jews originating from northern Iraq (Amadiya and Aqra) and now living in Israel. In addition data from the literary language used by Kurds from the Turkish and Syrian parts of Kurdistan and now living and publishing in Western Europe is also

considered. The author argues that the ergative construction in Kurmanji is obligatory and is therefore synchronically speaking not subject to optional processes of focusing or topicalization.

- 749 Monch-Bucak, Yayla. "The Kurdish Language in Turkey Between Repression and Resistance." *Plural Societies* 21, nos. 1-2 (1991): 75-87.

Examined in the history and current situation of the Kurdish language in Turkey, one of four countries in which the Kurds live. Kurdish is unrelated to Turkish, and faces special challenges because of the Turkish governmental policy of rigid language purification to create pure Turkish. Beside the problem of the Turkish political policy of denying the separate linguistic identity of Kurdish are problems of multiple Kurdish dialects and lack of an independent alphabet. The Turkish media is a strong influence on daily life. Current cultural repression of the Kurds and discriminatory legal action prohibiting non-Turkish language use has bred resistance form Kurds in West European cities and production of Kurdish literary works that are brought back into Turkey by migrants. (J. Mayberry/SA: 92-07108)

- 750 Resho, Hemresh. "On the History and Development of Writing the Kurdish Language in the Latin Alphabet." In *Yearbook of the Kurdish Academy 1990*, pp. 78-84. Ratingen, Germany: The Kurdish Academy, 1990.

- 751 Rizgar, Baran. *Kurdish-English English-Kurdish Dictionary*. London: M. F. Onen, 1993. 400 p.

A dictionary of Kurdish in the Latin alphabet which includes words from all Kurdish dialects, but is based on Kurmanji which is spoken by most of the Kurds residing in Turkey, Syria and former Soviet Union and by many of those who are residing in Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan. The work includes a survey of Kurdish grammar, and also a table of correspondences for Arabic and Cyrillic scripts.

- 752 Rubaiy, Abdul Amir al-. "The Failure of Political Integration in Iraq: The Education of the Kurdish Minority." *Intellect* 102 (April 1974): 440-444.

This essay describes and analyzes the way in which the different Iraqi regimes have provided, unsuccessfully, for the education of its largest minority group, the Kurds. An effort is made to assess the extent of the

integration of the Kurdish minority into the mainstream of the Iraqi society.

- 753 Todd, Terry Lynn. *A Grammar of Dimili (Also Known as ZAZA)*. Ph.D., The University of Michigan, 1985, 295 p. DAI 46 (January 1986): 1928-A.

Dimili is an Iranian language, part of the Indo-Iranian subgroup of Indo-European. It is spoken in central eastern Turkey. Our knowledge of the structure of the language and had been based exclusively on field work done before 1910 partly due to official policy restrictions in the area where Dimili is spoken. The present research was done in West Germany where a number of Dimili speakers live as guest workers and/or refugees. A sizable corpus resulting from two years of monolingual elicitation is the source of data for this dissertation. The analysis consists of three chapters presented in a format which is accessible to linguists of varied theoretical backgrounds and is cross referenced to the only substantial grammar of Dimili previously published (Mann-Hadank, 1932). Chapter one systematically describes the phonology including syllable structure and stress. Chapter two presents word structure and inflection. Chapter three illustrates phrases, clause and sentence syntax. Three appendices provide illustrative verb data, texts with English translations and a Dimili-English glossary of more than 1200 entries.

- 754 Vahman, Fereidun, and G. S. Asatrian. "Gleanings from Zaza Vocabulary." In *Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater*. pp. 267-275. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990. (Acta Iranica 30 - Textes et Memoires 16)

- 755 Vanly, Ismet Cheriff. "Regards sur les origines des Kurdes et leur langue." [A Glance on the Origins of the Kurds and Their Language.] *Studia Kurdica*, no. 5 (1988): 39-58.

The author describes the Indo-European origins of the Kurds and the Kurdish language, their Japheto-Caucasian roots, the Armenian-Kurdish relations in the Van Basin, and then proposes some linguistic observations.

- 756 Wahby, Taufiq, and Cecil John Edmonds. *A Kurdish-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966. x, 179 p. : table.

This is the first Kurdish dictionary to be published in a Western European language since 1879. The language is "the standard language of belles-letters, journalism, official and private correspondence, and formal speech as it has developed on the basis of the Southern-Kurmanji dialect of Sulaimaniya in Iraq, since 1918, when Kurdish was established as the official language of the administration and of primary education in the *liwa* of that name and in parts of the *liwas* of Arbil and Kirkuk." It is also the language used in Kurdish publications and broadcasts sponsored by the Persian government. The dictionary is in Roman script. The spelling used is a transliteration of a modified Arabic alphabet devised by Taufiq Wahby, which is to be adopted by the Iraqi ministry of education for use in schools. It avoids invented letters and has a minimum of diacritical marks. The arrangement of the material is clear. Much useful grammatical information is to be found in the body of the dictionary. Two short appendices, one on the conjugation of the verb and the other on the construction of sentences having a transitive verb in the past tense, supplement the grammatical information in the body of the dictionary. Another appendix gives a piece of continuous Kurdish prose with an English translation. For Persian scholars as well as Kurdish there is much of interest in the book, not least the changes in meaning which some words undergo. The authors have put students of Kurdish and Persian in their debt by the publication of this dictionary and they are to be congratulated on an admirable piece of work, the meticulous care with which it has been produced, and the exactness and accuracy of their renderings of the Kurdish words and phrases into English. (abridged, Ann K. S. Lambton/*Asian Affairs* 54, February 1967: 84-85)

See also 3, 6-7, 11, 18, 23, 111, 250, 348, 616, 651

## CHAPTER 9

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# LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE

- 757 Ahmed, Abdullah Mohammed. *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature kurde au Kurdistan meridional (1820-1920)*. [Essay on the History of Kurdish Literature in Southern Kurdistan (1820-1920).] Ph.D., Université de Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1988.

The research is divided into three parts: 1) 1820-1860, a period during which the central Kurdish is revealed to be a literary language: the pioneers; 2) 1860-1908, the expansion of this literary language, the great names in literature; 3) 1908-1920, the development of the press and modernization of central Kurdish. (Joyce Blau/AL 12:863)

- 758 Allison, Christine. "Old and New Oral Traditions in Bahdinan." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 29-47. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

This chapter discusses Kurdish oral traditions in the Kurmanji dialect, with particular reference to Bahdinan, the northern province of Iraqi Kurdistan. Many of the observations made in this chapter may also apply to other parts of Kurdistan, but the establishment of Kurdish authority in Bahdinan region made it possible to study traditions there within their social context. The chapter outlines the status of the Kurdish language, before moving on to a discussion of some key features of oral, as opposed to written literature. A brief description of the political situation and the effect on Kurdish society of recent social changes, especially collectivization is given also. Two oral genres are highlighted, one using old material and the other using modern material in traditional form, namely oral history as performed by Yezidis, and laments as sung by Muslim women of the Barzani tribe. Each of the two

groups and their social situation are described before examples of their songs are considered.

- 759 Bekes, Sherko. *Les petits miroirs: poemes*. [The Small Mirrors: Poems.] Translated by Kamal Maarof. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995. 95 p.
- 760 Blau, Joyce. "Kurdish Written Literature." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 20-28. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

An excellent historical review of the written Kurdish literature.

- 761 Blau, Joyce. "La litterature kurde." (Kurdish Literature) *Peuples Mediterraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 77-94.

During their long turbulent history, the Kurds have tirelessly fought for the preservation of their cultural identity. In modern time, first in the midst of large pluralistic ethnic empires, then in Nation-States among which their country--Kurdistan--found itself split after the first world war, the difficult struggle of the Kurds to gain recognition of their national rights is closely linked to the flourishing of their language and literature. The emergence of poets, writers, Kurdish intellectuals in Iraq and in the U.S.S.R. first, then in Iran and today in Turkey, illustrates in a striking way the parallels between national development and cultural development.

- 762 Blau, Joyce. *Memoires du Kurdistan. Recueil de la tradition litteraire orale et ecrite*. [Memories of Kurdistan: A Collection of the Oral and Written Literary Tradition.] Paris: Editions Findakly, 1984. 220 p.

This work is the first real anthology of Kurdish literature compiled outside the Middle East, and the first to be published in a European language. With a preface by Maxime Rodinson, it contains translations into French of popular tales, poems, songs, etc., collected from Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and the Soviet Union. Unlike the rare works on the topic, it has the merit of not being limited to the traditional oral literature; it includes as well a large part of the written Kurdish literature--the second half of the book--where a selection of Kurdish literature from the 18th and 19th centuries and a larger collection of literary works from the modern period are presented. This is a work that is indispensable for any person interested in Kurdish literature. (Dominique Ferrandini/*AI* 8:621)

- 763 Bois, Thomas. "Kurdish Folklore and Literature." In *Encyclopedia of Islam*. New ed. Vol. V, 480-486. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986.

Subheadings include: (A) Popular and Folk Literature; (B) Written or Learned Literature: 1) Origins and the classical period and 2) The modern age and; (C) The Kurdish Press.

- 764 Bois, Thomas. "Coup d'oeil sur la litterature kurde." [A View on Kurdish Literature.] *Al-Machriq* [Beirut] (1955): 201-239.

- 765 Bois, Thomas. *L'Ame des Kurdes a la lumiere de leur folklore*. [The Soul of the Kurds in the Light of Their Folklore.] Beirut: Les Cahiers de l'est, 1946. 57 p. : plates. [Originally published in *Les Cahiers de l'Est* (Beirut), nos. 5 and 6, 1946.

- 766 Chaliand, Gerard. *Anthologie de la poesie populaire kurde*. [Anthology of Kurdish Popular Poetry.] Arabies/Islamies, ed. Stock, 1980. 262 p.

The author resumes here the extracts of the Kurdish poetry presented in his *Poesie populaire des Turcs et des Kurdes* adding to it the Roger Lescot's translation of *Mame Alan*, a scholarly version of the Kurdish epic of Mem and Zin. The work is a very useful collection and good introduction to the Kurdish popular literature. (Dominique Ferrandini/AI 4:490)

- 767 Chaliand, Gerard (ed. and trans.). *Poesie populaire des Turcs et des Kurdes*. [Popular Poetry of the Kurds and Turks.] Paris: F. Maspero, 1961. 147 p.

The second part of this work (pp. 71-143) contains an introduction to and translations of Kurdish poetry arranged in four sections: chants d'amour; chants epiques; chansons; and Meme Alan, epepee nationale des Kurdes.

- 768 Chaliand, Gerard. "Poesie populaire kurde." [Popular Kurdish Poetry.] *Orient* [Paris] 4, no. 14 (1960): 111-124.

- 769 Chyvet, Michael Lewisohn. "*And a Thornbush Sprang Up Between Them*": *Studies on "Mem u Zin," a Kurdish Romance*. Ph.D., University of California at Berkeley, 1991. Two volumes. 1013 pp. DAI 53 (November 1992): 1626-A.



This study is based on a corpus of eighteen oral versions of the Kurdish romance *Mem u Zin*, a tragic love story reminiscent of Romeo and Juliet which is very widespread in Northern Kurdistan. All eighteen versions, which constitute the appendix, have been translated into English, complete with notes explaining cultural concepts and linguistic niceties. The eighteen versions of *Mem u Zin* are subjected to a series of comparative folkloristic analyses. Chapter One consists of an introduction to the Kurds, their language and folklore, together with a brief summary of the story of Mem and Zin. This is followed by a critical bibliographic survey of the literature that has been published about the oral versions of *Mem u Zin* and Ehmede Khani's literary poem by the same name, including also references for the general study of Kurdish folklore. The analysis of *Mem u Zin* begins with the second section of Chapter One, in which the proverbial nature of the romance, as seen in certain expressions that are derived from it, is investigated. Chapter Two is a consideration of the relationship between Ehmede Khani's literary poem, revered by the Kurds as their national epic, and the oral versions of *Mem u Zin*. In Chapter Three, *Mem u Zin* is assigned to a specific genre of folk narrative, the romance. Chapter Four is an endeavor to restore the performance aspect of the tellings of Mem and Zin, based on a new look at the scanty evidence at our disposal. The poetic nature and linguistic texture of the oral versions are explored in Chapter Five: Kurdish folk poetics are discussed, followed by the application of the Oral-Formulaic Theory to *Mem u Zin*. A detailed comparative study of the versions is undertaken in Chapter Six, looking both horizontally, i.e. across the versions, and vertically, discussing variation within each motif. The final chapter of the study includes an attempt to establish *oicotypes* by linking the variation of the story to their geographical distribution. This section includes a map of Kurdistan on which the versions have been plotted, as well as other important sites, such as Bayazid, the site of Ehmede Khani's tomb, and the city of Jezira Bohtan, where the main part of the story of Mem and Zin takes place. The study concludes with a few words about the future of the tradition. The accompanying bibliography includes sources for the study of Kurdish language and folk literature, as well as publications dealing with folkloristic theory both in general and as applied to Middle Eastern peoples in particular.

- 770 Chyet, Michael L. "A Version of the Kurdish Romance *Mem u Zin* with English Translation and Commentary; Papers in Honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie on Occasion of His 65th Birthday on April 8th, 1991." In *Corolla Iranica*. Edited by Ronald E. Emmerick and Dieter Weber, 27-48. Frankfurt [Germany]: Peter Lang, 1991.

- 771 Hitchens, Keith. "Goran, Abdulla." In *Encyclopedia of World Literature in the 20th Century*. Edited by Steven R. Serafin and others, vol. 5 (supplement), 263-264. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing CO., 1994.
- 772 Hitchens, Keith. "Kurdish Literature." In *Encyclopedia of World Literature in the 20th Century*. Edited by Leonard S. Klein and others, 627-629. Revised edition. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing CO., 1981.
- 773 Lancaster, Pat. "Weapons in the War for Freedom." *The Middle East* [London], no. 164 (June 1988): 39-40.

There are more ways than one of winning a war and, after spending time living with freedom fighters the Peshmergas, the famous Kurdish nationalist poet, Sherko Bekas, still believes the pen and the poem can be as mighty as the sword. Here, he talks to Pat Lancaster.

- 774 Lescot, Roger. "Litterature kurde." [Kurdish Literature.] In *Histoire des Litteratures. I. Litteratures Anciennes, Orientales et Orales*. Edited by Raymond Queneau, 795-805. Paris: Gallimard, 1977.

Kurdish literature is practically unknown in France. Kurdish literature is a popular literature. Very few are those who know the existence of Kurdish written literature and fewer are those who appreciate its importance. Many written texts have disappeared during the decades- and centuries-old conflicts erupted in Kurdistan, and others are still unpublished. This is a brief survey on Kurdish literature.

- 775 Ma'ayergi, Hassan A. "History of the Works of Quranic Interpretation (*tafsir*) in the Kurdish Language." *Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Journal* 7 (1986): 268-274.
- 776 Nikitine, Basile. "La poesie lyrique kurde." [Kurdish Lyric Poetry.] *L'Ethnographie* nouv. ser., no. 45 (1947-1950): 39-53.

See also 3, 6, 8, 10-11, 18, 23, 269, 677, 702, 729-731

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## CHAPTER 10

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# CULTURE AND ARTS

### MISCELLANEOUS

- 777 Arnes, Roy. "Yilmaz Guney." In *International Dictionary of Films and Filmmakers - 2: Directors*. 2nd ed. Edited by Nicholas Thomas, 357-360. Picture editor Leanda Shrimpton. Chicago: St. James Press, 1991. ill.
- 778 Bierbrauer, Gunter. "Toward an Understanding of Legal Culture: Variations in Individualism and Collectivism Between Kurds, Lebanese, and Germans." *Law and Society Review* 28, no. 2 (1994): 243-264.

Legal culture is a society derived product encompassing interrelated concepts as legitimacy and acceptance of authorities, preferences for and beliefs about dispute arrangements, and authorities' use of discretionary power. This study investigated five attributes of legal culture by comparing subjective notions of law and the legal system of respondents from Turkey (Kurds), Lebanon, and Germany. Our samples fell into two distinct groups on cultural orientation: the German group showed a distinct individualistic orientation ; the two others group (Kurds and Lebanese) showed a relative collectivistic orientation. The findings suggest a substantial variety of legal preferences and practices between the two orientations. Collectivistic groups had a greater preference for abiding by the norms of tradition and religion and were less willing to let state law regulate in-group disputes; individualistic respondents showed a clear preference for formal procedures guidelines. The study suggests that legal norms prevailing in Western societies may be inconsequential to people socialized in other cultures. Implications of diverse

conceptions of law expectations, and legitimacy for various cultural groups in multiethnic and plural societies are discussed.

- 779 Bierbrauer, Gunter. "Reactions to Violation of Normative Standards: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Shame and Guilt." *International Journal of Psychology/Journal International de Psychologie* 27 (April 1992): 181-193.

Compares responses to violations of legal, religious, and traditional norms given by individuals from 3 cultures (37 native German men, 28 Kurdish men from Turkey, and 41 Arab men from Lebanon; the latter 2 groups were asylum seekers living in Germany an average of 21 months). Because the native Germans demonstrated more individualistic orientations than the other groups, it was hypothesized that the Kurds and Lebanese would respond to normative violations with more shame and that Germans would respond with more guilt. Interview data reveal, however, that the individuals from the collectivistic cultures responded to transgressions with both more shame and more guilt than did those from the more individualistic culture. The influence of religious beliefs on these findings is considered.

- 780 Busby, Annette. "Kurds: A Culture Straddling International Borders." In *Portraits of Culture: Ethnographic Originals*. Edited by Melvin Ember, Carol Ember, and David Levinson, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1994. [The Source One Custom Publishing Program.]

- 781 Dziegiel, Leszek. "Villages et petites villes kurdes dans l'Irak actuel: construction traditionnelle, formes et fonctions dans leur processus de changement culturel." [Kurdish Villages and Small Towns in Contemporary Iraq: Traditional Construction, Forms and Functions in the Processes of Cultural Change.] *Studia Kurdica*, no. 5 (1988): 127-156.

The author, an anthropologist, carried out fieldwork in 80 villages and small towns in the Dohuk, Arbil and Sulaimaniya areas of Iraqi Kurdistan during 1977-1980. This essay describes the rural lifestyle, forms of houses and farms, and the changes which had begun to affect the Kurds, economically and politically after the signature of the peace agreement between Mulla Mustafa Barzani and the Iraqi government in 1970.

- 782 Dziegiel, Leszek. "Iraqi Kurdish Traditional Costume in Its Process of Europeanization." *Acta Ethnografica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* [Hungary] 33, no. 1-4 (1984-1985): 93-112.

- 783 Fujii, Tomoaki (ed.). *Music Culture in West Asia*. Suita, Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology, 1980. xi, 120, 35 p. : ill., music. (Senri ethnological studies, 0387-6004; no. 5). List of recordings: p. 2-35 (3rd group). Includes bibliographies.
- 784 Hassan, Schehrazade Qassim. "The Long Necked Lute in Iraq." *Asian Music* 13, no. 2 (1982): 1-18.

This paper describes the long-necked lute which is today known in only three areas of northern Iraq and used by Kurds and Turkmens. The local names for the instrument are given, and a number of drawings show its form and variants.

- 785 Hassanpour, Amir. "The Creation of Kurdish Media Culture." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 48-84. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

Kurdish society is often viewed, by both the specialist and the general public, as tribal or pastoral-nomadic. The culture and language of this society are accordingly perceived as oral and unwritten, or 'local' varieties of the dominant cultures and languages of the Middle East--Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Although these constructions of Kurdish culture are rooted in identifiable ideological and political terrains, ranging from racism to romanticizing, it must be conceded that knowledge of the topic is restricted by a dearth of information and research. This chapter examines one understudied process of cultural change in Kurdish society--the rise and spread of a media culture since the end of the nineteenth century. (abridged)

- 786 *The Importance of Cultural Elements in the Struggle of the Kurdish People*. Amsterdam: Research Institute of Oppressed People, 1983.

This volume is originally a report that came out from a congress held in Amsterdam in October 1983 under the sponsorship of the Research Institute of Oppressed People (RIOP) about the importance of cultural elements in the struggle of the Kurdish people. Many specialists and universities attended this congress. Those who contributed in this volume include: J. George Waardenburg, professor at Erasmus University in Rotterdam; Peter Idenberg, coordinator of RIOP and researcher in Libre University of Amsterdam; Ismet Cheriff Vanly, a Kurdish historian; Chris Kutschera, a journalist; Majeed R. Jafar, academician and economist; Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, General Secretary of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran and economist; Kamal Fuad,

Researcher at Libre University of Berlin and specialist in Kurdish literature; Francois Houtard, professor of sociology at the Centre of Socio-Religious Researches and director of Tricontinental Centre of the Catholic University in Louvian-la-Neuve. (Dominique Ferrandini/*AI* 9:863)

- 787 Izady, Mehrdad R. *Roots and Evolution of Some Aspects of Kurdish Cultural Identity in Late Classical and Early Medieval Periods*. Ph.D., Columbia University, 1992. 233 pp. *DAI* 54 (September 1993): 945-A.

In this work [the author] has attempted to demonstrate that a crucial portion of the religious and mythological heritage of the Middle East has its roots in the Zagros mountains where the Kurds have been the primary inhabitants in the past several thousand years. A thorough survey of modern religious texts of the followers of the native Zagrotian religion of Yazdanism is made alongside of the ancient Zoroastrian texts. The Mesopotamian, Graeco-Roman, Armenian, medieval Islamic and Aramean historical, geographical, and liturgical texts, as well as ancient artifacts of religious importance are also examined in detail to demonstrate the knowledge of this religion by the ancients, and substantiate the antiquity of many fundamental tenets and practices of this native religious and mythological heritage. This dissertation lays the ground for further investigation of one of the most enigmatic parts of the Middle Eastern civilization: the role and contribution of the Zagros cultures in general and the Kurds in particular.

- 788 Kren, Karin. "Kurdish Material Culture in Syria." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 162-173. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

This chapter seeks to draw attention to the importance of the study of ethnographic specimens in the documentation of a culture. In the case of Kurdish culture such research is especially urgent, as the Kurdish people have now been under threat for many years. Before doing so, a definition of what material culture is is provided as well as an explanation of the methodological background of a study of this kind.

- 789 Kren, Karin. "La culture materielle des Kurdes syriens et turcs." [Material Culture of Syrian and Turkish Kurds.] *Peuples Meditteraneens*, no. 68-69 (July-December 1994): 95-108.

The information the author gets concerning Syrian Kurdistan is based on results from field research carried out in 1988 and 1990. Concerning

clothing and jewelry, pottery, tanning, rug weaving, and other crafts, material culture is being modified by the disappearance of certain elements and the adoption of others. But, as in all Kurdistan the author actually notices some very important changes which are first of all economic, and the consequences social. The traditional technological methods of work are in the process of disappearing. In Syrian Kurdistan, the subsistence production is today marginalized, and one could foresee that in no more than a generation, traditional technologies will have disappeared.

- 790 Lancaster, Pat. "Face to Face with Kurdistan." *The Middle East* [London], no. 203 (September 1991): 42-43.

The Iraqi president's repeated threats to annihilate Kurds living in Iraq, their subsequent flight over international borders and their desperate struggle for survival aroused world sympathy but still, little of their culture is widely known, writes Pat Lancaster.

- 791 "The Living Fire." [Festival of Kurdish arts and culture.] *The Middle East* [London], no. 222 (April 1993): 46-47.

The first-ever major festival of Kurdish arts and culture is ongoing in Britain. Dubbed "The Living Fire," the festival offers a rare and comprehensive glimpse into the richness, vitality and strength of the Kurdistan identity. The festival features a month-long program of concerts, films, exhibitions and workshops at selected venues throughout London. It was launched to coincide with the Kurdish new year.

- 792 Mokri, Mohammad. *Kurdish Songs*. [With transliteration, Persian translation and glossary.] Tehran: Ketab-Khaneh Danesh, 1951. 192 p. : ill.

- 793 Nezan, Kendal. "La culture kurde en Turquie a l'épreuve du second choc." [Kurdish Culture in Turkey faces the Second Shock.] *Studia Kurdica*, no. 5 (1988): 7-12.

In this article, Nezan argues that Turkey, one of the five countries that divide Kurdistan, practices in a systematic way a policy of deculturation to the 10 to 12 million Kurds residing in Turkish Kurdistan. Nezan, president of the Kurdish Institute of Paris, focuses on the gloomy linguistic situation of the Kurds in Turkey.



- 794 Nezan, Kendal. "Kurdish Music and Dance." *World of Music* 21 (1979): 19-32.
- 795 O'Shea, Maria T. "Kurdish Costume: Regional Diversity and Divergence." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 135-155. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

This chapter draws attention to the emergence of a 'universal' Kurdish costume which is instantly recognizable, can be used occasionally at festivals and on special occasions, and conforms to moderns aesthetics and function. Some general observations are made also on the regional types, without detailed reference to changing fashions. These regional types are probably widely recognized by Kurds as markers of regional origins. Local variations would only be recognized by inhabitants of the region in question, and they are subject to an even more rapid decline than the basic regional variation. Finally, the changes in Kurdish fashion are illustrated by a discussion of the developments of Kurdish costume in and around the city of Sanandaj in Iran. (abridged)

- 796 Poortinga, Ype H., Netty H. Schoolt, and Jan M. H. Van De Koppel. "The Understanding of Chinese and Kurdish Emblematic Gestures by Dutch Subjects." *International Journal of Psychology/Journal International de Psychologie* 28 (February 1993): 31-44.

The degree of arbitrary meaning that gestures used intentionally for communication in one culture have or do not have for observers from another culture is investigated. Previous studies are discussed, and an attempt is made to support the assumption that basic processes of communication are the same cross-culturally, but the actual manifestations of the processes can vary between cultures. Two steps of the study, involving referential gestures and conventional emblems elicited from Kurdish, Chinese, and Dutch informants, were conducted on Dutch students (N=18 and 99, respectively) who made judgments regarding cultural meaning of the gestures and emblems. Results indicated that coded can be entirely arbitrary, with no trace of a cross-culturally shared referential basis. Approximately 50 % of the emblems rated by the Ss as conventional were also rated as present in The Netherlands. The Dutch Ss showed good understanding of the Chinese and Kurdish referential emblems even when they were categorized as absent in The Netherlands. The results seem incompatible with the position of behavioral absolutism and cultural relativism; the intermediate theoretical position of universality, which acknowledges pan-human psychological

principles in understanding emblematic gestures and culture-specific manifestations, gives the most tenable account of the findings. (SA 93-07281)

- 797 Salihi, Nur al-Din al-. "Some Remarks and Investigations on the History of Kurdish Music." In *Yearbook of the Kurdish Academy 1990*, pp. 85-87. Ratingen, Germany: The Kurdish Academy, 1990.
- 798 Sweetnam, Denise L. *Kurdish Culture: A Cross-Cultural Guide*. Bonn: Verlag fur Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1994. 335 p. : ill. Includes bibliographical references (p. [301]-325) and index.
- 799 Tatsumura, A. "Music and Culture of the Kurds." *Senri Ethnological Studies* 5 (1980): 75-93.
- 800 Vanly, Ismet Cheriff. "Coup d'Oeil sur la Culture Nationale Kurde." [A Brief Look at the National Culture of the Kurds.] *Oriente Moderno* [Italy] 57, nos. 9-10 (1977): 445-450.

In this article, Vanly shows how the Kurds have suffered repression from Turkey, Iran, and Iraq and sketches the history and literature of the Kurds.

See also 2, 3, 6-7, 11, 18, 20, 32, 67, 110, 182, 272, 296, 348, 493, 729-731

## RUGS, KILIMS, TEXTILE FABRICS, ETC.

- 801 Akasheh, Anahid. *The Archaeology of the Kurdish Rugs*. New York: The Kurdish Library, 1992.
- 802 Aschenbrenner, Erich. *Oriental Rugs: Vol. 2: Persian*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Antique Collectors' Club Ltd., 1981. 264 p.
- 803 Biggs, Robert D. (ed.). *Discoveries From Kurdish Looms*. Evanston, Ill.: Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, in conjunction with the Chicago Rug Society, 1983. 116 p. : ill (some col.). bibliog. [Issued to accompany an exhibition on view at the Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, December 9, 1983 to February 19, 1984.]

This excellent catalog of an exhibition held at Northwestern University from December 1983 through February 1984 is an important first step toward academic appreciation of the hitherto unsystematically studied field of Kurdish weaving. It features more than 80 illustrations, 12 of which are in color, of pile, flat-woven, and kilim rugs, mats, bag faces, salt bags, saddle and horse covers, and the like from Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, accompanied by descriptive commentaries. In addition, the volume includes six brief essays: John Perry's "The Kurds," Murray Eiland's "The Kurdish Rugs of Iran," Amedeo de Franchis's "Kurdish Rugs from Northeastern Iran," John Wertime's "The Principal Types and Woven Structures of Kurdish Weavings in Northeastern Iran," William Eagleton's "The Weavings of Iraqi Kurdistan," and Ralph Yohe's "The Kurds of Turkey and Their Weavings." The volume is not a comprehensive survey, a project announced as undertaken and published by Eagleton. (abridged, *Choice* 21, July-August 1984: 1597)

- 804 Criel, Jean-Marie, and Pervine Jamil. *Costume et Tapis kurdes*. [Kurdish Costumes and Rugs.] Brussels: Institut Kurde de Bruxelles, 1995. 95 p. : maps, ills., col. photographs. Includes bibliographical references.

The collection of the costumes of the Kurds provided here is so authentic and clearly photographed as to make this rather small book a treasure to lovers of Kurdish costumes and fabrics. The work divides into three distinct sections: costumes, rugs and political/dynastic history. While the treatment of rugs is interesting and adequate, the costumes presented and discussed constitute a treasure trove of information. In contrast to the wealth of female costumes, the book presents only two male from western Kurdistan, one from Adiyaman, the other from Diyarbakir (p. 52). Even though the two specimens are extremely valuable in their own right, the authors are remiss in not including more examples from western Kurdistan, one of the richest regions of that land in men's costumes. (Anahid Akasheh/*IJKS* 10, nos. 1-2, 1996: 157)

- 805 Eagleton, William. "Kurdish Rugs and Kelims: An Introduction." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 156-161. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1996.

Although we do not have examples to prove it, we can assume that the Kurds have been producing flat waves and pile rugs for many hundreds of years. The earliest rugs now in collections that are attributed to the Kurds are large garden carpets dating from the eighteenth century.

These are of sophisticated design and were certainly produced at the time for a wealthy urban clientele. For the authentic tradition of Kurdish weaving, however, we must go much further back, to those women providing the essentials for nomadic and village life. Even today the most authentic Kurdish rugs and kelims are those made by individual women in tribal or village contexts for use either by the immediate family or in some cases for barter in the marketplace. This paper tries to uncover some of the common characteristics of Kurdish weaving, its design and color, and classification by region. (abridged)

- 806 Eagleton, William. *An Introduction to Kurdish Rugs and Other Weavings*. New York: Interlink Books, 1988. 144 p. : col. ill., maps. Includes bibliographies and index.

A beautifully illustrated description and classification of Kurdish weavings from Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. The author, a former U.S. ambassador in the region, has compiled this catalog from his extensive experiences there. Information on Kurdish history and a list of over 200 Kurdish tribes is also included. Concurring with rug authority Murray Eiland, Eagleton characterizes Kurdish weavings in the way: "If we were to designate a fifth major category of Oriental rugs, there would be a convincing argument to suggest that Kurdish weaves are an entity in themselves ... and Kurds should rank among the most imaginative and prolific of weavers." Taking this judgment further, he adds, "Indeed, among the peoples producing tribal and village rugs in traditional ways, the Kurds perhaps rank first."

- 807 Eiland, Murray L. *Oriental Rugs: A New Comprehensive Guide*. 3rd ed. New York: New York Graphic Society, 1982. 294 p. : ill., maps. Includes index and bibliographies.

One of the more reliable introductory guides to Oriental carpets from Turkey, Iran, U.S.S.R., and Afghanistan as well as to technical aspects of weaving. It includes both black and white and color plates. The book is superior in its coverage of old and new rugs to any other general publication of recent years. The author does not always give full acknowledgment of his sources of information for maps of rug-weaving regions and for descriptions of specific types. A short bibliography follows each chapter.

- 808 Ford, P. R. J. *The Oriental Carpet: A History and Guide to Traditional Motifs, Patterns, and Symbols*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1981. 352 p. : ill.

This book is both more and less than its subtitle implies. Ford's stated intent is to provide a handbook for rug identification for the buyer of modern Orientals. While his work is not really a history, although he discusses the historical development of many rug patterns, it is by far the best practical guide to Orientals (primarily Persian, although Chinese, Indian, and others are included) that this reviewer has seen. The basic arrangement is by pattern or design; within this framework the author discusses at length examples of each design manufactured in different rug-producing areas (including Kurdistan). (abridged, *Library Journal* 106, November 15, 1981: 2230)

- 809 Gans-Ruedin, E. *Splendeur du Tapis Persan*. [The Splendor of the Persian Carpet.] Photos by Leo Hilber. Fribournd, Switzerland: Office du Livre, 1978.

This excellent work on the Persian carpet includes a good section on Kurdish rugs discussed on pp. 241-275.

- 810 Housego, Jenny. *Tribal Rugs: An Introduction to the Weavings of the Tribes of Iran*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1991 178 p. : ill. (some col.).

This book paints a fascinating picture, not only showing superb examples of tribal rugs, but also the woven and the life of the tribes themselves. The author's many years of study and close association with the tribes people responsible for these stunning rugs and fabrics enables her to speak with authority, not only about well-known groups such as the Qashqa'i of southwest Iran, the Baluch of the southeast, the widespread Kurds and the Turkoman, but also such important weaving groups as the Shahsavan of the north regions. In short, the author is able to describe the rich elements in the design as well as giving technical notes on the weaving so that the text and pictures together form an essential introduction for anyone who knows or cares about rugs.

- 811 Hull, Alastair, and Jose Luczyc-Wyhowska. *Kilim: The Complete Guide: History, Pattern, Technique, Identification*. Introduction by Nicholas Barnard. With 649 illustrations, 394 in color and 18 maps. Line drawings by Miranda MacSwiney. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1993. 352 p.

Bold, distinctive patterns; brilliant colors; astonishingly diverse decoration; affordability. These are some of the characteristics that explain why the marvelous flatwoven textiles known have become so

popular in the West. In recent years, demand for them has reached unprecedented levels, fueled by a new recognition of the special qualities of handmade ethnic craft. There is now an urgent need for a comprehensive survey of the field. *Kilim: The Complete Guide* answers this need, unraveling the complex questions surrounding the origins and history of these unique flatweaves and of the peoples who make them. Hundreds of illustrations, many in color and many specially taken, offer a remarkable blend of information and the dazzling visual allure for which kilims are famous. A detailed account of techniques - embracing materials, dyes and dyeing tools, kilim structures and weaving - is followed by a systematic analysis of motifs and symbolism. Here, the complex relationship between Islam and the animistic or shamanistic traditions that preceded it is explored, but so too are the many pitfalls that await any researcher who does not take into account the lore of the bazaar or the marketplace. The core of the book is devoted to the specific characteristics of region, tribe and kilim type. Four major sections present the fruits of much original research, fully informing the reader about the kilims he is likely to encounter; those from the North African countries of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia; the enormously important kilims of Anatolia; the riches of Persia and the Caucasus; and--for some the most attractive of all--the creations of the Afghani and Central Asian nomads. Chapters on new kilims and the uses of kilims--as bags and trappings as well as rugs--together with a reference guide to collecting, care and further study, conclude what will swiftly become the standard work on a widely appealing subject. The kilims of the Kurds in Turkey are discussed on pp. 112-121; those of the Kurds in Iraq on pp. 122-128; and the Kurds in Persia on pp. 183-195.

- 812 Opie, James. *Tribal Rugs*. Portland, Oreg.: Tolstoy Press, 1992. 328 p. : col. ill.
- 813 Petsopoulos, Yanni. "The Qajar Kilims of Sehna." *Hali* (United Kingdom) 8 (July-September 1986): 42-7.

Examines the kilims, or flatweave carpets, originating in the Sehna region of Persian Kurdistan during the time of the Qajar dynasty, which ruled from the late 18th to the early 20th century. Unlike the kilims woven in other regions, which are characterized by their geometric designs in bold colors, Sehna kilims are decorated with delicate and intricate motifs, and are renowned for the fineness of weave. (*ART Bibliographies Modern* 19-07141)

- 814 Zipper, Kurt, and Claudia Fritzsche. *Oriental Rugs: Vol. 4: Turkish*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Antique Collectors' Club Ltd., 1981. 264 p. [Originally published in German.]

This volume, fourth in the highly successful Oriental Rugs series, serves as a detailed introduction to the fascinating range of carpets and rugs from Turkey. The history of the region and the art of carpet weaving and knotting are explained, and the various types and styles of rugs produced are traced through the traditions and differing techniques found throughout the Anatolian peninsula. Turkey lies in a geographical position of some importance, separating as it does the Eastern and Western cultures. Despite the proximity of the Persian influence, Turkish rug makers largely retained their own traditional motifs, and the language of their designs and ornaments is explained. The main text leads into a pictorial catalogue in which 210 full color plates illustrate rugs from the numerous towns and villages throughout Anatolia. Comprehensive and detailed captions describe some 225 examples, ranging from antique and very rare museum exhibits right through to good quality modern pieces which are readily available today. This comprehensive book provides definitive coverage of the rugs and carpets of Turkey. It will be an essential volume for all lovers of fine carpets, and will appeal equally to the acknowledged expert and the fascinated but inexperienced beginner.

See also 11

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# SUBJECT INDEX

When using this index, the user should simply relate every subject heading to the Kurd(s), Kurdistan, or Kurdish. For example, Iraq as an entry should mean Kurds in Iraq or Iraqi Kurds; Language should mean Kurdish language; Geography should mean geography of Kurdistan; etc. In addition, some of the entries listed below may not be mentioned in their respective annotations. They are, however, included to make the index as thorough as possible. For example, Mulla Mustafa Barzani is the main topic of many entries as shown below, yet his name does not appear in all of them because sometimes his name is embedded in other terms or phrases, such as the Kurdish war, Barzani, or Barzanis. In the same token, the name Kissinger is deduced, in entry 368, from U.S. government officials; KDP (entry 11) from Political parties; etc.

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### **About the Compiler**

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