

Mullah Mustafa Barzani

The Enduring Legacy of Kurdistan's Most Prominent Leader

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Mullah Mustafa Barzani died in exile in Washington D.C. in 1979. He had been the leader of the Kurdish national movement in Iraq since the 1940s. In 1975 that movement was crushed and Barzani blamed himself for what he thought constituted the final collapse of Kurdish aspirations.¹ Barzani had however articulated a vision of Kurdish nationalism, organized and motivated tens of thousands of Kurdish fighters, and forged international ties and political relationships that outlived him. Barzani's legacy resulted in the reemergence of Kurdish nationalism under the leadership of his son and ultimately resulted in the closest thing that the Iraqi Kurds have ever had to formal statehood.

After World War I, the division of the Ottoman Empire became the subject of numerous discussions among the victorious European powers.² In the 1920 Treaty of Sevres, the Allied Powers and the Ottoman government agreed upon the establishment of an independent Kurdish state.³ Millions of ethnic Kurds living along and around the Taurus and Zagros mountain chains⁴ had for centuries been an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, a multiethnic entity based on religion rather than language or race.⁵

Despite the resolutions in the Treaty of Sevres, the British, who increasingly held the most political sway in the region, did not pursue the establishment of a Kurdish state. The British had strong doubts that any Kurdish leader would sacrifice his tribal interests for the greater purpose of a Kurdish nation.⁶ The primary loyalty of most Kurds was to their tribe or family and

¹ William Safire, "Forward to Death," *New York Times*, March 12, 1979, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9807E2DE1131E432A25751C1A9659C946890D6CF> (accessed January 6, 2015).

² Eugene Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 149-174.

³ "Treaty of Sevres," August 10, 1920, *World War I Document Archive*, Brigham Young University Library, http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Peace_Treaty_of_S%C3%A8vres (accessed December 15, 2014).

⁴ For a map of Kurdish inhabited areas, see Appendix I.

⁵ Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

⁶ Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Rawlinson, *Adventures in the Near East: 1918-1922* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1924), 177-195, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015014437605;view=1up;seq=2> (accessed January 5, 2015).

any larger loyalty was to Islam. The concept of a Kurdish nation existed only in the minds of a handful of Kurdish intellectuals. In the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, which officially ended the state of war between Turkey and the Allied Powers, the territories in which Kurds lived was divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the Soviet Union.⁷

In the nation-state system that emerged in the Middle East after World War I, the Kurdish people constituted the largest ethnic group not granted an independent state.⁸ Kurdish society was tribal and decentralized. Tribal feuds prevented the establishment of a unified vision or conception of nationhood among most Kurds. In the 1920s, numerous individual Kurdish tribes did begin revolting against the newly constituted states of Turkey, Iraq, and Iran. Similar Kurdish revolts had earlier taken place against the Ottoman Empire. The revolts were not national or ethnic in character but were aimed at maintaining tribal privileges against attempts to centralize power.⁹ These revolts remained based on small tribal groups and did not constitute major threats to the states involved. All three states were able to manipulate tribal rivalries to put them down. Mullah Mustafa Barzani, who had been born in 1903, emerged in the 1930s as a successful local tribal rebel in the region of Barzan in the mountainous part of far northeastern Iraq.¹⁰ Barzani was from a family of prominent Sufi leaders whose tribal and religious ties formed the basis of his legitimacy.¹¹ His older brothers, father and grandfather had earlier led revolts against the Ottomans.¹² When one of Mustafa Barzani's rebellions was crushed by the Iraqi state, he and about 3,000 tribal fighters fled across the border to Iran in October, 1945.

⁷ "Lausanne Treaty," July 24, 1923, *The Treaties of Peace 1919-1923, Vol. II*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (New York, 1924), <http://www.hri.org/docs/lausanne/> (accessed December 21, 2014).

⁸ Ted Robert Gurr, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (Washington DC: US Institute of Peace, 1993), 26.

⁹ David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds* (New York: IB Tauris & Co Ltd., 2007), 155-163.

¹⁰ Kerim Yildiz, *The Kurds in Iraq* (London: Pluto Press, 2007), 16.

¹¹ For a picture of Mullah Mustafa Barzani in his tribal attire see Appendix II.

¹² For pictures of Ahmed Barzani and Abdul Salam Barzani see Appendix III.

During World War II, the Soviet Union occupied parts of northern Iran and Barzani fled to that Soviet occupied territory.¹³ The Soviets allowed for the establishment of a short-lived self-governing Kurdish state, the Mahabad Republic, in January of 1946.¹⁴ Barzani and his tribal forces formed the military backbone of that state with Barzani as the highest ranking military officer.¹⁵ The state did not last long. The Soviets withdrew from the region in June and the Iranians re-established control in December of 1946. Despite its short duration, the time that Barzani served in Mahabad proved to be a formative experience for him and the Kurdish national movement.¹⁶

In Mahabad, Barzani and his fighters fought for a region and cause that was larger than their tribe. While Barzani had a conflictual relationship with Qazi Mohammed, the President of the Mahabad Republic, he did work with him. This marked the first time that Barzani cooperated with intellectual urban Kurdish elites. Qazi Mohammed had founded and was the leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, a party to which Barzani joined.¹⁷ The alliance between Barzani's Iraqi Kurdish tribal fighters and Qazi Mohammed's Iranian Kurdish intellectuals established a framework for a larger Kurdish national identity that transcended the tribe.¹⁸ While Barzani always maintained strong tribal ties, that Kurdish identity increasingly became an important part

¹³ Clifton Daniel, "Kurd Nationalists Look to Russians: Factor of Soviet Proximity to Autonomy Move in Iraq Perturbs Baghdad," *New York Times*, December 23, 1945, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=990DEFD61438E133A25750C2A9649D946493D6CF> (accessed January 2, 2015).

¹⁴ For a map of the Mahabad Republic see Appendix IV.

¹⁵ Ebrahim Hakimi, "The Iranian Prime Minister (Hakimi) to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Iran (Sadchikov)," February 4, 1948, Tehran, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, the Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Telegram 150, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=turn&entity=FRUS.FRUS1948v05p1.p0115&id=FRUS.FRUS1948v05p1&isize=M&q1=barzani> (accessed March 12, 2015).

¹⁶ Wadie Jwaideh, *Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 257.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 250-252. For the history and ideology of the Iraqi branch of the party also see: KDP - Kurdistan Democratic Party Iraq, official party website, <http://www.kdp.se> (accessed December 23, 2014).

¹⁸ Associated Press, "Kurd Says Rebels Got Russian Arms," *New York Times*, April 4, 1946, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9502EFD61039E53ABC4C53DFB266838D659EDE> (accessed January 11, 2015).

of his ideology and he was the first Iraqi Kurdish leader to successfully spread that ideological identity to a significant number of Kurds.

When Barzani fled to the Soviet Union after the fall of the Mahabad Republic, he formed a separate Iraqi Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) which remains the largest party in Iraqi Kurdistan until today.¹⁹ Barzani remained in the Soviet Union from 1947 to 1958.²⁰ During that time, he developed the KDP into an internationally recognized organization that claimed to speak on behalf of Iraq's Kurds.²¹ Among Arab and Kurdish Iraqis, Barzani was increasingly recognized as a legitimate and important political figure.

Under Soviet supervision, Barzani was able to cultivate relations with the Iraqi Communist Party and other Soviet-backed Iraqi Arab leftists at a time that the leftists opposed the Western backed Iraqi monarchy.²² These ties helped cement the KDP as a political player in Iraqi politics and under Barzani's leadership the Iraqi Kurdish people were increasingly united enough to be seen as a viable political force.²³ He did this by articulating a vision of Kurdish nationalism that motivated many Iraqi Kurds to see themselves for the first time in national terms.

Part of Barzani's appeal was that he was able to give voice to an increasing number of grievances held by the Kurdish people without them having to give up their tribal or religious

¹⁹ RUDAW Media Network, "2014 Provincial Election Results," <http://rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/elections/results> (accessed December 27, 2014).

²⁰ A. A. Cruickshank, "International Aspects of the Kurdish Question," *International Relations* 3, no. 6 (October 1969): 422.

²¹ Massoud Barzani, *Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdish Liberation Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 150.

²² C. L. Sulzerberger, "Economic and Social Turmoil Said to Imperil Middle East: Inequalities and Political Unrest Employed by Soviet - Military Action Doubted," *New York Times*, April 7, 1950, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9D05EFD61E38E53ABC4F53DFB266838B649EDE> (accessed January 8, 2015).

²³ Operations Coordinating Board Report, "Analysis of Internal Security Situation in Iraq and Recommended Action," National Security Council, December 14, 1955, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957, Vol. XII, Near East Region; Iran; Iraq, Document 427*, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v12/d427> (accessed January 22, 2015).

ties. As the Arab state of Iraq replaced the former Ottoman Empire, the Kurds began having deep cultural, linguistic, and ethnic grievances that were ignored by the centralizing state where Arab Nationalism was taking hold among the ruling elite.²⁴ Furthermore, the Kurdish areas of Iraq were the most impoverished and least developed part of the state giving rise to socioeconomic grievances.²⁵ The establishment of a Kurdish movement calling for both Kurdish cultural rights and progressive socioeconomic reform spoke to these grievances even as Barzani continued to capitalize on his own tribal and Sufi religious background to maintain legitimacy within the conservative Kurdish society. Barzani never gave up his tribal identity but he was able to articulate a manner of tribalism that could fit within and not conflict with this new Kurdish nationalism.²⁶ His ability to meld together these more conservative elements with a progressive ideological stance on socioeconomic issues resonated among the Kurdish masses in a way that could not be replicated by the more ideologically leftist Kurdish intellectuals. The Kurdish masses in Iraq began to see the KDP under Barzani's leadership as a national organization that could speak and act on their behalf.

When a Soviet backed revolution removed the Iraqi Monarchy in 1958, Barzani was welcomed back to Iraq and the KDP became an important player in the Iraqi political arena.²⁷ The good relations between the military government in Baghdad led by Abdul Karim Qasim and the KDP did not last long despite the fact that both had strong ties to the Soviet Union.²⁸ The central government, while promoting the same kinds of Soviet-influenced economic reform that

²⁴ George Lenczowski, *The Middle East in World Affairs* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 286-302.

²⁵ Bayan Sami Abdul Rahman, online interview, ANN TV, "The English Hour with William Morris," June 13, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q7gwGDB3yyU> (accessed March 11, 2015).

²⁶ Pet Eoski, interview by author, Nashville, TN, March 15, 2015.

²⁷ Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 908-910.

²⁸ Waldemar Galman, "Telegram from the Embassy in Iraq to the Department of State," December 11, 1958, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960, Volume XII, Near East Region: Iraq; Iran; Arabian Peninsula, Document 147*, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v12/d147> (accessed January 21, 2015).

the KDP advocated, was not willing to provide the Kurds with the level of cultural and political autonomy that Barzani was demanding.²⁹

During the decade Barzani spent in the Soviet Union, he undertook military training in addition to his political activities.³⁰ When he returned to Iraq, his previous experience with organizing tribally based fighting units attenuated by modern martial strategic and tactical knowledge enabled him to quickly establish a formidable fighting force that became known as the *peshmerga*, a Kurdish term meaning those willing to face death.³¹ The Iraqi central government was unable to crush Barzani's forces and the *peshmerga* gained a reputation as fierce and courageous fighters. From 1961 to 1975 Barzani led a series of Kurdish uprisings against the Iraqi state.³² The rebellions were at times interrupted by negotiations and agreements that offered far-reaching concessions to the Kurds. Inevitably, these agreements would fall apart as successive Iraqi governments failed to adequately implement what they had agreed upon. Barzani would quickly resume fighting when he concluded that his objectives were not being met through negotiations.

During those years, Barzani's political and military leadership translated the nascent Kurdish identity that had begun coalescing in earlier decades into a strong tangible force.³³ With the Soviet Union maintaining strong ties to the Iraqi government and unwilling to sacrifice those ties by supporting Kurdish separatists, Barzani proved adept at changing his alliance away from

²⁹ Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2008), 303-307.

³⁰ Kemal Said Qadir, "The Kurds and the KGB: The Secret History of the Barzani Dynasty," Antiwar.com, Randolph Bourne Institute, <http://www.antiwar.com/orig/qadir.php?articleid=9629> (accessed January 11, 2015).

³¹ Waldemar Galman, "Telegram from the Embassy in Iraq to the Department of State," October 14, 1958, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960, Volume XII, Near East Region: Iraq; Iran; Arabian Peninsula, Document 138*, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v12/d138> (accessed January 21, 2015).

³² Susan Meiselas, *Kurdistan in the Shadow of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 240-279.

³³ Dana Adams Schmidt, "Iraqi-Kurd War Has New Aspects: Larger Forces Being Used than in Previous Clash," *New York Times*, June 17, 1963, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9C0DE2D9153CEF3BBC4F52DFB0668388679EDE> (accessed January 10, 2015).

his former mentors toward the West and Iran, which at the time was led by the pro-Western Shah.³⁴ Barzani's political flexibility and understanding of international politics during the Cold War enabled the KDP to grow and develop throughout the 1960s and early 1970s.³⁵ While his jettisoning of the leftist socioeconomic message that had earlier helped define the KDP alienated many within the party, it also underscored that Barzani had been able to forge a kind of Kurdish nationalism that went beyond economic and social ideology. That Kurdish nationalism has remained central to the KDP until today.

Barzani however made what he later saw as a fatal error.³⁶ He had become too dependent on Iran and the CIA by the early 1970s.³⁷ A longstanding territorial dispute between Iran and Iraq over lands near their southern border had made relations between the two neighbors especially tense at the time. Iran began seeing the KDP as a convenient force that could be used to destabilize the Iraqi government. Barzani was allowed to make extensive use of Iranian territory to mount attacks against Iraq while at the same time benefitting from extensive Iranian and CIA military and financial assistance.³⁸ Believing that the assistance would be ongoing, Barzani's forces came to depend on Iran for the territory, weapons, money and logistical support that his troops needed to continue fighting.³⁹

³⁴ Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 1264-1265.

³⁵ Ghada Hashem Talhami, "Diplomacy of the Kurdish Territorial Nation," *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* 7, no. 1 (March 2013): 21-42.

³⁶ William Safire, "Of Kurds and Conscience," *New York Times*, December 13, 1976, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=940CE0DD173BE63BBC4B52DFB467838D669EDE> (accessed January 24, 2015).

³⁷ James Clarity, "Kurds Say Iran Arms Them and That Soviet Sends Advisors to Iraq," *New York Times*, September 29, 1974, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9F01E1D91139E73ABC4151DFBF66838F669EDE> (accessed January 10, 2015).

³⁸ Henry Kissinger et al., "Memorandum of Conversation," July 24, 1973, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Volume XXVII, Iran; Iraq, 1973-1976, Document 27*, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d27> (accessed January 27, 2015).

³⁹ Gerard Chaliand, *A People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan* (Brooklyn: Olive Branch Press, 1993), 7.

By late 1974 the *peshmerga* fighters had liberated large parts of Kurdistan. Iraqi leaders began secretly negotiating with Iran. In exchange for Iran stopping all assistance to the Kurds and closing its borders to Kurdish fighters, the Iraqi government agreed to cede to Iran the territory that Iran claimed along the strategic Shatt al-Arab waterway where the Tigris and Euphrates rivers meet and pour into the Persian Gulf.⁴⁰ On March 6, 1975, Iran and Iraq formally signed an agreement and Iran immediately abandoned the KDP, closing its border to *peshmerga* fighters.⁴¹ Having become completely dependent on Iran, the Kurds were crushed.⁴² Barzani was exiled to Iran and later the United States where he died in 1979.⁴³

While Barzani died in depression feeling that he had failed the Kurdish cause, he left a legacy that enabled that cause to remain alive and grow stronger in the decades after his death. His son, Massoud Barzani, took over the leadership of the KDP and when a long war broke out between Iran and Iraq in 1980 the *peshmerga* again began to re-organize their forces and fight for autonomy. Despite a number of major setbacks, the Kurds continued fighting.⁴⁴ The fighting spirit that the Iraqi Kurds displayed from the 1980s until the present was largely inspired by the courage and resilience of Mullah Mustafa Barzani and his long struggle.

Barzani's legacy is not perceived by all Kurds as wholly positive.⁴⁵ During his lifetime, he was criticized by many Kurdish intellectuals and tribal rivals for his inability to fully

⁴⁰ For a map of the Shatt al-Arab and the territory that changed hands see Appendix V.

⁴¹ "Treaty Concerning the State Frontier and Neighborly Relationships Between Iran and Iraq," March 6, 1975 reprinted by International Water Law Project, <http://www.internationalwaterlaw.org/documents/regionaldocs/iran-iraq.html> (accessed January 12, 2014).

⁴² David Philips, *The Kurdish Spring: A New Map of the Middle East* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2015) 35-36.

⁴³ David Korn, "The Last Years of Mustafa Barzani," *The Middle East Quarterly* 1, no. 2, (June 1994), <http://www.meforum.org/220/the-last-years-of-mustafa-barzani> (accessed January 2, 2015).

⁴⁴ Elaine Sciolino, "Shultz to See Iraqi on Reported Gassing of Kurds," *New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1988, <http://www.nytimes.com/1988/09/08/world/shultz-to-see-iraqi-on-reported-gassing-of-kurds.html?pagewanted=print> (accessed January 4, 2015).

⁴⁵ Mohammed Abdul Salam, interview by author, Austin, TX, January 24, 2015.

overcome his tribal ties.⁴⁶ His closest aides were always those from within his family and tribe. His leadership was marked by continued feuds with tribal rivals.⁴⁷ In fact successive Iraqi states were able to exploit these feuds in ways that hurt the Kurdish movement as a whole.

Barzani's leadership was also marked by intense debates within the KDP between Barzani's tribal and more conservative faction and an ideologically leftist faction that opposed his continued reliance on tribal networks rather than a better articulated socioeconomic message. They were also critical of Barzani's move away from the Soviet Union and toward the United States in the 1960s and blamed Barzani for putting too much hope in support from the international community.⁴⁸ Barzani was criticized by this more intellectual faction for having a naive understanding of international affairs that led him to put his trust in Western countries whose complex interests in the region would prevent them from supporting Kurdish statehood.⁴⁹ After Barzani's death this internal factionalism resulted in a formal split with the establishment of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan led by Jalal Talabani, who had been Barzani's biggest internal rival since the 1960s.

More than three decades after Mullah Mustafa Barzani's death, that factionalism continues to hinder the Kurdish movement.⁵⁰ However, the political alliances with the West that Barzani developed in the 1960s and 1970s and were seen at the time as having betrayed Kurdish

⁴⁶McDowall, 343-347.

⁴⁷ Alexander Haig, "Memorandum From the President's Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs (Haig) to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger)," July 28, 1972, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Vol. E-4, Documents on Iran and Iraq, 1969-1972, Document 321*, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76ve04/d321> (accessed January 22, 2015).

⁴⁸ John Waterbury, "Avoiding the Iron Cage of Legislated Communal Identity." In *The Self-Determination of Peoples: Community, Nation and State in an Interdependent World*, ed. Wolfgang Danspeckgruber (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 135-137.

⁴⁹ Alfred Atherton, "Briefing Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (Atherton) to Secretary of State Kissinger," August 5, 1976, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Vol. XXVII, Iran: Iraq, 1973-1976, Document 315*, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d315> (accessed February 15, 2015).

⁵⁰ Reuters, "Kurds Fight Out Internal Rivalries in Iraq Vote," *New York Times*, April 29, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/04/29/world/middleeast/29reuters-iraq-election-kurds.html> (accessed January 23, 2015).

aspirations were later strengthened under the leadership of his son Massoud Barzani.⁵¹ The KDP resuscitated a strong relationship with the United States during the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st Century when Iraq fought two major wars with the United States.

In 1991, during the first conflict between the United States and Iraq, the Kurds were able to carve out an autonomous zone in northern Iraq that has remained semi-independent until today.⁵² Even though that zone was established long after the death of Mullah Mustafa Barzani, he did more than any other Kurdish leader to bring about its establishment. Barzani's leadership of the Kurdish movement for more than three decades during which he always insisted on maintaining a military option played an important role in inspiring the uprising that ultimately led to Kurdish autonomy. Furthermore, the zone was first established when tens of thousands of tribal fighters that had for decades allied themselves with the Iraqi government and fought against Kurdish nationalists changed sides and supported the *peshmerga*.⁵³ The part of Mustafa Barzani's legacy of ensuring the maintenance of a conservative, tribally-based ideology within the KDP made that switch possible. Finally, the zone could not have been formed without the military, political, and economic support of the United States.⁵⁴ Barzani's insistence on cultivating American support paid dividends long after his death.⁵⁵

The national identity, organization, inspiration, military skills and political alliances that Mullah Mustafa Barzani had forged for the Iraqi Kurdish people proved to be a legacy that enabled them to continue struggling for their rights more than three decades after his death. His

⁵¹ Stephen Mansfield, *The Miracle of the Kurds* (Brentwood, TN: Worthy Publishing, 2014), 97-98.

⁵² For a map of the autonomous zone, see Appendix VI.

⁵³ Quil Lawrence, *Invisible Nation: How the Kurds Quest for Statehood is Shaping Iraq and the Middle East* (New York: Walker & Company, 2008) 48-49.

⁵⁴ James Baker, *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace 1989-1992*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995), 430-442.

⁵⁵ Consulate General of the United States, Erbil, Iraq, <http://erbil.usconsulate.gov/index.html> (accessed January 23, 2015).

picture is now hung in every office of the Kurdistan Regional Government, his birthday is an official national holiday, and numerous statues have been erected in his honor as he is recognized, even by his tribal and ideological foes, as the "Father of Kurdistan."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Stephen Mansfield, interview by author, Nashville, TN, February 4, 2015.

Appendix I: Map of Kurdish inhabited areas.



This map shows areas of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and the former Soviet Union that are inhabited primarily by Kurds. The map is from the San Francisco Bay Area Independent Media Center, <https://www.indybay.org/uploads/2014/11/30/kurdish-occupancy-map.jpg>. (Accessed Jan. 27, 2015).

Appendix II: Mullah Mustafa Barzani in 1965



Photo from William Carter,
<https://bywilliamcarter.wordpress.com/2014/07/09/more-on-the-iraqi-kurds/>,
accessed January 31, 2015.

Appendix III: Pictures of Barzani Family



Mustafa Barzani (left) and his older brother Ahmed Barzani, 1958. Ahmed had led a number of revolts against both the Ottomans and the Iraqi state.
From Barzanihistory.com, <http://www.ahmed.barzanihistory.com/images.html>



A picture showing Abdul Salam Barzani (seated in center) an older brother of Mustafa Barzani and some of his tribal fighters in 1907 when he began a revolt against the Ottoman Empire. Abdul Salam was executed in 1914. <http://www.abdulsalam.barzanihistory.com/images.htm>

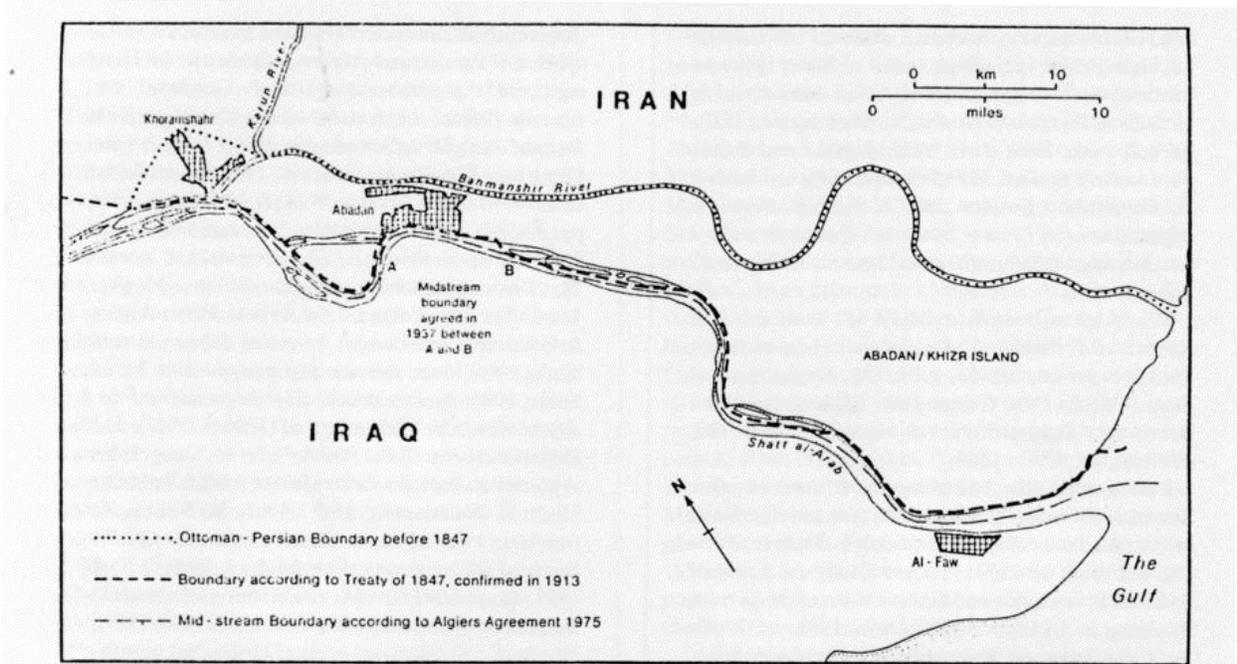
Appendix IV: Map of the Mahabad Republic



Kurdish Republic of Mahabad and Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan in 1945-1946

Panonioan, taken from http://www.iranicaonline.org/uploads/files/azerbaijan_5_fig3.jpg

Appendix V: Shatt al-Arab and the March 6, 1975 Agreement between Iran and Iraq



This Photo of the "Shatt al-Arab" was copied from Alasdair Drysdale and Gerald Blake, *The Middle East and North Africa: A Political Geography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 87.

Appendix VI: Map showing borders of the Kurdistan Regional Government



From the website of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq, <http://new.krg.us/services/visa-2/>, accessed January 30, 2015.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Personal Interviews

Abdul Salam, Mohammed. Phone interview by author. Austin, TX. January 24, 2015.

Mohammed Abdul Salam is a Kurdish student in the United States. He is a supporter of Gorran or the Kurdish Movement for Change. His strong criticism of the corruption and continued tribalism and factionalism among current Iraqi Kurdish political leaders helped me understand how many Kurds see an important part of Barzani's legacy in a negative light. Abdul Salam did however note that when looking at the wider picture, Mullah Mustafa Barzani deserves to be known as the "Father" of Kurdistan and despite his many shortcomings, he is revered by most Kurds for the long years he spent struggling for Kurdish rights.

Mansfield, Stephen. Phone interview by author. Nashville, TN, February 4, 2015.

Stephen Mansfield is an author who has written extensively on Kurdistan and has visited Iraqi Kurdistan a number of times. One of his books was very beneficial to me and I was able to conduct a phone interview with him after reading the book. The interview enabled me to ask more questions about how Mullah Mustafa Barzani's legacy continues to have an impact on the current Kurdish autonomous region in Iraq. Mansfield was able to explain to me a number of firsthand accounts of the continued love and respect all Kurds, even Barzani's ideological foes, have for Mullah Mustafa Barzani and how the continued symbolism surrounding his struggle remains central to the Kurdish identity.

Eoski, Pet. Phone interview by author. Nashville, TN. March 15, 2015.

Pet Eoski is a well-informed Kurdish community activist living in Nashville, Tennessee. She is a strong supporter of Barzani and the KDP and explained to me how Barzani gained popularity among Kurds in the 1960s and 1970s by being able to articulate a vision of Kurdish nationalism without allowing that vision to conflict with the Kurdish people's traditional tribal and religious beliefs. She noted that he always remained very down-to-earth and close to the people. Ms. Eoski noted that many Kurdish families name their children after Barzani and the names of his children and that his photo adorns the homes of nearly all Kurds until today.

Online Interview

Abdul Rahman, Bayan Sami. Online interview. ANN TV. "The English Hour with William Morris." June 13, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q7gwGDB3yyU> (accessed March 11, 2015).

Bayan Abdul Rahman is the representative of the Kurdistan Regional Government in the United States and is a high ranking official of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, founded by Mustafa Barzani. This hour long interview helped me understand both many of the long-term economic grievances held by the Kurdish people as well as much about the current situation in Kurdistan. The interview helped me better understand many of the KDP political principles that I had read about in other sources. Ms. Abdul Rahman's discussion of pragmatism and tolerance helped me understand how those principles were more than mere slogans but actual policies that the KDP believes in and strives to promote.

Official Documents

"Lausanne Treaty." July 24, 1923. Reprinted by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. *The Treaties of Peace 1919-1923, Vol. II.* New York, 1924. <http://www.hri.org/docs/lausanne/> (accessed December 21, 2014).

The text of this treaty in which the Kurds are not mentioned at all helped me understand why many Kurds continue to feel that the international community has betrayed them.

"Treaty Concerning the State Frontier and Neighborly Relationships Between Iran and Iraq." March 6, 1975. Reprinted by International Water Law Project. <http://www.internationalwaterlaw.org/documents/regionaldocs/iran-iraq.html> (accessed January 12, 2014).

The text of this treaty made it clear that Iran had to stop all assistance to the Kurds and that Iran had to prevent the Kurds from crossing the Iran-Iraq border as part of an agreement in which Iran was given territorial concessions along the southern border between Iran and Iraq. Reading the text of the treaty helped me realize why the Kurds considered it a betrayal.

"Treaty of Sevres." August 10, 1920. Reprinted by Brigham Young University Library. *World War I Document Archive.* http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Peace_Treaty_of_S%C3%A8vres (accessed December 15, 2014).

The text of the Treaty of Sevres makes it clear that right after World War I, the international community was preparing to work for the establishment of a Kurdish entity. Comparing this treaty to the later Treaty of Lausanne underscores how this understanding was soon changed.

Archival Documents

Atherton, Alfred. "Briefing Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (Atherton) to Secretary of State Kissinger." August 5, 1976. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Vol. XXVII, Iran:Iraq, 1973-1976, Document 315*. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d315> (accessed February 15, 2015).

This State Department document discusses Barzani's activities in the United States during his exile in Washington D.C. The document mentions the political figures that Barzani met while in the United States and makes it clear that Barzani continued trying to cultivate American support until his death. The document discusses the dangers this could cause for U.S. policy in the Middle East and makes it clear that the United States had no intention of supporting Kurdish attempts to rebel against the Government of Iraq. The document helped me understand the complex reasons that made the United States opposed to Kurdish independence. The document also helped me understand why many other Kurdish leaders were critical of Barzani for insisting on relying so heavily on American assistance when such assistance was so unlikely to materialize.

Galman, Waldemar. "Telegram from the Embassy in Iraq to the Department of State." October 14, 1958. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960, Volume XII, Near East Region: Iraq; Iran; Arabian Peninsula, Document 138*. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v12/d138> (accessed January 21, 2015).

This State Department document provides an analysis from the American Ambassador in Iraq in 1958 about the military threat that Barzani posed to the Iraqi government. The telegram notes that by 1958, Barzani had been able to gain substantial support in the Kurdish region and the American ambassador feared that his links with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party made him a threat to U.S. interests. The document provided me with an inside account of how an important American official viewed Barzani at the time.

Galman, Waldemar. "Telegram from the Embassy in Iraq to the Department of State." December 11, 1958. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960, Volume XII, Near East Region: Iraq; Iran; Arabian Peninsula, Document 147*. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v12/d147> (accessed January 21, 2015).

This document outlines the increasing tension between the government of Abdul Karim Qasim and Barzani's forces. The telegram contains a strong American denial to an Iraqi allegation that the U.S. was supporting the growing possibility of a Kurdish insurrection. This document helped me understand that while both Qasim and Barzani were being supported by the Soviet Union at the time, relations between them were becoming increasingly tense.

Haig, Alexander. "Memorandum From the President's Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs (Haig) to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger)." July 28, 1972. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Vol. E-4, Documents on Iran*

and Iraq, 1969-1972, Document 321. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76ve04/d321> (accessed January 22, 2015).

This long State Department memorandum outlines in detail a proposal for substantially increasing covert U.S. assistance to Barzani through Iran as a means of destabilizing the Iraqi Government. The memorandum helped me understand the specific military requirements of the Kurds at the time as well as the level and kind of US assistance that was provided to the Kurds. The memorandum also outlines the potential problems that would accrue from US assistance to Barzani, most notably problems for Turkey as well as the continued tribalism and factionalism within Kurdish society. The memorandum provided details about Kurdish tribal factions that helped me better understand some of the limitations on Barzani's ability to unify the Kurds.

Hakimi, Ebrahim. "The Iranian Prime Minister (Hakimi) to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Iran (Sadchikov)." February 4, 1948. Tehran. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, the Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Telegram 150*. University of Wisconsin Digital Collections. <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=turn&entity=FRUS.FRUS1948v05p1.p0115&id=FRUS.FRUS1948v05p1&size=M&q1=barzani> (accessed March 12, 2015).

This long telegram constituted a letter from the Iranian Prime Minister of Iran to the Soviet Union that was provided by the Iranians to the U.S. State Department. The letter outlines Iranian complaints against Soviet interference and speaks in very harsh terms about Barzani who had a few years prior to this telegram served as the highest ranking military officer in the Soviet-backed Mahabad Republic, which had been carved out of Iran by the Soviets. The telegram helped me understand the Iranian perspective on the Kurdish issue, the continuing tense relations between the Soviet Union and Iran, and the increasingly warm relations between the United States and Iran.

Kissinger, Henry et al. "Memorandum of Conversation." July 24, 1973. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Volume XXVII, Iran; Iraq, 1973-1976, Document 27*. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27/d27> (accessed January 27, 2015).

This Department of State archived document provides the text of a conversation between the Shah of Iran and Henry Kissinger. Also attending the meeting were Richard Helms, the U.S. Ambassador to Iran, Ardeshir Zahedi, the Iranian Ambassador to the US and Harold Saunders from the National Security Council. In the conversation, Kissinger and the Shah explain their objectives in supporting Barzani's revolt against the Ba'ath Government in Iraq. While the document details the large amount of aid the United States and Iran were giving to Barzani, it also notes that neither one of them wanted Barzani to establish an independent state and would have to put limits on him if he became too powerful. The conversation helped me understand American and Iranian objectives toward the Kurds in the early 1970s.

Operations Coordinating Board Report. "Analysis of Internal Security Situation in Iraq and Recommended Action." National Security Council. December 14, 1955. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957, Vol. XII, Near East Region; Iran; Iraq. Document 427.* <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v12/d427> (accessed January 22, 2015).

This report commissioned by the U.S. National Security Council outlines the potential of a communist threat in Iraq. The long report concludes that the only viable communist threat in the Kurdish section of Iraq would occur if Barzani's forces joined up with the communists. The report helped me understand how Barzani was able to become an increasingly influential player in Iraqi politics during the years that he was in exile in the Soviet Union.

Newspaper and Magazine Articles

Associated Press. "Kurd Says Rebels Got Russian Arms." *New York Times*, April 4, 1946. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9502EFD61039E53ABC4C53DFB266838D659EDE> (accessed January 11, 2015).

This article on the Mahabad Republic discussed how the cooperation between Barzani and Qazi Mohammed was establishing an identity framework that was expected to unite the Kurds of Iran, Turkey, Iraq, and Syria into a united Kurdistan with support from the Soviet Union. While the predictions of the author never came true, the article helped me understand how important the Mahabad Republic was in helping to establish a national Kurdish identity. The article also helped me understand the role of Barzani in the Republic. The article noted that Barzani was more powerful in the Mahabad Republic than Qazi Mohammed.

Clarity, James. "Kurds Say Iran Arms Them and That Soviet Sends Advisors to Iraq." *New York Times*, September 29, 1974. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9F01E1D91139E73ABC4151DFBF66838F669EDE> (accessed January 10, 2015).

This article helped me understand how Barzani had become dependent on Iran in the mid-1970s. The article detailed how when Iran cut the aid to Barzani's forces, the Kurdish movement was crushed.

Daniel, Clifton. "Kurd Nationalists Look to Russians: Factor of Soviet Proximity to Autonomy Move in Iraq Perturbs Baghdad." *New York Times*, December 23, 1945. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=990DEFD61438E133A25750C2A9649D946493D6CF> (accessed January 2, 2015).

This article helped me understand how the Kurds were supported by the Soviet Union after World War II and how that Soviet support helped shape Barzani's vision of how he should lead the Kurdish movement.

Reuters. "Kurds Fight Out Internal Rivalries in Iraq Vote." *New York Times*, April 29, 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/04/29/world/middleeast/29reuters-iraq-election-kurds.html> (accessed January 23, 2015).

This 2014 article discusses decades long internal rivalries among Iraqi Kurds and how those rivalries continue to hinder their ability to form a united and functioning government years after the Kurds were able to force the Iraqi state to provide them with near full autonomy. It helped me understand how Barzani's inability to end factionalism during his lifetime continues to haunt Kurds until today.

Safire, William. "Forward to Death." *New York Times*, March 12, 1979. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9807E2DE1131E432A25751C1A9659C946890D6CF> (accessed January 6, 2015).

William Safire is a New York Times columnist who met Mullah Mustafa Barzani a number of times and had a personal relationship with him. He wrote a number of columns over the years discussing the CIA betrayal of Barzani with the intention of seeking redress from American officials. In this New York Times essay written soon after Barzani's death, Safire writes how Barzani died feeling that he had been betrayed by the United States and had failed in his mission toward serving the Kurdish movement. The article helped me understand Barzani's mindset in the last couple years of his life.

Safire, William. "Of Kurds and Conscience." *New York Times*, December 13, 1976. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=940CE0DD173BE63BBC4B52DFB467838D669EDE> (accessed January 24, 2015).

In this column, Safire details how what both he and Barzani viewed as the CIA betrayal of the Kurds in 1975 seriously damaged the Kurdish movement for autonomy and freedom.

Schmidt, Dana Adams. "Iraqi-Kurd War Has New Aspects: Larger Forces Being Used than in Previous Clash." *New York Times*, June 17, 1963. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9C0DE2D9153CEF3BBC4F52DFB0668388679EDE> (accessed January 10, 2015).

This New York Times article helped me understand how Mullah Mustafa Barzani had been able to increase his following from 1958 when he first returned to Iraq and mid-1963 when a particularly tense relationship with the Iraqi government led to renewed fighting on a much larger scale than at any time in the past.

Sciolino, Elaine. "Shultz to See Iraqi on Reported Gassing of Kurds." *New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1988. <http://www.nytimes.com/1988/09/08/world/shultz-to-see-iraqi-on-reported-gassing-of-kurds.html?pagewanted=print> (accessed January 4, 2015).

This article provided me with information about the chemical weapons that were used in a massacre of Kurds in Halabja.

Sulzerberger, C.L. "Economic and Social Turmoil Said to Imperil Middle East: Inequalities and Political Unrest Employed by Soviet - Military Action Doubted." *New York Times*, April 7, 1950. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res=9D05EFD61E38E53ABC4F53DFB266838B649EDE> (accessed January 8, 2015).

This article helped me understand how Barzani was able to motivate his people to fight based on the deteriorating economic situation in Kurdistan in the 1950s.

Books

Baker, James. *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace 1989-1992*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995.

James Baker served as the American Secretary of State during the 1991 war between the United States and Iraq. He was also personally responsible for the policies that led to the establishment of safe havens for the Kurds in northern Iraq which ultimately evolved into the autonomous Kurdistan Regional Government. This book makes it very clear that without American assistance in 1991, the Kurds would likely have been massacred in huge numbers and would not have any security much less an autonomous zone. The book helped me understand the critical role played by the United States in the formation of the Kurdistan Regional Government.

Barzani, Massoud. *Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdish Liberation Movement*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Written by Mullah Mustafa Barzani's son and political successor, this book provided extensive details about Mustafa Barzani's life from his initial 1931 revolt, through his role in the Mahabad Republic and exile in the Soviet Union and then his return to Iraq after the 1958 Revolution. The book contributed greatly to my understanding of that crucial period in Barzani's life, especially the details about his exile in the Soviet Union and development of the Kurdistan Democratic Party while there. The personalized nature of the book also helped me understand the ideology of Mullah Mustafa Barzani and contributed to the idea that one of Barzani's leadership traits was the ability to meld modern ideas of nationalism with traditional stances on Islam and tribalism. The book also included over 100 pages of documents that Mustafa Barzani had kept in a special traveling bag. Massoud reprinted the numerous letters and agreements after his father's death. Those documents shed light on many aspects of Mullah Mustafa Barzani's life and his leadership style and skills.

Kissinger, Henry. *White House Years*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979.

This book covers Henry Kissinger's years as President Nixon's closest advisor on foreign policy between 1969 and 1973. This book helped me understand the extremely close relations that the United States fostered with the Shah of Iran and how both the Shah and Kissinger supported the Kurds. Kissinger notes in the book that support for Barzani helped ensure that Iraq was too distracted to provide any tangible assistance to the Arabs in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

Lawrence, Quil. *Invisible Nation: How the Kurds Quest for Statehood is Shaping Iraq and the Middle East*. New York: Walker & Company, 2008.

Lawrence is a journalist who worked in Iraq and Kurdistan from 2000 - 2008 reporting for the BBC and America's National Public Radio. While in Kurdistan, he interviewed nearly all the Kurdish leaders and therefore was able to get a first-hand account of their ideas and actions during the period in which they enjoyed autonomy. The book was especially useful in helping me understand how Mullah Mustafa Barzani's legacy was important in continuing to shape the Kurdish and Iraqi destiny long after his death.

Rawlinson, Lieutenant Colonel Alfred. *Adventures in the Near East: 1918-1922*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1924. <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015014437605;view=1up;seq=2> (accessed January 5, 2015).

This online book provides an autobiographical sketch of the travels of a British intelligence and political agent in the Near East immediately after World War I. While traveling through the region, Rawlinson was reporting to Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon and Colonial Secretary Winston Churchill. His accounts had an important impact on British policy. The book helped me understand the British colonial mindset and how it viewed the Kurds at the time. It helped me understand British policy toward the region better than any secondary source that I came across.

Official Websites

Consulate General of the United States, Erbil, Iraq. <http://erbil.usconsulate.gov/index.html> (accessed January 23, 2015).

The website of the Consulate General of the United States in the capital city of the autonomous region of Kurdistan outlines in various ways how the United States provides important military, political, and economic support to Iraq's Kurds in their autonomous zone. The website helped me understand the critical nature of US support to the establishment and continued success of the Kurdistan Regional Government.

KDP - Kurdish Democratic Party Iraq. Official party website. <http://www.kdp.se> (accessed December 23, 2014).

This website was very helpful in providing a KDP perspective on various issues. The website underscores the important legacy of Mullah Mustafa Barzani in that his ideas and actions are still prominently displayed on the site.

Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq. Official government website. <http://new.krg.us> (accessed January 30, 2015).

The website of the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq provided me with official information about the status of the autonomous government that was set up in Iraq in 1992. I also learned from the site that Mullah Mustafa Barzani's birthday is celebrated as a national holiday by the autonomous government. I used a map from the website in my appendix.

RUDAW Media Network. <http://rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/elections/results> (accessed December 27, 2014).

This media network provides a Kurdish perspective on issues. It was most useful in providing me with election results that show that the KDP has consistently been the largest political party in free elections in Kurdistan. It also provides current news about Kurdistan that helped me better understand the legacy that Barzani has left behind.

Images

Barzanihistory.com. <http://www.barzanihistory.com/index.html> (accessed March 10, 2015).

This website included numerous photos of the Barzani family. I used two of the photos in my appendix. The website was also helpful in understanding the history and tribal background of the Barzani family.

Carter, William. Photo of Barzani. 1965. <https://bywilliamcarter.wordpress.com/2014/07/09/more-on-the-iraqi-kurds/> (accessed January 31, 2015).

William Carter was a photographer for Life and in 1965 he met Barzani and took a number of pictures for a magazine article. In this blogpost, he provided a picture that I used in my appendix. The blog was also useful for shedding light on Carter's perceptions of Barzani and his continuing legacy.

Secondary Sources

Books

Batatu, Hanna. *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

This book provides a very detailed account of Iraqi history and helped me understand how close many of the Kurdish organizations were to the Iraqi Communist Party in the 1950s.

Chaliand, Gerard. *A People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*. Brooklyn: Olive Branch Press, 1993.

This book provided me with a detailed account of Kurdish history and helped me understand the context in which Barzani was working as a long-time Kurdish leader.

Danspeckgruber, Wolfgang. ed., *The Self-Determination of Peoples: Community, Nation and State in an Interdependent World*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002.

This edited volume helped me understand some of the theoretical concepts behind a nation's quest for self-determination and identity formation in today's world. The chapter by John Waterbury on how the quest to seek international support can either help or hinder a movement was especially useful as he used the Iraqi Kurdish movement's excessive reliance on the United States as an example to make some wider points about some of the mistakes that groups often make.

Drysdale, Alasdair and Gerald Blake. *The Middle East and North Africa: A Political Geography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

I copied an image from this book of the Shatt al-Arab and put it as one of my appendix. The picture and accompanying text helped me understand the importance of the territorial concessions that Iraq made to Iran in 1975 in return for Iran closing its border to the peshmerga and ending all assistance to Barzani's fighters.

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington DC: US Institute of Peace, 1993.

This book helped me understand the Kurdish struggle in a comparative framework. The book provides detailed information on minorities throughout the world who are in conflict with various states.

Itzkowitz, Norman. *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

This book helped me understand the kind of state that the Kurds lived in prior to World War I before ethnically based states were established in the Middle East.

Jwaideh, Wadie. *Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006.

This book provided me with an extremely detailed account of the early development of the KDP and Barzani's role in those early years when he was in the Mahabad Republic and the Soviet Union.

Lenczowski, George. *The Middle East in World Affairs*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.

This book provided me with a detailed history of the period of Iraqi history from World War I until the 1970s. The book especially helped me understand how the rise of Arab nationalism in Iraq impacted upon Arab Kurdish relations in the country.

Mansfield, Stephen. *The Miracle of the Kurds*. Brentwood, TN: Worthy Publishing, 2014.

This book celebrates the ability of the Kurds to establish an autonomous democratic entity in northern Iraq after Saddam Hussein was defeated in war with the United States. The book helped me understand that while Barzani died thinking he was a failure, the legacy he left behind helped the Kurds achieve a great deal after his death.

McDowall, David. *A Modern History of the Kurds*. New York: IB Tauris & Co Ltd., 2007.

This book provided me with the best overall history of the Kurdish issue that I came across. It helped me understand how Barzani's leadership was central to the development and growth of the Kurdish movement. It also helped me understand the concept of tribalism and how tribalism both helped and hindered the Kurdish movement.

Meiselas, Susan. *Kurdistan in the Shadow of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

This book helped me understand Kurdish history and the important role Barzani played in uniting different Kurdish tribes to fight under the banner of a nationalist cause at a time when many Kurds were still more loyal to their tribe than to any larger concept.

Philips, David. *The Kurdish Spring: A New Map of the Middle East*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2015.

This is a very recent book that includes information about current events as well as provides a very easy to understand history of the Kurdish people. The book was most useful to me in providing an explanation for how Barzani's continued tribal ties were problematic for many Kurdish intellectuals but that despite such complaints all Kurds continue to recognize the great contributions made by Barzani and consider him a symbol of their struggle.

Richards, Alan, and John Waterbury. *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2008.

This is an excellent book about the political and economic policies followed by various regimes in the Middle East. The parts of the book about Iraq helped me understand the nature of the different political regimes that Barzani was revolting against. The book enabled me to realize that nearly all of those regimes were police states in which freedoms and democracy were denied to all the Iraqi people, not just the Kurds. While various regimes were willing to make economic concessions to the Kurds, the book helped me understand that the very nature of those regimes made it unrealistic for the Kurds to expect to be given any political freedoms.

Rogan, Eugene. *The Arabs: A History*. New York: Basic Books, 2009.

This book provides a very detailed account of Arab and Iraqi history and helped me understand the larger context of events taking place in the Arab World and how they impacted upon the Kurdish question.

Yildiz, Kerim. *The Kurds in Iraq*. London: Pluto Press, 2007.

This book provided me with a detailed account of Kurdish history and was especially useful in helping me understand the post World War I negotiations that ultimately led to the Kurds being divided among a number of different countries with no state of their own. It also helped me understand how Barzani developed from a local tribal chieftain to become the major leader of all the Iraqi Kurds.

Journal Articles

Cruickshank, A.A. "International Aspects of the Kurdish Question." *International Relations* 3, no. 6. (October 1969): 411-430.

This article provided me with an excellent comparative overview of the situation concerning Kurds in Iraq, Iran and Turkey in the 1960s. The article helped me understand the interconnections and competing interests of the Kurds in the different parts of the larger Kurdistan and why uniting the various Kurds would be difficult.

Korn, David. "The Last Years of Mustafa Barzani." *The Middle East Quarterly* 1, no. 2. (June 1994). <http://www.meforum.org/220/the-last-years-of-mustafa-barzani> (accessed January 2, 2015).

This article explained how Barzani felt like a failure at the end of his life after his movement was crushed by Iraq and he was living in exile. The article also explains his unsuccessful attempts to get the United States to restart political and military support to the Kurds.

Talhami, Ghada Hashem. "Diplomacy of the Kurdish Territorial Nation." *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* 7. no. 1. (March 2013): 21-42.

This article detailed the historical development of Kurdish diplomacy and foreign policy choices. It helped me understand how Barzani effectively nurtured relations with various foreign actors. By showing how Barzani was able to exploit those relationships to his advantage, especially in the 1960s and early 1970s, the article seems to discredit the criticism by some that he was naive in terms of foreign policy.

Online Articles

Qadir, Kemal Said. "The Kurds and the KGB: The Secret History of the Barzani Dynasty." Antiwar.com. Randolph Bourne Institute. <http://www.antiwar.com/orig/qadir.php?articleid=9629> (accessed January 11, 2015).

This article is written by an opponent of Barzani and helped me understand why some Kurds oppose the methods he used and the style of his leadership. The author also had access to Soviet archives and helped me understand how the years Barzani spent in the Soviet Union influenced his later role in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Images

Panonioan. Map of Mahabad. http://www.iranicaonline.org/uploads/files/azerbaijan_5_fig3.jpg (accessed January 31, 2015).

This map of Mahabad was used in my appendix.

San Francisco Bay Area Independent Media Center. <https://www.indybay.org/uploads/2014/11/30/kurdish-occupancy-map.jpg> (accessed Jan. 27, 2015).

I used this map of Kurdistan in my appendix.