

Geopolitics of Secessionist Movements: A Case Study of Kurds

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Submitted By

PRIYANKA GUPTA

Under the Supervision of

Professor B.C. Vaidya



Political Geography Division

Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament

School of International Studies

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi 110067

2018



Date: 18/07/2018


DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "GEOPOLITICS OF SECESSIONIST MOVEMENTS: A CASE STUDY OF KURDS" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.



PRIYANKA GUPTA

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


PROF. YESHI CHOEDEN


Chairperson, CIPOD
Centre for International Politics,
Organization and Disarmament
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067


PROF. B.C. VAIDYA


Supervisor
Centre for International Politics,
Organization and Disarmament
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067



Dedicated to My Parents.....

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to express to my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor Professor B.C. Vaidya. As my guide for the dissertation he has been involved with the study from its inception through the choice of the topic, material collection and his insight, and everlasting support has led to a successful completion. He always had time to clear my never-ending queries and doubts. I would like to thank the staff of the JNU central library. I am also thankful to my senior Malay Kumar Pramanik, Sheerendra Singh and my classmate Prafullit Bisht, who spared their valuable time and offered cooperation. I would like to thank my friends Shalini, Himanshu, Phanchal, Deepak, Hari Om, Surendra and Vishal and specially my mama (Dr. Sunil Kumar Gupta) and my Brother (Amit Gupta) for many supporting reasons, which of course cannot be listed and all those who have helped me indirectly in completing my work.

I shall never be able to thank my father and mother enough, for their unconditional support in my hardships of my life. I will be failing in my duties if I do not mention my family for their consent support, guidance and their encouragement.

I alone owe the responsibility of any shortcomings or mistakes solely lie with me.

Date: 18/07/2018

PRIYANKA GUPTA

Place: New Delhi

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| List of Tables..... | v |
| List of Figures..... | vi |
| Abbreviations..... | vii |
| Chronology..... | ix |
| Chapter I: Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.1 Background..... | 2 |
| 1.1.1 Treaty of Sevres (1920)..... | 2 |
| 1.1.2 Treaty of Lausanne (1923)..... | 2 |
| 1.1.3 From 25 th September 2017 till now..... | 4 |
| 1.2 Literature Review..... | 4 |
| 1.2.1 Politics Over Kurdish Identity..... | 5 |
| 1.2.2 Secessionist Movements: Struggle for Sovereignty..... | 6 |
| 1.2.3 Geopolitical Analysis of Kurdistan in International Politics..... | 9 |
| 1.3 Definition, Rationale and Scope..... | 11 |
| 1.4 Research Questions..... | 13 |
| 1.5 Hypothesis..... | 13 |
| 1.6 Research Methodology..... | 13 |
| 1.7 Chapter Scheme..... | 14 |
| Chapter II: Geopolitics of Secessionist Movements: Theoretical Analysis..... | 16 |
| 2.1 Geopolitics..... | 16 |
| 2.1.1 Sea Power Concept..... | 18 |
| 2.1.2 Heartland Theory..... | 20 |
| 2.1.3 The Rimland..... | 22 |
| 2.1.4 Lebensraum..... | 24 |
| 2.2 Forms of Geopolitics..... | 25 |
| 2.3 Secessionist Movements..... | 27 |
| 2.4 Examining the Secessionist Movements in Middle East: | |
| From theories to reality..... | 28 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 2.5 Contesting Theories Between Geography and Politics | 29 |
| Chapter III: Who are the Kurds? representing Kurdish Identity Politics..... | 30 |
| 3.1 Land and People | 30 |
| 3.1.1 Geography | 30 |
| 3.1.2 Climate | 32 |
| 3.1.3 Population..... | 33 |
| 3.1.4 Economy..... | 34 |
| 3.2 Heartland of the Middle East..... | 35 |
| 3.3 Kurdish Identity Politics..... | 37 |
| 3.3.1 Basic Right and Responsibilities | 38 |
| 3.3.2 Identity Politics..... | 40 |
| 3.3.2.1 Approaches to Identity Politics | 41 |
| 3.3.2.1.1 Neo-Marxist Approach..... | 41 |
| 3.3.2.1.2 Neo Social Movement Approach | 42 |
| 3.3.2.1.3 Social Constructivism, Postmodernism and Post-structuralism..... | 43 |
| 3.4 Historical background of the Kurdish Regions | 44 |
| 3.4.1 Turkey..... | 44 |
| 3.4.2 Iran..... | 46 |
| 3.4.3 Iraq..... | 48 |
| 3.4.4 Syria..... | 50 |
| Chapter IV: Secessionist Movements: Struggle for Sovereignty | 52 |
| 4.1 Secession and Secessionist Movements..... | 53 |
| 4.1.1 Secession | 54 |
| 4.1.2 Justified Secession..... | 55 |
| 4.1.3 Theoretical Analysis of Secession..... | 56 |
| 4.1.4 State Making Through Secession | 58 |
| 4.1.5 Globalization of Secessionist Movements..... | 59 |
| 4.1.6 Secession and International Law | 62 |
| 4.2 Kurds Secession from 1920 to till now | 64 |
| 4.3 Elements lead to Secession..... | 65 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 4.3.1 Restrictions on the use of Kurdish Language..... | 66 |
| 4.3.2 Kurdish Self-determination in International Law..... | 68 |
| 4.4 Overlapping Sovereignty and Self-determination in the Case of Iraqi Kurdistan..... | 69 |
| Chapter V: Geopolitical Analysis of Kurdistan in International Politics | 72 |
| 5.1 Geopolitics..... | 73 |
| 5.2 Kurdish Political Parties in Turkey..... | 74 |
| 5.2.1 HEP (People’s Labor Party). | 76 |
| 5.2.2 DEP (Democracy Party). | 76 |
| 5.2.3 HADEP (People’s Democracy Party). | 77 |
| 5.2.4 DEHAP (Democratic People’s Party). | 77 |
| 5.2.5 DTP (Democratic Society Party)..... | 78 |
| 5.2.6 BDP (Peace and Democracy Party)..... | 79 |
| 5.2.7 HDP (People’s Democratic Party)..... | 79 |
| 5.2.8 HUDA-PAR (Free Cause Party). | 80 |
| 5.3 Kurdish Political Parties in Iran..... | 80 |
| 5.3.1 The Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Iran (PDKI). | 80 |
| 5.3.2 Komala. | 81 |
| 5.3.3 The Free Life Party of Kurdistan (PJAK). | 82 |
| 5.4 Kurdish Political Parties in Syria | 83 |
| 5.4.1 The Kurdistan Democratic Party in Syria (KDPS)..... | 83 |
| 5.4.2 The Democratic Union Party (PYD). | 83 |
| 5.4.3 The Kurdish National Council (KNC). | 84 |
| 5.5 Kurdish Political Parties in Iraq..... | 84 |
| 5.5.1 The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). | 84 |
| 5.5.2 The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)..... | 85 |
| 5.5.3 The Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party (KDSP)..... | 85 |
| 5.5.4 The Kurdistan Islamic Union (KIU)..... | 86 |
| 5.6 Kurdish Refugees in the Middle East | 86 |
| 5.7 Geopolitical Importance of Kurdish Demands | 87 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 5.8 Geopolitical Analysis of Kurdistan in International Politics | 89 |
| 5.9 US Alliance | 89 |
| Chapter VI: Conclusion | 91 |
| Bibliography..... | 97 |

LIST OF TABLES

| Sr. No. | Descriptions | Page No. |
|----------------|---|-----------------|
| 2.1 | Types of Geopolitics Studied by Critical geopolitics | 26 |
| 4.1 | Events and policies that affected the Use of Kurdish Language | 66 |
| 5.1 | Kurdish Political Parties in Turkey | 74 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Sr. No. | Descriptions | Page No. |
|---------|---|----------|
| 1.1 | Kurdish Inhabited Areas | 12 |
| 2.1 | Chokepoints of Global World | 19 |
| 2.2 | Sea Lines of Communication, Pacific Theatre (Western Hemisphere) | 20 |
| 2.3 | The Geographical Pivot of History | 21 |
| 2.4 | Mackinder's Pivot of 1904 and Mackinder's Heartland of 1919 | 22 |
| 2.5 | Spykman's Rimland | 23 |
| 2.6 | Spykman's Rimland with Containment Policy | 23 |
| 3.1 | Major Kurdish Settlement Areas | 33 |
| 4.1 | Five Major Secessionist Movements | 59 |
| 5.1 | Annual Number of Independence Movements | 87 |

Abbreviations

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| BBC | : | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| PKK | : | Kurdistan Workers Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê) |
| YPG | : | People's Protection Units (Yekîneyên Parastina Gel) |
| PYD | : | Democratic Union Party (Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat) |
| KRG | : | Kurdish Regional Government |
| USSR | : | United States of Soviet Russia |
| US | : | United States of America |
| KDP | : | Kurdistan Democratic Party |
| KNC | : | Kurdish National Congress |
| KRI | : | Kurdish Region in Iraq |
| KM | : | Kilometer |
| UNPO | : | Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organizations |
| NSM | : | New Social Movement Theory |
| KDPT | : | Kurdistan Democratic Party in Iran |
| PJAK | : | Kurdistan Free Life Party |
| PUK | : | Patriotic Union of Kurdistan |
| UPI | : | United Press International |
| CIDIR | : | Consortium on International Disputes Resolution on International Disputes |
| UN | : | United Nations |
| ICCPR | : | International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights |
| YTP | : | New Turkey Party |
| TIC | : | Turkish Workers Party |

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| PDKT | : | Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Turkey |
| HEP | : | People's Labor Party |
| DEP | : | Democratic Party |
| HADEP | : | People's Democratic Party |
| DEHAP | : | Democratic People's Party |
| DTP | : | Democratic Society Party |
| BDP | : | Peace and Democracy Party |
| HDP | : | People's Democratic Party |
| HUDA-PAR | : | Free Cause Party |
| OZDEP | : | Freedom and Democracy Party |
| OZEP | : | Freedom and Equality Party |
| CSCE | : | Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe |
| RP | : | Welfare Party |
| FP | : | Virtue Party |
| DTH | : | Democratic Society Party |
| PDKI | : | Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Iran |
| KDSP | : | Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party |
| KCK | : | Kurdistan Communities Union |
| KIU | : | Kurdistan Islamic Union |

Chronology

| Sr. No. | Descriptions |
|-----------|---|
| 1514 | : Battle of Chaldiran establishes Ottoman-Persian empires' frontier in Kurdistan. |
| 1543–1603 | : Sharaf Khan Bitlisi is the author of the Kurdish history <i>Sharafnama</i> . |
| 1695 | : Ahmad-i Khani (1650–1706) writes <i>Mem u Zin</i> , the Kurdish national epic. |
| 1811 | : Maulana Khalid begins to establish Naqshbandi Sufi order in what is now Iraqi Kurdistan. |
| 1847 | : Badr Khan Beg, ruler of last semi-independent Kurdish emirate, surrenders to Ottomans. |
| 1914–18 | : Kurds support Ottomans in World War I. |
| 1916 | : Sykes-Picot Agreement divides Middle East and thus Kurdistan. |
| 1919–22 | : Ismail Agha Simko leads large revolts in Persia. Kurds support Turkish War of Independence. |
| 1920 | : Stillborn Treaty of Sevres provides for possible Kurdish independence. |
| 1920s | : Red Kurdistan (Lachin) established in the Soviet Union. |
| 1925 | : Turkey crushes Sheikh Said's rebellion. "Mountain Turks" (Kurds) repressed. |
| 1927 | : October: Khoybun is established as a pan-Kurdish party. |

Contd.....

-
- 1930** : Turkey crushes Kurdish rebellion in Ararat area. Mulla Mustafa Barzani (1903–1979) begins to emerge in Iraq as preeminent Agha Simko is assassinated by Iran. leader of the 20th century.
July: Iranian Kurdish leader Ismail
- 1936** : Saadabad Pact seeks to control Kurds.
- 1936–38** : Turkey crushes Kurdish rebellion in Dersim (Tunceli).
- 1938** : Words to *Ey Raqip*, the Kurdish national anthem, written.
- 1944 August** : Three borders meeting of Kurdish leaders at Mt. Dalanpur.
- 1946** : Mahabad Republic of Kurdistan exists in Iran. *Nishtiman* (Motherland) published. 16 August: (Iraqi) Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) is formed.
- 1955** : Baghdad Pact is created, in part to control the Kurds.
- 1961** : September: Fighting begins between Barzani-led Iraqi Kurds and Iraqi government. Mid-1960s Fighting occurs between Barzani and KDP Politburo.
- 1970** : March Manifesto in Iraq theoretically promises Kurdish autonomy.
- 1974** : Renewed fighting occurs between Iraqi Kurds and Iraqi government.
- 1975 March** : Algiers Agreement between Iraq and Iran ends Iranian support for Iraqi Kurds. Final defeat of Mulla Mustafa Barzani occurs.
His Son. Massoud Barzani, eventually emerges as his successor.
- 1975 1 June** : Jalal Talabani creates (Iraqi) Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK).
-

Contd.....

-
- 1978, 27, Nov :** Abdullah (Apo) Ocalan creates Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey.
- 1980–88 :** Iran-Iraq War involves the Kurds in both states.
- 1982 Nov :** Current Turkish constitution contains many provisions repressing the Kurds.
- 1984, 15, Aug :** PKK insurgency begins in Turkey.
- 1985 March :** PKK establishes Kurdistan National Liberation Front (ERNK). April: Village guards created in Turkey.
- 1986 October :** PKK establishes Kurdistan Peoples Liberation Army (ARGK) in Turkey.
- 1987–88 :** Saddam Hussein’s genocidal *Anfal* campaigns against Iraqi Kurds.
- 1988, 16, Mar :** Iraq launches chemical attack against Halabja. May: Iraqi Kurdistan Front is created.
- 1990 June :** Peoples Labor Party (HEP) is created in Turkey as legal Kurdish party.
- 1991 :** Gulf War, Iraqi Kurdish uprising, and mass Kurdish refugee flight. United States creates Operation Provide Comfort, safe haven, and no-fly zone, resulting in de facto Kurdish state in northern Iraq. UN Security Council Resolution 688 condemns Iraqi repression of Iraqi Kurds. Antiterrorism law (Turkey) makes peaceful advocacy of Kurdish rights a crime. November: Suleyman Demirel becomes Turkish prime minister and recognizes the “Kurdish reality.”
- 1992, 19, May :** Elections are held in Iraqi Kurdistan. June–July: Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) is created in Iraqi Kurdistan. 4 October: Turkey, KDP, and PUK begin fight against PKK in Iraqi Kurdistan. KRG parliament declares Iraqi Kurdistan a
-

-
- constituent state in a federal Iraq. 17 September: Iranian Kurdish leader Sadegh Sharafkandi is assassinated at the Mykonos restaurant in Berlin by Iranian agents. 27 October: The opposition Iraqi National Congress (INC) is formed.
- 1993 Mar–May:** PKK implements unilateral cease-fire in Turkey. 17 April: Turkish president Turgut Ozal suddenly dies in office. May: Suleyman Demirel becomes president of Turkey. June: Peoples Labor Party (HEP) is banned in Turkey. Democracy Party (DEP) succeeds it. December: Fighting occurs between PUK and Islamists in Iraqi Kurdistan.
- 1994 March :** DEP is banned and Leyla Zana is imprisoned. Peoples Democracy Party (HADEP) takes its place in Turkey.
- 1994–98 :** KDP-PUK civil war occurs in Iraqi Kurdistan.
- 1995 March :** INC fails in coup attempt in Iraq after U.S. Central Intelligence Agency withdraws its support. 12 April: Kurdistan Parliament in Exile is created in Europe. 14 April: UN Security Council Resolution 986 establishes oil-for-food program that allows Iraq to sell limited amount of oil. Iraqi Kurds eventually begin to receive 13 percent of the funds. May: MED-TV begins to broadcast to the MiddleEast. August: PKK attacks KDP in Iraqi Kurdistan.
- 1996 31 Aug :** Saddam Hussein’s troops enter Iraqi Kurdistan to help KDP fight against PUK and execute INC agents they capture.
- 1997 1 Jan :** Operation Northern Watch succeeds Operation Provide Comfort in enforcing no-fly zone over Iraqi Kurdistan.
- 1998 20 Feb :** UN Security Council Resolution 1153 increases amount of oil Iraq is allowed to sell. 17 September: Washington Accord ends KDP-PUK civil war. October: Syria expels Ocalan, who unsuccessfully seeks asylum in Europe.
-

-
- 1999 16 Feb** : Turkey captures Ocalan in Kenya and returns him to Turkey. Ocalan calls for democracy in Turkey and an end to armed struggle. May: Kurdistan National Congress (KNC/KNK) succeeds Kurdistan Parliament in Exile. 29 June: Turkey sentences Ocalan to death for treason. July: MEDYA-TV begins to broadcast as successor to MED-TV. September: Ocalan renews call for PKK to end its armed struggle and also calls for PKK to evacuate its fighters from Turkey. December: Ocalan's death sentence is put on hold.
- 2000 Sept-Dec:** PUK fights against PKK in Iraqi Kurdistan.
- 2001, 18, Feb** : Francis Hariri, a leading Christian member of KDP, is assassinated in Iraqi Kurdistan by Islamic extremists. September: Heavy fighting occurs between PUK and Jund al-Islam.
- 2002 Feb** : PKK renames itself Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress (KADEK) and then Kongra-Gel but eventually returns to the name PKK. August: Turkish parliament passes reform legislation abolishing the death penalty and supposedly providing for Kurdish education and broadcasting to meet European Union (EU) standards for admission. October: Ocalan's death sentence is commuted to life imprisonment. Reunified KRG parliament meets and reaffirms a federal status for Iraqi Kurdistan in a post-Saddam Hussein Iraq. 3 November: AK Party, with its roots in Islamic politics, wins tremendous electoral victory in Turkey. Recep Tayyip Erdogan eventually becomes new Turkish prime minister. December: Turkey ends Emergency Rule in last two provinces still having it. 14-17 December: Major Iraqi opposition conference held in London amid U.S. threats to invade Iraq and declares post-Saddam Hussein Iraq will be a democratic, parliamentary, and federal state.
-

Contd.....

-
- 2003, 1, March:** Turkish parliament decides not to support U.S. invasion of Iraq, thus allowing Iraqi Kurds to become the main U.S. ally on the northern front. Pro-Kurdish HADEP Party banned in Turkey. 19 March: United States attacks and quickly defeats Iraq. Iraqi Kurds attack from the north and occupy Kirkuk and Mosul. 9 April: Saddam Hussein overthrown. U.S. general Jay Garner, friend of the Kurds, appointed proconsul of Iraq but quickly removed in favor of Paul Bremer, who disbands Iraqi army and abolishes Baath Party. Virulent sectarian insurgency soon begins, but KRG region is not involved. Interim Governing Council of 25 appointed, including Massoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani. 13 December: Saddam Hussein captured. ROJ-TV succeeds MEDYA-TV.
- 2004 Feb :** Unofficial referendum in KRG votes almost unanimously for independence. 8 March: Transitional Administrative Law (TAL) promulgated in Iraq; it recognizes federalism for Kurds and gives them in effect a veto over the future permanent constitution of Iraq. 24 March: Kurdistan Free Life Party (PJAK) of Iran holds its first congress. 28 March: Osman Baydemir elected mayor of Diyarbakir, Turkey. June: PKK begins low-level fighting.
- 2005 30 Jan :** Iraqi national elections. Kurdistan List of KDP and PUK win 27 percent of the vote and come in second to the (Shiite) United Iraqi Alliance (UIA), with whom they eventually join in an interim coalitional government. Another unofficial referendum in the KRG region again almost unanimously calls for independence. 6 April: Jalal Talabani becomes interim president of Iraq, the first non-Arab president of an Arab majority state. 12 June: Massoud Barzani elected president of

Contd.....

the KRG by the Kurdish parliament. 14 June: Abdullah Demirbas, mayor of Sur municipality of Diyarbakir, Turkey, dismissed after attempting to offer multilingual services including Kurdish to its citizens, 72 percent of whom spoke Kurdish as their first language. 11 August: Abdul al-Hakim, the leader of the Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council (SIIC), proposes super-Shiite federal region in southern Iraq. 25 August: Turkish prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan declares Turkey has “Kurdish problem,” has made “grave mistakes,” and needs “more democracy to solve the problem.” 3 October: Turkey begins EU accession talks. 15 October: Permanent Iraqi constitution approved with federalism and Article 140 on Kirkuk referendum for the Kurds. November: Democratic Society Party (DTP) established in Turkey. 15 December: First Iraqi national election under the new permanent constitution. Kurdistan List (KDP/PUK) wins 53 of 275 seats, second to the United Iraqi Alliance of Shiites.

2006 17 Mar :

Riot in Halabja protesting KRG corruption. 22 April: Jalal Talabani chosen permanent president and Barham Salih deputy prime minister of Iraq. 7 May: Two separate KRG administrations unified except for four ministries. Nechirvan Idris Barzani chosen prime minister of unified KRG. 20 May: Nouri al-Maliki chosen first permanent prime minister of post-Saddam Hussein Iraq with Kurdish support. 6 Dec: Nawshirwan Mustafa resigns from the PUK and eventually heads new Change (*Gorran*) List. Baker-Hamilton (Iraq Study Group) Report calls for Iraqi Kurdish concessions, but they are not implemented.

2007, 22, July :

DTP enters Turkish parliament as first pro-Kurdish party since DEP expelled in March 1994. AK Party slightly outpolls DTP

Contd.....

in southeast Turkey. December: Turkey bombs PKK positions in northern Iraq. 2008 February: Turkish military incursion into northern Iraq against the PKK. August: Peshmerga almost comes to blows with Iraqi military over Khanaqin.

- 2009, 1, Jan** : Turkish TRT-6 begins broadcasting 24/7 in Kurdish. 31 January: Provincial elections throughout Iraq except in KRG and Kirkuk. Nouri al-Maliki's party wins major victories and gains support for strong central Iraqi government, while Abdul al-Hakim's SIIC falters. 29 March: DTP wins numerous provincial elections in Turkey, thus fighting off AK Party challenge. Osman Baydemir reelected mayor of Diyarbakir. April: UN report recommends Article 140 not be implemented and Kirkuk not become part of KRG. May: Turkish president Abdullah Gul declares Kurdish issue is his state's "most pressing" problem and Turkey now has a "historic opportunity" to solve it. June: KRG parliament approves constitution for KRG, but popular ratification vote later called off. 25 July: KRG elections. Massoud Barzani reelected president with but almost 70 percent of the popular vote. Kurdistani List of KDP/PUK wins 57 percent, PUK falters as new Change (*Gorran*) List of Nawshirwan Mustafa garners 24 percent. August: Kurdish Opening (Democratic Initiative) broached by Turkey's ruling AK Party. Barham Salih tapped to be new KRG prime minister. 11 December: Turkish Constitutional Court bans the DTP. Riots occur in Turkey as Kurdish Opening falters.
- 2010, 4, Mar** : Belgian police raid ROJ-TV offices and arrest several workers; further raids occur in France and Italy against suspected PKK supporters, but all are soon released.

Chapter-I

Introduction

Geopolitics is the term which includes two disciplines in one word, such as geography and politics. The main focus of geopolitics works with the political views on the basis of geographical concentration. Where in this paper we have included the geopolitics in relation to secessionist movements in the area of Middle East which is inhabited by the Kurds community. Where secessionist movements did held against the government of the related state. In a way secessionist movement identifies the tensions between public and government. They are large in number and struggling for sovereignty and administrative autonomy through the activism and secessionist movements. So in this research we will find that how geopolitics of secessionist movements affects the Kurdish region and Middle Eastern governments and how these movements will get their aim.

“Kurd peoples are inhabited in the mountainous area which linked with the south east Turkey (15-20%), north east Syria (2-5%), north Iraq (15-20%), north west Iran (5-10%) and south west Armenia (1.1%); The total population of the Kurd’s are 25 to 35 million in all the five countries but the majority of the Kurd people living in the Turkey and Iraq and the minority of the Kurds living in the Armenia; This Kurdish community is the fourth largest ethnic group of west Asia, but they have not get any separate state yet” (BBC 2017). In the Kurdistan the majority of the Sunni Muslims are living there. In the early 20th century they are thinking for a separate nation-state which they called homeland – Kurdistan. After the World War I the victorious allies have made a treaty for a separate Kurdish state for the Kurds people in 1920, with the announcement in the ‘Treaty of Sevres’ but after some years in 1923 with the negotiations with ottomans and western allies they deny their 1920 Treaty of Sevres and made a new amendment into it with the cancellation of the demand of Kurdistan through the 1923 ‘Treaty of Lausanne’. After that the Kurds led to secessionist movements for the demand of their legal Autonomy.

1.1 Background

Geopolitics is the term which is used by Rudolf Kjellan in late 19th century. In geopolitics, geography comes before politics and the main focus of this term is geography. Many authors have given their focus on the territory and the core area, in this case we have seen many disputes and conflicts which are only led for territorial expansion and territorial claims. Where many secession and agreements held for geographical space and autonomy, people always demands for their own private and separate state. Kurdish community is the world's largest ethnic community in the Middle Eastern areas inhabited in five different areas of the Middle East. The major population of the Kurdish people is living in Turkey after that in Iraq and then in Iran and lastly in Syria and the minor population lives in Armenia. This community is demanding for their autonomy from the last 90 years but till now they have not gets any assistance regarding their sovereignty that is why some people of the community have become aggressive and led for secession. This is right or wrong, we will discuss in this paper? "British introduction of the concept of private property, the partition of Kurdish regions settlement by modern neighboring states and the influence of British and US and Soviet interests in the Persian Gulf region" (Britannica 2017). These aspects result the secession and aggression of the Kurds people by the behavior of the western and major Middle Eastern allies who are not concentrating on their issues of demarcation as a separate state. After these arenas there were two treaties were signed – Treaty of Sevres (1920) & Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

1.1.1 Treaty of Sevres (1920)

"After the World War I and when the defeat of the Ottoman Empire the victorious western allies have made provision for a Kurdish state" (BBC 2017). After the declaration, that Kurdistan will make by the Middle Eastern countries, through the western allies' approval or the provision which was never ratified.

1.1.2 Treaty of Lausanne (1923)

"It replaced the Treaty of Sevres such hopes were dashed because as per the new treaty the boundaries of modern Turkey made no provision for a Kurdish state and left Kurds with minority status in their respective countries" (BBC 2017). "Thus, the opportunity to unify the Kurds in a nation of their own was lost Kurdistan after the

war was more fragmented than before and various separatist movements arose Kurdish groups” (Britannica 2017). “Over the next 80 years any move by Kurds to set up an independent state was brutally quashed” (BBC 2017). In the current scenario they want a state where they will have to freedom to wear their traditional dresses or to freedom of culture and language to speak. Here we are summarizing the major countries of the Middle East where Kurdish people’s lives in major population.

In between turkey and the people of Kurds who are living in turkey’s part, they both are anger to opposition and they will never want to unite in a manner. For generations, Kurds have received unsympathetic treatment from the Turkey’s government, State calls them mountain Turks and not consider them as Kurds, Kurdish language is banned and they are not allowed to wear their traditional dresses; “Abdullah Ocalan, In 1978 have established the PKK, which called for an independent state within turkey; In 1984, the group began an armed struggle for their autonomy. Since then, more than 40k people have been killed and hundreds of thousands displaced; In 1990s, PKK rolled back on its demand for independence calling instead for greater cultural and political autonomy but continued to fight; In 2012, the government and PKK began peace talks and the following year a ceasefire was agreed, although clashes continued” (BBC 2017).

“In 2015, ceasefire collapsed due to a suicide bombing blamed on IS killed 33 young activists in the mainly Kurdish town of Suruc; The PKK responded by attacking Turkish soldiers and police; The Turkish government launched what it called a ‘Synchronized War on Terror’ against the PKK and IS; In 2016, a suicide bomb in Ankara left dozen dead and the government has said that the attack was conducted by groups called YPG and PYD which as per the government are affiliates of PKK” (BBC 2017). “Syria’s Kurds have long been suppressed and denied basic rights, some 300,000 have been denied citizenship since the 1960s Kurdish land has been confiscated and redistributed to Arabs in an attempt to ‘Arabize’ Kurdish regions; The state has also sought to limit Kurdish demands for greater autonomy by cracking down on protests and arresting political leaders; Before the uprising against president Bashar-al-Assad began in 2011 they used to live in the cities of Damascus and Aleppo and in three non-contiguous areas around Kobane the north-western town of Afrin and the north-eastern city of Qamishli; The Kurdish enclaves were relatively unscathed by the first two years of the Syria conflict. The main Kurdish parties

publicly avoided taking sides in Mid 2012 government forces withdrew to concentrate on fighting the rebels elsewhere after which Kurdish groups took control; In Jan 2014, various dispersed Kurdish political groups got united to declare the creation of a democratic autonomous government with branches based in the three Kurdish areas” (BBC 2017). “They are not seeking independence from Syria but they want a ‘local democratic administration’ within a federal framework; This united political group insists that any political settlement to end the conflict in Syria will have to include legal guarantees for Kurdish rights and recognition of Kurdish autonomy” (BBC 2017). Into Iran the Kurds people suppressed by the Shia Muslim’s of Iran as a religious and cultural harassment for not giving any religious freedom in the country. Into Iraq they are living as a second largest area where Kurds are situated after the Turkey. In this country they get their human right firstly and brutally squashed also in this country after the years when Kurds demands for separate state till now when they are demanding for an administrative autonomy. In this research we will discuss this part as detailed description with the relevant examples.

1.1.3 From 25 September 2017 till now

Almost 93% of those peoples, who took part in the Middle East referendum in the support for Kurdish independence from Iraq, have voted to fragmented from Baghdad, officials have said. The results 25 sept 2017, where Monday’s vote was announced on 27 sept 2017 Wednesday evening by election officials in Irbil, the semi-autonomous Kurdish Regional Government (KRG)’s capital. A total of 92.3% said ‘yes’ in response to the question - ‘Do you want the Kurdistan region and the Kurdistan areas outside the administration of the region to become an independent state? Head of the electoral commissioner Hendrin Mohammed told reporter. Turn out had been high, with approximately 72% of the 8.4 million strong population taking part. The vote was met with enthusiasm by the Kurdish Diaspora all over the world.

1.2 Literature Review

Here we will discuss about the research with three themes which would investigate the research of the study. Each theme has its own importance and relevance to transcend the scope of the study.

1.2.1 Identity and Politics of Kurds

In recent past, the people of the Kurdistan were very innocent but the Turkish and Iraqi government had forced and suppressed those peoples brutally and ignored their basic requirements as a person of the state. These governments were always rejected their demands of the sovereignty, freedom of culture, ethnic language and traditional dresses. That is why after some years later they will become anger to the government and wants their state by hook or by crook. “Many Kurdish tribes either supported the Turkish government or were at least neutral in these rebellions the Turkish authorities decided to eliminate anything that might suggest a separate Kurdish nation” (Gunter 2010). We can say that because of the government’s negative and brutal attitude for the Kurdish people they are going to led rebellion or war and demanding for their autonomy through the secession with their regional groups.

“The majority of the Kurdish leaders naturally welcomed reinstatement and willingly accepted an arrangement that gave them the benefit of Ottoman recognition and confirmation of their relatively independent status” (McDowall 2004). After the World War I, when the Ottoman empire defeated and Western allies have win this war, into this war when the territories of the middle east countries were not defined then the Kurdish people have helped into war of western allies, that is why after the end of the war western allies has made provision for the Kurds people to made a separate state as ‘Kurdistan’ with the ‘Treaty of Sevres’ in 1920 but after three years later it was changed as the ‘Treaty of Lausanne’ into which, only the five countries of middle east were divided and Kurdistan still not get any assistance with the government. We can say that after the long 80 years struggle if a community did not get any assistance then the only way remaining to get that, to get that as a legal jurisprudence with all parts of the middle east where Kurdish communities lives in different bordering parts of the mainly Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and lesser in Armenia.

For Kurds we can say that they are those people who are large in number without any state. “Whereas a quarter century ago the Kurds state-less status seemed inescapable, increasingly its looks as if the Kurds might be on the verge of achieving their dream of independence – ‘I do not know whether it happens next year or when, but independence is certainly coming’, Masoud Barzani, president of the Kurdistan Regional Government (Iraq) declared during a visit to Washington, DC, in May 2015”

(Rubin 2016). It was as the first time that any Kurdish group of the country has got the political validity in some sense of the international political behavior. Kurdish is the one of the oldest nation of the Middle East countries. “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 invasion 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” (Meho 1997).

“While the concept of the Kurds as a ‘people divided’ would really take shape in the modern period, the situation surrounding its emergence has indeed colored Kurdish history from the sixteenth century, and particularly since the nineteenth century” (Taucher, Vogl and Webinger 2015). “Outsiders have pointed to the ‘fickle’ or the ‘wishy- washy’ behaviors of Kurdish leaders who have negotiated with rivals or enemy states, and even Kurdish nationalists have abhorred this lack of unity and the role that Kurdish leaders have played in achieving said lack of unity” (Taucher, Vogl and Webinger 2015). “The following decades were characterized by continuous revolts against Qasim 1961-63 and later the Ba’thists whose Arabization campaign of Kirkuk aimed at repopulating Kurdish inhabitants of the city and make it predominantly Arab; After their second coup in 1968 and continued fighting against the Kurds, the Ba’thist regime and the Kurdish leaders signed an autonomy accord in March 1970, which was never enforced, but replaced by the unilaterally implemented, far less charitable autonomy law in 1974, war in which KDP received support from the US and Iran, was ended abruptly one year later, when Iran and Iraq signed the Algiers Accord in 1975, leading to the defeat of the Kurds and a wave of Kurdish refugees streaming into Iran” (Jungbluth 2015).

1.2.2 Secessionist Movements: Struggle for Sovereignty

In the modern international system status or the validity and limit of the state defined by its borders where Kurds were feeling neglected from the international system or the international politics, as we can say that, it could be one reason of

secession in long way going from the 80 years for the demand of their autonomy as 'Kurdistan'. "The present (1982) constitution contained a number of specific provisions that sought to limit even speaking or writing in Kurdish; Its preamble, for example, declared: 'The determination that no protection shall be afforded to thoughts or opinions contrary to Turkish national interests, the principle of the existence of Turkey as an indivisible entity'; Two articles banned the spoken and written usage of the Kurdish language without specifically naming it" (Gunter 2010). Speaking and writing in a language which is the native language, if it will ban in a country then how the community which is related with that ethnicity, will survive in the surveillance of the other country's government without and religious or cultural freedom. "As it is generally understood, there is no right to secede in international law, as quoted 'secession is neither a right nor necessarily illegal'" (Borgen 2009). As he said that secession is not valid or also not invalid, in that sense if a people or community get tortured by the government or by the regime they will definitely going to secession for their legal or valid demands.

We can say about the Trump's banned for seven Muslim countries to entering into the US from that seven countries three are the middle eastern countries where the Kurdish people lives – Iran, Iraq, Syria. In that sense, we suppose that the secession or the terror behavior of the Middle Eastern countries have not approached to US government and it reflects a conflicting type of state behavior. "The secessionists dilemma- where the unstated rules for secession are failed or going backward" (Fazal & Chenoweth 2014). Secession for the Kurdish people is not a corresponding behavior for all the countries but they are trying to get help by their secession to overwhelming effect in the positively posit the government to make a separate state for the Kurdish people with cooperation in the policy making behavior. "The Syrian government has changed Kurdish place names to Arabic, banned shop signs in Kurmanji and prevented parents from registering their children with Kurdish names" (Lowe 2006). "The Kurds did not possess the nationalist vision, military strength or leaders to challenge those promoting their own nationalist agenda or the designs of imperial powers" (Stansfield, Lowe and Ahmadjadeh 2007). Kurdish people are those people who are the oldest community or ethnic group of middle eastern country, where they still not get any political or legal autonomy, in that sense we can say that they are the community who is imagined from the history to the present. The concept

of 'Imagined Community' first stresses by the Ronald Robertson. "The sense of imagined community and nation has been a particular problem of the Kurds, while semi-independent Kurdish emirates existed in the Ottoman and the Qajar empires, the mountainous topography of Kurdistan was responsible for the development of the society whose political fissures mirrored its landscape" (Stansfield, Lowe and Ahmadjadeh 2007).

"In the course of the events, the border between Syria's and Iraq's Kurdish areas became the arena for an intra-Kurdish power struggle between the PYD on the one, and the KNC and KDP on the other side, fearing that the PYD would extend its influence and its strength by assuming the control of aid distribution, the KDP temporarily closed crossings on its side of the border between late 2012 and mid-2013, barring the entry of supplies" (Broker 2016). The political involvement into the Kurdish jurisdiction by the regional government was happened bilingually to operate their sustainability with the cooperative government. But after some years the political involvement takes to referendum, where in sept 2017 it concluded nothing.

Here in this paper the research would be based on the current developmental practices of the all four major Kurdish areas of middle eastern countries, we will identify with the historical experiments to identify the origin of the secessionist movements that to be proved to describe the good behavior or the bad behavior with the nations of the other parts of the world. Kurdistan is basically takes to secession from the denial of the middle eastern countries to not give the legal jurisprudence or the validity for the Kurdistan as a separate state for the oldest community of the middle east, for the Kurdish people, who are from the history till the present survive as a prisoner in their own mountainous region, where they do neither have any political right nor have any social or cultural right. Then we could find that how people cooperate with this kind of authority for the long-lasting survival in the region with the Kurdish community. "Kurds have been excluded from the state ideology and also from individual social and economic advancement, unless they are prepared to become effectively Arabs in all but ethnic origin; This requires abandoning Kurmanji in favour of Arabic and accepting Arab cultural and political values and goals" (Lowe 2006). "In order to seal off Iraqi Kurdistan from the Turkish and Iranian parts of Kurdistan and thus prevent the infiltration of guerrilla fighters and supplies, a wide zone along the borders was declared forbidden territory; all villages in this zone were

destroyed, and their inhabitants deported to other parts of the country, ending up in resettlement camps” (Bruinessen 1999).

1.2.3 Geopolitical Analysis of Kurdistan in International Politics

Into this section we would identify the political relevance of the Kurdish people in the international politics or the international validity, that where they would exist in the environment of the politics. “In recent years the Kurdish problem has become increasingly important in middle eastern and even in international politics for two fundamental reasons – First, the wars against Saddam Hussein in 1991 and 2003 resulted in the creation of virtually independent Kurdistan regional government in a federal Iraq and Second, Turkey’s application for admission into the European Union also has brought the Kurdish issue to the attention of Europe” (Gunter 2010). In international relations the behavior of the state matters that what kind of the country will become the part of any regional organization for making cooperation with the organizational framework for the development of the related country, which would need assistance. “From the Kurdish perspective referendum was supposed to be the first step in a negotiation process with Baghdad, the idea was that appealing to international norms could sway the United States and other foreign powers to support independence and that in turn could help pressure Baghdad to consent to secession” (Fisher & Taub 2017). After the political establishment with the first Kurdish party the referendum has taken place into the international politics but the result of that referendum was not arising any solution of the problem, because the Iraq government has denied with the demands of the referendum and proves it invalid. “The official justification was that these Kurds were ‘alien infiltrators’ from Turkey who had recently crossed into Syria and hence had no entitlement citizenship” (Lowe 2006).

“Moreover, some of the most effective sections of the Iraqi military and security services are drawn from the Kurdish Peshmerga, recognizing the fact that – apart from the US military – the most potent military force operating in Iraq today is not pan-Iraqi, nor-Shi’i, nor tribal, it is Kurdish and the Kurds in Iraq have an unprecedented opportunity to determine their own future” (Stansfield, Lowe and Ahmadjadeh 2007). “The great change has not been in Kurdish political demands, but rather in the way Kurds view themselves at a mass level, this now has very real policy implications, this transformation has not been caused by any secret strategies of secessionist-minded leaders, but through the establishment and survival of an

autonomous political Kurdish entity in Iraq, by globalization and its local impacts on Kurdish nationalism, and – of equal importance – by the inability of the established states to accommodate this rise in national feeling” (Stansfield , Lowe and Ahmadjadeh 2007).

“One of the reasons why is American reliance on ‘the Kurds’ to fight the Islamic state in Syria, which has caught American policymakers in the confusing, contradictory and often surreal world of the Kurdish politics and the politics of Kurds in the region, part of the problem is the way in which Washington thinks about Kurds, who they are and what they want” (Cook 2016). Politically the KRI and the president Barzani would be weakened by backing down and remaining in Iraq, particularly after so much emphasis has been placed on holding the referendum; economically, Kurdish leaders in KRG feel that independence would allow them to export more oil, more consistently, and at non-discounted levels; regionally, the Kurds, and particularly Barzani’s KDP, would prefer to strengthen their ties with Turkey and other states, including western states and Russia, than with Iraq; and security-wise it would be foolhardy to consider that the threat of Sunni insurgencies in Iraq has ended, or the threat of Shia military authoritarianism will disappear (Stansfield 2017). In 1988 the Kurds were granted an autonomous region, but it was not considered truly autonomous until 1991 when the international community led by the US established a no-fly zone to protect Kurds from Saddam Hussein’s retribution following the US supported Kurdish uprising at the end of the Gulf war (Jean 2006). The civil war between the Kurds is the weakening to the Kurdish community for the autonomy that which corresponding with the trajectories with the government. Between this the Kurd’s people who they are not involved in war or any rebellion they were supported by the United States for the peaceful existence in the disputed area where they lived. Into this part of the study we would identify the correlations between the historical legitimacy of the Kurdistan and about the political integrity with the people and with the government also.

It could be probably the disputed type of study and it could also be not a full accurate study with the secondary data when the people are always supporting the secession, most of the Kurdish which they lived in the country. Societal development would be developed by the political legitimacy and through the freedom of existence on their own demands, with the governmental assistance to prevail the integrity of the

corresponding authority which would sustain the power of the related autonomous country. Kurdistan is a region where a community lived from backed 80 years in demand with the sovereignty or the administrative autonomy. “The modern international system is built, in part, on two ideas that turned out to be in tension: Borders are sacrosanct and people determine their own political status; The former was meant to put an end to war by discouraging invasion or separatist rebellion; The latter was meant to protect citizens from dictators or occupiers; But when a subset of a population decides to break off, those two principles collide” (Fisher and Taub 2017).

1.3 Definition, Rationale and Scope

Geopolitical analysis connects with the geopolitics; here we are defining this as a concept of Geopolitics defined as a branch of geography that promises to explain the relationships between geographical realities and international affairs. Geopolitics is the study of geographical and political analysis between them with the help of one another, to formulate their foreign policy to maintain relations with the neighboring countries. The term ‘Geopolitics’ first coined by the political scientist ‘Rudolf K Jellen’ he describes “geopolitics is the theory of the state as a geographical organism or phenomenon in space” (Cohen 2003). “Geopolitics is the new national science of the state a doctrine on the spatial determinism of all political processes based on broad foundations of geography especially of political geography” (Cohen 2003). Into these definitions we find the detailed information about basic term of the study, it also reflects in some sense that how geopolitics becomes the geopolitical interest into the international relations.

International politics impacts on the countries relations and their political behavior in the aspect of the foreign policies of the countries. Here, Kurd peoples are the major factor contributing to the secessionist movements in the middle-east countries and effect the political behavior of the Middle East especially the Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Iran and Armenia. But in this movement the government of the country is not addressing the issues and demands of the Kurd peoples that are why they are opposing the government and neglecting the government into Kurdistan. Kurds are demanding for their administrative and religious autonomy to survive freely in their region of the middle-east but government is not recognizing their problems and demands and also it suppress the Kurds to be a Turkey’s people.

Fig. 1.1: Kurdish Inhabited Areas

Source: Central Intelligence Agency; BBC News

After the World War I the western allies support to make a homeland for Kurds as a region ‘Kurdistan’ but the failed Ottoman Empire has not addressed that idea of the state making for the Kurdish Peoples. National and international movements were always leads to conclusion but the secessionist movements of the Kurdistan are always arisen in a new way of the problem in the middle-east. It is a very large movement, approximately 80 years old issue of the Kurdistan, but still it is hanging into the dilemma that what would be the solution with the peace talks with the Middle Eastern governments. Secessionist movements in the middle east is the major problem from the 1920s that is why we want to find the solution through this study, which would be beneficial for the middle-east and the other neighboring countries. The major population of the Kurds are living in the Turkey and the Iraq, where Kurds did not get any assistance to follow their culture, religion and dressing style, infect they are forced to follow the Turkish language, culture and dressing style, Otherwise the Turkish government will punish them. For the survival they have to adopt the Turkish culture but on the other side some Kurdish peoples are opposing the government and demanding for the separate state or autonomy. “In recent, in Sept. 2017 a referendum on independence was held in both the Kurdistan region and the disputed areas seized by the Peshmerga in 2014, including Kirkuk, the vote was opposed by the Iraqi central government, which insisted it was illegal, more than 90%

of the 3.3 million people who voted supported secession” (BBC 2017). As a major loss of Kirkuk oil reserve increases the demand for their own autonomy increases in the Kurdish minds to get that as an immediate issue. Secession is not the only solution to get the own autonomous region as a demand from the Turkish and Iraqi’s government. We have to find out the real issues and their solutions with the detailed study of the research topic as a main theme of the Kurdish problem in the Middle-East.

1.4 Research Questions

- (1). What are the main causes for this long time ongoing secession from 1920, till now by Kurdish people?
- (2). Why Kurdish people led to secessionist movements in the opposition of the government of their related country?
- (3). What is the geopolitical importance of Kurdish demands for the Kurdistan, in international politics?

1.5 Hypothesis

- (1) “Kurds were demanding for sovereignty in 1920 and now they are demanding only for administrative autonomy” – are they thinking that, their secessionist movements are going to denial or they will get their legal status in international politics.
- (2) ‘Kurdish identity does not exist in Middle East according to their regional governments of all the Middle East states, but Kurdish peoples are demanding for their regional identity’-will be they successful.

1.6 Research Methodology

This is an analytical type of the study which explores the theoretical discussions on the related topic and makes their relevant result. Also it had examined the research through theoretical examinations in the study with the relevant theories of Geopolitics and relate with the current situation of secessionist movements. This paper deals with the secondary type of research, which includes qualitative data’s, newspapers, books, periodicals and articles. Most of the part of my research is done

by the books, articles and internet sources like- online news portals, periodicals, reports etc. The theoretical research of this paper will be done by the related books of the prominent authors, who are specialized into that area. This is an analytical approach of the study into we study the resources through different types and perceptions of the analysis, which would develop the theory of the research and their validity. Most of the relevant things come up with the current data's as relevant resources of the study by the daily newspapers, weekly magazines, online news etc.

Geopolitics is the major field of the study where we will test the theories with the themes of the studies. In the international studies, the secondary sources become the primary sources, because internationally, it would be very difficult to go and collect the relevant data from there to the study. Within a research, dependent and independent variables matter that how any research would be conducted in international relations with the help of the secondary resources. An analytical study which is based on the secondary type of research confers the ideas where relevant things come up with the related examples. There are also included some keywords for the establishment of a good research, such as- Kurds, Secessionist movements, Geopolitical Analysis, International Politics, Sovereignty.

1.7 Chapter Scheme

The first introductory chapter has formulated the theoretical background of geopolitics from imperial geopolitics to modern geopolitics. It has comprised the conceptual evolution of geopolitics with the major theories and present interconnections between 'Lebensraum' and geopolitical movements. It has presented a review of the literature, the rationale and scope of the study, research puzzles and methodologies. Second chapter in this research examines, theories of past with the present geopolitical importance in the secessionist movements with the relevant facts of the world's issues. The main geopolitical theories of the world includes in this chapter to validate the research of the secession and secessionist movements of the Kurdistan on the basis of the geopolitical theoretical validity and their relevant observation. The third chapter provides the description of the identity and politics of the related countries where Kurds lives, and the policies which related with the Kurdish identity made by the countries for their existence. In the Middle East, Kurdish people did not get any autonomy and sovereignty as their mark of identity in

that place. Fourth chapter identifies about the movements which were led by the Kurdish people for demanding the administrative autonomy for their legal status in the world. In contemporary period referendum have organized for the solution of the autonomy but have not become successful with the denial of the Iraqi government. Fifth chapter examines about the Kurdish demands – geographically and politically, that how they are still making talks with the respected government for their autonomy and how the policies changed from 1920 to till now. And finally, sixth chapter draws the inferences of the study, which will conclude the themes of the study with relevance data's and publications. This chapter is the finalization of the study with the result with the relevant observations in the study area. Secessionist movements in the Kurdistan are going to get their autonomy, sovereignty and especially their identity in their region. Only that is why they secede not for the other purposes, according to my observation in the study.

Chapter-II

Geopolitics of Secessionist Movements A Theoretical Analysis

This chapter will identify the theoretical views on the geopolitics and relate it with secessionist movements of the world and especially in the Middle East issue. In the field of Geopolitics, many geopolitical thinkers have worked on the importance of land, space, territory and geographical areas. Into this Halford J. Mackinder famous for their Heartland Theory, Nicholas J. Spykman famous for their work on Rimland areas, calls as Rimland theory, Alfred Thayer Mahan- who is mainly famous for their works on sea power. Especially, all the above mentioned geopolitical thinkers did focuses on geography of the state and say about space, place and politics. That how the geographical areas did made a state powerful with their geographical values. In this chapter we will also focus on the issue of secession where many geographical areas want to get the sovereignty as their own state but governments did deny to that parts of the place. So, easily we can say that they will protest against the government and raise their voices for the sovereignty and administrative autonomy. So, as we have seen the importance of geopolitics and discussed about the secessionist movements we will examine the relevance of both the concepts in international relations. For this investigation we will look into the geopolitical theories of many thinkers in the importance of Geopolitics.

2.1 Geopolitics

“Geopolitics is the analysis of the interaction between, on the one hand, geographical settings and perspectives and, on the other, political processes and the approach to the study of international relations focuses on the importance of location among the nations” (Cohen 2003). In simple words, “Geopolitics is the ‘spatial study and practice of international relations” (Gray 1999). “Modern geopolitics has developed through five stages: the race for imperial hegemony, German Geopolitik, American geopolitics, the Cold War-stage-centered versus universalistic geopolitics and the post-Cold War period” (Cohen 2003). “These stages are known as imperial geopolitics, cold-war geopolitics and post-cold war geopolitics; Britain, Germany, the

United States of America and Russia have been using geopolitics, serially on the bases of race, ethnicity and class since the seventeenth century; German Geopolitik emerged in reaction to Germany's devastating defeat in World War I" (Cohen 2003). It comprised Ratzel's concept of 'Lebensraum' (Living Space), the geopolitics of Kjellen and Haushofer's thoughts.

The Cold War geopolitics emerged after World War II. The United States of America and Russia emerged as superpowers in the world during this phase. Both were the dominant powers in the world and wanted to enhance their own power. The Cold War geopolitics phase ended after the disintegration of the USSR. Many world powers have been emerging since; They are playing a key role in the world as a "Balance of Power" in the modern world; The technology and innovations in various fields have had an effect on the post-Cold War geopolitics; Many geopolitical theories and approaches have significance in the modern world. However, the Heartland and Rimland theories and functional approach should have more reliability in the modern world. The world was divided in many regions by many geopolitical theorists, but Mackinder and Spykman have three regions. The critical zone is those regions got independent after the disintegration of the USSR. It should have geopolitical significance in the international politics and in relation to the east and west in the present scenario.

"In geopolitics, politics is more important than geo (space), because the politics precede that mutual relation; Geopolitical analysis and projections serve as a guideline of state policy in the form of strategies and through practical actions; Geopolitics aims to provide answers to two key questions: what will happen and what to do? Often, for the purposes of geopolitical goals, there are abusing terms such as: 'natural boundaries', 'historical right', 'living space', 'raison d'état', 'limited sovereignty', 'export of democracy', 'preventive war', 'human rights protection' etc" (Kovacevic 2005). "This theory was misused during the period of Nazism, although in the West was then emphasized that geopolitics did not have a Nazi orientation by its nature, but it was helpful for democratic states and their (hidden) imperialist plans" (Tuathail 1996).

"Karl Haushofer defined geopolitics as the science of dependence of political events on the geographical area; He projected future global organization, dividing the

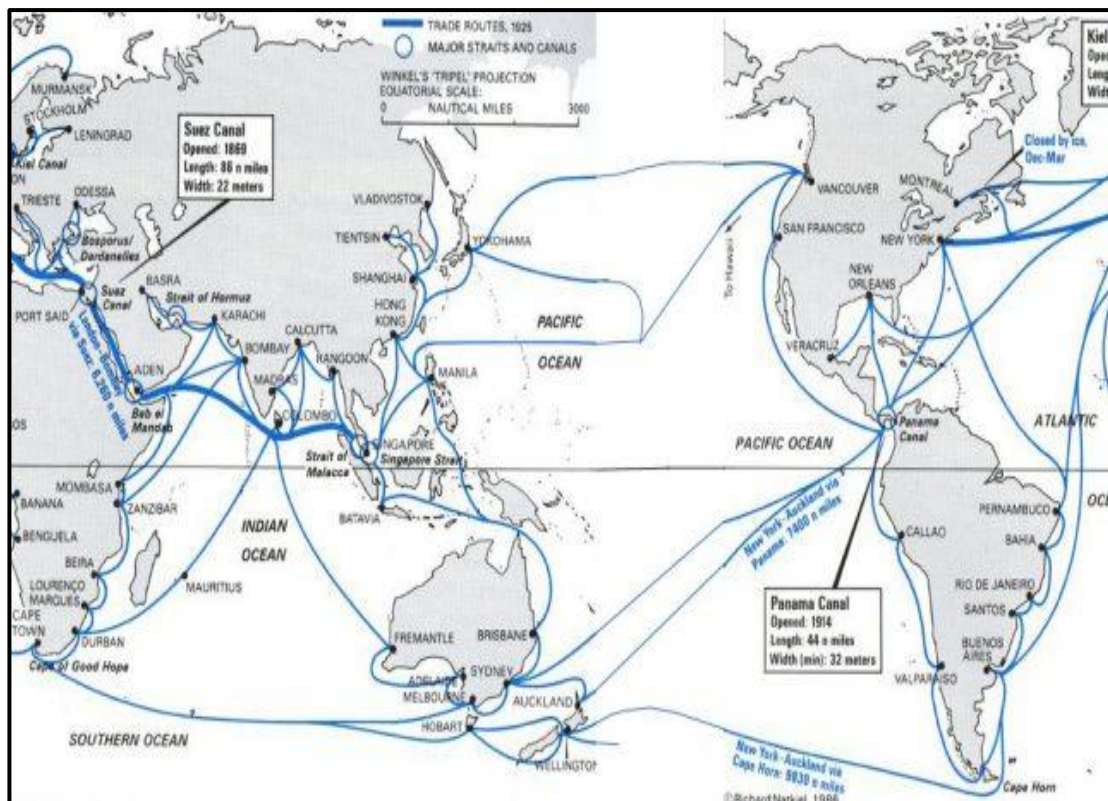
world into the three parts, i.e. pan-areas: Pan-America, where the United States would dominate, Pan-Europe, where Germany would dominate, and Pan-Asia which would be dominated by Japan; Anglo-American school of geopolitics refers to the teachings about the domination of the land or the advantage of maritime power” (Scekic 2016).

2.1.1 Sea Power Concept

Alfred Thayer Mahan was a famous naval historian which talks about the importance of sea power. In his book “The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1660-1783” he mainly focused on the production of the goods which is going through the colonies via shipping lanes. Also he has given six elements of a successful state – 1) Geographical Position, 2) Extent of Territory, 3) Physical Conformation, 4) Character of the Government, 5) Character of the People, 6) Number of Population (Mahan 1987). He has examined five major components of national power with these six elements, such as –

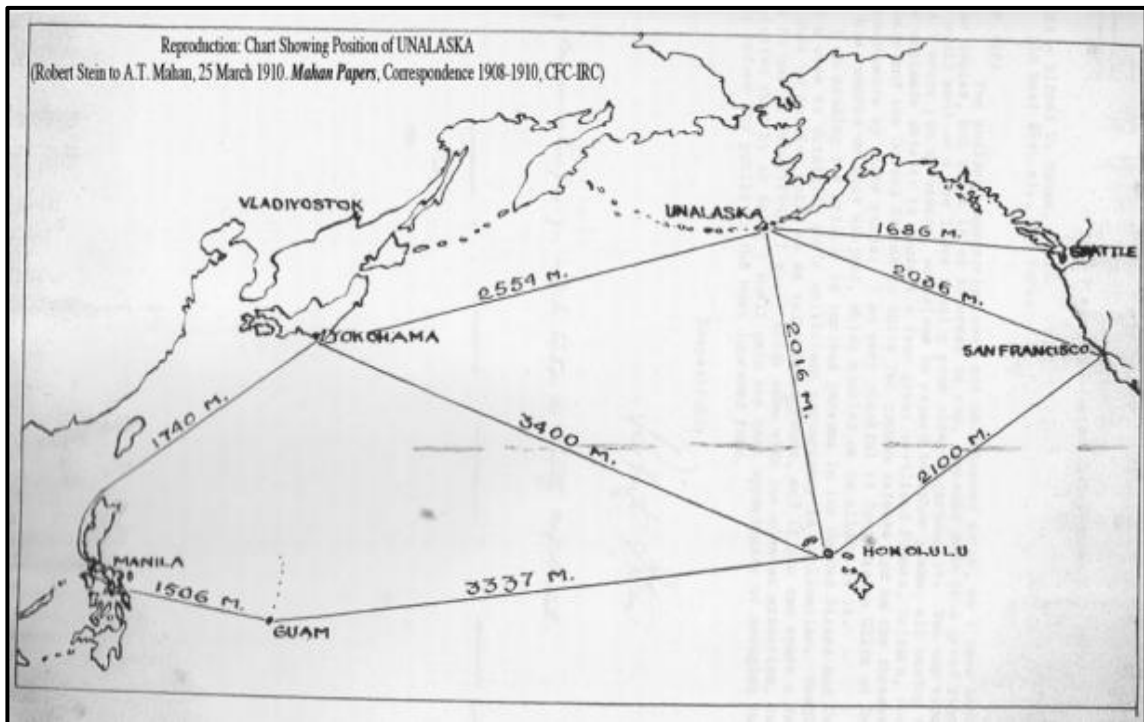
- Space Power
- Sea Power
- Air Power
- Information Dominance in 21st century
- Security Strategy of the United States.

Indirectly he talks about the economic development of a state depends on the trade which is according him, based on the shipping via sea routes. That is why he said that sea power is the ultimate strength of any state; if a state has water controlled body then that will develop and become strong. A great proponent of the United States maturation as a global naval force - Alfred Thayer Mahan, through the analysis of the main ideas of his book "The Influence of Sea Power upon History: 1660-1783" from 1889, affected the imperialist directions of US foreign policy; Mahan pleaded not only and exclusively for the military occupation of the territories, but also for the impact of economic and cultural factors by empowering the allies and weakening the opponents, which today is known as the term soft power (Mahan 1987).

Fig. 2.1 Chokepoints of Global World

Source : Ambjörn L. Adomeit (2016), “*International Journal of Naval History, Volume 13, Issue 01.*”

Many thinkers have focused on sea power concept after the Mahan’s contributions and have made many changes into this but all did talks about only the strategic importance of the Seas in the world and how it will develop state’s economy. According to Mahan, “The geographical position of a country may not only favour the concentration of its forces, but give the further strategic advantage of a central position and a good base for hostile operations against its probable enemies” (Wescott 1999). Mahan have talked about that how any state’s national power make it more powerful in the world and he also tells about that state’s have to secure the Sea lanes of Communication because this is the only way to connect a state with another state, for trade, tourism and commerce. He has given some major location of sea areas to secure them for future development through those sea areas.

Fig. 2.2 Sea Lines of Communication, Pacific Theatre (Western Hemisphere)

Source : Ambjörn L. Adomeit (2016), “International Journal of Naval History, Volume 13. Issue 01.

2.1.2 Heartland Theory

“The English geographer Mackinder with his theory of Heartland from 1904 considered that in the global conflict between land and sea there was a predominance of land, specifically in the states that controlled the Heartland - the central part of the Eurasian continent” (Mackinder 1904). “The theory of the Heartland projected the possibility to create a huge empire/alliance which would not need to use coastal or transoceanic transport in order to maintain its military-industrial complex, and this empire/alliance could not be defeated by the rest of the world, even if incorporated against it; It will articulate the geopolitical formula that still represents one of the main clues of the Atlantic geopolitical current:

Who rules Eastern Europe, commands the Central Country. Who rules the Central Country, commands the World Island (Eurasia + Africa); Who rules the World Island, commands the world” (Mackinder 1919).

Mackinder mainly focused on continental power not on the sea power or coastal areas of the land. In the Heartland of Mackinder he has given the importance of heartland is on the basis of easy communication between the lands because on land

people can access more information individually without any requirement of technology. Mackinder has given importance for two important geographical regions – Eurasia and Africa, with the reflection of the geographical connectivity with other states.

Fig. 2.3 : The geographical Pivot of History



Source : The Geographical journal

Mackinder has maintained their communication process on the basis of railway but this had no longer accessed by the peoples because after some time the air power concept has begun with the flying of aeroplanes. He talked about the inner or marginal crescent (Europe and Asia except north part) and outer or insular crescent (Britain, South and North America, Southern Africa, Australia and Japan), these regions according to their geographical location it has included in Heartland. In a very short period Mackinder has given the theory of 'Pivot area' in 1904 later he has included the Baltic Sea in his 1919 theory of Heartland. "Acting in complete accordance with the ideas of the British geopolitician, the leadership of the North-Atlantic alliance seeks to establish control over Eastern Europe in order to control the Heartland, which will amount to establishing control over the entire world" (Ziuganov 1998).

“The actual balance of political power at any given time is, of course, the product, on one the one hand, of geographical conditions, both economic and strategic, and, on the other hand, of the relative number, virility, equipment, and organization of the competing peoples” (Mackinder 1904).

Fig. 2.4 : Mackinder’s Pivot of 1904 and Mackinder’s Heartland of 1919



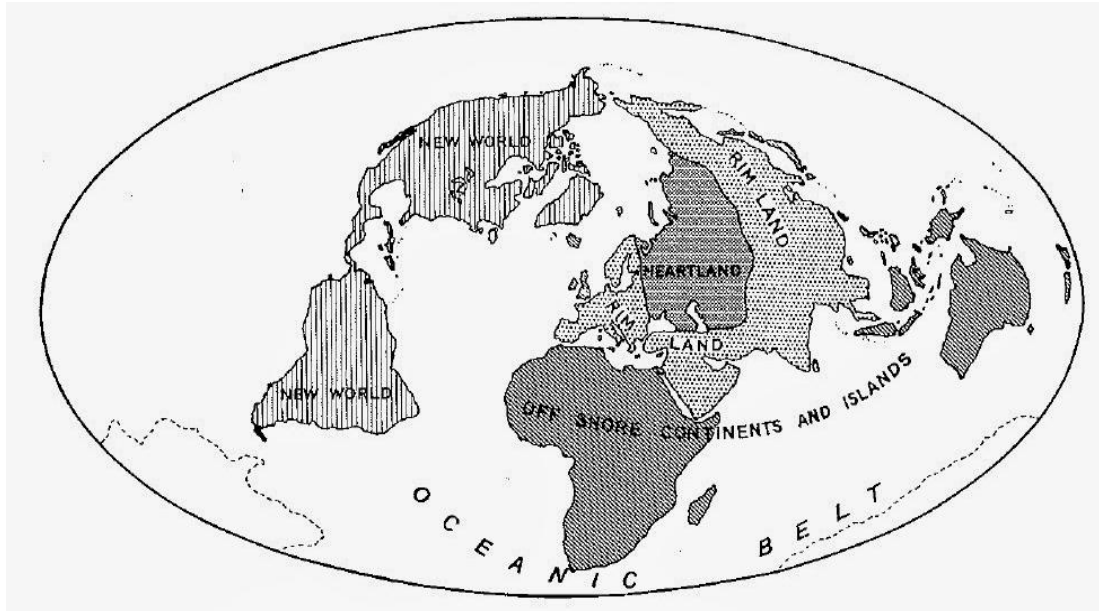
Source : *Central Asia and Caucasus Press* by Nick Megoran.

2.1.3 The Rimland

“The super-continent that is the world-island of Eurasia–Africa should be understood as having both a Heartland and an Inner Marginal Crescent of maritime facing and accessing lands, roughly as was identified by Sir Halford Mackinder” (Mackinder 1904). “However, contrary to Sir Halford’s physically geographical analysis and theory, the Rimland of Eurasia has proven itself to be more potent as a context explaining and enabling the generation and exploitation of relative power, than has the Heartland; The primary engine of international power therefore lies in the Rimland of Eurasia, not in the substantially barren thirsty steppe and desert lands of Eurasia–Africa; Sir Halford understandably, if none too presciently or historically persuasively, identified a great contest between landpower and seapower as being the prime motive force in world strategic history; But, the strategic historical grand

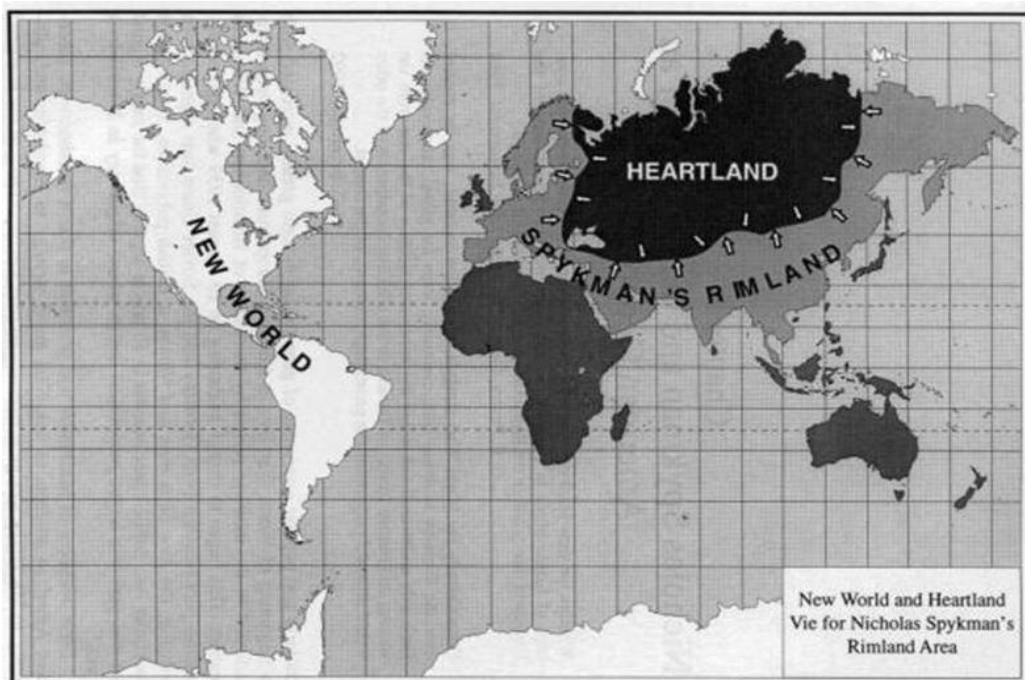
narrative over millennia shows quite unmistakably that it has been exceedingly rare for world history to be organised according to a core binary contest between landpower and sea-power” (Spykman 1944).

Fig. 2.5 Spykman’s Rimland



Source : Saul B. Cohen, *Geography and Politics in a Divided World*, London: Methuen, 1984, first published in 1963

Fig. 2.6 : Spykman’s Rimland with Containment policy



Source : Internet Sources

Spykman has given importance to the inner or marginal crescent which is surrounded by water body on the one side and land body on the other side. In a simplest way spykman has given importance which geographical area or a state has been strong that have water and land body in their surroundings of the state. It would develop the communication between states with land transport and water transport after some time Alexander P. Seversky has given the air power concept to identify the relations between the states through air power. Finally, we can easily say that after all the three theories; these theories have mainly concentrated on land, sea and air power.

“Who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia; Who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world” (Spykman 1942).

In my view, I will conclude it with one explanation that, if a state have great geographical location with their territory, their water body and air power to reach the greatness of the state. These three things are the only strategy to make their state stronger in the world sphere.

2.1.4 Lebensraum (Living Space)

“Ratzel presented Lebensraum as a uniform factor underlying biological change and the relationship between living species and their environments; Fascinated by the variety of living nature, Ratzel believed that the only "laws" that could be applied to it were complex, probabilistic and very un-Newtonian statements of general tendency” (Ratzel 1961). “The actions of individuals and groups of individuals range in their geographic scope or reach; It is this scope or reach that is known as geographic scale; Place is one geographic scale, defined as the setting of our everyday lives; But place is just one scale in a hierarchy that stretches from the individual to the global” (Flint & Taylor 2011). “Geopolitics is a word that conjures up images; In one sense, the word provokes ideas of war, empire, and diplomacy: geopolitics is the practice of states controlling and competing for territory; There is another sense by which I mean geopolitics creates images: geopolitics, in theory, language, and practice, classifies swathes of territory and masses of people; For instance, the Cold War, was a conflict over the control of territory that was provoked and justified through geographically based images of ‘the Iron Curtain’ and the ‘free world’ and

the ‘threat’ of Communism from the perspective of Western governments and the ‘imperialism’ of America from the Soviet Union’s view” (Flint 2012).

2.2 Forms of Geopolitics

Geopolitics has been changed with their forms and situation as formal geopolitics, critical geopolitics, structural geopolitics, popular geopolitics and practical geopolitics. Critical geopolitics was emerged after the World War II because in many geostrategic conflicts and conflicts between states strategies of the politics, many thinkers emerge with their critical evaluation with their study. Nowhere, we will see our study with the respective or related form of the study through the secession movements and their geopolitical demands for sovereignty and the struggle going by their demands. “Critical geopolitics, by contrast, is a problematizing theoretical enterprise that places the existing structures of power and knowledge in question; also, a convenient label for a disparate set of literatures and tendencies that congealed in the 1980s into a developed critique of 'orthodox geopolitics' and the dangerous nostrums associated with it; critical geopolitics seek to recover the complexities of global political life and expose the power relationships that characterize knowledge about geopolitics concealed by orthodox geopolitics” (Agnew and Corbridge 1995).

After all the discussion of the theories of the German Geopolitics to Modern Geopolitics, here we have articulate the term that after the Pivot Area dominance the sea and land power concept emerges with the Spykman’s view, then we have studied after that the Air Power supremacy and Naval power Supremacy emerges with the Seversky and Mahan’s concept, later on the concept of Lebensraum emerges with the expansion of the territorial integrity in the international relations and making it official with many revolt and conflicts to get the territorial supremacy. This paper will finally investigate the secessionist movements in the middle eastern countries in the different geographical areas, here we will test their secession’s relativity with the demand. This will give us the result that this long time ongoing secession will get any result or it will go like this in the future also. Kurdistan will establish in the middle east or not? And how it will get their autonomy, is their secession only the reason for their demand or the government is responsible for their aggressive behavior of the demand of sovereignty. Study of the geopolitics will help us through its empirical experiences.

In geopolitics there were many thinkers have focused on the Geographical areas but after the development of the geopolitics much of the thinkers have also criticized the theory and have made some changes to define the broader areas of geopolitics. Where they have identified critical geopolitics, formal geopolitics, popular geopolitics, practical geopolitics and structural geopolitics. All these concepts have emerged after the progressive development for thinking the geographical field of the geopolitics. Through this diversion we can easily understand the forms of geopolitics in the international relations and national power.

Table 2.1: Types of Geopolitics Studied by Critical Geopolitics

| Types of Geopolitics | Object of Investigation | Problematic | Research Example |
|-------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Formal Geopolitics | Geopolitical thought and the geopolitical tradition. | Intellectuals, institutions and their political and cultural context. | Halford Mackinder, his geopolitical theories and imperialist context. |
| Practical Geopolitics | The everyday practice of statecraft. | Practical geopolitical reasoning in foreign policy conceptualization. | 'Balkanism' and its influence over US foreign policy towards Bosnia. |
| Popular Geopolitics | Popular culture, mass media, and geographical understandings. | National identity and the construction of images of other peoples and places. | The role of mass media in projecting images of Bosnia into Western living rooms. |
| Structural Geopolitics | The contemporary geopolitical condition. | Global processes, tendencies and contradictions. | How globalization, informationalization and risk society condition/transform geopolitical practices. |

Source: Gray, Colin S. and Sloan, Geoffrey (2013). "Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy", Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York.

2.3 Secessionist Movements

In the simplest way we can understand secession as the withdrawal of the small group of people from the larger group of entity, especially we can say that the political entity. “secession is disintegrative in the most fundamental sense: it involves not the overthrow of existing government institutions, but rather the territorial dismemberment of a state; Bartkus refers secessionist groups as ‘Distinct Communities’, The fact that secession seems to plague all types of societies – liberal democratic, former communist, and developing - implies the possible existence of many different routes to secession; he has also identifies four variables to understand the secession and secessionist movements - (1) the benefits of continued membership in the larger existing political entity; (2) the costs of such membership; (3) the costs of secession; and (4) the benefits of secession. Some costs and benefits are clearly qualitative; others are extremely difficult or even impossible to quantify” (Bartkus 1999). Secession is a fluctuating phenomenon, it determines through the distinct communities when a shift in the balance of the variables would arisen. It evolves in the state and international level, as the rapid growing events and the modification in the attitudes of the peoples and their government.

The basic question in the secessionist situation arises is the question of justification, which follows the political and economic debates between the state and the central government. “secession crises will not delve deeply into the arguments regarding when secession would be morally justifiable or even desirable” (Mill 1963). “As James Crawford notes, . . . until this century, secession was certainly the most conspicuous, as well as probably the most usual method of the creation of new states” (Crawford 1979). “If the nationalist imperative is that each ethnic group, each people, is entitled to its own state, then it is a recipe for virtually limitless upheaval, an exhortation to break apart the vast majority of existing states, given that most if not all began as empires and include a plurality of ethnic groups or peoples within their present boundaries” (Gellner 1983). In this section of secession and secessionist movements we will elaborate the term secession, justified secession, their analysis of the basis of theories, state making process through secession and how secessionist movements did globalize the world. Secession is the major issue in the current scenario but if we see as their historical basis, all the secession communities have their long history with the area, also they have the geographical position, their own

tradition, their own language and customs to follow. These elements are sufficient to make a separate state for any population which secede with their government.

2.4 Secessionist Movements in Middle East: From theories to Reality

In this chapter we have experienced three main theories on the basis of geopolitics, Heartland theory of Halford J. Mackinder, Rimland Theory of Nicholas J. Spykman, Sea Power concept of Alfred Thayer Mahan, and we have also discussed about some parts of air power of Seversky where 'Lebensraum' by Ratzel also included. As we have understood about the geopolitics in the international relations for improving national power. From the geopolitical theories now we will relate the secessionist movements and their linkage between this. Geopolitics mainly focused on the politics which is related to geographical location or territory but secession is something about to sovereignty and territory formation. From the event of secession there would start a process to make a nation or state. After the end of colonization many geographical areas or colonies have not get any governmental assistance and still they are contesting for sovereignty and administrative autonomy. Kurds are the largest community of the Middle East, they are large in number which is around 35 million peoples lived there. They have their population, custom, culture and language but do not have a legitimate territory.

In Mackinder's theory they have fully focused on pivot area which is surrounded by land on that basis we can say that the Kurdish are of the Middle East is look like this and we can say like core region of the continent. That is why the government of the related territory did not want to drop that area. As we have seen the theory of Rimland, on that basis the Kurdish region is not linked with any major water body which is communicated by international states. So, this could be reason for the government that if they will separate it then Kurds cannot develop their economy without cooperation with the country. Only 'Lebensraum' theory would be applicable on this analysis to define the Kurdish secessionist movement, that why this happens? Kurds are large in number and according to lebensraum concept, every people needs a living space in a land and expand with their development for their survival. So accordingly we will say that formation of Kurdistan is a valid demand for the survival of the Kurdish people.

Many secessionist movements happened in current world, such as – Catalonia, Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh, Mindanao and Kurdistan. From these major secessionist communities, Catalonia peoples have get independence in 2017 but the oldest secessionist community Kurdish people still did not get any validity. A hope was come from the 2017 september referendum with 93% majority votes but Iraqi government have denied rigourously and matter is still pending. So on the basis of this referendum failure we can say that government did not want to separate them. According to my study i can say that the government of Iraq have fear to lose Kirkuk region, which is rich in oil, water and natural resources. This could be a major reason for the deniel of the referendum in 2017.

2.5 Contesting theories between Geography and Politics

In this consent we can say that theories only followed by the thinkers but not practiced everywhere because in reality theories would not be applicable and they would only criticized and contested between fact and reality. Ancient geopolitical thinkers have especially talked about geographical location and territorial representation but now geopolitics in Kurdistan focused on political part of the geopolitics mainly. On that basis if political behaviour of a state would be strong then the national power would be in the hand of the state and this would be make that powerful. Kurdish issue is still in critical situation we cannot assume that what would be the future of that issue on the basis of past experiences. In the ancient period politics was not that much stronger but nowadays politics is the major elements of national power. If they would be universalized then we can say that on the basis of political power.

Chapter-III

Who are the Kurds? Representing Kurdish Identity Politics

As we have seen into the introductory chapter that, Kurds are the largest community of the Middle East countries, who inhabited in the mountainous area of the five Middle Eastern countries, like – Turkey, Syria, Iran, Iraq and some percent people in Armenia. They possibly existed in Middle East before two thousand years, but in early twentieth century they have think about the sense of community as ‘Kurdish’ identity in the Middle Eastern country. This sense of community identity first seen into the Turkey and Iraq, where *millet* refers the term as a religious community. The reason has been seen behind their identity problem is that, they lacked the civic culture and any established literature, from where any community or people have been seen as originated. Turkey consists of mainly Turkish republic where Turkish are the main origins of Turkey and in the case of Iraq, there were Persian majority lived in the range of 50% as half population and on the other half the Azari Turk, Kurd, Arab, Baluch, Lur, Turkoman and other smaller groups lives there. With the Persian majority in Iraq, this was imposed by the Iraqi peoples on the other community peoples. “For the first time in their modern history, the Kurds in Iraq and Turkey, at least, are cautiously ascending; this is because of two major reasons. (1) In northern Iraq the two US wars against Saddam Hussein have had the fortuitous side effect of helping to create a Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), (2) Furthermore, Turkey’s successful European Union (EU) candidacy would have the additional fortuitous side effect of granting that country’s ethnic Kurds their full democratic rights, which have hitherto been denied” (Gunter 2007). “Straddling the borders where Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria converge in the Middle East, the Kurds constitute the largest nation in the world without its own independent state” (Gunter 2010).

3.1 Land and People

3.1.1 Geography

The Kurdish community is the fourth largest community in the Middle East after the Arabs, Turks and Persians and they have attempted many liberations struggles in the last eighty years. Kurdistan has never been a recognized state, it has never been

culturally, ethnically, linguistically or regionally unified in any manner, in a way the government of this region is also not unified they have their separate policies and perceptions with their related peoples of the state. Kurdistan has no linked political boundaries; it has also not shares and political or economic communications or the extent of the commerce developments. Peoples of the Kurdistan are diverse in nature, and they do not have any similar concerns, they all have their own discourses and myths. Before the First World War the Kurdistan was divided into two empires, the Ottoman Empire and the other one was Persian Empire, but after the First World War Kurdistan has divided into five parts, the major population is living into Turkey then Syria then Iraq. “The difficulties met by the Allies, and the means they used to achieve their aims illustrate the conflict between two forms of nationalism: that of national self-determination, a potentially revolutionary process, and national determinism, or the use of nationalism as a tool of the state” (Taylor 1993).

Geography continued to influence the Kurds’ perceptions of themselves and Kurdistan, especially in that the map of Kurdistan was to become the most clearly visible aspect of the Kurdish nationalist mythology, “many aspects of Kurdish nationalist mythology are clearly influenced by geographical factors, many of which can be seen to have influenced historical events, nationalist versions of those events have been co-opted into the creation and maintenance of a Kurdish national identity” (Theresa 2004). The zone that can be mostly labeled as Kurdistan comprises of an arc of mountain chains circling a series of inner basins, across the international boundaries of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. It includes the Pontic and Taurus mountains in the north, the northern and central Zagros and some of the southern Zagros range. In the west, the mountains become rolling hills down to the Mesopotamian Plain; to the east lies the Iranian Plateau; and to the north the mountains become the highlands of Armenia and Anatolia. The entire area covers roughly 400,000–450,000 km². Almost all the head of the waters like Euphrates, Tigris and Aras rivers lie within the northern Kurdistan, the two largest lakes – lake Van in Turkey and lake Urmiah in Iran both have contained salted water in their water reserves.

Kurdistan has the largest reserves of oil, lignite, phosphates, copper, iron and chromium, the main oil reserve in the Kurdistan located in the Kirkuk, which is the area of Iraqi Kurdistan contains the 16,000 million barrels oil reserve. In the plains of

the Kurdistan they have the sub-tropical climatic condition in the region, where through the high level of the elevation make that coldest. The higher rainfall and cooler summers than somewhere else in the Middle East gives, Kurdistan a more promising agricultural potential than much of the adjacent territory. The main farming products of the Kurdistan is cereals, tobacco and sheep. The mountains of the Kurdistan sometimes make it beneficial regarding the war purposes or hiding but in the use of the means of communication, it goes unwillingly to communicate with the neighboring countries. "Large numbers of Kurds also live in Turkey's three biggest cities: Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir; The Zagros range constitutes the most important portion of these mountains, running northwest to southeast like a spinal column through much of the land. Portions of the Taurus, Pontus, and Amanus Mountains also rise within Kurdistan; Mountains are the most prominent geographic characteristic of landlocked Kurdistan. Indeed, a famous Kurdish proverb explains that 'the Kurds have no friends but the mountains'" (Gunter 2009).

3.1.2 Climate

The climate of the Kurdish region is semi-arid continental embracing the hot and dry weather in the summers and cold and wet in the winter season. Mainly the spring season in the Kurdistan is the most beautiful and pleasant for the tourism. The climate of Kurdistan's mountains has been described as bracing, particularly during the winter months; during the summer, however, these areas offer a hospitable retreat from the heat to the immediate south; while northern Kurdistan has the highest average elevation, central Kurdistan enjoys a lower elevation, and a warmer, even relatively balmy, climate can thus prevail during the summer; the mean annual temperatures in Kurdistan exhibit great variations according to the elevation; although summers remain pleasantly cool in the mountains, in the lower elevations they can be oppressively hot and humid; winters in most areas are bitterly cold and snowy; these climatic contrasts have been sharpened by the loss of the forests that once covered the land but have succumbed to overgrazing, logging for fuel and construction, and the effects of war; in strong contrast to most other parts of the Middle East, much of Kurdistan enjoys adequate and regular rainfall (Gunter 2010). Mainly in the Kurdish regions the moderate temperature placed but some parts of the Kurdistan through the high rainfall the climate has been changed into coldest areas.

3.1.3 Population

Kurds mainly are the Sunni Muslim, who speaks mainly the Indo-European languages, but they are different from the Turks and Arabs ethnically but quite similar to the Iranians and with them Kurdish peoples shares their famous and one and only religious festival *Newroz* (21st March) in the beginning of the spring. Kurds lived into five major parts of the Middle East but the major population of the Kurds lived in the Turkey after that in Iran and then in Syria then Iraq and the smaller population of the Kurdish people lived in the Armenia. Some Kurdish Diaspora also lived in the former Soviet Union and in the Western Europe. In Kurdistan many minority groups are also living, where mainly are the Christians, Armenians, Assyrians, Turkomans, Turks, Arabs and Iranians. There are two main languages spoken in the Kurdistan mainly, the first one is Kurmanzi and the other one is Sorani, where Kurmanzi language did speak in the northwest of the Kurdistan and Sorani did speak in the southeast Kurdistan.

Fig. 3.1: Major Kurdish Settlement Areas



Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.*

History and myth both plays an important role in the nation building mainly in the context of the origins of the Kurdish community. The Kurdish way of life mainly is nomadic, which revolves around the Sheep and goat and with that they did survive. Most population of the Kurds practiced agriculture for their survival in the world with their Kurdish identity. Many inhabitants have used the mountainous international

borders for the trade purposes which were the source of income and sometimes it is also used for smuggling in the confronting countries.

3.1.4 Economy

As we know that Kurdistan is economically rich in natural resources, especially not only for the oil and water but also for the chromium, copper, iron and Sulfur. Kurdistan has the fertile mountain valleys for the agriculture. The common crops grown in the Kurdistan is barley, wheat, cereals, vegetables, fruits and nuts, the most important are tobacco, olives, cotton, and sugar beets, animal products are also popular in the Kurdistan where especially mentioned the products of the Sheep. Historically, many Kurds were nomadic; they are basically surviving on the mountains and through the agriculture-based civilization. In current scenario, they are not fully followed the latest fashion of living, they have not incorporated in the plains but the major population of the Kurds lives in the mountainous areas of the Kurdistan, which is not fully incorporated through the government.

In the Turkey and Iraqi region of Kurdistan have the best tobacco for their economic growth; this would be helpful for the raising of their economy. Because of the recent wars and war like situations they are now mainly living in the urban areas. In the area of the Iraqi Kurdistan, the economy has been risen after the fall of Saddam Hussain's regime and many investors have invested the Iraqi Kurdistan's industrial or economic development. After the foreign investment the economic development has been boosting, especially Turkey is more interested to invest in Iraqi Kurdistan and now they have constructed two international airports and handle around seventy flights in a week, which is located in Irbil and Sulaymaniya. They also have developed the universities in that region through this economic development the nepotism and corruption has been also boomed. Between the KRG and their central government has facing many discrepancies regarding the development of the oil resources. In the Iraqi and Turkish section of Kurdistan has great economic importance and potential. "Indeed, the economy of the KRG economically surpassed that of the rest of Iraq in the late 1990s due to the oil for- food program funds it received from the sale of Iraqi oil through the United Nations" (Gunter 2010). "The Syrian and Iran's portions of the Kurdistan have been economically backward from the infrastructure and industrial booming; 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” (Chaliand 1993). “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” (Chaliand 1993).

3.2 Heartland of the Middle East

This theme of the heartland of the Middle East seeks to elaborate the area which is situated in the heart of the Middle East countries, who’s named Kurdistan only by the Kurdish people, still not incorporated as a state, situated in the center which would be the buffer zone between the rival countries. Geographically and spatially it is located in the northern part of the Middle East, where all the Kurdish people lives and demanding for their autonomy. Kurds have frequently seen themselves as close to the center of Middle Eastern politics, of playing a major role in regional policies (Chaliand 1993). After the emergence of nationalist movements and after the First World War, this region is not taking seriously by the regional governments of the related countries of the different parts of Kurdistan. “Tuan’s understanding of perception of place applies very much to the Kurdish situation, as he points out, egocentrism and ethnocentrism are universal human traits; all people structure space, geographical and cosmological, with themselves at the center, thus the Kurdish view of themselves as the heart of the Middle East rather than the peripheral players is only natural; Herodotus commented on ethnocentrism amongst the Persians thus: ‘Of nations they honor their nearest neighbors, whom they esteem next to themselves; Those who live beyond they honor in the second degree, and so with the remainder, the further they are removed the less the esteem in which they hold them’” (Tuan 1974).

Kurds usually decry what they perceive as superpower involvement in their inability to obtain statehood, yet there is evidence that the fate of Kurdistan has been of strategic importance to the superpowers only insofar as it can be manipulated to control the surrounding states (Bruinessen 1992 and Olson 1989). In the 1970s Americans are the only who aid to Kurdistan’s oil and help them for their nationalist struggles, then they can take the oil and other resources in their own hand to incorporate the economical establishments and trade with the other countries. The Kurds in

northern Iraq eagerly welcomed the intervention of the coalition forces that created the 'Safe Haven' and were very keen for a greater American and European presence in the area (Chaliand 1993). The studies over the Kurdish region is very limited in the countries, very less peoples know about the Kurdistan and their secessionist movements which they are led for their demand for autonomy. But we have to be focused on this region which are rich in natural resources and will become the center of the Middle East, which is geographically and geo-strategically would become important for the neighboring countries.

Historically Kurdistan lay on the land routes for the trade with many countries later it was included the silk route also in their trading routes when the sea routes were not identified. In political geography, center and periphery represents the main areas of the and which affects the neighbors through its location and size. Wherever the middle east countries represent their strength with their natural resources but if they would be agreeing for the Kurdistan division then they would become less important for the other neighboring countries because the central position of the region becomes more important for the regional government and in the middle east the natural resources is located in the center of the region that is also why this region is important for the middle eastern countries. By the 1940s, Spykman put such studies in an overtly military context with his suggestion that the US exert control over a key area, or Rimland around the heartland to control and prevent the expansion of the USSR in the fortress of the Heartland (Taylor 1993).

World is divided into two global and regional geostrategic regions, where the first one is trade dependent maritime world and the other one is Eurasian continental world, where these regions were divided into two shatter belts, namely the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Thus, containment is a key aim within the shatter belts, which can never be completely controlled. Both hot and cold war occurs by proxy in these regions, allowing them to function as buffer zones (Cohen 1975). The conflict is still going on for the demand of their sovereign heartland by the Kurdish peoples and will be leading towards it as Iraqi referendum has taken place and won by 93% of votes but the denial of the Iraq was the major problem for the result.

3.3 Kurdish Identity Politics

Kurdish identity not mainly based on the religion but on the language and culture. Kurdish peoples are rebelling against the central rule, since its emergence after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. “When the Ottomans started to think about the question of identity, they did not have the necessary concepts in their intellectual baggage” (Timur 1986). “In the eyes of Cevdet Pasha (1823–1895), a member of the *ulema* (learned religious stratum), Ottoman historian, and Muslim legal expert as well as a high-level bureaucrat, such virulent forms of nationalism were nothing more than a ‘contagious disease’ that had begun to spread in the wake of the French Revolution” (Meric 1975). “Ethnicity is not simply a matter of birth—all notions of ethnicity are cultural and political constructions, despite the frequent assumption that they are determined biologically” (Hobsbawn 1990). “Prior to Eickelman, the anthropologist Fredrich Earth reviewed many of the pitfalls of defining ethnicity as a given, almost biological element; Rather, he looked at the ways in which ethnic group identities and boundaries are produced and maintained in ‘socially effective’ ways” (Barth 1969). “It is difficult, as Eickelman points out, to find specific counterparts for the English terms concerning ethnicity in the Middle East, and this is particularly true of Kurdish, where a bewildering number of terms exist as loan words from Arabic, Turkish and Persian many of which vary in meaning or nuance with locality; Similarly to the situation described in Afghanistan, in Kurdistan, the word *qawm* can mean, depending on the context; tribe, subdivision of a tribe, a people sharing a common origin or region of residence, or a shared religious or linguistic identity” (Eickelman 1989).

“Obviously, the host states may attempt to deny the presence of Kurds or other ethnic or religious minorities within their borders, such as Turkey, or they are more likely to try to reduce the figures; They can do this by such devices as: creating unrealistic criteria for inclusion within the group; ‘moving the goalposts’ for inclusion; declaring members of the group aliens, as in the case of the Feyli Kurds of Iraq or many Syrian Kurds; attaching unpleasant consequences to inclusion within a group; the use of enthusiastic state endorsement of the undesirability of membership of a group and the advantages of assimilation; population dispersion, either by force or by encouraging the push/pull factors of migration—this aims at either assimilating the group more rapidly, or at least of weakening ethnic solidarity; recording

population figures on the basis of habitation, not ethnic/religious choice” (Kreyenbroek 1995).

3.3.1 Basic rights and responsibilities

“**Article 8:** i) Citizens of the Kurdistan Region are equal before the law in their rights and responsibilities without discrimination due to race, color, sex, language, ethnic origin, religion, or economic status;

ii) Women shall have equal rights with men;

iii) The family unit is the natural and fundamental group of the society; The protection of mothers and children shall be guaranteed; Government and society have a duty to care for youth and to protect the basic moral and ethical values, and the heritage of the people of Kurdistan and that shall be regulated by law;

Article 9: i) Punishment is personal; nothing can be treated as a crime, nor can any punishment be ordered and carried out unless defined in the law; No act is punishable unless it is considered to be a crime at the time of commission; No punishment can be administered that is greater than what is written in the law;

ii) The accused is presumed innocent until proven guilty in a court of law;

Article 10: I) the right to legal defense is guaranteed at all stages of an investigation and trial in accordance with the law;

ii) Trial proceedings shall be open unless otherwise declared secret by the court;

Article 11: I) the sanctity of the home and its contents shall be protected and cannot be entered or searched except in accordance with procedures laid out in the law;

ii) Individuals or their possessions cannot be searched except under conditions defined in the law;

iii) The integrity of the individual shall be protected and all types of torture, physical or psychological, are prohibited;

Article 12: The privacy of postal, cable and telephone communications are guaranteed and cannot be disclosed except when deemed necessary to serve the needs

of justice and security in accordance with the parameters and procedures laid out in the law;

Article 13: The right of ownership is guaranteed and movable and immovable property cannot be confiscated except in accordance with the law; Property cannot be expropriated except where required to serve the public interest in accordance with the law and with fair compensation paid;

Article 14: Citizens of the Kurdistan Region cannot be prevented from travelling abroad or returning to their homes; No restrictions shall be placed on the movement of people or the location of their residence except where stipulated in the law;

Article 15: Freedom of expression, publication, printing, press, assembly, demonstration, and forming of political parties, unions and associations shall be guaranteed by law;

Article 16: Freedom of religion, belief, and the practice of religious duties is guaranteed provided they do not conflict with provisions of this Constitution or the Federal Constitution or with federal laws and provided they do not go against general moral and ethical standards;

Article 17: Political refugees shall not be extradited;

Article 18: I) Primary education in the Kurdistan Region am compulsory and shall be regulated by law;

ii) The government shall combat illiteracy, guarantee for their citizens the right to a free education in all its stages of primary, secondary, and university, and guarantee the development of technical and vocational studies;

Article 19: The right of academic research shall be guaranteed. Outstanding achievement, innovation and creativity shall be encouraged and rewarded;

Article 20: I) Work is a right and duty of every citizen and the regional government shall make efforts to create work opportunities for every capable citizen;

ii) The regional government shall guarantee good working conditions, work towards raising the standard of living as well as the skills and knowledge of all

working individuals; The regional government shall provide social security benefits in cases of illness, disability, unemployment, or old age;

iii) No individual shall be forced to carry out a job unless the purpose is to carry out a public service according to the law or in the case of emergency or natural disaster;

Article 21: The regional government guarantees to protect public health through consistent efforts to provide medical services in the fields of prevention, treatment and medication;

Article 22: Paying taxes is a duty of every citizen and such taxes shall not be levied, collected or amended except by law;

Article 23: Citizens have the guaranteed right to raise complaints and write petitions to the proper authorities and the authorities shall consider these within a reasonable period of time;

Article 24: The judiciary in the Kurdistan Region is the source of the protection of rights mentioned in this part; The Courts will decide what punishment and/or fine is warranted from any of the parties concerned” (UNPO 2004).

3.3.2 Identity Politics

Identity politics widely known in humanities and social sciences for their demand for multiculturalism, civil rights, women’s movements, secessionist movements, ethnic movements etc. “In 1979, Anspach first used the term identity politics to refer to activism by people with disabilities to transform both self- and societal conceptions of people with disabilities; Over the next decade, only three scholarly journal articles employed the term identity politics in their abstracts, to describe (a) ethnicity as a contemporary form of politics” (Ross 1982); “(b) a form of critical pedagogy that links social structure with the insights of poststructuralist regarding the nature of subjectivity, while incorporating a Marxist commitment to politics” (Bromley 1989); “and (c) general efforts by status based movements to foster and explore the cultural identity of members” (Connolly 1990).

The term identity politics has been mostly used for the culture, ethnicity, and language, individual’s identity etc. to identify and represent the community or group

who rebels for their demand. Lichterman calls 'identity politics as 'a slippery term', which was not bounded by anyone and not followed for the unhappening. At the end, author concludes that "the expression 'identity politics' is increasingly used as a derogatory synonym for feminism, anti-racism, and anti-heterosexism" (Fraser 1997). Defining identity politics as a distinct practice with different ancient and contemporary approaches of the thinkers, who identify it with their different types of manipulations that distinguish it to from identity politics to class politics. "The power of language and discourse in identity construction is magnified by communication technologies that enable social actors to share and negotiate meanings, signs and discursive constructions of collective identities" (Chouliaraki 1999 and Madianou 2005).

3.3.2.1 Approaches to Identity Politics

3.3.2.1.1 Neo-Marxist Approach

Approaches to the identity politics grouped together here, to understand the different perceptions of the power and oppression. Here we will discuss about the Marxist and Neo-Marxist theories about the identity politics, where "First, these views rest on a (sometimes implicit) theory of power that views class inequality as the only real source of exploitation and oppression; Second, many of these works view activists who want to alleviate economic inequality and to challenge the class structure as the primary agents of social change; because of these theoretical assumptions, identity politics is not seen as a political practice that challenges important relations of power, but is understood in symbolic, cultural, or psychological terms; as a result, this literature sometimes makes normative political claims that dismiss the value of identity politics; theoretically, these analyses separate culture from institutions, politics, and the economy, rather than view culture as constitutive, structuring, and constraining of institutions" (Polletta 2002, Swidler 1995 & Williams 2004).

Despite this we are already aware about that identity politics related to culture as soft power, whenever we will demand for its identity or autonomy then it will take place internationally as 'soft power'. "According to the Marxists and Neo-Marxists the movements regarding identity first emerged in the 1960s and 1970s where the women's movement and class struggle was mainly focused and regulated to challenge

those issues of demand; With these movements in mind, Kauffman defined identity politics in cultural terms as expressing the belief that identity itself its elaboration, expression, or affirmation is and should be a fundamental focus of political work; identity politics politicized areas of life not previously defined as political, including sexuality, interpersonal relations, lifestyle and culture” (Kauffman 1990). Identity politics assumed to be cultural not only by that is it not structuring with organizational character but they respect for their cultural differences.

3.3.2.1.2 New Social Movement Approach

New Social Movement theory revolves or moves beyond the Marxist and No-Marxist theories, whose frameworks and norms have been set to understand the organized social classes. “Although NSM theory does not employ the language of identity politics, it represents the first concerted theoretical effort to understand the role of identity in social movements, and it ultimately provoked the more rationalist strands of social movement theory, resource mobilization, and political process theory, to attend to issues of identity and culture; Like social movement theory more generally, NSM theory attempted to explain mobilization that is, why and when people act; By taking this approach, NSM theory displaced the assumption that activism based on anything other than class was epiphenomena or psychologically rooted, raising the possibility of alternative causal explanations for identity politics; NSM theory both challenges and affirms the idea that identity politics is a distinct political practice” (Bernstein 2005).

Where Marxist and Neo-Marxist theories distinguish class politics and oppression from the other aspects but NSM theory distinguishes class-based struggles, especially past social and cultural movements with the contemporary social and cultural movements. “NSM theory views these movements as historically new forms of collective action resulting from the macro structural changes of modernization and a shift to a postindustrial society” (Melucci 1989 and Touraine 1981). These macro levels of the movements lead to the democracy, where the people make their government and articulate them through their own communal interests. “Thus, new social movements were viewed as efforts to regain control over decisions and areas of life increasingly subject to state control, to resist the colonization of the life world, and to transform civil society” (Habermas 1985, Cohen 1985, Melucci 1989).

“NSM theory views these movements as efforts to fight to expand freedom, not to achieve it; they mobilize for choice rather than emancipation and focus primarily on expressing identity to seek recognition for new identities and lifestyles” (Cerulo 1997, Polletta and Jasper 2001). “The validity of the two-primary historical and comparative claims on which NSM theory rests that such movements are a product of postindustrial society and that they differ in fundamental ways from past labor and socialist movements has been called into question” (Calhoun 1993, Pichardo 1997, Polletta, Jasper 2001 and Young 2002).

3.3.2.1.3 Social Constructivism, Postmodernism and Poststructuralism

Postmodernist analysis of the identity politics is different from the NSM approach and the Marxist or Neo-Marxist approach, where all the types of the approaches constitute the different regulations for the understanding identity politics. “These approaches view organizing on the basis of those identities as ultimately essentialist; Instead of viewing power in terms of economic inequality, which renders organizing on the basis of status identities as primarily symbolic and cultural activism, understood through postmodern views of power, identity politics appears to be narrow, political, state-centered activism that fails to adequately address the cultural bases of power; Rather than being too cultural, identity politics is not cultural enough” (Vaid 1995). This view of the identity politics looks both as a ‘queer politics’ and as a functional of poststructuralist and postmodernist emergence in the 1980s. “Embodied in the short-lived group Queer Nation, queer politics was identified by scholars as the antithesis of identity politics: a theory and a politics with which to transcend group categories and to bring diverse groups of marginalized people together under one umbrella” (Gamson 1995, Epstein 1998, Valocchi 1999 and Warner 2000).

Queer politics mainly refers to the lesbian and gay movement which refers to only the involvement in the class politics and class struggle the gays and the lesbians. “Reappropriating the word “queer” and redefining it to mean anything that contradicts dominant cultural norms, queer activists attempted to form a multiracial, multigendered movement of people with diverse sexualities” (Seidman 1993, Epstein 1998). The scholars who addressed the new queer politics have taken the concept into the poststructuralist and postmodernist approaches to reframing the identity politics.

The studies examine the consequences of the identity politics that how it emerges and distinguish it to power or the possession of the power politics fragmentation.

The concept introduces the identities of the people who lived in a territorial limit and identified by their territorial marks and with their language, culture and ethnicity. Every people have its own identity with their nation, sometimes it becomes very good for the citizen and sometimes it threatens the identity of the individual. In the major terms identity crisis is arisen in the contemporary global world, where some people have got dual citizenship and somewhere they get only single citizenship. Border and the territory always makes the identification marks on the land for the people to understand their limits but somewhere it also makes the disputes between the peoples through their limited identity and somewhere people also dominated by the government according to their identity.

As a result, the Kurdish people led for the secession to get their own identity with Kurdistan and to get their integrity to become free with their own peoples. “Garza challenges the assumption that activists and theorists understand their identities as ontologically prior to their activism and suggests that a performative politics or a politics of deconstruction and decentering will not work for groups whose difference is marked on the body” (Garza 1995 and Collins 1998).

3.4 Historical Background of the Kurdish Regions

All the Kurdish peoples live in the different five regions of the Middle East countries where all the regions work with their own regional territory and make policies only for their peoples. Here we will explain the history and their relevance in the current Middle East countries. Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syrian and Armenia is the part of the Kurdistan, we will discuss it below. Where Armenia consists only 1.1% of the population of the Kurds they did not claim for their sovereignty because they are limited in number, so here we will discuss only four major parts of the Kurdistan.

3.4.1 Turkey

In 1891, Hamidiye the modern progovernment has been created by the Ottoman sultan Abdul Hamid II for proving the emergence of modern Kurdish Nationalism. Nevertheless, the Kurd peoples have been supported to Ottomans in First World War

and after that Kurds have also supported to Mustafa Kemal into the Turkish war of Independence. During the First World War one of the US president Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, especially number 12 state that 'all the non-Turkish people have right to made their own "autonomous development"'. Article 62 of 'Treaty of Sevres' which was signed in august 1920, said about the local autonomy of the Kurdish areas and Article 64 states that the Kurdish peoples grant for the freedom from the Turkish government. In July 1923 'Treaty of Lausanne' identified as the modern republic of Turkey but without special provisions of Turkish Kurds.

Ataturk's creation of the purely Turkish secular state led to the one of the three greatest wars of the Kurds, the Shaikh Said' rebellion in 1925 as nationalistic and religious rebellion but after some time Shaikh Said hanged, no longer lived with his rebellion. Second, the Khoybun in 1927, a transnational Kurdish party formed in Lebanon to led another major uprising under the administration of General Ihsan Nuri Pasha. Third, Dersim (Tunceli) rebellion led by the Sheikh Sayyid Riza from 1936 till his death in 1938. Where the Kurdish finally defeated, many Kurdish minorities either supported to Turkish government or become neutral in all the ways in these rebellions. After that Turkish government has been alert to erase all the group or political parties which demands for their autonomy or the sovereignty. The so-called Sun theory says that all the middle eastern languages has been came from the Turkish language, where the Kurds have forgotten their mother tongue with the suppression of the Turkish government rules. Where the Turkish government addresses Kurdish peoples as mountains Turks no other ethnic identity did address those Kurdish peoples. The present constitution of the Turkish government limits the speaking and writing of the Kurdish language. After the adoption of new constitution of Turkey in 1961, the Kurdish educated people were not permissible to form any political party that is why they have joined the Turkish party but in 1965 the pro-Barzani groups of Kurd peoples have decided to make a new Kurdish Democratic Party of Turkey. Predominantly, army was convinced the stability of the powerful government reasons behind the emergence of the Kurds. From here with the establishment of the Kurdish Regional Government the political and economic shift has developed.

"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” (Bruinessen 1992). “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” (Ghareeb 1981). Towards the end of the 1970s, the Kurdish organizations were able to control the large part of Kurdish areas, where they also facing clashes between their own community.

“Consequently, the military took over power once again on September 12, 1980 in an attempt to wipe out Kurdish nationalism, 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” (Gunter 1980 and Bruinessen 1992). “Immediately after the coup, large scale operations in the Kurdish areas took place to crush the Kurdish movement” (Gunter 1980 and Bruinessen 1992). “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” (Gunter 1980 and Bruinessen 1992). A Kurdish state in Turkey imagined very difficult because Turkey’s government did not support and did not want any country to enter into their community politically or ethnically also. Turkish government will never want to divide their land between two nations they will never share their land for the separate Kurdish land into their area. Other country will also not support the Kurds people of the Turkey to make a new nation from their land because other countries are also facing the problems with their regional Kurds. That is why with so many reasons behind the formation of Kurdistan is not seeing as a legal or regular issue.

3.4.2 Iran

In Iran the Kurdish movement has not get the political position and never be subjected because the Iranian government is more powerful and active in the decades of the movements. In Iran, a major turning point was the founding of the Kurdistan Democratic Party in 1945, the KDPI was failed to proclaim the smaller groups of communities or minority peoples in their support. After the Iran Iraq war, the Tehran

government has crushed the Kurdish resistance movements in the region whereby they live. 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 (Sheikmous 1994). "Iran has a longstanding relationship with Iraqi Kurds, and it's the only country in the region with a substantial Kurdish population to have consistently preserved decent relations with them; Iranian support for the Kurds has received more attention since 2014, when Iran backed certain Kurdish efforts against the Islamic State (ISIS), but the ties go back decades" (Tabatabai 2017).

"Moreover, during 2005, the Kurdistan Independent Life Party (PJAK), a new Iranian Kurdish party cooperating with the PKK, was reported to be engaging in various military operations against government troops in the Merivan region along the border with Iraq; along with the PKK, the PJAK was based in the Kandil Mountains of the KRG and along the Iranian border; from this base, the PJAK was able to launch occasional raids into Iran; the PJAK has also welcomed possible U.S. attacks against Iran as a way to topple the regime" (Gunter 2010). "Although neither the KDPI nor Komala is currently active militarily in Iran, some have argued that the United States would like to use them to overthrow the present Iranian regime" (Gunter 2010). "This compared with a national turnout of more than sixty percent and would seemingly be indicative of Kurdish alienation from the current Iranian political system" (Samii 2005).

"Ahmadinejad immediately rebuked Kurdish appeals to place qualified Kurds in his new administration. Indeed, some Kurdish sources claimed that Ahmadinejad had been behind the assassination of the Iranian Kurdish leader Ghassemlou in 1989" (Gunter 2010). "Thousands of Iranian Kurds launched protests in Mahabad, the unofficial capital of Iranian Kurdistan, as well as in Sanandaj, Sardasht, Oshnavieh, Divandareh, Baneh, Sinne, Bokan and Saqqez, among others" (Howard 2005). "Moreover, during 2005, the PJAK, a new Iranian Kurdish party cooperating with the PKK, was reported to be engaging in various military operations against government troops in the Merivan region along the border with Iraq; along with the PKK, the

PJAK was based in the Kandil Mountains of the KRG and along the Iranian border; From this base, the PJAK was able to launch occasional raids into Iran; the PJAK has also welcomed possible U.S. attacks against Iran as a way to topple the regime; on February 16, 2007, the anniversary of Abdullah Ocalan's capture, large demonstrations and mass meetings were held in Iranian Kurdistan; they led to three deaths and hundreds of detentions; these events served as a reminder to the Iranian authorities that they still had a volatile Kurdish problem" (Gunter 2010).

3.4.3 Iraq

In Iraq the Kurds have struggled for a century to get the independence from the regional government but still not get the autonomy or the state sovereignty. The secessionist movements of the Kurds did directly challenge to Baghdad authority and posed the central government of Iraq according to Iraqi government. In Iraq the Kurdish people have placed in the three major cities of the Iraq, such as Erbil, Sulaimaniyah and Dohuk as well as large sections of the disputed territories such as Baghdad and Erbil territories, where disputes did always takes place. The Kurds have gained control much of the disputed territories of the region we can say that for economic and for development purposes, including the oil rich region of Kirkuk in 2014. Baghdad would also oppose the independence of the Kurdish region but they do not have the remaining options to oppose them.

"The Kurds in Iraq have been in an almost constant state of revolt ever since Great Britain artificially created Iraq—according to the Sykes–Picot Agreement of World War I—out of the former Ottoman vilayets (provinces) of Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra; there are three major reasons for this rebellious situation. First, in Iraq the Kurds long constituted a greater proportion of the population than they did in any other state they inhabited; despite their smaller absolute numbers compared to Kurds in Turkey and Iran, they represented a larger critical mass in Iraq, a situation that enabled them to play a more important role there than they did in Turkey and Iran; Second, as an artificial, new state, Iraq had less legitimacy as a political entity than did Turkey and Iran, two states that had existed in one form or another for many centuries, despite their large Kurdish minorities; Thus discontent and rebellion came easier for the Iraqi Kurds; Third, Iraq was further divided by a Sunni–Shiite Muslim division not present in Turkey or Iran" (Gunter 2009). In Kurdish region of Iraq more

than two-third of the land and oil reserves located and many economic resources and natural resources found in the Kurdish region of the Iraq that is why the government did not want to completely neglect the Kurdish region or the Kurdish party as Turkey did. For the prevention from the Iraqi military threat, US do help to the Kurdish people of Iraq and many economic and military relations are strengthening the relations between the US and the Kurdish peoples of the Iraq region. After the defeat of the Sheikh Mahmud in 1931, Mulla Mutafa Barzani has begun as a leader in the Kurdish movement in Iraq.

In 1975, after the collapse of the Barzani administration the after that his son Massoud Barzani has become the new leader of Patriotic Union of Kurdistan on 1 June 1975. After the Gulf war and fallen of Kurdish uprisings in March 1991, US forced to mass flight to make the save heaven and with no-fly zone to the mountains of the Iraqi Kurdish region and settle all the Kurdish peoples in that area of mountains and settle down the refugees in the northern Iraq. After the fall of Saddam Hussain's regime in the Gulf war, the civil war between KDP and PUK has arisen from 1994 to 1998. On 19th March 1993 finally US led war against Iraq to overthrow the Saddam Hussain's regime, after this the administration the Kurdish Regional Government has continued in action. "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" (Heraclides 1991). "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" (Anderson 1993). "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" (Mcdowall 2004). Regarding the demand of autonomy, the Kurdish peoples would not now so much trust on the regional central government because the referendum of the September 2017 has begun with the Kurdish voters to support or for demanding their autonomy and result has come up with the 93% majority votes in the favor of the Kurdish peoples but as the sudden moment the Iraqi central government have denied that referendum and Turkey has supported to the Iraq's denial. That is why we are not

confirming to say that when the Kurdish people will get their legal autonomy or the state sovereignty, they are in a sudden trouble, where US is the only supporter to standing with the Kurdish demand for their autonomy.

3.4.4 Syria

The Kurds in Syria lived in a million in number, lesser from all the three greatest countries as Turkey, Iran and Iraq; it is also backward economically, socially and strategically from the all three countries. Hafez Assad has maintained the politics and any community activity of the Kurds in this region with the support of the Kurds. Many Kurds in Syria have denied their citizenship and many have no rights as a citizen of the Syria, we can say virtually they have no civil rights. In June 2005, Massoud Barzani have demanded that the Syrian Kurds have right to enjoy and employ their citizens right in the region and government have to give them those civil rights. During the French mandate the Syrian Kurds have enjoyed all the cultural, political and social rights, following to the Syrian independence it have diminished. Where in 1957, the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria have formed for recognize the Kurds ethnic community and for the democracy emergence. It also came for improving the development of the Kurdish community in education, recruitment in police and the other services where the Syrian people can easily take part. 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 (McDowall 2004).

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 (Chaliand 1993). In the beginning of the 1980s the Kurds have allowed to make tapes and sell their Kurdish language tapes of the songs. Teaching in the Kurdish language has been prohibited in the Kurdish region of the Syria, where the language did become barrier to interpret the things in the Kurdish region of the Syria. On October 16, 2005, an emboldened domestic opposition consisting of such disparate groups as the Muslim Brotherhood and the communists issued a “Damascus Declaration for Democratic National Change among many other points, the

Declaration called for a just democratic solution to the Kurdish issue in Syria, in a manner that guarantees the complete equality of Syrian Kurdish citizens, with regard to nationality rights, culture, learning the national language, and other constitutional rights” (UPI 2005). Syrian lived Kurds are very common to sustain their livelihood in that area and the Syrian government is not very cruel to them, in comparison to Turkey’s government. Turkey’s government is the only power which dominates to Kurdish People who lived in that area and have not give any assistance with their traditional freedom or to live freely in their region.

Chapter-IV

Secessionist Movements: Struggle for Sovereignty

This chapter will discuss about the movements which was lead for the autonomy and sovereignty of the Kurdish peoples. It will also elaborate the laws and rights of the Kurdish peoples in the different Kurdish regions of the all five and mainly four major countries of the Middle East. Secession and Sovereignty are the two major terms which introduces the demand of autonomy in the region by their own way of description. First and Second chapter of this research have evaluated the introduction and identity politics of the Kurds but this chapter will reflect the reasons behind the secessionist movements, that why it will go on from the 1920 to till now and why the Kurdish people led to secessionist movements in their related country. While regional government of all the Kurdish countries is not in the support of their secession and will not give them a separate nation-state and even will not allow demanding it through the secession. Beside this they are struggling and want to get their own state or their own autonomous region which would represent the Kurdish people.

The first section of this chapter will introduce the term secession and their elements of secession, the second section will describe the laws enabling by the United Nations for the self-determination of the Kurdish peoples and the last section of the chapter will identify the sovereignty and the overlapping of the sovereignty and self-determination. These topics of the discussion addresses the secessionist movements in the Kurdistan led to the demand of sovereignty and their greater autonomy. As we know that Kurdish people have faced many binding laws and they have faced many sacrifices which were done for their own establishment in the Middle East. Different regions that represent the Kurdish peoples have their own different issues and problems with the government that is why the term secession is made very popular and sensitive for research. Secessionist movement like Catalonia, Kurdish issue is also a serious concern for their sovereignty or their autonomy but still they do not get any governmental or legal assistance in their region, they are still

forced by the central government of the Middle East and forced to follow their binding laws.

4.1 Secession and Secessionist Movements

As I have discussed in the second chapter that secession In the simplest way we can understand as the withdrawal of the small group of people from the larger group of entity, especially we can say that the political entity. “secession is disintegrative in the most fundamental sense: it involves not the overthrow of existing government institutions, but rather the territorial dismemberment of a state; Bartkus refers secessionist groups as “Distinct Communities”, The fact that secession seems to plague all types of societies – liberal democratic, former communist, and developing - implies the possible existence of many different routes to secession; he has also identifies four variables to understand the secession and secessionist movements - (1) the benefits of continued membership in the larger existing political entity; (2) the costs of such membership; (3) the costs of secession; and (4) the benefits of secession. Some costs and benefits are clearly qualitative; others are extremely difficult or even impossible to quantify” (Bartkus 2004). Secession is a fluctuating phenomenon, it determines through the distinct communities when a shift in the balance of the variables would arisen. It evolves in the state and international level, as the rapid growing events and the modification in the attitudes of the peoples and their government.

The basic question in the secessionist situation arises is the question of justification, which follows the political and economic debates between the state and the central government. “Secession crises will not delve deeply into the arguments regarding when secession would be morally justifiable or even desirable” (Mill 1963, Beran 1984, Buchanan 1991 & et.al). “As James Crawford notes, until this century, secession was certainly the most conspicuous, as well as probably the most usual method of the creation of new states” (Crawford 1979). “If the nationalist imperative is that each ethnic group, each people, is entitled to its own state, then it is a recipe for virtually limitless upheaval, an exhortation to break apart the vast majority of existing states, given that most if not all began as empires and include a plurality of ethnic groups or peoples within their present boundaries” (Gellner 1983). In this section of secession and secessionist movements we will elaborate the term secession, justified

secession, their analysis of the basis of theories, state making process through secession and how secessionist movements did globalize the world.

4.1.1 Secession

Secession means withdrawal from a particular community or group through the constitution of the new sovereign and independent state. Secession movements we will discuss through its emergence, secessionist movements and its process to secede. Here right to secession means to right to make an independent state, secession introduces the gradual movements or events which led in against of the government. Secession is a process of political disintegration, where Ernst Haas states that, “Political integration is the process the process whereby political actors in several distinct political systems are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations, and political activities toward a new center, the institutions of which possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing sub-system” (Haas 1968). Now we can identify that on the basis of this definition, “political disintegration is the process of political actors in the political system did withdraw to persuade their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards the central government. This process of disintegration, however, can ultimately result in numerous different outcomes due to the “the fickleness and elasticity” of separatists demands” (Horowitz 1981). “John Rawls, for instance, dismisses the possibility of secession without argument” (Buchanan 1991).

According to Bartkus, A working definition of the secession and secessionist movement is reinforcing the centrality of the state: - “A secession crisis occurs when the leaders representing a territorially concentrated and distinct community within a larger state translate discontent into demands for secession, and possess the power, either through sufficiently strong internal community mobilization or through the use of force, to compel the central government to react to those demands” (Bartkus 2004). “Secession is a form of refusal to acknowledge the state's claim to political authority, and that political philosophy has taken as one of its self-defining tasks the justification of political authority and the articulation of the conditions under which the state's claim to political authority may rightly be denied” (Buchanan 1991). “To emphasize: Secession necessarily involves a claim to territory; the precise nature of this territorial claim, and the various grounds upon which it may be asserted, will be analyzed later in detail” (Barnett 1990).

4.1.2 Justified Secession

Justified secession deals with the majority approval on the laws established for the minority's peoples, there were mutual consent on the laws or policies show the mutual justification. The conditions of the state rights for the citizens and secessionist displays the mutual consent for the policies, by which those people were equally protected. "Harry Beran reasons toward a justification for secession not from the direction of objectionable state rule, but rather by beginning with three liberal principles: freedom, sovereignty of the people, and legitimacy of majority rule; he proceeds to argue that liberal political philosophy requires that secession be permitted if it is effectively desired by a territorially concentrated group within a state" (Beran 1984). Walzer have argued with their three major points: First is that, secession may be justifiable because some communities like Kurds and Armenians can best express about the guarantee of survival through the sovereign power or with their autonomous establishment of the state. Second, all the historical nations did possess their own values and norms and follows accordingly in the present scenario also with their traditional values of survival. Third, secession may be a desirable outcome because internationally the first two points may defer for their conclusion. Walzer concludes that "in many parts of the world, the completion of the state system is the first requirement - if only because its completion, and the festering discontent of stateless people, is one of the prime causes of violence, war, and Great Power confrontation . . . The conflict of nationalism may be endless, but no particular conflict is necessarily endless, and each particular solution reforms even as it expands the state system and improves the chances of general peace" (Walzer 1986).

A general right of secession has five major justifications to elaborate it justifiably:

- ◆ Liberalism did gives the primacy to the liberty of the individual or the with the comparison to the others, to give them equal liberty. According to John Rawls equality in liberal theory for the liberty of individual with the comparison of others need the value of justification.
- ◆ The protection of justice and freedom requires the institutional systems and arrangements, which is defined as constitutional arrangements, for the free movements and modifications in the policies through the needful for the liberty of the peoples.

- ◆ Liberal-democratic systems did protect the civil and political rights of the minorities as major concern of their cultural rights. Where within a liberal political system the use of the minority language protected by the laws and legal bindings of the authority.
- ◆ Secession is the case of terminating, is not the case of devolving, where the community with the consent have their own sovereign group for the solution of their problems and also made provisions into their territorial limits.
- ◆ Liberal theory which is basically known for its rights based theoretical analysis, but in some consensus, it goes fail to protect the rights of the minorities and the community civil rights. Where we have to focus on the United Nations policies and laws and have to go accordingly.

All the five elements here discussed to form a right to make secession justified and regulate it within the legal framework of laws. Here the government has maintained some elements of the human rights, where they mainly consider the right of the individual to private property, then a free political association, and to a national culture or identity. These three elements lead to making the right of the individuals of the minority or the peoples of the community.

4.1.3 Theoretical Analysis of Secession

After the Second World War, there were the division of enclaves between two groups the Soviet Union and United States of America; both groups have taken groups under their jurisdiction without those people's approval. After that many state or region related problems have arisen. Many groups were not satisfied with the authority and they want to make their own state, although they have requested to the authority and share their problems but the major parts of the world, where secessionist groups have taken place, had been unsuccessful because authority have denied to give them the autonomous region. In result, the groups get aggressive and they had started secession through small events or protests but after long time that event have converted into the secessionist movements. Through the historical events it is not only helpful to understand the dimensions of the secessionist movements and their advantages or disadvantages. After this revival, theorists have started to formulate secession in theoretical senses, wherever they have suggested two lenses of theory:

Positive or explanatory theory and another one is Normative or Action-Building theory.

[A]. Positive or explanatory theory

Positive or explanatory theory answers the:

- (I). Who tries to secede and under what conditions;
- (II). When is a demand for a right to secede merely a strategic bluff to extract gains while remaining within the political union;
- (III). Under what conditions and by whom are secessionist movements likely to be resisted, and by what means;
- (IV). Which types of secessionist movements are likely to succeed, and under what conditions;
- (V). Under what conditions are secessionist movements likely to receive recognition and/or support from other countries;
- (VI). To what extent is nationalism, understood as the desire for ethnic political self-determination, the prime motivational force in secessionist movements;
- (VII). Can secession as an instance of collective action be adequately explained using standard economic models of rationality, or is participation in secessionist movements at least in significant part non-rational or irrational;
- (VIII). Under what conditions does opposition to the state result in an attempt to secede rather than in revolution (Buchanan 1991).

[B]. Normative or Action-building theory

“Normative or Action-building theory answers the following questions:

- (I). On what grounds and under what conditions is secession morally justified;
- (II). What methods for achieving secession are morally justified;
- (III). Under what conditions and for what reasons is it morally justified to resist secession, and by what methods;
- (IV). Under what conditions may or ought a country to recognize and/or actively support a secessionist movement in another country, and what methods may it use to do so;

(V). Under what conditions may or ought a country to aid those who resist secession, and by what means” (Buchanan 1991).

“Liberalism's failure to take secession seriously is graphically illustrated by perhaps the most influential, systematic, and comprehensive liberal view: John Rawls's theory of Justice as Fairness” (Rawls 1971).

4.1.4 State Making through Secession

The world's largest population of the world is Kurdish population where they are struggling for the independence around 90 years but still not get an autonomous region. The Kurdish majority lived in five major countries of the Middle East – Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. After many attempts the Iraqi Kurdish people have get their own republic of government but still not gets the overall control into their authority. Iraqi Kurdistan have their oil rich resources that is why we can say that it has get this opportunity for the referendum for the independence. After that the referendum in 2017 happened but did not get any positive result after the majority votes of 93% in the favor of the independence from the central government. The referendum process in a way has started the way of process of state making in the geographical sense. Mortan Kaplan, a political scientist has studied on Kurdish independence movement; he says that the referendum process is a beginning of the negotiation with the Baghdad for the independence. Charles Tilly, have stated that ‘War makes States’ in his famous work on ‘War making and State Making as Organized Crime’ in 1985. According to him war making is an important ingredient of state making, basically he has address the formation of new states in Europe. “Even if we accept the proposition that Kurdistan has existed as a distinct geographical entity as we now know it for longer than a hundred years; that the Kurds fulfill all the accepted criteria for nationhood; and that their legitimate collective aim should be to form an independent nation-state, it is still necessary for the Kurds to create an ‘imagined political community’, as it is necessary for all emergent nations” (Theresa 2004).

“Sovereignty refers not merely to the right to regulate various aspects of life within the territory, but also because it involves the capacity to exclude other political agents from control of the territory” (Hirst 2000). Kurdish people want to establish their own state with their own territorial jurisdiction, which would be controversial

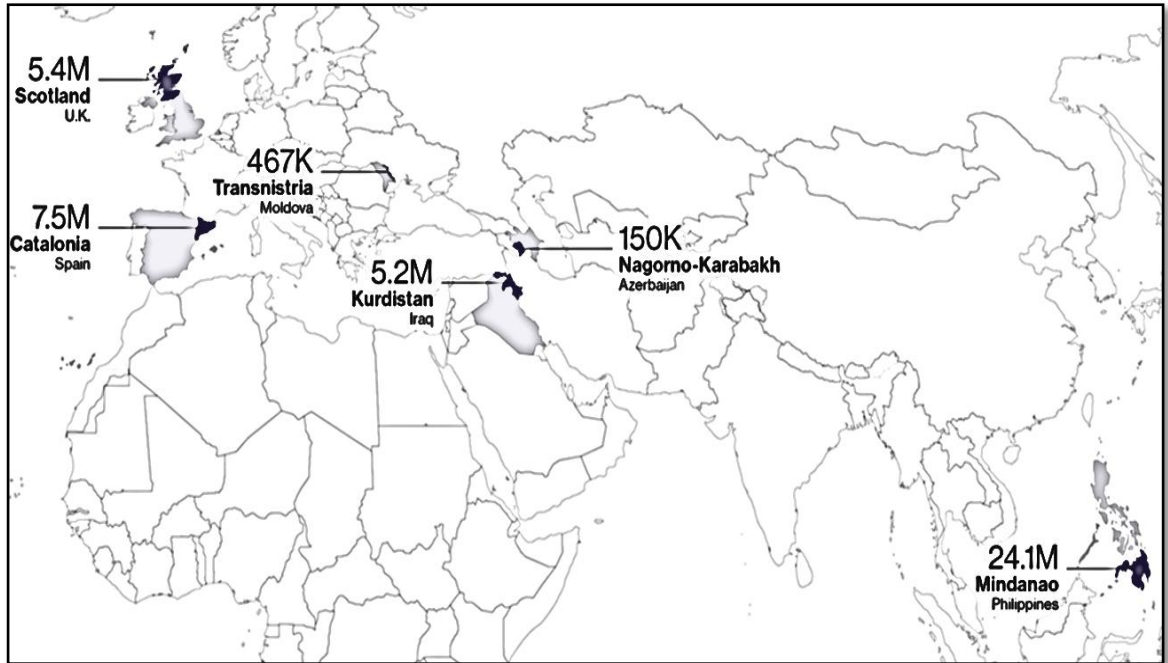
with the others territorial borders which is linked with the Kurdish regions. Demand for autonomy is possible whenever the border formation is not required but if the sovereignty would take place in the Kurdish independence then this would become problematic and this is the only reason for this longtime ongoing secession in the Middle East by the Kurdish peoples. Kurdish peoples demanding for independence but did not get yet, referendum have failed, we can say.

4.1.5 Globalization of Secessionist Movements

While social scientists may never come to a consensus as to when the process of globalization began, it is possible to trace the origins of the global state system to the treaty of Westphalia of 1648 “which recognized the existence of an interstate system composed of contiguous, bounded territories ruled by sovereign states committed to the principle of noninterference in each other's internal affairs” (Brenner 1999). In the context of the Middle East, only the Sunni Muslims of the Ottoman Empire remains the heterogeneous community in the region, where we can say in the twentieth century this community represents the region in the terms of major ethnic community in the region. “Otherwise, communities throughout the Ottoman Empire were allowed to answer to their own religious and tribal leaders, and the largely heterogeneous Ottoman society comprised of multitudes of sub-groups that did not tend to identify as singular nations” (White 1999). In the result of the world war I the Kurdish peoples gets the assistance from the leading power that they will get the autonomous region as the ‘Kurdistan’ according to the ‘Treaty of Sevres’ but after the intervention of the Soviet Union they have replaced the treaty with the ‘Treaty of Lausanne’ in 1923, where the Ottoman empire would be divided in five different states where Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Armenia were formed and the Kurdish peoples have not get any assistance. That is why after this formulation those peoples led to secede with the government through their demand of autonomy and still not get an autonomous region for the survival. The Kurdish people still divided in five major areas of the Middle East countries and demanding for a separate state. In the current world we have seen many secessionist movements where some have get their aim and some are still in the form of secession. In current example, we mention the example of Catalonia which is currently separated from the Spain through their secessionist movements and have got a new separate state.

There are still around 50 active secessionist movements around the world is going on, where the five major secessionist movements represent here: -

Fig. 4.1: Five major secessionist movements



Source: Caroline Alexander & Anthony Halpin (2017) “Redrawing Borders: Here Are Five More Separatist Movements to Watch”, Bloomberg politics.

These all secessionist movements have taken place and as a lucky secessionist ‘Catalonia’ have get the independence through the political referendum in 2017 but all the other secessionists are still struggling for their independence or for the autonomy.

[A]. Scotland

Scotland, Europe’s most prominent independence movement have taken place in 2014, where a referendum has taken place for voting in the favor of leaving European Union to decrease percentage of denial of the non-supporting people. After this referendum the Scotland have its own parliament to control the rights of education, transportation, health policies and some legal powers in its own control of jurisdiction, whereby the Scottish peoples supported the Scotland referendum after that this situation have arisen but still not get fully independent state with their sovereignty.

[B]. Transnistria

Transnistria is a land-locked state between Ukraine and Dniester River which is considered by the United Nations to be a part of Moldova, its broke away from this region after the disintegration of USSR in 1992 with the killing of around 700 peoples in the conflict. Transnistria has its own military, police, government and currency, here most of the Moldovan peoples lived and some also have the citizenship of Ukraine who lived here. After the annexation over Crimea the Transnistria president has talked with the Russian president to add it into Russian federation but they have not agreed, after that the existence of some 1200 Russian troops Transnistria has become the conflict zone between the Nagorno-Karabakh.

[C]. Nagorno-Karabakh

In the Nagorno-Karabakh the Armenians took over the enclave of it and seven surrounding districts of Azerbaijan to be a buffer-zone in 1991-1994 war, where they killed 25000 peoples and made million refugees after the fall of USSR. When the Russian have broken the ceasefire then many international mediators have attempted to maintain the situation with the peace-keeping cooperation but they have failed. The majority of the Armenian population has declared independence to become part of the Armenia after the collapse of the USSR. Armenia provides financial and military support to Nagorno-Karabakh peoples and these peoples have the right of self-determination, though they have not recognized as an independent state. Azerbaijan is insisting to ready for giving autonomy.

[D]. Iraqi Kurdistan

Kurds are the major ethnic community lives in five major parts of the Middle East countries – Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Armenia. Where the Iraqi Kurds have led for independence and greater autonomy from the government. In September 2017 they have conduct the referendum for the independence of the Iraqi Kurdistan but after the 93% of the voting in the favor of Kurd peoples the government of Iraq have denied to give them the autonomous region in Iraqi territory. With the Iraqi Kurds who are demanding for an autonomous region the Turkey's Kurds and Irani Kurds also have demanded and along with the Iraqi Kurds. But the Prime Minister of the Iraq has denied it with the reason of the Oil and natural resources politics.

[E]. Mindanao

Mindanao which is rich in natural resources in Island, where the conflict between communists and Muslims have arisen in the Philippines, where around 120000 peoples got died in this conflict. Where the major issue was the community or ethnic dynasty have taken place. But the six governments of Philippines on that time have made the martial law and implement it to all the population of who are living in Philippines where the Christian and Muslim majority always considered and hindered.

4.1.6 Secession and International Law

The background to the decision to explore secession related international law, was provided by a Study initiated by the Consortium on International Dispute Resolution (CIDIR) on the Peaceful Resolution of Major International Disputes, resulting in a book by that title, which was presented at the Centenary commemoration of the first International Peace Conference, held at The Hague in 1999 (Brossard 1982). "The issue of secession arises whenever a significant proportion of the population of a given territory, being part of a State, expresses the wish by word or by deed to become a sovereign State in itself or to join with and become part of another sovereign State" (UN 2003). "Koskenniemi defines that "Secession was compliance, and opposing rupture of old colonial State was unlawful", he further notes that Article 19 (3)(b) of the International Law Commission's draft articles on State Responsibility even spoke of this as *jus Cogens*" (Koskenniemi 1994). "The Joint Opinion prepared in 1992 in Quebec by Professors Pellet, Shaw, Higgins, Franck and Tomuschat emphasized that no legal right existed in favor of secession on the alleged ground that the entity concerned is composed of a linguistic minority within a State in which the majority are of a different linguistic grouping" (Pellet, Shaw, Higgins, Franck and Tomuschat 1992). Decolonization was the only state making process in the world during the second half of the twentieth century, which was not viewed as legal international order.

Allen Buchanan says that for making a different or particular law for the secession in a particular constitution have two important reasons to form: First, there is a requirement of internal constitutional consistency: A provision for secession would have to be substantively and procedurally compatible with the rest of the constitution; Second, just as different countries usually require different constitutions,

they will also require different constitutional laws concerning secession, depending upon the particular facts about their current conditions, history, and moral-political traditions: So what, he offer here is no do-it-yourself political divorce kit (Buchanan 1991). Allen Buchanan refers to the idea that we are to think of an ideal constitution as what would be chosen or agreed upon by rational parties to a hypothetical constitutional convention who are behind a “veil of ignorance”- that is, who are deprived of certain knowledge that might bias their deliberations and hence the constitutional rules they choose (Rawls 1971). Allen Buchanan has suggested two ideal types of model for the constitution of secede: the substantive model and procedural model.

[A]. Substantive Model

In this type of model, the relations between the morality of secession and constitutional right are direct in nature of the principles. The constitutional right only justifies the moral rights of the peoples who secede the government and it formulated for these moral effects. Where controversy emerged that the secessionist groups always justifies unconstitutionally and they treated unjustly. Territorial sovereignty of theses peoples has been violated, or they always faced discrimination by the authority or by the government. These unjust behavior leads to make a constitution for those peoples who secede and give them a constitutional right.

[B]. Procedural Model

This model illustrates that when they go for secession then there is no justification required because they secede in relation to their problems where government did not give any assistance and even did not consider their problems. Peoples secede only those terms, if the government did not consider their problems or ignore that. Procedural model concerned about the legitimacy of secession in the constitutional principle or it against the presumptions of the legitimacy of the unfaulty behavior regarding the secessionist movements. Proceduralists say that if you do secede that you have to this and this only.

4.2 Kurds Secession from 1920 to till now

In the World War I - Kurds have supported to Ottomans, after the collapse of Ottoman empire the leading state in war have given a policy in the favor of the Kurdish people through the 'Treaty of Sevres' in 1920, to make an autonomous state for Kurdish peoples. But after the intervention of the Soviet Union the policy had changed and reformulated with new policies and ideas, with the 'Treaty of Laussane' in 1923 to divide Ottoman Empire in five major states. After this treaty the five Middle East countries have established – Turkey, Syria, Iran, Iraq and Armenia. Kurdish people have divide into these five countries that is why they have got aggressive in nature and protested against the central government for their autonomy. From that time, they have led movements for their demand but would not be successful. After long time they have formed as secessionist movements, but in my view, how we can say that is a secessionist movement – it is somewhat like a legal demand for the autonomy on the basis of the requirements of a new state formation. They have the fulfillment of the population in the ranges; they have their own ethnicity, their own language, and their own history. Then why the people call it a secessionist movement, it is not done by their own but the government has forced to do this. If the government did fulfill their demand then definitely this movement will never take a form of secessionist movement. "Conceptually, sovereignty has come to take meanings beyond its original dominant understanding of territorial control or supreme authority within a territory" (Philpott 2001). "It is now understood as having more to do with the concept of independence in arriving at decisions rather than exclusive and absolute power in making them" (Castellino 2000).

Autonomy granted in 1970, Iraqi government and Kurdish parties has agreed to make a peace accord and ready to make a legal provision on the Kurdish language that Iraqi people has been made up of two languages, both the Iraqi and Kurdish languages, in according to the new constitutional accord. But in 1971 the relations between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish people has been weaken. In 1974, Iraqi government proposes an agreement and sends it to KDP to think about and response in two weeks, but the Mulla Mustafa Barzani has rejected that agreement because in that agreement the KDP has to left the Kirkuk oil fields, after that they have met in the new rebellion. After that a rebellion had started between Iraq and Iran, in that result PUK has agreed to made ceasefire with Iraq and in that result, they are ready to

negotiate on the matter of autonomy. After the end of the gulf war the coalition forces have announced to make 'safe heaven' for the refugees and then Jalan Talabani met with Iraqi president Saddam Hussein to negotiate on the matter of autonomy. In 1992, finally the election has been taken place, where PUK and KDP have get the proportionate vote and made their government. In 2002, the PUK and KDP have been decided to work together. In 2005, the first session of the Kurdish parliament has begun with Massoud Barzani. After that many bombings and attacks made up in the Kurdish region by the opposition, but still those Kurdish people are struggling for sovereignty.

4.3 Elements lead to Secession

The term 'secede' comes from Latin word 'secedere' which means any act of withdrawal; it appears into English in early nineteenth century in America. In ancient times in was used for as an example that secede from church or secede from group but in contemporary world 'state' term have taken place into it and after this the term secession will formulate for the withdrawal from a community or group. "So, secession is not just any kind of political action; it is the withdrawal of a people from a modern state under the moral principle of the right of self-government, and such that the separation requires the territorial dismemberment of that state" (Livingston 1998).

"There are four main elements leads to the secession, and those are – a distinct community, territory, leaders and discontent; First, the demands must be presented by an identifiable unit, or distinct community, which is smaller than the state and which threatens to withdraw if not satisfied; Political protests would not normally lead to secession crises; The May 1989 mass demonstrations by Chinese students and workers in Tienanmen Square demanding increased political rights from a repressive totalitarian regime did not lead to a secession crisis, since the demonstrators intentions were not to pull out of the People's Republic but rather to reform its government; The following section explains the reasons for using "distinct community" in place of other possible descriptions; Second, this identifiable unit of people must be associated with a geographical territory, on which it would presumably intend to establish its new independent state; because they are dispersed across the United States, African Americans are unlikely to translate demands to end racial discrimination into calls for secession; Third, leadership of the movement is necessary both to translate the

community's needs into demands for secession and to organize efforts to make its threats credible; without effective leadership, threats to the community might merely generate social disorder and violence as pent-up frustrations are vented; Fourth, discontent with its current circumstances within the existing state is necessary to motivate this identifiable unit to demand change, although in any individual case the causes of discontent are not necessarily identical to the motivations for the secession decision” (Bartkus 2004).

Whereby we can include the community into territory and a government rules over a territorial jurisdiction. Group of communities did form a nation or state where in Kurdish community is the largest community in the middle east of the world but still they do not get any separate state, on the basis of this diversity of the government they will move for secession or making events against the central government of the state for their demand of autonomy or sovereignty. In the current world, we have seen many groups who had secede against their government on the demand for many reasons but they are peoples who are strictly bind to follow the customs and traditions of the related state. That is why we can say that they are suppressed by the government and the way through secession of their demand for autonomy is valid in some terms and government should give some freedom for their ethnicity or tradition or otherwise they have to give them the autonomous region into the control of the Kurdish people. If this will take place then the problem of secession, will not take place and they will get their separate state for survival with their own customs and norms. These four elements would not be separable and accordingly the government will have to made consensus on it.

4.3.1 Restriction on the Use of Kurdish Language

International law by the United Nations protects the rights of the peoples or the ethnicity of the minority groups, where they cannot get any assistance from the government. The United Nations declaration on the Rights of the Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities explains that states have required to minority communities that they have the right to speak their mother tongue and follow their traditions. No state can bind or restrict to follow their traditional language but in some countries the government is still restricts the rules that the minority groups cannot follow their traditional language. That is why some minority

groups leads to secession and through this they treated by the government as an illegal persons or groups. In Turkey there was state restrictions observed in the use of Kurdish language, they will not allow peoples to learn Kurdish language and they will not allow the broadcasting of news channels in Kurdish language. There was very radical situation established regarding the human rights of the Turks Kurds, Turkey's government have always tortured them through the violation and through suppressing them. Many massacres have done there, where maximum population has dead into that massacre and many were taken into exile. European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, established by the European Council to make laws against Racism and Intolerance as an independent human right. In 2009, government has taken an important initiative for the Turks Kurds naming "Democratic Initiative" to resolve the problems of Kurds through peaceful methods. The authorities have approved a policy to establish a language institute, where Kurdish language would have taught as a subject, to raise the status of the minority groups of the Turkey.

Table 4.1: Events and Policies Affecting the Use of Kurdish Language

| Year | Restrictions | Loosening |
|--|--|--|
| -1920s – 1930s Kurdish ethno national Uprisings | -Through mass executions or imprisonment by the state, the uprisings were shut down. | |
| -1934 Resettlement Act | -This act led to forced migration and re-location of Kurds. | |
| -Surname Law of 1934 | -All citizens were required to adopt a Turkish family name. | |
| -Starting in 1930s | -Town and city names changed from Kurdish into Turkish. | |
| -Multi-party system | | -Freedom of expression, emergence and representation of more political parties/ideologies. |
| -1965 | -Establishment of boarding schools for Kurdish children. | |
| -Late 1960s onwards | | -Growing Kurdish student organizations raising awareness on the Kurdish issue. |
| -Literacy campaigns lasting until 1980s | -Only teaching literacy in Turkish. | -More educated Kurds led to more awareness of their Kurdish identity. |
| -1982 Constitution | -Ban of Kurdish language in print and media and introduction of 10% threshold for political Parties. | |

Source: Arslan, Sevda (2015). "Language Policy in Turkey and Its Effect on the Kurdish Language", Master's Theses. 620.

4.3.2 Kurdish Self-Determination in International Law

The term self-determination has coined in the 1865 but it was implemented in the era of World War I where Austro-Hungarian was defeated throughout its territories. After that following in the World War II it was expended and used in the circumstances of foreign domination or expansion in the people's territory with the use of new process of decolonization. "Towards the end of the 20th century, however, the ideal of self-determination expanded and an increasing number of minority groups within national states have claimed this right as a justification for separatist movements" (Horowitz 2003). In the two covenants establishing the norms for international human rights, the United Nations declared that "all peoples have the right of self-determination" and that all states "including those having a responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination..." (The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights 1966 (ICESCR), articles 1).

"In the addition of this General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) addresses that – "subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a violation of the principles, as well as a denial of fundamental human rights, and is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations; after that international charters determines it as inalienable human right, including the African Charter on Human People's Rights, General Assembly resolutions on the rights of Palestinians, blacks in South Africa and former Rhodesia, as well as the Treaty on the Final Settlement With Respect to Germany 1990 and the European Community's Declaration on the Guidelines on the Recognition of New States in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union of December 1991" (McCorquodale 1994). "**Article 1 (2)** of the Charter reminds us that one of the underlying purposes of the United Nations is to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle Self-determination and Secession of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; That phrase equal rights and self-determination of peoples is the formula that appears elsewhere; Thus **Article 55**, on economic and social cooperation, instructs the United Nations to promote higher standards of living, solutions to health and cultural problems, and universal respect for human rights all in order to create conditions necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on equal rights and

self-determination" (UN 2003). Both the articles are showing the rights of the peoples which is related by the states and interference of the other states. **Article 76** provides that the basic objective of Trusteeship shall be "to promote . . . their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned" (UN 2003).

Resolution 1514 provides in operative paragraph 2 that all peoples subject to colonial rule have the right to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development;

Resolution 1541 (X V) made clear that this exercise in self-determination could result in various outcomes and stipulated the processes required to ensure that informed, free, and voluntary choices were being made" (UN 2003).

Article 27 of the Covenant: persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities within a State shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of that group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language; In 1992 the United Nations adopted, by consensus, resolution Secession and International Law 47/135, being the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities" (UN 2003).

4.4 Overlapping Sovereignty and Self-Determination - A Case of Iraqi Kurdistan

Arab uprisings in 2011 have raised many changes in the Middle East, which has impacted on the national or territorial limits of the peoples and stateless peoples of the region. Where the non-state actors and the institutional government were the major components of these changes, these organizations have seized the power over national and international communities. The outcomes of this uprising were related to the existed political parties and groups which were intertwined, the regimes and institutions have raised many questions about the internal and external politics. The principle of self-determination and sovereignty are crucially relevant on the discussion of the legitimacy and recognition of the states and no-state actors such as the 'Kurdistan Regional Government'. In Iraqi Kurds have the autonomous right to rule over the Kurdistan region of Iraq from 1991 to 2003 before that they had the de

facto autonomy? “Poor relations with Baghdad and the relative stability of Iraqi Kurdistan fed into an already strong sense of Kurdish nationalism” (Tahiri 2007). Kurdish people have demanded for sovereignty from the Arab uprisings, in 2014 they have get and appeal of independence in the form of referendum, but that was postponed due to the reason of some unhappening in the middle east or we can say that lack support of the United States. “Iraqi Kurdistan have concerned about the question that what constitute the legitimate sovereignty because of its non-state performances for secession; Iraqi Kurdistan has been characterized as having de facto statehood” (Voller 2013), being an unrecognized state” (Voller 2015) and being a quasi-state” (Natali 2010). We cannot ignore that Iraqi Kurdistan in somewhat economically dependent on the budget which comes from the Baghdad government, where the KRG holds some diplomatic relations with the other states. According to Erskine “Quasi States” refers to the term ‘Sovereign States’, but this type of state economically, socially dependent on the others because of the conflicts, financial difficulties and underdevelopment.

Iraqi Kurdistan have their autonomy but only in partial because it is an underdeveloped nation where economic investment did takes place for their economic or financial development, that is why we can say that sovereignty overlapping with self-determination. “The conceptual shifts in the meaning of self-determination and sovereignty in relation to separatist groups over the course of the 20th century allude to an overlap between the two principles, and the Iraqi Kurdish demands for statehood fit in this overlap; non-recognition of the KRG as a state pushes the KRG to democratize in order to increase its international legitimacy” (Voller 2015). The claims of the Iraqi Kurdistan for the self-determination and sovereignty have been overlapped by the time. In relation to separatist nationalism, both the self-determination and sovereignty have been seen as the conflicting principle, because of the secessionist demands for self-determination have threatens the sovereignty of the state. After all, the changing dimensions for the demand of statehood through these two principles are coming together and now they are overlapping to each other. “As a result of the totality between domestic and international spheres, states and other non-state actors are under pressure to organize their political and social structure in a way that is similar to each other” (Halliday 1994). “Self-determination means people’s right to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social

and cultural development” (Article 1, 1966 UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights). “Internal self-determination refers to accommodating the group’s claims within existing states, whereas external self-determination refers to secession, the creation of new states and changing boundaries in order to accommodate claims” (Castellino 2000). “The Paris Peace Conference limited the application of self-determination to territories and peoples in Europe, Turkish possessions in Anatolia and the Middle East, and the German and Italian colonial possessions” (Manela 2007).

Chapter-V

Geopolitical Analysis of Kurdistan in International Politics

Geopolitical analysis of the Kurdistan in international politics is a major issue arisen nowadays, to claim the status on the map of the largest community of the Middle East. As earlier mentioned in introductory chapter of the dissertation, that Kurdish people have formed their own political parties to get their political and ethical autonomy and integrity in the Middle East as a new state 'Kurdistan' but the state and central governments are still contesting with the Kurdish political parties and collapsed them many times in the past. In the current scenario Kurdish community have led to referendum in Iraq to make their own separate legitimate government to make policies for their own Kurdish people in the light of their problems. In this chapter, we will firstly discuss about the geopolitics, that how it exists in the Kurdish region of the middle east and how geopolitics linked with the Kurdistan. After that we will introduce the political parties of the all Kurdish living states that why they formed and what are the kinds of their objectives to led their party. Through this evaluation we will examine the Kurdish demands and relate it with the regional and international politics of the Kurdish people and their military.

As we know that they have faced much discrimination from the 1920s and governments of all the regions of the Kurdish living states are still suppressing them to live under the state governments jurisdictions. Governments show that they will never get the legitimacy as a newly independent state and will never get the autonomy or sovereignty from the Middle East as a new state 'Kurdistan'. So, the major concern of this chapter that how geopolitically Kurdistan is important for other countries and what are the interests of the other countries lead to provide them security equipment and security from the center. Now, we will identify the geopolitical importance of the Kurdistan in international politics with the relation of the growing countries, such as United States of America and other powerful countries, which interested in Kurdish region for their investments and economic developments.

5.1 Geopolitics

As we have discussed and introduced that geopolitics is the term in which we define that it is the combination of geographical settings and political processes. Through which any country has made and formulate their foreign policy for their international relations. Where geography is the main course and politics did lead to it for the region. As Gray said that, 'geopolitics is the study of spatial values of the country'. As we know that the geopolitics is the component of human geography and human geography relates with that what geographers does when it gets valid or invalid results. Geographers did study the world through the lenses of geography and spatial basis, and offering to a legitimate result of the study. Place in the geopolitics played a major role to understand the nation or state with the combination of peoples who are living there. In the geopolitical sense when we would see the migrants of the states then we acknowledge through them that what kind of state they belong.








In a way, migrants are the major source of globalization, expanding the tradition, culture and language from here to there. "The classical geopoliticians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century's invoked a God's eye view of the world, providing simple histories or theories that, they claimed, not only explained what has happened in the past, but suggested particular policies to inform the actions of their own country in a global competition with others" (Parker 1985). Precisely, Geopolitics is the term which is overlapped by the territory, flows, resources, culture and identity. With it any country can claim that this is their own region or area and that was the others. From the origin of the term 'Geopolitics' many geographers have linked it to the regional element to become great power from the age of the World War I. the term was developed by the Rudolf Kjellen and used by many geographers and political scientists on the time. Alfred Thayer Mahan have pointed out that who controls over the sea, controls the world, according to Mackinder who controls the Heartland, can control over the destinies of the world, at last Nicholas J. Spykman have criticizes that Heartland is not the only core area but Rimland is also the major part of the land, and defines that who rules over the Rimland, controls the world island.

5.2. Kurdish Political Parties in Turkey

The establishment of the Turkey as a separate state in 1923, to identify its political parties and political role we have to understand its internal and external relations in the international system. From 1923 till now Turkey has experienced many challenges and changes into their system, where domestically and internationally they have faced many upheavals. “until recently, the confrontation between center and periphery was the most important social cleavage underlying Turkish politics and one that seemed to have survived more than a century of modernization” (Mardin 1973). There was the cultural issues and protests emerged by the local communities against the central government. After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey was established in 1923 with the treaty of Lausanne. In those periods they have not established their laws and policies and political parties in the opposition of other political parties. Even they have not formed any political parties till the end of the Second World War. “Only after the first military coup in 1960-61 some political parties - conservative as well as leftist ones - started to exploit specific religious or ethnic issues for political benefits” (Gunev 2002).

New Turkey Party (YTP) is the first Turkey’s party which gets 30% votes in the South eastern Turkey region, where maximum Kurdish landlords exists in the region and involved in the party. It was the first Turkish Workers Party (TIC), which was openly recognized the Kurdish peoples in Turkey. In Turkey, from 1960-1970, the Kurdish protests and movements seems as a leftist group of the Turkey, even they have get the legitimacy as an ideology of ‘Leninism and Marxism’. “Kurdish militants believed that ‘Marxism-Leninism’ would simultaneously provide them with a framework to remain Kurdish and ensure fraternity between Kurds and Turks; it was thus supposed to allow the emancipation of the Turkish working class and the Kurds” (Hamit 2012). “After the 1971 military memorandum, however, the Constitutional Court shut down the party on charges of violating the principle of the state’s integrity and indivisibility of its territory” (Celep 2014). Historically, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Turkey (PDKT) established in 1960 by Faik Bucak, but after some time it was declared because of their demand for autonomy and in 1977 for independence.

Table 5.1: Kurdish Political Parties in Turkey

| Party Logo | Party Name | Founded | Dissolved | Reason for Dissolution |
|---|---|-----------|------------|---|
|  | HEP (Halkin Emek Partisi) People's Labor Party | June 1990 | July 1993 | Banned by the Constitutional Court |
|  | DEP (Demokrasi Partisi) Democracy Party | May 1993 | June 1994 | Banned by the Constitutional Court; some MPs imprisoned |
|  | HADEP (Halkin Emek Partisi) People's Democracy Party | May 1994 | March 2003 | Banned by the Constitutional Court for support of the PKK |
|  | DEHAP (Demokratik Halk Partisi) Democratic People's Party | Oct 1997 | Nov 2005 | Dissolved itself to form the DTP |
|  | DTP (Demokratik Toplum Partisi) Democratic Society Party | Nov 2005 | Dec 2009 | Banned by the Constitutional Court |
|  | BDP (Bans ve Demokrasi Partisi) Peace and Democracy Party | May 2008 | Apr 2014 | Merged with HDP |
|  | HDP (Halkların Demokratik Partisi) People's Democratic Party | Aug 2012 | | |
|  | HUDA-PAR (Hur Dava Partisi) Free Cause Party | Dec 2012 | | |

Source: Celep Ödül (2014): *Can the Kurdish Left Contribute to Turkey's Democratization?* In: *Insight Turkey* 16 (3), pp. 165-180.

5.2.1 HEP (People's Labor Party)

The People's Labor Party is better known as the first legal pro-Kurdish party in Turkey because the majority of the supporters if Kurdish in the Turkey for this party. It has given emphasis on the turkey's Kurdish issue and also linked with the Kurdistan Workers Party. This evolvment has represented the turning point in the Turkey from the Kurdish side. "It was the first time that Kurds promoting a Kurdish national agenda and formed an official political party capable of competing and winning elections at both the national and local levels" (Watts 2010). "HEP's primary demand was the extension of Kurds' linguistic, expression and publication rights, allowing education in Kurdish language, ending the state of emergency law and dissolving the village guard system". HEP emerged as a small group of the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP), officially founded in June 1990 and first time contested for parliamentary election in 1991 on the ticket of the SHP party and has get 22 seats in parliament out of 450 seats. In their oath ceremony many political deputies of the HEP have switched for Kurdish language and displayed the PKK colors. After that HEP had left the SHP to reestablish the party in new form. Due to the explicit promotion of the cultural and political rights of the Kurdish people in the framework of self-determination the HEP was banned by the Constitutional court in July 1993. Mainly it was banned because the HEP have destroyed the unity of the people's in Turkey with the illegal activities of the PKK.

5.2.2 DEP (Democracy Party)

When the legal process of HEP's closure was going on than one new party have emerged Freedom and Democracy Party (OZDEP) but constitutional have worked for its closure because the focus of this party was on territorial integrity of Kurdish people, that is why it was declined in November 1993. But the same members of the party have established a new party, naming Freedom and Equality Party (OZEP) and merged with the Democracy Party which was newly established. DEP established in May 1993, its actions were more controversial and radical than their predecessors. Most of the deputies of the HEP are have joined the DEP, in comparison to HEP's deputies the DEP leaders were largely linked with the regional and territorial Kurdish groups, like PKK. "The party was deeply divided from the beginning between those who advocated maintaining or reestablishing closer relations with the Turkish liberal establishment and those who wanted it to become more

closely tied to the PKK” (Watts 2010). An event in January 1994 at DEP’s office (Lice) six persons were arrested from the shelling of the Army that event result the decline of the DEP party. Because after that event the DEP have withdrawn from the February 1994 local elections to enables the ‘Welfare Party’ to capture the designation of the Head of the Kurdish group. After that the Turkish government has lifted those six peoples into jail and other members have escaped in Europe. As a result, the DEP party was banned by the Turkish Constitutional court in June 1994. “The Council of Europe’s Parliamentary Assembly demanded the immediate release of the DEP MPs, while the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly or the UN Committee against Torture criticized the human rights situation in Turkey; these alarmed officials in Ankara, as the country aimed to join the European Customs Union” (Guney 2002).

5.2.3 HADEP (People’s Democracy Party)

After the closure of the DEP party the pro-Kurdish peoples have formed a new political party, naming the People’s Democracy Party (HADEP) in May 1994. Murat Bozlak the new party chair has focused the emphasis on human rights and democracy as the main concern of the party. HADEP was the first Kurdish political party who has participated in elections by its own in 1995 and 1999. “Although it was the dominant party in the Kurdish region, it did not pass the ten percent threshold at the national level thus not winning a single seat in parliament”. This party have gained only 4 percent votes in 1995 and 4.5 percent votes in 1999, major votes have gained in 1995 by the center-right and conservative parties whereas mainly the Welfare Party (RP) and Motherland Party (ANAP). Which have seen as the consequence of the ethnic division and tribal loyalties among the Kurds. Apart from this the HADEP party in 1999 elections has won 37 municipalities across the Kurdish region. Eventually it was declined by the Turkish Constitutional Court in March 2003. As a result, 46 founding members of this party has banned for political activities.

5.2.4 DEHAP (Democratic People’s Party)

DEHAP was founded in 1997 and dissolved in November 2005 through the de facto. HADEP was succeeded by the DEHAP (Democratic People’s Party) political party, which have gained around three million votes in the region. Whereas, more than 6 percent of the votes was from the Turkey in 2002 general elections. In result, they have not entered the Turkish Parliament because of the ten percent threshold.

DEHAP was the dominant party in the eastern and south-eastern Anatolia, around 12 provinces and with the average of 40 percent of the Anatolia region. “Still, whereas in 1995 and 1999 the pro-Islamist Welfare Party (RP) and the Virtue Party (FP) benefited from HADEP not passing the threshold, it was the AKP in 2002 that took political advantage of DEHAP not entering parliament” (Carkoglu 2002). “In August 2005, after DEHAP had first joined the Democratic Society Movement (DTH), led by Leyla Zana and three other former lawmakers, they established the Democratic Society Party (DTP)” (Watts 2010). Recep Tayyip Erdogan, was the first Turkish leader in 2005, who have said that the ‘Turkey have mishandled the Kurdish people’ like all the great countries, who suppressing their minorities of the region.

“In 2005 Erdogan became the first Prime Minister to acknowledge that the Turkish state has made mistakes about the Kurdish issue” (Polat 2008). Following to the Abdullah Ocalan capture in 1999, allowing ceasefire by the PKK the moderate Kurdish groups have supported to EU for the guarantee of the more democracy and human rights. Eight leaders of the DEHAP party have send to criminal court at Ankara in August 2005. “In June 2005, for instance, the party gave its full support to a joint declaration by 150 intellectuals calling the PKK to unconditionally lay down its arms”. “In August, welcoming Erdoğan’s statement, the party referred to international developments like the peace process in Northern Ireland that would force the DEHAP to change its position”.

5.2.5 DTP (Democratic Society Party)

After the DEHAP closure the DTP party emerged as a successor but it had not participated in the 2007 general elections. This party have secured 22 seats in the Turkish parliament in its first attempt and accused as the political wing of PKK by the Turkish government. In the 2009 general elections the DTP have won around 100 major mayoralties in the cities and towns of the Kurdish region. After the entering into parliament of the DTP, there was the result that the penetration of AKP’s in the Kurdish regions. In the first year of the AKP’s incumbency about the Kurdish issue was bolstered by the EU accession process. The emergency rule over the 13 provinces of the Kurdish region was lifted in 2002 and HADEP leaders were released from the jail, broadcasting and education in Kurdish language have introduced into that period. Due to the lacking in economic development the DTP party have lose their voted by 2 percent. After some time, the AKP party has started to distinguish between the

Kurdish issue and PKK terrorism. In 2009 many cases were opened against the DTP members and two of them were sent to jail. “In Diyarbakir the criminal court sentenced two Kurdish politicians, Diyarbakir mayor Osman Baydemir and former DTP leader Nejmet Atalay, to 10 months in prison for publicly spreading terrorist propaganda by referring to the PKK as ‘guerillas’ instead of ‘terrorists’ in a public speech”.

5.2.6 BDP (Peace and Democracy Party)

Before the closure of the DTP, the BDP have established in 2008 and many Kurdish leaders have joined it freely. This BDP party has gained 36 seats in National Assembly in 2011 Parliamentary Elections. All the BDP supported candidates was linked with the supporting groups of the Kurdish issue and from the pro-Kurdish leaders. The main aims of this party were education in their own mother tongue, ethnic rights and decentralization. In 2014, the BDP party was merged with the HDP party.

5.2.7 HDP (People’s Democratic Party)

The HDP party formed with the alliance of the Kurdish groups, national minorities and many green groups. “BDP and HDP combined different leftist and socialist, progressive and western orientated groups, since the BDP had serious problems to reach out for electoral segments beyond the Kurds in south- and southeastern regions of Anatolia”. HDP have formed an umbrella organization with the aim to win over the opposition parties and get their majority votes in to their favor. “Among Kurdish activists, including BDP supporters, some feared that the Kurds’ political profile and national struggle will be weakened, whereas others said the HDP’s socialist background would alienate religious Kurds”. The main manifesto of the HDP considers the equality, freedom, democracy, peace, labor, self-government, gender equality and ecology. Turkey needs an anti-sexist, ecological and more democratic government which would reflect the multiculturalism, ethnicity and multi-identity reality in the current scenario within the issue of Kurdish people in the Turkey’s dominance. Achievement of peace in Turkey is the major priority of the HDP political party. The major claim of this party was allowing education in their minority languages over the Turkey for the minority establishment as the people of that state and these minorities would relate with the country. The major Kurdish

parties viewed as pro-Kurdish or leftist-socialist groups, which mainly follows the non-capitalist behavior and neglect the capitalism. “The party defines itself as a democratic and peaceful grassroots movement: ‘Our organization starts from the streets and develops into local assemblies in our neighborhoods’”. The HDP have managed 80 seats out of 550 seats in Turkey’s parliament, through this progress the AK party have lost its majority in the region.

5.2.8 HUDA-PAR (Free Cause Party)

HUDA-PAR party formed in December 2012 with the aim of values of Islam and rights for the 14 million Sunni Kurds in Turkey. Many people have said that the HUDA-PAR is linked with the Hizbullah, the terrorist group because he is also a Sunni but party denied any links with Hizbullah. “In January 2000 the Turkish Police dismantled the Kurdish Hizbullah, which was accused of aspiring to establish an Islamic state”. HUDA-PAR has strong hold on the south-eastern parts of the Turkey, where the major Kurdish population is religious, conservative and rural. “In January 2015, for instance, 100.000 people participated in a rally organized by HUDA-PAR in Diyarbakır to protest the satirical French magazine Charlie Hebdo, which was the target of a deadly attack for its cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad”. In 2015 parliamentary elections this party would enter into parliament with the ten percent threshold and it has not applied.

5.3 Kurdish Political Parties in Iran

5.3.1 The Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Iran (PDKI)

After the collapse of the major city of middle east as a republic (Mahabad), within a year of its establishment, many leaders have imprisoned after its collapse. KDPI recognizes the surrounding parts of the Mahabad as heartland where majority population speaks Surani language. This party is also recognizing as the ultimate modern Kurdish political party, this party was established 16th August 1945 in eastern Kurdistan by Qazi Muhammad. After few months PDKI has established the ‘Republic of Kurdistan’ in the Iranian Kurdistan. In the election of the 1952 majority have voted to KDPI but after the voting it declared invalid. “After Mosaddeqh was overthrown, the repression by the Shah regime intensified considerably and lasted until the Islamic Revolution in 1979” (Nirumand 1991). After that the KDPI party and the Marxist

Tudeh party has come into under pressure and after some period in 1960s and 1970s both parties were banned. “However, soon after Ayatollah Khomeini had seized power in 1979, Khomeini declared what he termed a ‘holy war’ on the Kurds of Iran. This resulted in the deaths of over 10,000 Kurds” (Yildiz 2007). After some time Barzani came from exile in Moscow and have become the Kurdish leader. “18 months later the uprising was quelled by the Iranian army with support of Barzani’s Peshmerga troops; again, Iranian and Iraqi Kurds were played off against each other – as it had happened before when conflicts between Iran and Iraq broke out” (Nirumand 1991). “In 2006 the KDPI split up again and both parties insist that they represent the former KDPI and use the name for their newly-created party”. Eventually the PDKI is banned in Iran, and this had not longer operated with their troops and their systematic operations in the Iran. The KDP was the merger group of the PDKI, which was led by Khalid Azizi. Now the KDP party have functioned in Iraq only with their supreme authority.

5.3.2 Komala

In the Kurdish language Komala means ‘society’ which was established in 1969 in Tehran, as a result of the Marxist Kurdish Movement. This movement led by the Abdullah Mohtadi, he was mainly inspired with the Mao (China’s leader on socialism). In 1983, this party has joined the leftist movement in Iran and has formed a party which was short-lived Communist Party of Iran. After some time Komala have left the communist party and have continued its struggles by its own. After the KDPI the Komala is the second party which has fight for Kurdish rights against the Islamic Republic of Iran. “After the Islamic Revolution it attracted many of the young, educated, urban Kurds because of its radicalism as well as peasants because the group aimed at forming peasant unions” (Merip 1994). “There are now five organizations that are active under the same name of Komala: 1) The Kurdistan Organization of the Iranian Communist Party-Komalah under the leadership of Ibrahim Alizadeh; 2) The Revolutionary Organization of Toilers of Iranian Kurdistan, under the leadership of Abdullah Mohtadi; In the 12th congress of Komala in August 2007, Komala modified its name in Persian to Hezb-e Komala-ye Kordestan-e Iran (Komala Party of Iranian Kurdistan); the Kurdish version remained unchanged;3) The Organization of Toilers of Kurdistan, led by Omar Ilkhanizade; 4) Komalay Shorshgeri Zahmatkeshani

Kurdistani Eran — Rewti Yekgrtnewe (The 172 Revolutionary Organization of Toilers of Iranian Kurdistan — Reunification Faction), led by Abdulla Konaposhi; This faction split to form Mohtadi's Komala on April 29, 2008, accusing Abdullah Mohtadi of non-democratic management of Komala and a policy of cooperation with Reza Pahlavi and the monarchists in Iran; 5) On July 15, 2009 a group of ICP cadres announced that they, following their split from the ICP, would work as Rewti Sosialisti Komala (Socialist Faction of Komala)" (Ahmadzadeh 2010). Komala's main reason for the party establishment is to make Iran a democratic, secular and federal Iran, to allow all the religion to live into their country or to give rights to minority groups into the Iran, such as the Kurdish people. After the collapse of PDKI, Komala was the one greatest organization in the Iranian region for the Kurdish people. Now it is banned in the Iran and its bases have existed in the KRG area of the Kurdistan.

5.3.3 The Free Life Party of Kurdistan (PJAK)

The Free Life Party of Kurdistan have established in late 1990s as a student based peaceful human rights movement. This party wanted to maintain the Kurdish identity in Iran and to prevent from the Iranian government's renaming of Kurdish people as the Persians have come from Aryans. Before it had worked with the KRG as a partner but now PJAK established by its own and stand with the only agenda to represent the Kurdish Party not others. In 2004 PJAK have started as a separate political party with the PKK Iranian members. The PJAK leader Rahman Haji Ahmadi have denied to any linking with the US and Israel, which was claimed by the Iranian government but many reports have filed where the issue is present. The party has strong hold with the female's rights in Kurdistan because in the PJAK many army soldiers was mainly females and they are supporting the party for their rights. PJAK's main objective is to establish a semi-autonomous federal state in Iran, Turkey and Syria as similar to the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq. "PJAK does not openly promote the creation of a single independent Kurdish state; instead, they favor replacing Iran's velayat-e- faqih (rule by the jurisprudent) system of clerical government with a democratic and highly federalized system which would effectively grant self-rule not only to Kurds, but also to Azeri, Baloch and Arab regions" (Brandon 2006). In the current scenario PJAK is the only strongly active party in Iran,

which considered a terrorist organization by the Iranian government. Both parties have still struggling with their ideologies and territorial issues and still clashes between them.

5.4 Kurdish Political Parties in Syria

5.4.1 The Kurdistan Democratic Party in Syria (KDPS)

KDPS a Kurdish Syrian party established in 1957 in Syria by Kurdish nationalists, it is also the member of Kurdish Political congress, which is established in 2009. KDPS' main desire was to establish its own military Peshmerga forces in the Kurdish region of the Syria but still not get realized due to the opposition of the other parties, especially from the opposition of the PYD. The major concern of the KDPS was to oppose and collapse the autonomy of the PYD in the Kurdish region of the Syria. In Syria, there was a constitutional law mentioned that, 'any political party will not form on the basis of the ethnicity, religion and community or their groups. This is also the reason that why Kurdish people in the Syria have not get legitimacy till now like the Iraqi Kurdish people. The objectives of this party were to establish a secular and democratic state, make free elections, to made provisions on separation of powers, there should be policy on freedom of speech in assembly, have to separate religion from the state and make men and women equal and give them equal rights to live in the region.

5.4.2 The Democratic Union Party (PYD)

Democratic Union Party established in September 2003 in northern Syria. Saleh Muslim has become the chairmen of the party in 2010. PYD was the most prominent Kurdish party in Syria, we can see it as a head of the party because it is the member of Kurdish Supreme Council, which controls the all Kurdish parties in the region. "In 2011 the PYD had the highest number of members jailed by the regime and their sentences were usually longer than those of members of other parties. Moreover, they were undergoing 'systematic torture' as Kurd Watch points out" (Kurd Watch Sept2013). In the twenty first century in Syria PYD was the largest and best party in all the Kurdish parties.

PYD has also created a separate regional police force, called 'Asayish' in Kurdish language. This party has been declared the self-rule in territory of the North-eastern Syria in 2013. The major objective of this party was to establish a new

separate Kurdish state in Syria. But the self-control of PYD in Kurdish region of Syria still in controversy and not declared finally. “According to a Western diplomat in Damascus, many Syrian Kurds have previously been active in the PKK, and there are many Kurdish families in Syria where at least one family member is a PKK veteran or was killed while fighting with the PKK. Many of these families sympathize with the PYD” (Hevian 2013).

5.4.3 The Kurdish National Council (KNC)

The Kurdish National Council have established in October 2011 in the leadership of Massoud Barzani at the place of Iraq in Erbil. It was formed as an umbrella organization against the opposition of Assad regime. KNC’s main demand was to establish federalism in the system, many of them called it as ‘delusion’. In the December 2011, the Syrian Kurdish National Council have decided to include Kurdish people as a distinct ethnic group in the Syrian constitution on the basis of their religion, culture and demands and have decide to give them some special rights only for the Kurdish people. “The KNC joined the National Coalition of Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces on August 27, 2013” (KNC 2013). Currently, this is working with their legitimacy with fourteen legitimate members of the council and still been worked for the Kurdish rights and legitimacy in the Syrian region.

5.5 Kurdish Political Parties in Iraq

5.5.1 The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)

In August 1946, the Kurdistan Democratic Party has established to become financially and politically independent of the Mahabad republic of Kurdistan. Mustafa Barzani was elected as president of the party, this party in the leadership of Barzani worked for the Kurdish rights and make Kurdistan free from the dictatorship of Iraq government. The organization consist of president, vice-president, political bureau and central committee. From 1946 till now the leadership has been followed by the Barzani peoples from Mustafa Barzani to Masoud Barzani. During that period many discrepancies were happened there, as regularly the Kurdish region in Iraq were destroyed by the Iraqi government that is why the party have decided to made an agreement to maintaining peace between the region. As a result, in 1970 Kurdish leaders and Iraqi government have signed a peace agreement to maintain peace in that

region. In which includes the self-rule of Kurdistan, use of their own language, political representation in the central government etc.

5.5.2 The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)

This party has also emerged as a splintered party of the KDP in the mid-1970s, when Peshmerga was defeated by the Iraqi army in the administration of the Saddam Hussein. Leader of this organization was Jalal Talabani, for whom we can call as the founding leader of the PUK. In 2005, both the KDP and PUK have made an agreement to rule over Iraqi Kurdish region equally as a whole. After a long term the dominance of both the parties have going to threatened by the newly forming party, the Gorran party, which have splintered from the PUK. In 2009 elections both the party has gained similar votes but with the interference in the system of the Gorran the PUK has lost their significance in the Iraq. “Though the Kurds in 1991 did not find themselves any closer to autonomy, disagreements over the distribution of limited resources in the Kurdish Autonomous Region led to armed clashes between the KDP and the PUK in 1994” (Romano 2006). The PUK’s main goal to achieve autonomy for the Iraqi Kurdistan in the Iraqi disputed territory, where some major points have included in their objectives that to develop minority people rights and to provide them some special rights specially the right to self-determination.

5.5.3 The Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party (KDSP)

Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party was founded in 2004 as a part of Kurdistan Communities Union (KCK); it was seen as an Iraqi Kurdish part of the Kurdistan Workers Party. This party have participated in 2005 and 2009 Iraqi parliamentary elections but have not get any seat, after that it also contested in 2013 parliamentary elections but still not get any leadership in the elections. After some period, the party members have been arrested by the present Kurdistan Regional Government with the claim to operate many diverse political groups against the KRG government. Around two years of the KDSP establishment, it had involved in armed struggles but after the US invasion in Iraq it left it and involved in political party system. With the establishment of the KDSP, Diyar Garib was the first leader of this party. The main objectives of this party were the establishment the right of self-determination and to make an autonomous Kurdish government in the Kurdish region

of Iraq. Where we could not ignore the females of the Kurdish region in Iraq, which is mainly included in the Kurdish army.

5.5.4 The Kurdistan Islamic Union (KIU)

This is an Islamic party, which was established by the Salaheddine Bahaaeddin on February 1994. He is the only leader who was elected many times as a secretary general of the party. The main objectives of the party were to establish an Islamic state in Iraq which would be fully incorporated by the western laws through the democracy and to make freedom of press as compatible to Sharia law. It also wants to invest in the other countries, supported free trade and entrepreneurship. It is mainly concerned with the rights of the women and full citizenship for sectarian and ethnic groups. It is the first main party in which students involved to participate, mainly in rural areas. In the 2009 elections the KIU have gained only six seats and this was the level of declining in the political system of the party was started. With this, there was an attack takes place in Zakho in 2011, in which the KDP members have burned the parlors, stores, beauty salons, etc. and the party has declined. This party has led the largest movement of Iraqi Kurdistan.

5.6 Kurdish Refugees in the Middle East

In the middle east, after the World War I, with the treaty of Lausanne in 1923 Kurds were divided into five major parts, where mainly the Kurdish refugees divided in four major middle eastern countries like – Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran. They are still suffering in all the parts as a refugee who were divided by the territory and did not get the governmental assistance as a group of the region but they dealt as a refugee or minority groups. If we include all the Kurd Peoples together then a population will arise to make a new separate state. For this they are demanding from the establishment of all the states of the Middle East but they are still treated as a lower minority groups. In the Kurdish region of the all four-major Middle Eastern country other many refugees also lived and share the culture and their tradition with the Kurdish people. Especially after the Kurdish community there was Christians is the second largest community who lived in the Kurdish region freely. But the state government does not allow Christians to live in their state but Kurd peoples have

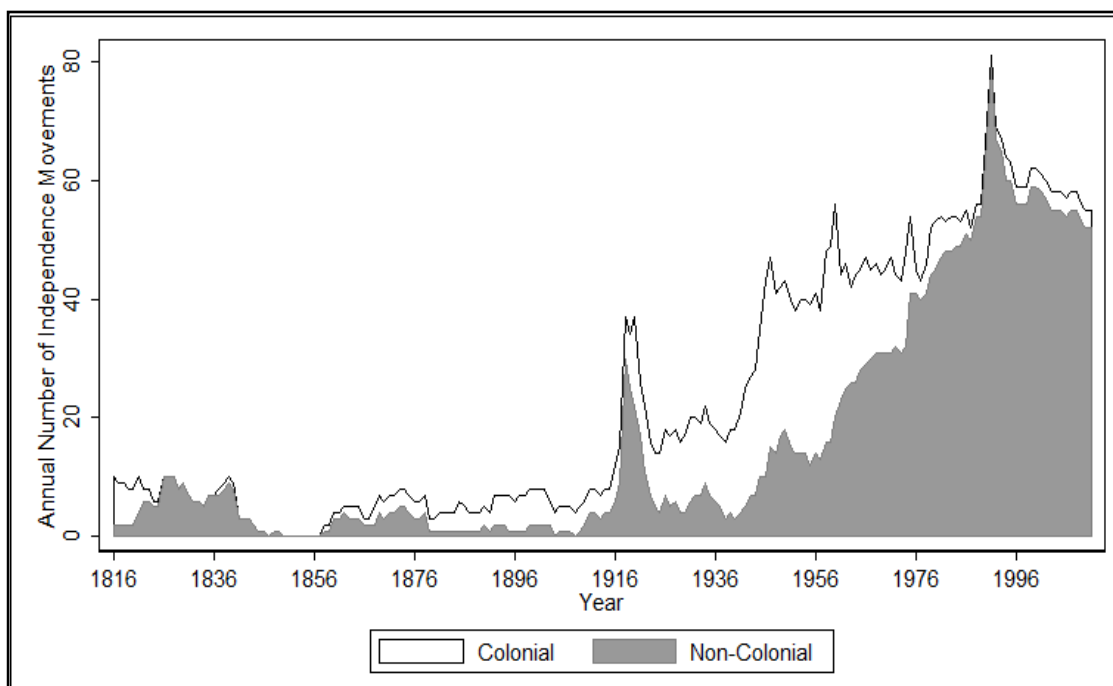
protected that minority community with their military help. The Kurdish military have also provided shelter for the refugees in the Middle Eastern country. The demand for the autonomy of the Kurd peoples have challenged to struggle with the state or central government because state or central government have not allowed to the Kurds to demand like that. They will never allow separating them from the main land of the state because the major resources of the region, such as Iraq, have existed in the Kurdish are. If the central government would separate them then the whole economic dependency would go into the Kurds hands and they will fallen with their economy with the lacking of the natural resources, such as oil and water. There were many uprisings and revolts have taken place to make legal status of refugees with the establishment of Kurdistan. But in those revolts and movements many Kurdish Guards or military guards have got killed and not get any assistance from the central government. Kurdish Refugees are still struggling to get status as a Kurdistan living people as the establishment of new state. Referendum and many efforts have taken place to raise the Kurdish autonomy and integrity. Many Kurdish Diasporas have been settled in the United Kingdom and United States and some other countries also. In the United States Kurdish people have started to settle in large numbers. But now with the Trump's new policy they are still binding to live in the Middle East only and cannot go to United States anymore.

5.7 Geopolitical Importance of Kurdish Demands

The Kurd peoples are demanding for sovereignty in the 19th century and now they are demanding for administrative autonomy. What is the reason behind this instant change of the demand or the idea? Our analytical study would identify the concepts of the Kurds agenda in the present context from the evaluation with the historical analysis. Geopolitically, we can say that, after the study of all the Kurdish regions in the Middle East that the Kurdish living area in the Middle East is strategically important for the economy of the state and nobody would ignore it to before passing any agenda or policy. As we have mentioned earlier, that Kirkuk in Erbil is the major resource reserve for water and natural resources, especially for oil resources. Which comes under the Kurdish Regional Government control of the Barzani's area. So, the demands of the Kurds people are strategically important to improve their economic level and to make investments through their resources with

the hundred percent controls on the resources. But now this is not possible because all state governments have denied to give them autonomy or the establish and other Kurdish state. “Being one of the world’s biggest stateless ethnic groups, Kurds often get caught in the geopolitical crosshairs of conflicting interests and different societal dynamics of the region (Gunter 1996, Kardaş and Balcı 2016). Kurdish people always demand for independence and autonomy and the complete scenario of the independence reflect that the state making process still going on with the expansion of ideas and values.

Fig. 5.1: Annual Number of Independence Movements



Source: <http://www.e-ir.info/2016/09/23/the-state-of-secession-in-international-politics/>

Turkey has decided to make a policy to not recognizing Kurds as a minority peoples and in Iraq they have faced the same repression. But after the supporting Iran by the Kurdish people in Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), Saddam Hussein have started threaten to the Kurdish people of Iraq with the Chemical weapons and bombings in the Kurdish region of the Iraq. With this attack many Kurds have shifted to Iran around two million people and many are still living in the Iraq. After the United Nations Security Council resolution, to make ‘Safe Heaven’ for the Kurdish peoples and made no fly zone for them. In Turkey, the Kurdish people have treated as a prisoner and the government have not allowed them to speak in their own language even they cannot wear their ethnic clothes or traditional clothes in the Turkey. So, if

we want to establish a state then the element which is necessary for this, we will see that all the elements have shown in the Kurdish community. They are large in number around thirty to thirty-five million peoples live in Middle East and in Turkey the population is around fifteen to twenty percent population lived in Turkey only.

5.8 Geopolitical Analysis of Kurdistan in International Politics

Geopolitically, Kurdistan is mapped in human minds but still not mapped in the legal map of the world. This is the major populist country of the Middle East; which peoples are divided in four major countries of the Middle East. Where mainly Kurdish people lives in the mountain surrounded areas. In Turkey, people call them as a mountain Turks, not call them as a Kurdish people. Geopolitics of any country defined by its territory, language, culture, ethnicity, population, government and through their sovereignty. Kurdish people have their population of thirty-five million living people in the middle east, they have their own natural resources and water in their own region, but central government have claimed that these resources as its own resources. From the extension of the Kurdish demands the international politics have arisen in the Kurdish political behavior with the demand for autonomy. In international politics, the United States and European Union have helped to Kurdish peoples with economically and politically. But the terrorist organizations of the Kurdish region or the Middle East are making controversial the relations between the international political behaviors. On the final conclusion, this paper seeks to describe that Kurdistan, which is not oriented on map but human minds, is geopolitically very important region because this region is rich in water and oil resources. Many countries are now supporting to their economic development and their political establishment for the freedom or the autonomy is going to take intervention in the policy. The Middle Eastern government of all the countries is now somehow seeing the Kurdish people as an important factor for their economy because of the reserves of the economic establishments. Now the Middle Eastern countries are making policies for the Kurdish people and making amendments for their interests.

5.9 US Alliance

Turkey has opposed Kurdish peoples from the 19s when they have demanded their autonomy or the independence. United States was the greatest strategic ally with the Turkey from the period of the Truman's doctrine. United States have not think

about the Kurdish people before the Saddam Hussein threat to the US feels, and the Kurdish people of Iraq were against the Saddam Hussein then the US have made their great ally to Kurdish peoples of Iraq against the Saddam Hussein's regime. "Osman Faruk Logoglu, the Turkish ambassador to the United States, complained that the United States was giving 'excessive favors' to the Iraqi Kurds and thus encouraging future civil war and Kurdish secession" (Wright 2003). In 1988 the US have broken the ceasefire which were going through the gulf war, to came together the Barzani and Talabani in the Washington. In 2003, United States have launched a war against the Iraq, especially against the Saddam Hussein's administration with the help of the Kurdish people of Iraqi region. After that the Kurdish people of Turkey region also have get the assistance from the United states and get the economic rights in the Iraq through the oil sales percentage at 13 percent of the total sale of oil. "Turkey also has argued that geographical federalism would dampen ethnic animosities that might be aroused by ethnic federalism by encouraging multi-ethnic and multi-sectarian civic nationalism" (Yavuz 2004).

Chapter-VI

Conclusion

Geopolitical analysis of the Kurdistan represents that Kurdistan is a very important region of all the four major Kurdish living countries in the Middle East. Geopolitical analysis is based on geography of the state or region and on their politics of the state. Where we have looked into it and got the issues and their problems with the solving criterion. According to this research, the paper distinguishes that the central government of the all Kurdish regions would never give them a separate Kurdish state and somehow this reflects that the struggle will still going on in the future till get their demand for autonomy. We are not sure, but the secessionist movements of the middle east do represent their problems with these kind of movements, where government does not allow them to become a free people of the Kurdistan as a state. In this research we have divided the sections with the research problems and have tested our hypothesis. All the sections explain their own criterion research with the issues and facts of the phenomenon. First section of our research does evaluate the problem of the secessionist movements that why it had started from 1920 and still it is going on and not get their aim of the sovereignty. It also explains that what are the reasons behind this long time ongoing secession with the help of Kurds and their issue on identity, which they are demanding from several years, but still not decided that they will get their aim or demand or not. But our study has shown their importance in the region and have reached on the ground of the problem on their issue of identity. Second section examines about the secessionist movements, that how it had emerged and how it labelled as struggle for sovereignty. Third section of the research examines the major problem of the research that what are the major Kurdish demands and how Kurdistan represents it geopolitically in international politics. Where international politics relates the international relations, status of the Kurdish peoples in middle east countries and how they represented internationally in the developed and developing world.

Here we will clarify all the doubts of the first research problem that how secessionist movements in Kurdistan is still going on from 1920 till now, where Kurdish identity is existing between the Kurdish people, not existed in the world and

in the middle east also. On the basis of our research, the question explains that any secession takes place with four main reasons, namely, (1) Any Distinct Community, (2) Territory, (3) Leaders and (4) Discontent. These four factors have framed the model of secessionist movements because the people when they get transformed by the group or by the state then they feel the discrimination which has happened with them. In the result, they led to secessionist movements in the state to get their demands from the central authority. Where the four middle eastern countries have regularly denied the demands of the Kurd's people that is why this long time ongoing secession have taken place in the vast forms. Community and their traditions does matter in the formation of a new state, but this controversial issue is going on from the establishment of the middle eastern countries. In the I World War the Kurdish people have helped to the Ottomans but after the defeat of the Ottomans the winning country have decided to divide Ottomans into colonies, Where the only Ottomans have get the freedom and divided into five major countries, where Kurdish people have not get any jurisdictions from the state even not also a separate state for their community, which is the largest community of the middle east and demanding for a separate state for Kurds people as 'Kurdistan'.

Territorial distinctions always made neighbors aggressive because every people want to limit their territory into their own administration where some minority groups have discriminated by the authority and they have led to made revolts and some movements for their demands, when the authority does not consider their problems then the community or distinct group have made it in larger scale, those reasons lead to the secessionist movements. In somehow, we can say that in a way government of the state becomes responsible for the critical situation of the state in the international system through the secession. Territoriality is the major factor of the making foreign policy of a state in which the middle eastern countries have get the opportunity to identify Kurdish people as Mountainous minority community in the related region. The demand of the greater autonomy and a separate state is now a major concern for the middle eastern countries because now it has followed all the elements to build a new state and United States and Europe is helping the Kurdish communities for their survival and economic developments. Territory always bind the peoples only but never bind the ideologies of the community and their demands for their survival. Even these Kurdish peoples have not get the mark on the map that they

are existed somewhere, they have always demands through their movements but now the peoples looked them as terrorist organizations, who always threatens the peoples and destroy the things.

Leaders of the state have made their territory dispute less, because they have to manage the limitations, rules, norms, and principles. On the basis of these elements any country leader does develop their state but in middle east all the leaders of the country did not consider the problem of the Kurdish people. If they will consider them as a people of the middle east then they would decide to give them a piece of land with all the respected leaders of the country with whom the territory touched the Kurdish peoples. I Iraq Kurdish people are in better condition in comparison to Turkey and all the Kurdish living states but if they will not get any governmental assistance then it could be problematic for the central government, in relation to the peace of the country. PM Barzani have always contested for the rights of the Kurdish peoples and freedom for their culture and traditions. That kind of leadership make states peaceful and controversial issues does not help in longer terms. That kind of leadership needs the all middle eastern countries and according to this the movements will stop and would go for peaceful settlements.

The last element is the discontent, we can see it as a major problem of the developing secessionist movements in the world. Because, if the people of the country did not feel secure and always suppressed by the government then rival situation would always arisen in the minds of the people and this could be take a form of movements. So, mainly this research is telling us about the leadership qualities of the state, which will be helpful for the peoples of the state. In the middle east, secessionist movements have been started through the removal of 'Treaty of Sevres' and remake the 'Treaty of Lausanne' with the change of no Kurdish state would be made and all the Kurdish people live in those areas where they exist but no governmental assistances included for those peoples. Denial of the treaty of Lausanne represents the emergence of the secessionist movements in the middle eastern region. This is certified that secessionist movements are not a terrorist's activity it is the step for Kurdish demand for autonomy and make a separate state as 'Kurdistan'. In my personal view this is not only led by the Kurdish people but central government are also responsible for it.

In the second research problem according to this study is related with the first question that why Kurdish people led secessionist movements against their government. As we discussed just before that secessionist movements are not a terrorist activity in the region but it is the demand of the Kurdish community from the government for the autonomy. State government does not allow the Kurdish peoples to live under the mainland areas of the state. Governments have restricted their livelihood, as we have discussed in the major chapters of the research that Turkey had made provisions against the Kurdish peoples to not follow their own traditions, ban on Kurdish language use or education is prohibited in Kurdish language, even they are not allowed to follow their Kurdish identity they have to live as Mountainous Turkey's. But here my concern is this, that the Kurdish community still not get the solution from the government. In 2017 September referendum after 93% votes in the favor of the demand for autonomy, at last the Iraqi government have denied giving them the result into their favor. On that basis, I will conclude that government does not want to separate the Kurdish people in other words government does not wanted them to give a separate state. eventually, we see that the government feels threat for their economy, if the Kirkuk will be separate. Because Kirkuk have large reserves of oil and water resources and in Iraq that was the only region where natural resources has been located. We know that International law by the United Nations protects the rights of the peoples, minority groups and ethnicity.

Kurdish peoples in middle east is presented as minority groups of the region, where they do not have any cultural right, social right and even political right. Many Kurdish political organizations have formed in the past but all have declined by some reasons. The only Iraq state has a powerful hold on Kurdish political involvement with the leadership of Massoud Barzani. But apart from this, middle east government of all the state have not followed the rules of the United Nations. They still proclaim that no Kurdish identity lived in Turkey, they are the mountainous Turks. In our result of the study we have seen that the movement will not stop till they get the autonomy. This is the only conclusion which I have get in my findings of the research. After this issue we will look into the third problem in the research study, where the major concern is to the identity of the Kurdish people which is not existed anywhere in the Middle East. This is a major issue in the world, if a people lived in world then they have represented by this identity and identity of a person have represented through

their culture, their state and their language but all the elements are missing in the Kurdish case of living. So, they are struggling for independence from the central government and they want to establish their own state with their own culture, own language and by their own politics with the society concerned party. This is the major issue for an individual if they exist in the world but did not recognized as a person without any identity. My concluding remarks for this issue is that the Kurdish people have to take their right from the United Nations and followed by their own political parties to get their right to live with identity in their own separate state. Because they have their own population, own culture, own ethnicity and own language, nobody can force a people to live under their customs, to speak their language and to follow their traditional values. My suggestion for the issue is, all the governments have to negotiate with the all governments of Syria, Turkey, Iran and Iraq and made a consensus on the Kurdish demand and made some policies for them. Then the issue of this longtime ongoing secession will decrease in number of attempts for the illegal activity.

The hypothesis of the research is analytically proved in the form of solving the issue of secession. The main hypothesis of the research is –

- (1) “Kurds are demanding for sovereignty in 1920 and now they are demanding only for administrative autonomy” – are they thinking about that, their secessionist movements are going to denial or they will get their legal status in international politics.
- (2) ‘Kurdish identity is missing in Kurdistan for the regional governments of the middle east, but Kurdish peoples are demanding for their regional identity’- will be they successful.

Both the hypothesis has tested and gets the result for the solution of this long time ongoing secession and geopolitical importance of Kurdistan in international politics. With the ‘Treaty of Sevres’ in 1920, Kurdish people have believed in the treaty and trust on the empire’s decision that they will definitely made a Kurdish separate state but after the intervention of United States of Soviet Russia they have reformulate the treaty as ‘Treaty of Lausanne’ in 1923 and through this treaty Ottoman empire was divided into five major parts and still Kurdish people have not get any assistance for their survival. That is why they are still demanding for the sovereignty to autonomy.

Because the first attempt of the Kurdish peoples with the secession they have demanded only for sovereignty but after the government's behavior of no concern or no solution of them they have led for major secessionist movements and now they are demanding for autonomy. Now they are struggling for the independence from the central government authority in the Kurdish region and made a separate state in the region of middle east. The only solution to this that both, the Kurdish people and related government have to communicate with each other and made some provisions or policies for both, to make a peaceful region in the disputed middle east of the world.

Bibliography

(* indicates primary sources)

*CIA, “The World Factbook”.

Agnew, John & Corbridge, Stuart (1995), *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*, Routledge, London.

Ahmadzadeh, Hashem & Stansfield, Gareth (2010), “The Political, Cultural and Military Re-Awakening of the Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Iran”, *Project Muse, Middle East Journal, Volume 64, Number 1*.

Alexander, Caroline & Halpin, Anthony (2017), *Redrawing Borders: Here Are Five More Separatist Movements to Watch*, Bloomberg politics.

Anderson, Benedict (1991), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London & New York, Verso.

Anderson, Kenneth (1993), *The Anfal Campaign in Iraqi Kurdistan*, New York, Human Rights Watch.

Arango, Tim (2017), “For Iraq’s Long-Suffering Kurds, Independence Beckons”, *The New York Times*.

Aras, Ramazan (2013), *The Formation of Kurdishness in Turkey: Political Violence, Fear and Pain*, London, Routledge.

Ashley, Richard K (1987), “The Geopolitics of Geopolitical Space: Towards a Critical Social Theory of International Politics”, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 12(4): 403–434.

Ashley, Richard K (1989), *Living on the Border Lines: Man, Poststructuralism, and War in Intertextual/International Relations: Postmodern and Post-Structural Readings of World Politics*, (ed.) James Der Derian and M. J. Shapiro, 259–321, p. 269. Lexington: Lexington Books.

Ashley, Richard K (1998), “Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique”, *Millennium, Journal of International Studies* 17(2): 227–262.

- Aslan, Senem (2014), *Nation-Building in Turkey and Morocco: Governing Kurdish and Berber Dissent*, New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Aydın, Aysegül & Cem, Emrence (2015), *Zones of Rebellion: Kurdish Insurgents and the Turkish State*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- Aydın, Delal (2014), *Mobilising the Kurds in Turkey: Newroz as a Myth. In the Kurdish Question in Turkey: New Perspectives on Violence, Representation, and Reconciliation*, ed. Cengiz Günes and Welat Zeydanlıoğlu, 68–88. London, Routledge.
- Barnett, M. (1990), *Liberty Fund Symposium on Liberalism, Federalism, and the Question of Secession*, Tucson, Arizona.
- Barth, F. (ed.) (1969), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, Little Brown and Company, Boston.
- Bartkus, Viva Ona (1999), *The Dynamic of Secession*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom.
- Behn, Wolfgang (1977), *The Kurds in Iran: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography*, London, Mansell.
- Beran, Harry (1984), "A Liberal Theory of Secession", *Political Studies*.
- Bernstein, Mary (2005), "Identity Politics", *Annual Review of Sociology, Annual Reviews, Vol. 31*.
- Borgen, C.J. (2009), "The Language of Law and the Practice of Politics: Great Powers and the Rhetoric of Self-Determination in the Cases of Kosovo and South Ossetia", *Chicago JIL*.
- Bozarlsan, Hamit (2012), "Between integration, Autonomization and radicalization: On the Kurdish Movement and the Turkish Left", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*.
- Brandon, James (2006), "Iran's Kurdish Threat: PJAK", *Jamestown Foundation, Terrorism Monitor Volume: 4 Issue: 12*.
- Brenner, Neil (1999), *Beyond State-Centrism? Space, Territoriality and Geographical Scale in Globalization Studies*, Theory and Society, Springer.

- Broker, Laura (2016), *Any Hope for a Kurdish state? The United States, Germany and the prospects of Kurdish self-determination*, North America, Heinrich Boll Stiftung.
- Bromley, H. (1989), *Identity Politics and Critical Pedagogy*, Educational Theory.
- Bruinessen, Martin Van (1992), *Agha, Shaikh & State: The Social & Political Structures of Kurdistan*, Zed Books, London.
- Bruinessen, Martin Van (1999), "The Kurds in Movement: Migrations, Mobilizations, Communications and the Globalization of the Kurdish question", *Islamic Area Studies Project, Tokyo, Japan*.
- Buchanan, Allen (1991), *Discusses Rawls on secession in Secession: The Morality of Political Divorce: From Fort Sumter to Lithuania and Quebec*, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Calhoun, C. (1993), *New Social Movements of the Early 19th century*, Social Science History.
- Carkoglu, Ali (2002), "The Rise of the New Generation Pro-Islamists in Turkey: The Justice and Development Party Phenomenon in the November 2002 Elections in Turkey", *South European Society and Politics, Volume 7, Number 3*.
- Castellino, J. (2000), *International Law and Self-Determination*", The Hague: Martinuss Nijhoff Publishers.
- Cerulo, KA. (1997), "Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions", *Annual Review Sociology*.
- Chaliand, G. (1993), *A People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*, London, Zed Books.
- Chouliaraki, L. (1999), *Media Discourse and National Identity: Death and Myth in a news broadcast*, In R. Wodak & C. Ludwig (ed.), *Challenges in a changing world: Issues in critical discourse analysis*, Wien, Passagen Verlag.
- Cohen, J. (1985), *Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements*, Social Resolution.
- Cohen, Saul B. (1975), *Geography & Politics in a World Divided*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- Collins, P.H. (1998), *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*, Minneapolis University Press, Minneapolis.
- Connolly, C. (1990), "Splintered Sisterhood: Anti-racism in a Young Women's Project", *Feminist Review*.
- Cook, Steven A. (2016), "Who Exactly are the Kurds", *The Atlantic Daily*.
- Crawford, James (1979), *The Creation of States in International Law*, Oxford: The Clarendo Press.
- Eickleman, Dale E. (1989), *The Middle East: An Anthropological Approach*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.
- Epstein, S. (1998), "Gay and Lesbian Movements in the United States: Dilemmas of Identity, Diversity, and Political Strategy".
- Erskine, T. (2001), "Assigning responsibilities to institutional moral agents: The case of states and quasi-states", *Ethics & International Affairs*.
- Fazal, Tanisha M. & Chenoweth, Erica (2014), "The Secessionist Dilemma", *Peace Science Society*.
- Fisher, Max & Taub Amanda (2017), "Catalans and Kurds Discover the Hard Truth about Secession", *The New York Times*.
- Flint, Colin & Taylor, P. J. (2011), *Political Geography: World Economy, Nation-State and Locality*, Harlow, Prentice Hall.
- Flint, Colin (2012), *Introduction to Geopolitics*, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London, New York.
- Fraser, N. (1997), *Justice Interrupts: Critical Reflections on the 'Post-socialist Condition*, New York, Routledge.
- Gamson, J. (1995), "Must Identity Movements Self-Destruct? A Queer Dilemma", *Social Problems*.
- Garza, C.M. (1995), "Chicana Lesbian Identity and Strategic Essentialism: Signifying Self", *Human Socialism*.
- Gellner, Ernest (1983), *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

- Ghareeb, Edmund (1981), *The Kurdish Question in Iraq*, Syracuse University Press, New York.
- Gray, Colin S. & Sloan, Geoffrey (2013), *Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy*, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London, New York.
- Gray, Colin S. (1999), *Modern Strategy*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Guney, Aylin (2002), “The People’s Democracy Party”, *Turkish Studies Volume 3, Number 1*.
- Gunter, Michael M. (1980), *The Kurds in Turkey: A Political Dilemma*, Boulder, Westview Press.
- Gunter, Michael M. (2007), *The Kurds Ascending – The Evolving solution to the Kurdish problem in Iraq and Turkey*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan.
- Gunter, Michael M. (2009), *The A to Z of the Kurds*, United Kingdom, The Scarecrow Press.
- Gunter, Michael M. (2010), *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds*, Oxford, The Scarecrow Press.
- Haas, Ernst (1968), *The Uniting of Europe*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Habermas, J. (1985), *The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, Boston, Beacon.
- Hama, Hawre Hasan & Connelly, Megan (2017), “Kurdistan’s Struggle for Sovereignty: State, Societal, and Human Security”, *Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies*.
- Heper, Metin (2007), *The State and Kurds in Turkey – The Question of Assimilation*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan.
- Heraclides, Alexis (1991), *The Self-Determination of Minorities in International Politics*, London, Frank Cass.
- Hirst, Paul (2000), *Globalization, the nation state and political theory*, in Noel O’Sullivan, ed., *Political Theory in Transition*, London: Routledge.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. (1990), *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Horowitz, Donald (1981), *Patterns of Ethnic Separatism*, Comparative Studies of Society and History.
- Howard, Michael (2005), “Iran Sends in Troops to Crush Border Unrest”, *Guardian*.
- Jean, Liz St. (2006), “Sub-National Report for Iraqi Kurdistan: Events, forecasting and Analysis”, *Country Indicators for Foreign Policy*.
- Jongerden, Joost (2007), *The Settlement Issue in Turkey and the Kurds – An Analysis of Spatial Policies, Modernity and War*, Boston, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- Jungbluth, Silke (2015), “The Future of Iraqi Kurdistan: The ‘Islamic State’ as a Catalyst for Independence”, *Aland Islands Peace Institute, Aland, Finland*.
- Kauffman, LA. (1990), *The Anti-Politics of Identity, Socialist Revolution*.
- Khalil, Lydia (2009), “Stability in Iraqi Kurdistan – Reality or Mirage”, *The Saban Centre for Middle East Policy*.
- Kovacevic, Filip (2014), *The Classical Geopolitics Theorists*, Podgorica, CGO.
- Kreyenbroek, Philip G. (1995), *Yezidism: Its Background, Observances and Textual Traditions*, Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston New York.
- Livingston, Donald W. (1998), *The Secession Tradition in America*, in David Gordon, (ed.), *Secession, State and Liberty*, Transaction Publishers.
- Lowe, Robert (2006), *The Syrian Kurds: A People Discovered*, Chatham House.
- Lytle, Elizabeth E. A (1977), *Bibliography of the Kurds, Kurdistan, and the Kurdish Question*, Monticello, Ill.: Council of Planning Librarians.
- Macedo, Stephen & Buchanan, Allen (2003), *Secession and Self-Determination: Nomos XLV*, New York University Press.
- Mackinder, Halford J. (1904), “The Geographical Pivot to History”, *Geographical Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.
- Mackinder, Halford J. (1919), *Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction*, Henry Holt & Company, New York.
- Madianou, M. (2005), *Mediating the Nation: News, Audiences and the Politics of Identity*, London, UCL Press.

- Mahan, Alfred Thayer (1987), *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History- 1660-1783*, Dover Publications, New York.
- McCorquodale, R. (1994), "Self-Determination Beyond the Colonial Context and Its Potential Impact on Africa", *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*.
- McDowall, David (2004), *A Modern History of the Kurds*, London, New York, I.B. Tauris.
- Meho, Lokman I (1997), *The Kurds and Kurdistan: A Selective and Annotated Bibliography*, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press.
- Meho, Lokman I. (1997), *The Kurds and Kurdistan – A Selective and Annotated Bibliography*, London, Greenwood Press.
- Meho, Lokman I. & Kelly, L. (2001), *Maglaughlin. Kurdish Culture and Society: An Annotated Bibliography*, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press.
- Melucci, A. (1989), *Nomads of the Present*, London, Hutchinson Radius.
- Meric, Umid (1975), *Cevdet Paba's Society and State View*, Istanbul: Otuken Publishing House.
- Merip (1994), "Middle East Research and Information Project", *The Kurdish Experience*.
- Mill, John Stuart (1963), *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XIX: Essays on Politics and Society*, University of Toronto Press, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Mohammed, Ala Jabar (2013), *The Politics of Iraqi Kurdistan: Towards Federalism or Secession*, Australia, University of Canberra.
- Müller, Mark (1996), *Nationalism and the Rule of Law in Turkey: The Elimination of Kurdish Representation During the 1990s*, Olson, Robert (ed.): *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in the 1990s*, Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Nader, Alireza & et al. (2016), *Regional Implications of an Independent Kurdistan*, Santa Monica, Calif, RAND Corporation.

- Natali, D. (2005), *The Kurds and the state: Evolving national identity in Iraq, Turkey and Iran*, New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Natali, D. (2010), *The Kurdish quasi-state: Development and dependency in post-Gulf War Iraq*, New York: Syracuse University Press.
- O’Leary, Brendan (2001), *Comparative Political Science and the British-Irish Agreement of 1998*, McGarry, John. (ed.), *Northern Ireland and the Divided World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Odul, Celep (2014), “Can the Kurdish Left Contribute to Turkey’s Democratization”, *Insight Turkey, Volume 16, Number 3*.
- Olson, Robert (1989), *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism & the Sheikh Said Rebellion*, University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Philpott, D. (2001), *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pichardo, N.A. (1997), “New Social Movements: A Critical Review”, *Annual Review Sociology*.
- Polat, Rabia Karakaya (2008), “The AKP and the Kurdish Issue: What Went Wrong”, *SETA Policy Brief, Number 14*.
- Polletta, F. & Jasper, J.M. (2001), “Collective Identity and Social Movements”, *Annual Review Sociology*.
- Polletta, F. (2002), *Freedom Is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements*, Chicago University Press, Chicago.
- Ratzel, Friedrich (1961), *A Biographical Memoir and Bibliography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Rawls, John (1971), *A Theory of Justice*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Rawls, John (1990), *Justice as Fairness: A Briefer Restatement*, unpublished manuscript, Department of Philosophy, Harvard University.
- Rogg, Inga & Rimscha, Hans (2007), “The Kurds as Parties to and Victims of Conflicts in Iraq”, *International Review of the Red Cross, Volume 89, Number 868*.

- Ross, J.A. (1982), *Urban Development and the Politics of Ethnicity: A Conceptual Approach*, Ethnic Racial Studies.
- Roy, Sonia (2011), “The Kurdish Issue”, *Journal of Foreign Policy*.
- Rubin, Michael (2016), *Kurdistan Rising? Considerations for Kurds, Their Neighbors and the Region*, Washington DC, American Enterprise Institute.
- Samii, Bill (2005), “Iran: Country Faces Agitated Kurdish Population”, *Radio Free Europe/RL*, July 23, 2005.
- Sarigil, Zeki & Karakoc, Ekrem (2016), “Who Supports Secession? The Determinants of Secessionists attitudes among Turkey’s Kurds”, *Journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*.
- Scekic, Radenko (2016), “Geopolitical Strategies and Modernity: Multipolar World of Nowadays”, *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, Montenegro.
- Seidman, S. (1993), *Identity and Politics in a 'Postmodern' Gay Culture: some Historical and Conceptual notes*, In *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory*, (ed.) M. Warner, Minneapolis University Press.
- Sheikhmous, Omar (1994), *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, Colombia, Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Spykman, Nicholas J. (1942), *America’s Strategy and World Politics: The United States and The Balance of Power*, Institute of International Studies, Yale University, Harcourt Brace and Company, New York.
- Spykman, Nicholas J. (1944), *The Geography of The Peace*, Yale Institute of International Studies, Harcourt Brace and Company, New York.
- Stansfield, Gareth (2017), *A New State in the Middle East? From the Kurdistan region of Iraq to the Republic of Kurdistan*, Royal United Service Institute.
- Stansfield, Gareth; Lowe Robert & Ahmadzadeh Hashem (2007), *The Kurdish Policy Imperative*, Chatham House.

- Swidler, A. (1995), *Cultural Power and Social Movements*, In *Social Movements and Culture*, H Johnston (ed.), B Klandermans, Minneapolis University Press, Minneapolis.
- Tahiri, H. (2007), *The Structure of Kurdish Society and the Struggle for a Kurdish State*, Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda.
- Taucher, Wolfgang & et al. (2015), *The Kurds: History, Religion, Language and Politics*, Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior, Vienna, Austria.
- Taylor, P.J (1993), *Political Geography. World Economy, Nation-State and Locality*, Longman, Harlow.
- Tekdemir, Omer (2016), "Politics of the Turkish Conflict: The Kurdish Issue", *e-ir.info*.
- Theresa, Martin O' Shea (2004), *Trapped Between the Map and Reality: Geography and Perceptions of Kurdistan*, Routledge, New York, London.
- Timur, Taner (1986), *The Identity of Ottoman*, Istanbul, Hill Broadcasting.
- Touraine, A. (1981), *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements*, Cambridge University Press, London.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu Topophilia (1974), *A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes & Values*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.
- Tuathail, Gearoid (1996), *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*, London: Routledge.
- Vaid, U. (1995), *Virtual Equality: The Main streaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation*, New York, Anchor.
- Valocchi, S. (1999), *The Class-Inflected Nature of Gay Identity*, Social Problems.
- Vežbergaite, Ieva (2015), "Self-Determination of the Kurdish People: Undermining the Unity of the Turkish Nation", *IFF Online Paper Online No 9*.
- Voller, Y. (2015), "Contested sovereignty as an opportunity: Understanding democratic transitions in unrecognised states", *Democratization*.
- Walzer, Michael (1986), *The Reform of the International System* in Oyvind Osterud (ed.), *Studies of War and Peace*, Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

- Warner, M. (2000), *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics and the Ethics of Queer Life*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Watts, Nicole F. (2010), *Activists in Office - Kurdish Politics and Protest in Turkey*, Seattle/ London: University of Washington Press.
- Wescott, Allan (1999), *Mahan on Naval Warfare*, MineolaNY, Dover Publications.
- Williams, R. H. (2004), “The Cultural Contexts of Collective Action: Constraints, Opportunities, and the Symbolic life of Social Movements.
- Wright, Jonathan (2003), ‘Turkey Accuses U.S. of “Favoritism” in Iraq’, *Reuters*.
- Yildiz, Kerim (2005), *The Kurds in Syria – The Forgotten People*, London, Pluto Press.
- Yildiz, Kerim (2007), *The Kurds in Iraq: The Past, Present and Future*, London: Pluto Press & Kurdish Human Rights Project.
- Young, MP. (2002), “Confessional Protest: The Rebellious Birth of U.S. National Social Movements”, *American Social Review*.
- Ziuganov, G.A. (1998), *Geography of Victory: Fundamentals of Russian Geopolitics*, Moscow University Press, Moscow.

Internet Sources

- BBC (2017), “Who Are the Kurds”, Accessed on 02/04/2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29702440>
- Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Kurd”, Accessed on 15/02/2018, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Kurd>
- Tabatabai, Ariane M. (2017), “Iran and the Kurds: What the Referendum means for Tehran”, *Foreign Affairs*, Accessed on 21/12/2017. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2017-09-26/iran-and-kurds>
- United Press International, “Politics & Policies: Pressure for Change Mounts in Syria”, October 3, 2005, Accessed on 23/03/2018.
- *United Nations (2003) “Charter of the United Nations”, Accessed on 17/02/2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/index.html>

*United Nations Human Rights Commission “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights”, Accessed on 14/04/2018.
<https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/CCPR.aspx>

-----End-----