

CURRICULUM VITAE

Biographical Data

NAME: Michael M. Gunter

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Tennessee Technological University
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DATE OF BIRTH: February 22, 1943; MARITAL STATUS: Married, two children

Education

B.A. Columbia University, 1964; Major: American History
M.I.A. School of International Affairs, Columbia University, 1966; Area: Soviet Union
Ph.D. Kent State University, 1972; Major: International Relations; Minors: Comparative Politics,
American Politics. (Doctoral Dissertation: *Ministates and the United Nations System*)

Teaching Experience

Professor, Tennessee Technological University, 1981-present; Associate Professor 1976-1981;
Assistant Professor 1972-1976

Outstanding Faculty Award in Research, 1995-96

Outstanding Faculty Award in Teaching, 1999-2000

American Political Science Association and Pi Sigma Alpha (The National Political Science
Honor Society), Certificate for Outstanding Teaching in Political Science, 2000

College of Arts & Sciences Award for Research & Creative Activity, 2005

Ohio Valley Conference Excellence in Teaching Award, 2007

Marquis Who's Who in America, 65th ed., 2011; 66th ed., 2012; 67th ed., 2013; 68th ed., 2014

Marquis Who's Who in American Politics 2014, 26th ed.

Contemporary Authors, 2012

International Who's Who, 73rd ed., 2013-2014

Visiting Professor, University of Delaware for the U.S. Government Areas Studies Program,
2007-2011

Visiting Professor, The International University, Vienna, Austria, Summers 2002-2011
Distinguished Visiting Professor Award, 2003

Certificate for Excellence in Teaching, Research & Publishing, 2010

Adjunct Professor, Fisk University, Nashville, TN, Fall 2002

Instructor of ESL and American Culture, Shanghai Xuhui Education College, Shanghai, China, Summer 2001

Senior Fulbright-Hays Lecturer in International Relations, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, 1978-79

Temporary Assistant Professor, Kent State University, Summer 1972; Teaching Fellow, 1969-71; Instructor, 1967-69

Fulbright Abroad Awards

China, Summer 2000

Israel, Summer 1988

Turkey, Sept. 1978-June 1979

Other Significant Positions

Secretary-General, European Union Turkey Civic Commission (EUTCC), 2009-present; Board of Directors, 2008-present; Advisory Council, 2004-2008

Courses Taught

International Politics, International Organization, International Law, Seminar In World Politics, Seminar in the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, American Foreign Policy, European Politics (UK, France, Germany, and Russia [Soviet Union]), Third World Politics, American Politics, State and Local Government, Political Ideas and Issues, American Governmental Policies, USSR: Country & People, Arms Control & Nuclear Strategy, Middle Eastern Politics, Terrorism, Nationalism, International Human Rights, Peacekeeping, Diplomacy and Diplomatic Methods, Comparative World Politics, Middle East History, Intelligence Process, Islam: An Introduction, and Kurdish History & Politics

PUBLICATIONS

My research interests involve the Kurds, Turks, and Armenians; international law, organization and politics; nationalism; terrorism; and arms control, among others.

Books and Monographs

Kurdish Issues: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Olson (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2016), forthcoming.

The Kurds: A Modern History (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2016). “Professor Gunter’s accessible book offers readers an excellent state-of-the-art overview of Kurdish studies and reveals the continuities and violent ruptures that have shaped Kurdish history over the course of centuries.” Hamit Bozarslan, Ecole des hautes etudes et science sociales, Paris. “This is an eminently readable, well-written and timely short history of the Kurds. For those seeking an academically sound but quick introduction to the subject, Michael Gunter’s book is highly recommended.” David Romano, Thomas G. Strong Chair in Middle East Politics, Missouri State University.

Out of Nowhere: The Kurds of Syria in Peace and War (London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd., 2014). “The book is an admirably lucid survey of the Syrian Kurds’ history and prospects.” Jonathan Steele, essay on my book in *The New York Review of Books*, December 3, 2015, p. 26. “Describing Michael Gunter’s book on the Kurds of Syria as timely will not do it justice. . . . Gunter’s book is a necessity. Gunter covers the first years of the Syrian civil war in a manner that makes it relevant for understanding later developments. Writing a book on unfolding events is difficult. It requires vast background knowledge on the subject, access to key sources and individuals, and ability to contextualize the events within a wide historical and geopolitical framework. When it comes to Kurdish affairs, Gunter is the person for the task. One of the most prolific authors on Kurdish history and politics for decades, Gunter has established himself as an authority in the field. He narrates the history of Kurds in Syria (or Western Kurdistan) and their part in the civil war drawing on vast knowledge and experience. . . . This book is essential reading for anyone wishing to understand the contours of the ongoing Kurdish battle for self-determination.” Yaniv Voller, University of Edinburgh, *Middle East Policy*, 22 (Spring 2015), pp. 156-57. “Elegantly written . . . possess[es] clear interpretative and explanatory frameworks. *Out of Nowhere* has more academic footnoting and is more useful as a reference work for policy-makers or advanced graduate students. . . . His historical details are illuminating. . . . Gunter’s assessments of the strengths and weakness of the KRG model ring all too true. Similarly, his appraisal of how the Islamization of Turkish politics has fundamentally affected the Kurdistan Workers’ Party’s (PKK) aspirations and reactions are also right on target. The most useful part of *Out of Nowhere* is its succinct portrayal of the emergence of a new clan-based and ideologically motivated Kurdish party—the Democratic Union Party (PYD)—as the new hegemon of north-eastern Syria. The relationship of the PYD with other anti-Assad, territorially based movements like Jablat al-Nusra and the Islamic State are fascinatingly sketched. . . . Recommended reading for undergraduates, policy-makers and interested member of the public who wish to learn how Syria’s different communities are shaping the current civil war and are likely to be shaped by it. *International Affairs* 91:3 (Spring 2015), pp. 656-58. “Gunter’s slim volume is an informative and necessary intervention into what is an extremely fluid situation. Author of 11 books on the Kurdish question and the secretary general of the EU Turkey Civic Commission, he is a sympathetic observer. *Out of Nowhere*, though, avoids romanticism. It is not a paean to the Kurdish struggle but is, instead, a hard-headed analysis of the realities on the ground.” William Eichler, *London School of Economics Review of Books*, January 20, 2015. Michael M. Gunter’s book gives an informed introduction on the recent developments in Syrian-Kurdistan and its interdependencies with the developments in other parts of Kurdistan. . . . As an American political scientist and specialist on the Kurds, Michael M. Gunter has an intimate knowledge of U.S. Kurdish policy.” Thomas Schmidinger, *Kurdish Studies* 3:1 (2015). “This is an extremely informative evaluation of the causes and consequences of the sudden autonomy acquired by the Kurdish communities in Syria as a result of the civil war there. It is particularly apposite because it sets the situation of Syria's Kurds in the wider context of how regional events since the end of the Cold War have

created a new set of opportunities for the Kurds in Iraq and Turkey as well. Nor are the interests of other key states ignored, particularly those of the United States, Turkey and Iraq. In short, this is a very insightful comment on the Kurdish problem and its implications for the region in the light of Syria's civil war.” George Joffé, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Cambridge. “Michael Gunter has made an important and timely contribution to the limited literature on the Kurds in Syria. This is one of the first analyses of the momentous development of Kurdish autonomy in “Western Kurdistan” and is essential reading for understanding the Syrian war and the country’s future. Explaining Kurdish politics in Syria is not easy but Gunter skillfully examines the complex factors affecting Kurdish efforts to achieve improved rights and security. He also uses his extensive knowledge of Kurdish politics in Turkey and Iraq to give an understanding of these critical dynamics.” — Robert Lowe, Middle East Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science. “Michael Gunter presents a much needed analysis of the situation of the Kurds in Syria, bringing to the subject his many decades of experience as an observer of the group. Posing key questions, this book performs an invaluable role for those seeking to build as comprehensive a view as possible of a tragic civil war that continues to be as opaque in its dynamics as it is deadly.’ — Professor Gareth Stansfield, Al-Qasimi Chair of Arab Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter and Director of Middle East Studies at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI). “Michael Gunter, a prolific writer on the Kurds and a well-known scholar in the field of Kurdish studies, has written a highly informative and timely volume explaining the evolving role of the Kurds in Syria and their future prospects. This is a must-read book for specialists and informed citizens alike.” — Nader Entessar, Professor of Political Science, University of South Alabama. “*Out of Nowhere* is the latest of Michael Gunter’s many important studies of the Kurds. This timely book puts the dramatic developments of the last two years in Syria’s Kurdistan in historical, geopolitical and socio-cultural context. Essential reading for anyone who wishes to understand the dynamic role of the Kurds in a changing Middle East.” — Ofra Bengio, Head of the Kurdish Studies program at the Moshe Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University. “Professor Michael Gunter [is] one of the foremost scholars of the subject. . . . This is . . . an informative and balanced volume. . . . [and] a good primer.” William Armstrong, *Hurriyet Daily News*, October 28, 2015.

The Kurdish Spring: Geopolitical Changes and the Kurds (co-edited with Mohammed M. A. Ahmed) (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Press, 2013). “This edited book . . . will be a very useful read for informed general public and scholars alike. The nonspecialists who want to familiarize themselves with the Kurdish affairs in several different Middle Eastern states, Europe, and beyond will not be disappointed since the contributors do an admirable job in decoding the current very intricate Kurdish movements in the world. The book also contains valuable references for academics who wish to conduct further research on this subject. Another accomplishment of the book . . . is that it blends successfully seasoned scholars with younger ones and allows many different approaches and rich differences in opinion in noticeable harmony, a task that is rather difficult to accomplish yet significant. . . . This book will surely be a welcome addition to the fast growing literature on the Kurds and the readers will benefit from the expertise of very diverse group of contributors. *Middle East Journal* 68 (Summer 2014), pp. 479-80. “This volume of twelve chapters offers a rich variety of information and perspectives about Kurds in all of the four countries where they represent important minorities, as well in European diasporas. . . . The chapters constitute readable and up-to-date accounts of important Kurdish developments in the Middle East.” *Kurdish Studies* 2 (May 2014), p. 93.

Armenian History and the Question of Genocide (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). "Michael Gunter is Professor of Political Science at Tennessee Technological University, an internationally recognized scholar, and a well published specialist on the Kurds, Turks, and Armenians. . . . Michael Gunter comes back from bitter personal attacks with a concise and powerful exposition of his own thoughts on the matter. . . . [He] presents lucid summaries of both the Armenian and the Turkish positions regarding the Armenian Question, the deportations and massacres, and the associated propaganda. The review considers this chapter to be one of the best expositions of the issues in print. . . . The value added of Professor Gunter's work is to advance the discourse about separating the emotional impact of the 'G Word' from serious and dispassionate scholarship about the Ottoman side of the tragic events of 1915. . . . I highly recommend *Armenian History and the Question of Genocide* to anyone interested in this subject." *Middle East Journal* 65 (Fall 2011), pp. 690-92. "This is a short book . . . that should very satisfactorily serve as an overview of this complex issue for a more general readership." *Middle East Policy* 18 (Winter 2011). "The publication of such a book is a great victory of freedom of expression against intellectual terrorism. . . . This study is an honest synthesis of the historiography existing around 2010 and an analysis of the conflict since [the] 1970s. . . . This concise book is recommended." Maxime Gaulin, *Review of Armenian Studies* No. 30 (2014), pp. 199-203. "Michael M. Gunter presents a scholarly and very readable presentation of the Turkish and the Armenian positions regarding the Armenian claims of genocide during World War I and the continuing debate over this issue. Without denying the great Armenian tragedy, the author illustrates that although "genocide" can be a useful concept, the term has also been overused, misused, and therefore trivialized by many different groups including the Armenians seeking to demonize their antagonists and win sympathetic approbation for themselves. This book is particularly timely given the recent "soccer diplomacy" between Turkey and Armenia and Turkey's growing importance in international political and economic relations." --M. Hakan Yavuz, Professor of Political Science, The University of Utah. "This book fairly and dispassionately presents and elucidates the Turkish position on what Armenians call the first genocide of the twentieth century. I recommend it as a useful addition to the literature on this controversial and acrimoniously debated subject."--Guenter Lewy, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, University of Massachusetts at Amherst and author of *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2005). "Professor Gunter has written a superb book that fills an important gap in our understanding of the forces which have shaped the contemporary debate over the alleged Armenian Genocide of 1915. His elegant linkage of the past with the politics of the present gives the book great currency and relevance. Of particular note is Gunter's comprehensive exposition of the evolution of the transgenerational and 'hypermobilized' Armenian lobby. It is an indispensable read for anyone seeking to understand these events." --Dr. Edward J. Erickson, Associate Professor of Military History, Marine Corps Command & Staff College, Quantico, Virginia. "In *Armenian History and the Question of Genocide*, Michael M. Gunter brings a historian's touch to separate fact from fiction and myth from reality and to examine one of the most contentious subjects in twentieth century history. Against the backdrop of Armenian genocide claims and Turkish denials, Gunter has written the most incisive and balanced account of the episode, shedding light not only on events almost century ago, but also on how and why the issue continues to resonate in international relations today" --Michael Rubin, resident scholar, American Enterprise Institute. "With this book, Michael Gunter seeks to open up debate on one of the most volatile issues in modern Middle Eastern

history, the 'Armenian Question'. Professor Gunter follows the trail from its appearance on the diplomatic agenda in the late 19th century to the assassination of Turkish diplomats in the late 20th and efforts presently being made by both the Turkish and Armenian republics to overcome their differences. For the wounds of the past to be healed, and for dialogue to succeed, he believes, all ethno-religious communities bearing the legacy of this brutal period of history must acknowledge the wicked deeds committed by their forefathers. Turks and Armenians committed to different versions of history that are equally blighted by propaganda will undoubtedly find fault with Professor Gunter's account. Scholars are also bound to disagree with some of the points he makes but on such a sensitive issue this is virtually unavoidable. Overwhelmingly, though, above and beyond partisan or scholarly considerations, what Professor Gunter's narrative shows is that the 'Armenian question' is far more complex than many will have been led to believe. Herein lies the value of this book, although, read in the right quarters, it might also contribute to the rapprochement between two peoples – Armenians and Turks - driven apart by events that occurred before almost anyone alive today was born.” --Professor Jeremy Salt, author of *The Unmaking of the Middle East: A History of Western Disorder in Arab Lands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

Historical Dictionary of the Kurds, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2011). For this update of the 2003 edition, Gunter (Kurds Ascending) has reconsidered each entry and expanded the book's relaxed and edifying historical narrative to encompass recent events. Multiparagraph entries are organized alphabetically by terms translated from Kurdish. To orient readers, three maps detail Upper Kurdistan and postdiaspora pockets of Kurdish majority. A cache of black-and-white photographs at the book's center offers an enriching glimpse of significant Kurdish sites and figures. And of special value to researchers is the 90-page, thematically organized bibliography, which rounds out the book. Wonderful informational background. *Library Journal*. Reviewing this expanded second edition of the work, *Booklist* contributor Donald Altschiller noted: "This useful and well-researched reference book will undoubtedly inform and educate readers in academic and large public libraries." Writing in *Choice*, W.J. Breitbach felt that this reference "does a very good job of presenting both introductory overviews and detailed information within each entry." This second edition covers significant historical events, people, and places in Kurdish history from 401 BCE to early 2010. Gunter, . . . a respected expert, has written numerous books, book chapters, and journal articles on Kurdish history and politics. Even with its broad historical scope, covering 2,000-plus years of history, this work does a very good job of presenting both introductory overviews and detailed information within each entry. The dictionary begins with an acronyms/abbreviations section that is essential for understanding the work and for studying the subject more broadly. An excellent, detailed chronology of significant historical events follows. Well worth reading, the introduction provides an overview of the region, economy, and historical background of the Kurds. Entries are well written and contain multiple cross-references that are boldfaced for easy identification. The thorough bibliography is divided into subtopics to assist readers with finding the most appropriate content. Summing Up: Highly recommended. *Choice*. I have not been able to find any other reference book that covers all the material contained here....Academic libraries catering for programmes on the Middle East or on any of the countries concerned, libraries catering for readers on the geopolitics of oil, or on international relations in general will find this book worth considering....The political situation in the Middle East is changing extremely rapidly, and it is worth trying to keep up with it. *Reference Reviews*. A very useful reference work. *Journal of Third World Studies*.

The A to Z of the Kurds (Lanham/Toronto/Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2009). This is a reprint of my earlier *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds*, 2004.

The Kurds Ascending: The Evolving Solution to the Kurdish Problem in Iraq and Turkey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). “Professor Michael M. Gunter is well-placed to publish this upbeat and insightful study of the Kurdish situation in Iraq and Turkey. He has not hesitated to travel to Kurdish areas to meet with Kurdish leaders. . . . Gunter has established himself as one of the leading authorities on Kurdish issues, who dares to transit the political minefields of Kurdish studies without fear of criticism or political repercussions. . . . Gunter’s latest work is refreshing in its positive assessment of the future of the Kurds. It would be most useful to anyone interested in Iraq, Turkey, or the Kurds.” *Middle East Journal* 62 (Summer 2008), pp. 524-25. “*The Kurds Ascending* draws on much of much of Professor Gunter’s most recent work to provide a very up-to-date, riveting accounting of the monumental changes occurring vis-à-vis the Kurdish issue in Iraq and Turkey today. Written in clear, accessible language, the work does a fine job of focusing on the issues most central to understanding why the Kurds in Iraq are ascending and why a peaceful solution to ‘the Kurdish issue’ may finally be emerging in both Iraq and Turkey. The book works particularly well for readers who want more information, more analysis, and more facts than journalistic treatments of the topic generally provide, but who don’t want the overly dense jargon of many academic publications. . . . As someone born and raised in Quebec, this reader was very pleased to see Gunter’s solid familiarity with Canadian federalism and adept application of the example to a discussion of possible Iraqi political solutions. . . . Somehow Gunter manages to combine reasoned speculation with what documented and unclassified sources exist on Turkey’s Deep State and deliver a convincing account that reads like a spy novel. In English or French language sources, I know of no better discussion of the topic. . . . *The Kurds Ascending* provides both specialists and laymen alike an outstanding and clearly argued analysis of the evolving Kurdish problem.” *Middle East Policy* 15 (Winter 2008), pp. 171-73. “In his latest book Gunter . . . a prolific writer on the Kurds, provides a partially historical, partially journalistic narrative of recent developments that have augmented the power of Kurdish political forces in Iraq and Turkey. . . . Summing Up: Recommended.” *Choice* 45-7024 CIP, August 2008. “Professor Gunter has written an eminently readable, well-documented analysis that shows how the Kurdish question may be on the verge of a solution in Iraq and Turkey. Like his previous work, this book is polished and persuasive.” Tozun Bahcheli, Professor of Political Science, King’s University College, the University of Western Ontario. “Professor Gunter, in his characteristic lucid style, shows how federalism in Iraq, as well as EU-mandated and AK Party reforms in Turkey are cautiously helping lead to a solution to the long-running Kurdish problem in these two important states. This will provide a most welcomed insight into the future.” M. Hakan Yavuz, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Utah. “*Kurds Ascending* draws on much of Professor Gunter’s most recent work to provide a very up-to-date riveting account of the monumental changes occurring vis-à-vis the Kurdish issue today. Written in clear, accessible language yet chocked-full of interesting up-to-date information, Michael Gunter’s book should be of great interest to both those previously unfamiliar with the Kurds and specialists in Middle East politics as well.” David Romano, Assistant Professor of International Studies, Rhodes College.

The Evolution of Kurdish Nationalism (co-edited with Mohammed M.A. Ahmed) (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2007). “Quite valuable and successful in terms of providing a historical

account. . . . Good overview of . . . the Kurdish question . . . with a tighter-knit historical and comparative account.” (Featured Review) *Review of Middle East Studies* (Middle East Studies Association) 45 (Summer 2011), pp. 69-73. “Readers will find in this volume a collection of interesting studies covering all parts of Kurdistan. . . . The book will be of interest to a wide range of readers, especially students of nationalism and the modern history of the Middle East. . . . The book is a useful collection for the shelves of research libraries.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41 (February 2009), pp. 154-56. “The essays gathered in this book analyze how Kurdish nationalism has evolved and the challenge it presents to the regional states.” *Middle East Journal*, 61 (Summer 2007), p. 556.

The Kurdish Question and the 2003 Iraqi War (co-edited with Mohammed M.A. Ahmed) (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2005). “The essays . . . deal with important topics and most stand the test of time very well. This book is quite readable for students, academics and the general public and is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Kurdish people and the political, economic and social problems they have encountered or must resolve.” *Journal of Third World Studies* 24 (Fall 2007), p. 219. “In the book, the 12 contributors investigate developments that affected the Kurds and Kurdish nationalism from the 1991 Persian Gulf War to the 2003 Iraqi War.” *Middle East Journal* 59 (Summer 2005), p. 513.

Historical Dictionary of the Kurds (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004). “The value of this work is its timeliness. The 153 articles and book bibliographic entries are well organized. . . . The author [benefits] . . . by his wide knowledge of contemporary Kurdish politics, his acquaintance with many of the personages about whom he writes, and his wide travels among Kurds in Iraq, Turkey, and Syria. . . . Anyone interested in the history and politics of the Kurds and the current politics of the Middle East will want to have these two books within reach on their bookshelves.” *Middle East Journal* 58 (Summer 2004), p. 514. “An eminent and prolific scholar, Gunter provides a useful introduction, a large bibliography, a short chronology, and some maps. . . . His work is an excellent complement . . . [and] is a fine ready reference source. Recommended.” *Choice* (42-0699), October 2004. “Brilliant and committed. . . . This work provides good maps and a fantastic bibliography.” *American Reference Books Annual (ARBA)*, Vol. 36, 2005, #352, p. 172. “A comprehensive dictionary of maps, a chronology, an introductory essay, a dictionary containing several hundred entries on various aspects of Kurdish experience and an extensive bibliography,” *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 28 (Fall 2004), p. 87. “This is a reference and innovative work written by the well-known scholar Michael M. Gunter. . . . This is a very original and scholarly volume, where entries are generally exhaustive and with detailed information. . . . This important book . . . is to be greatly appreciated, and this volume is also a necessary support for libraries and those interested in the Near and Middle East.” *Oriente Moderno* XXV (LXXXVI), no.3, 2006, pp. 544-46. This book was the recipient of the Tennessee Technological University College of Arts & Sciences Award for Research & Creative Activity, 2005. “Timely . . . useful library reference . . . likely to be essential purchase . . . for libraries.” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 33, no. 1, 2006, pp. 82-84.

Kurdish Exodus: From Internal Displacement to Disapora (co-edited with Mohammed M.A. Ahmed) (Sharon, MA: Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies, 2002).

The Kurdish Question and International Law: An Analysis of the Legal Rights of the Kurdish

People (co-edited with Mohammed M.A.Ahmed) (Oakton, VA: Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies, 2000).

The Kurdish Predicament in Iraq: A Political Dilemma (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999). "Gunter has not only done his homework, but has also brought new insights to the understanding of Kurdish politics in Iraq, and the Iraqi opposition. . . . This is a well-written, highly readable, and concise discussion of the Kurdish movement in Iraq. Anyone interested in Iraq's future and the Kurdish national struggle within the geostrategic context of the Middle East should read this well-researched and informative book." *Middle East Insight*, 15 (Jan-Feb 2000), pp. 61-62. "Gunter, who was an active player in the politics of the region, explains the complex Kurdish politics in northern Iraq in a concise and readable manner. . . . Recommended for university and large urban libraries. Choice (37-2404). "This book . . . is a well-documented, detailed account of the recent Kurdish history in Iraq. . . . Gunter deserves credit for collecting these valuable personal details." *Middle East Journal*, 54 (Spring 2000), p. 305. "This volume presents a much-needed, highly accessible analysis. . . . objective and insightful. . . . Gunter's book joins his previous work in shedding light on a complex predicament." *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 34 (Summer 2000), pp. 124-25. "This is a welcome addition to the literature on contemporary Kurdish politics and international relations. . . . The book's informative and jargon-free style will make it a very useful resource for academics, journalists, and policy-makers interested in Kurdish political developments in general and Iraqi Kurdistan in particular. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33 (May 2001), p.332. "Beautifully managed notes, bibliography and index. . . . Gunter provides analytical information and knowledge about the causes of the Kurdish predicament and defines the early history of the Kurdish people. . . . The author explains the different outlooks and dissimilar approaches to resolving the Kurdish problem. . . . He discloses many more interesting incidents in the war between Barzani and Talabani and the reality of external interference. His analysis of the civil war between the KDP and PUK is as coherent as any narrative on that Byzantine struggle. . . . Overall the author's work is significant, worthwhile and informative. This is a unique contribution on the subject." *Journal of Third World Studies* (Fall 2003), pp. 257-58. "The second chapter is an excellent account of the respective lives and personalities of the Barzanis . . . and of Jalal Talabani. . . . Gunter provides excellent coverage of U.S. policy toward the Iraqi Kurds and the related partisan politics and interdepartmental rivalries. . . . [This] is a well-written and amply documented book that should be of interest to both academics and the general public, and is an important contribution to scholarly literature on the Kurds." *Turkish Studies Association Journal* 26 (Fall 2002), pp. 53-54.

Susurluk: The Connections between the Intelligence Community in Turkey and International Crime (Athens, Greece: Research Institute for European and American Studies, 1999).

The Kurds and the Future of Turkey (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). "Michael Gunter tackles this topic with skill and experience. . . . He packs an immense amount of mainly original and impeccably documented information . . . which he analyses with clarity and objectivity. . . . Consistently, the points made are illustrated by valuable factual detail from a host of sources." *International Affairs* (UK), 74 (April 1998), p. 476. "Gunter's clear writing style make[s] *The Kurds and the Future of Turkey* a valuable resource. It is an excellent addition to one's library either as an introductory text, or better, as a compliment to the texts on the conflict one already possesses." *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 19 (Fall 1999), p. 205. "This is a highly accessible

compilation covering a substantial amount of territory. . . . Gunter also raises several paradoxes that point the way to potentially profitable lines of future research." *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 32 (Summer 1998), pp. 21-22. "Michael Gunter's account . . . provide(s) potentially useful comparative data for the further study of ethnicity and nationalism in the contemporary world." *American Political Science Review* 92 (December 1998), p. 962. "Where thoughtful analysis of the world's less visible trouble spots circulates, this analysis by the U.S. academic perhaps most closely identified with study of Turkey's Kurdish problem will appeal." *Booklist* (American Library Association), July 19, 1997. This "is a well-written and amply documented book that should be of interest to both academics and the general public, and is an important contribution to the increasing amount of scholarly literature on the Kurdish question." *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 28 (Spring 1999), p. 79. "Libraries should . . . hold Michael Gunter's *The Kurds and the Future of Turkey* (1997) and his *The Kurdish Question in Turkey* (1990)." Daniel Pipes, editor of the *Middle East Quarterly* in *Choice*, Dec. 1998, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1007. "This book . . . focuses . . . attention on [the] PKK [and] examines its structure . . . with plenty of details and data. . . . Great merit to Gunter for his deep [analysis]." *Politica Internazionale*, (Nos. 1-2, 1998), pp. 221-223.

The Changing Kurdish Problem in Turkey (London: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict & Terrorism, 1994). "Professor Gunter's analysis is very impressive." Mehrdad Izady, editor, *International Journal of Kurdish Studies*.

The Kurds of Iraq: Tragedy and Hope (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993). "Gunter provides a useful detailed account of political developments in and around Iraqi Kurdistan. . . . His scholarship is unexceptionable." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 30 (October 1994), pp. 990-91. "Carefully researched." *International Affairs* (London), 69 (October 1993), p. 808. "Gunter's timely work, with its solid research and data, helps to sort out fact from so much published fiction. . . . This work is a remarkably good piece of solid historical work." *Kurdish Studies: An International Journal*, 5 (Spring-Fall 1992), pp. 94-95. "Immensely helpful to scholars and students interested in learning about the complex and not very well understood Kurdish question in northern Iraq." Edmund Ghareeb, author of *The Kurdish Question in Iraq*. "Michael Gunter's succinct study . . . leaves little room for optimism." *Times Literary Supplement*, Aug. 27, 1993, p. 24. "Gunter's study is a must read for anyone interested in Kurdish nationalism and the Kurdish question. It is an essential work for understanding the geopolitical and geostrategic changes that have taken place in the Middle East as a result of the Gulf War." Robert Olson, Professor of History, University of Kentucky. "A crisp, concise, and up-to-date analysis of one of the most important issues in the Middle East today. In this highly readable book, Professor Gunter adroitly guides the reader through the labyrinth of Kurdish politics in Iraq. Essential reading for students of the modern Middle East." Nader Entessar, Professor of Political Science, Spring Hill College.

The Kurds in Turkey: A Political Dilemma (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990). "A much-needed contribution to scholarly analysis of the Kurdish issue in the region. . . . An informative volume that will be useful to students of Middle Eastern and international politics, as well as those interested in the politics of multiethnic societies in the Third World." *Middle East Journal*, 45 (Autumn 1991), p. 685. "The book provides valuable information, much of it not readily available to many readers, including specialists on Turkey." *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 16 (April 1992), pp. 103-104. "Gunter has an excellent command of the original source material and his

book is well documented. It is the only English language book to focus specifically on the Turkish Kurds." *International Journal on Group Rights*, 1 (1993), p. 72.

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“The Armenian Massacres: Was it Genocide,” lecture presented at the Fitzpatrick Center, Duke University, Raleigh, NC, January 24, 2015.

“Turkish Policy towards the Kurds: Change & Continuity,” talk presented at The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), London, UK, January 14, 2015.

“The Collapsed State Systems in Syria & Iraq and the Rise of ISIS & the Kurds,” talk presented in the UK Parliament, House of Lords, London, UK, January 12, 2015.

“Closing Comments on the 11th International Kurdish Conference,” statement made at the 11th EUTCC international conference, “The European Union, Turkey, The Middle East, and the Kurds: Chaos and Crisis in the Middle East, New Regional Order and the Kurds, EU Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, December 11, 2014.

“New Perspectives on the Middle East: The Kurds as a Mobilizing Factor,” lecture presented at Leuven University-Antwerp, Antwerp, Belgium, December 9, 2014.

“Turkey and the Collapsed State Systems in Syria & Iraq: The Rise of ISIS & the Kurds,” lecture presented to the Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin, December 2, 2014.

“US Shift towards Kurds Too Slow,” Rethink Institute Symposium, Washington, D.C., November 24, 2014.

“The Syrian Kurds and the Changing Middle East Political Map,” paper presented at the 48th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 22, 2014.

“How to Defeat ISIS via the Kurdish Road,” Missouri State University, October 17, 2014.

“Kurdish Studies in the United States,” Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology, Vienna University, October 1, 2014.

“The Diplomatic Prerequisites of Successful KRG Independence,” Soran University, Kurdistan Regional Government-Iraq, September 2014.

“What is Genocide: The Armenian Case,” lecture presented at the University of Chicago, Assembly of Turkish American Association, Chicago, IL, September 20, 2014.

“Why the Armenian Tragedy Was Not Genocide: The Ambiguity of Genocide,” lecture presented at Times Square, Federation of Turkish American Associations, New York, New York, April 26, 2014.

“How Armenian Terror and Insurrection Led to the Deportation in 1915,” lecture presented at John Jay College, Federation of Turkish American Associations, New York, New York, April 25, 2014.

“Turkish-PKK Peace Talks: A Dead End?” paper presented at the symposium on “Kurdistan’s Oil and Gas: Curse or Blessing? and read by David Romano, Soran University, Kurdistan Regional Government-Iraq, April 21-22, 2014.

“The Anfal Campaign: The Kurdish Genocide,” lecture presented at the Museo Memoria y Tolerancia, Mexico City, Mexico, March 28, 2014.

“The Kurds in Syria,” lecture presented at the Universidad Liberoamericana, Mexico City, Mexico, March 27, 2014.

“The Kurdish Question,” lecture presented at the Universidad Anahuac, Mexico City, Mexico, March 26, 2014.

“The Kurds in Turkey,” lecture presented at the Universidad Liberoamericana, Mexico City, Mexico, March 25, 2014.

“The General History of the Kurds,” lecture presented at the Universidad Liberoamericana, Mexico City, Mexico, March 24, 2014.

“The Syrian Kurds and Transnational Actors,” paper presented at the conference on “Governing Diversity: The Kurds in a New Middle East,” organized by the Iraq Institute for Strategic Studies,

Beirut, Lebanon, November 29, 2013.

“The Turkish-Kurdish Peace Process: To Be or Not To Be,” paper presented at the conference on “The Kurdish Role in the New Middle East,” organized by the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) Representative Office in the USA, The National Press Club, Washington, D.C., October 28, 2013.

“An Analysis of Kurdish Nation Building,” paper presented at the third annual Scientific World Kurdish Congress, Stockholm, Sweden, October 13, 2013.

“The Syrian Kurds Ascending,” paper presented at the 47th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, and read by Professor Robert Olson, New Orleans, LO, October 10-13, 2013.

“Meeting Unal Cevikoz, the Turkish Ambassador to the UK,” talk presented at the panel discussion on “Turkey, Peace Talks and the PKK: Freedom and Justice for the Kurds,” Garden Court Chambers, Lincoln’s Inn Fields, London, UK, June 28, 2013.

“Colonial Heritage in the Middle East: The Kurds in Syria,” paper presented at the conference convened by the Maghreb Studies Association on “Colonial Heritage in the Middle East and the Maghreb: The Shaping of Hopes and Perspectives, Mansfield College, Oxford University, UK, June 24-25, 2013.

“The Kurds in Syria and the Syrian Civil War,” talk present at the “Expert Roundtable on the State of the Opposition in Syria,” Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs), London, UK, June 21, 2013.

“The Kurdish Spring,” Committee Room 15, House of Commons, London, UK, June 13, 2013.

“Reopening Turkey’s Kurdish Opening,” LSE Middle East Centre Seminar, London School of Economics, London, UK, June 12, 2013.

“Presentation on the Current State of Affairs in the Middle East,” British Foreign & Commonwealth Office, London, UK, June 12, 2013.

“Conceived in Genocide? The Armenian Massacres in World I & the Birth Pangs of Modern Turkish and Armenian National Identities,” paper presented at the 4th Turkish Studies Project of the University of Utah Conference, Tbilisi, Georgia, June 7, 2013.

“The 2016 Kurdish War of Independence and the Restructuring of the Middle East in Retrospect: Insights from Notional History,” paper presented at the 25th annual conference of the Kurdish National Conference of North America, Nashville, TN, May 18, 2013.

“Final Resolution,” (with Kariane Westrheim), paper presented at the 9th international conference on the EU, Turkey and the Kurds, “The Kurdish Question in Turkey: Time to Renew the Dialogue and Resume Direct Negotiations,” EU Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, December 6, 2012.

“The Kurdish Spring in the Aftermath of the Arab Spring,” paper presented at the 46th annual

meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Denver CO, November 19, 2012.

“The Strengths and Roots of a Solution to the Kurdish Problem in Turkey Based on Democratic Self-Determination,” (with Kariane Westrheim), paper presented at Kurdish Conference, Gothebourg, Sweden, November 2, 2012.

“Hierarchy and Interaction: An Analysis of Kurdish Political Groups in Turkey,” paper presented at the Second World Kurdish Congress, Erbil, Iraq-Kurdistan, October 14, 2012. “Your presentation was excellent and highly respected. . . . You must know that our people deeply respect you for your effort.” Professor Alan Dilani, Chair of Scientific Committee World Kurdish Congress.

“The Syrian Crisis: The Current State of Affairs,” paper presented at the Seminar on “Democratization in Syria, Perspectives and Prospects, Syria and Kurds at the Crossroads of Change,” California State University/Long Beach, Long Beach, CA, October 6, 2012.

“The Kurdish Opening,” paper presented at the third annual Middle East Institute’s Center for Turkish Studies in collaboration with the Institute for Turkish Studies conference on “Regional and Domestic Challenges for an Ascendant Turkey,” The National Press Club, Washington, DC., June 27, 2012.

“Presentation on the Current State of Affairs in the Middle East,” British Foreign & Commonwealth Office, London, UK, May 18, 2012.

“The Rise and Fall of the Kurdish Initiative in Turkey: Part II,” paper presented at the 8th annual conference of the EU Turkey Civic Commission (EUTCC), The EU, Turkey, and the Kurds.: “The Quest for Democracy in Turkey—Universal Rights and Kurdish Self-Determination and the Struggles over the new Constitution,” EU Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, December 7, 2011.

“The Future of Iraq’s Relations with Its Kurdish Region,” paper presented at the 45th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D. C., December 1, 2011.

“The Rise and Fall of the Kurdish Initiative in Turkey,” paper presented at the First World Kurdish Congress, (presented by Kariane Westrheim), Amsterdam, The Netherlands, October 9, 2011.

“Politicization of History and Countering the Prejudice,” paper presented at the North America Turkish Leadership Conference “Enhancing Turkish Identity in Canada and the US,” Kingston, Ontario, Canada, October 8, 2011.

“Economic Opportunities in Iraqi Kurdistan,” paper presented at RAND Corporation-Central Intelligence Agency, Office of Iraq Analysis, Strategy Advisory Group, Conference on “The Role of the KRG in Iraq,” Washington, DC, August 24, 2011.

“Baghdad-Irbil Relations,” paper presented at the Defense Intelligence Agency-Central Intelligence Agency, Middle East and North Africa Outlook Conference, Warrenton Training Center, VA, July 7, 2011.

“Survey of Kurdish Studies in the U.S.A.,” paper presented at the 2nd World Conference of Kurdish Studies and organized by the Institut Kurde de Paris and University of Duhok with the support of the Kurdistan Regional Government, University of Duhok, Duhok, Kurdistan-Iraq, May 1, 2011.

“The Current Situation of the Kurds in Syria,” (written with and presented by Kariane Westrheim), paper presented to Kurdocide Watch conference, Stockholm, Sweden, February 13, 2011.

“Oil and Gas Opportunities in Iraqi Kurdistan,” paper presented to Marathon Oil Company, Houston, TX, January 4, 2011.

“Syria’s Response to the Emergence of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG),” paper presented to the 44th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Diego, CA, November 19, 2010.

“The Kurdish Leadership in Iraq,” paper presented at the international conference on “Iraq Today: Between Unity and Disintegration,” Hebrew University, Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem, Israel, March 16, 2010.

“Kurdish-Arab Tensions and Arbil-Baghdad Relations,” paper presented at the conference on “The Iraqi Elections & the Changing Politico-Security Environment in Iraq,” The Jamestown Foundation, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,” Washington, D.C., March 4, 2010.

“The Politics of Genocide: The Armenian Case,” paper presented for the meeting on “The Political and Social Origins of Ethnic and Territorial Conflicts,” at The University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, February 25, 2010.

“Closing Statement,” presented at the sixth international conference on “Turkey and the Kurdish Conflict: EU, Turkey and the Kurds,” EU Turkey Civic Commission, European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, February 4, 2010.

“Turkey’s EU Accession: The Rise and Fall of the AK Party’s Attempt to Solve the Kurdish Problem?” paper presented at the international conference “The Kurds and Kurdistan: Identity, Politics, History,” Centre for Kurdish Studies, University of Exeter, UK, April 2, 2009.

“Turkey, EU and International Relations,” paper presented at the fifth international conference on “Time for Change in Turkey!” EU Turkey Civic Commission, European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, January 28, 2009.

“Turgut Ozal and the Kurdish Question,” paper presented at the 42nd annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, Washington, D.C., November 25, 2008.

“Turkey and the PKK: Fighting Terrorism or Freedom Fighters?” paper presented at the Pilot Center for Academic Excellence in Intelligence Studies, Fall Academic Colloquium, Tennessee State University, Nashville, TN, November 5, 2008.

“The Kurds: The Unrecognized Group in Turkey,” paper presented at the Press Conference on “The Kurds & International Agreements,” International Press Center, Residence Palace, Brussels, Belgium, June 2, 2008.

“Turkey and the Iraqi Kurds: Changing Security Dilemmas for the United States,” paper presented at Pilot Center for Academic Excellence in Intelligence Studies, Intelligence Studies Day at Tennessee State University, Nashville, TN, April 17, 2008.

“Kurdish Futures,” paper presented at the conference on “The Kurds in International Affairs,” The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), London, UK, December 19, 2007.

“The Kurdish Road to Turkish Democracy,” paper presented at the fourth international conference on “The EU, Turkey and the Kurds,” EU Turkey Civic Commission, European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, December 4, 2007.

“The Role of International Actors for Conflict Resolution: Turkey and the European Union (EU),” paper presented at the conference on “Kurds in Turkey: Main Requirements for a Peace Process,” sponsored by the Heinrich Boll Foundation, Diyarbakir, Turkey, September 30, 2007.

“Proposals for a Solution: Taming Turkey’s Deep State,” paper presented at the conference on “Kurds in Turkey: Main Requirements for a Peace Process,” sponsored by the Heinrich Boll Foundation, Diyarbakir, Turkey, September 29, 2007.

“The Permanent and New Realities in the KRG,” paper presented at the 3rd annual conference sponsored by the Office of Iraq Analysis, SAIC, on “Iraq: Communities in Conflict,” The Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., April 19, 2007.

“The Current Situation in the KRG,” presented at the First Annual Conference of the Kurdish American Youth Organization, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, February 10, 2007.

“Turkey’s EU Candidacy and the Deep State Roadblock,” presented at the Third International Conference on the EU, Turkey and the Kurds, “Time for Justice, Dialogue and Solution,” EU Turkey Civic Commission, EU Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, October 17, 2006.

“The Changing Dynamics in the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) of Iraq,” presented at the World Congress on Kurdish Studies and organized by the Institut Kurde de Paris with the support of the Kurdistan Regional Government and the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Salahaddin University, Irbil, Kurdistan-Iraq, September 8, 2006.

“Possible Developments in Iraqi Kurdistan,” presented at the conference on “Iraqi Leadership,” CENTRA Technology, Inc., on behalf of the Office of Iraq Analysis, Washington, D.C., July 21, 2006.

“The Origins of Kurdish Nationalism: Primordialist or Constructionist?” presented at the 11th Annual Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, New York, March 25, 2006.

"The Conditions for Iraqi Kurdish Independence," presented at the Kurdish National Congress of North America conference on "Kurdish Independence, Democracy and Regional Stability," University of Sulaymaniya, Sulaymaniya, Kurdistan-Iraq, November 13, 2005.

"The Type of Federalism Sought by the Iraqi Kurds," presented at the Kurdish National Congress of North America conference on "Kurdish Independence, Democracy and Regional Stability," Salahaddin University, Irbil, Kurdistan-Iraq, November 10, 2005.

"U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the Iraqi Kurds During the Clinton Administration," presented at the 11th Presidential Conference: William Jefferson Clinton, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, November 11, 2005. (I was not able to be present at this conference, but a member of the conference staff presented my paper.)

"Armenian Terrorism: A Reappraisal," presented at the Conference on Terrorism in History, Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, October 15, 2005.

"The Implications of Turkey's EU Candidacy," presented at the Second International Conference on the EU, Turkey, and the Kurds, EU Turkey Civic Commission, European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, September 20, 2005.

"The Modern Origins of Kurdish Nationalism," presented at the International Conference on the Evolution of Kurdish Nationalism, Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies, Boston, MA, September 3, 2005.

"Changing Kurdish Nationalism Since the 2003 Iraqi War," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL, April 1, 2005.

"The Continuing Crisis in Iraqi Kurdistan," presented at the 17th Annual Conference of the Kurdish National Congress of North America, Nashville, TN, March 26, 2005.

"Federalism and the Kurds: The Solution or the Problem?" presented at the Conference on After Saddam: Democracy, Insurgency, and Reconstruction in the New Iraq, Office of Iraq Analysis, CENTRA Technology, Inc., The Washington Club, Washington, D.C., December 2, 2004.

"Turkish Membership in the EU and the Kurds," presented at the Conference on The EU, Turkey and the Kurds, European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, November 22, 2004.

"Iraqi Kurdistan at the End of 2004," presented at The Roundtable on The Kurdish Question: The Implications for Iraq, Chatham House/The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, England, October 29, 2004.

"Turkish Policy Toward the Iraqi Kurds," presented at the Conference on The Transformation of Islamic Movements in Turkey: The Origins and Policies of the Justice and Development Party,

University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 10, 2004.

"The Possibilities for an Independent Kurdish State," presented at the Conference on Kurdish Human Rights: Statelessness, Resistance and Survival, California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco, California, September 4, 2004.

"Turkey and the United States: End of Alliance?" presented at the International Center for Contemporary Middle Eastern Studies, Eastern Mediterranean University, Gazimagusa, Northern Cyprus, April 29, 2004.

"The Kurdish Question in Perspective," presented at the Conference on Deprivation, Violence, and Identities: Mapping Contemporary World Conflicts, Mershon Center and Middle East Studies Center, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, October 3, 2003.

"Kurdish Prospects in Post-Saddam Iraq," presented at the International Conference on the Implications of the Iraqi War for the Kurdish Question, Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies, Boston, Ma, September 7, 2003.

"The Changing Relationship between the Kurds and Turkey after the 2003 Gulf War," presented at the International Conference on the New Period in the Middle East and the Solution of the Kurdish Question of the Kurdistan National Congress, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, June 20, 2003.

"The Northern Alliance in the Iraqi Dilemma," presented at the International Conference on Gulf War II, International Center for Contemporary Middle Eastern Studies, Eastern Mediterranean University, Gazimagusa, Northern Cyprus, April 24, 2003.

"The Kurdish Future in Post-Saddam Iraq," presented at the Spring Meeting of SERMEISS, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN, March 29, 2003.

"The Kurds of Iraq: Tragedy and Hope," presented at the International Conference on Iraqi Kurdistan: Ten Years of Self-Rule and Future Prospects, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark, November 30, 2002.

"Asymmetric Warfare after September 11: New Thinking or Reinventing the Wheel?" presented at the International Conference on Asymmetric Warfare: Terrorism and Homeland Security, The Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, October 4, 2002.

"U.S.-Turkish Intelligence Liaison Since World War II," presented at the International Conference on Transatlantic Intelligence Cooperation: Past and Future, International Intelligence History Association, Berlin, Germany, June 1, 2002.

"The Kurdish Minority Identity in Iraq," presented at the International Conference on Nationalism and Minority Identities in Islamic Societies, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada, December 8, 2001.

"The Legal Rights of Refugee and Internally Displaced Kurds under International Law," presented at the International Conference on "Kurdish Refugees and Internally Displaced Kurds," Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies, Washington, D.C., September 23, 2001.

"Post-Sanctions Libya: The Road Ahead for U.S. Policy," presented at the 34th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Orlando, FL, November 19, 2000.

"The Continuing Kurdish Problem in Turkey after Ocalan's Capture," presented at the 41st Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Los Angeles, CA, March 15, 2000.

"United States Foreign Policy Toward the Kurds," presented at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 20, 1999.

"The Kurdish Question and International Law," presented at the Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies Workshop on International Law vs. Kurdish Aspirations: Facility or Hindrance? Washington, D.C., November 20, 1999.

"Libya and 'Soft' International Law," presented at the 2nd US-Libya Dialogue Group Conference on US-Libyan Relations, Sliema, Malta, August 24, 1999.

"Developments in Iraqi Kurdistan: Their Influence on Neighboring States and the Kurdish Movements in Surrounding States," presented at the Awadanie Conference on Iraqi Kurdistan: Status and Prospects, Berlin, Germany, April 9, 1999.

"The Iraqi Opposition and the Failure of U.S. Intelligence," presented at the 40th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., February 20, 1999.

"Containing Iraq: The International Ramifications of the Iraqi Opposition and Kurdish Civil War," presented at the Annual Conference of the International Strategic Studies Association, Washington, D.C., October 5, 1998.

"The Kurdish Problem in Turkey: Causes and Solutions," presented at the 94th Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, September 5, 1998.

"U.S. Strategic Interests and the Kurds," presented at the Conference on the Future of the Kurdish Question for Turkey and Its Neighbours and sponsored by the Parliamentary Group of the European Socialists in the European Parliament and the Dr. Karl Renner Institute, Vienna, Austria, July 2, 1998.

"National Reconciliation between Turkey and Its Citizens of Kurdish Ethnic Heritage," presented at the Badlisy International Conference on the Kurds, Princeton University, New Jersey, March 22, 1998.

"Susurluk: The Connections between the Intelligence Community in Turkey and International Crime," presented at the 39th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association,

Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 19, 1998.

"The Turkish-Iranian Factor in the Iraqi Kurdish Civil War," presented at the 31st Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, California, November 24, 1997.

"After the War: President Bush and the Kurdish Uprising," presented at the Tenth Presidential Conference: George Bush, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, April 18, 1997.

"An Analysis of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey," presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, March 21, 1997.

"Kurdish Infighting: The PKK-KDP Conflict," presented at the 30th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Providence, Rhode Island, November 23, 1996.

"Iraqi Opposition to Saddam: The Case of the INC," presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, California, April 17, 1996.

"The Foreign Policy of the Iraqi Kurds," presented to the Spring Meeting of SERMEISS, University of South Carolina, March 23, 1996.

"The Opposition Iraqi National Congress: A Viable Option for the Iraqi Kurds?" presented to the 29th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Wash., D.C., Dec. 9, 1995.

"The KDP-PUK Conflict in Iraqi Kurdistan," presented to the 13th Annual Meeting of the Association of Third World Studies, Jacksonville, Florida, Oct. 13, 1995.

"A Challenge to Liberalism in the Contemporary Middle East: The Case of the Kurds," presented to the 91st Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2, 1995.

"The Growing Importance of the Kurds in World Politics," presented to the 8th Annual Meeting of the Kurdish National Congress of North America, Irvine, California, July 22, 1995.

"The United Nations Peacekeeping Operation in Iraqi Kurdistan," presented to the Conference on The United Nations at Fifty: Issues and Opportunities, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan, Canada, March 3, 1995.

"Mulla Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdish Rebellion in Iraq," presented to the 36th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, February 24, 1995.

"A Kurdish State in Northern Iraq?" presented at the 90th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, New York, Sept. 1, 1994.

"Troubles in Iraqi Kurdistan: Disaster or Growing Pains?" presented at the 7th Annual Meeting of the Kurdish National Congress of North America, Washington, D.C., July 29, 1994.

"The Changing Kurdish Problem in Turkey," presented to the Colloquium on Minorities in the Middle East, at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern & African Studies, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel, April 25, 1994.

"The Kurdish Factor in Middle Eastern Politics," presented to the 35th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., March 31, 1994.

"The Kurdish Factor in Turkish Foreign Policy," presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., March 19, 1994.

"The Emergence of a De Facto Kurdish State in Northern Iraq," presented at the 27th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, November 14, 1993.

"Regional States' Policies towards Kurdistan," presented at the 6th Annual Meeting of the Kurdish National Congress of North America, San Francisco, California, August 7, 1993.

"The Kurds and the Future of Turkey," presented to a special interagency group of analysts and policy makers at the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, Virginia, June 15, 1993.

"Dealing with Terrorism: The Reagan Record," presented at the Ninth Presidential Conference: Ronald Reagan, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, April 23, 1993.

"Turkey and the Kurds: The Possibilities for Cooperation," presented at the Badlisy International Conference on the Kurds, Washington, D.C., March 18, 1993.

"Transnational Sources of Influence on the Kurdish Insurgency in Iraq," presented at the 26th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Portland, Oregon, October 31, 1992.

"The Kurdish Peacekeeping Operation in Northern Iraq, 1991," presented at the international conference on Peacekeeping and the Challenge of Civil Conflict Resolution, Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, September 25, 1992.

"The Sovereignty of Very Small States: A Comparative Overview," presented at the international conference on Patterns of Autonomy and Dependence in the Small Islands of the North Atlantic, Institute of Island Studies, University of Prince Edward Island, Canada, Sept. 17, 1992.

"The Kurdish Problem in Iraq in Light of the 1991 Gulf War," presented at the 88th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 5, 1992.

"Ethnic Conflict in Turkey: The Kurds," presented at the 9th Annual Conference of the Defense Intelligence College on Ethnic Conflict: Challenges to US Security, Washington, D.C., June 23, 1992.

"The Gulf War and Turkey: New Attitudes towards the Kurds," presented at the 33d Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, April 3, 1992.

"Transnational Sources of Support for the Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey," presented at the 25th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 24, 1991.

"Turkey and the Kurds: New Developments in 1991," presented at the U.S. State Department Conference on Turkey and Its Neighbors, Washington, D.C., May 15, 1991.

"Transnational Sources of Support for the Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey," presented at the 32nd Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Vancouver, Canada, March 21, 1991.

"The Iranian Hostages Case and Its Implications for the International Law of Diplomacy," presented at the Eighth Presidential Conference: Jimmy Carter, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, November 17, 1991. (Broadcast nationally on C-Span.)

"Transnational Armenian Activism in Contemporary Perspective," presented at the 86th Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, August 31, 1990.

"Contemporary Aspects of Transnational Armenian Activism," presented at the 31st Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., April 11, 1990.

"Terrorists and Freedom Fighters: Some Notes Towards a Greater Definitional Clarity," presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association South, Memphis, Tennessee, November 3, 1989.

"Domestic Violence in Turkey During the 1970s," presented at the 85th Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, September 2, 1989.

"Transnational Armenian Activism," presented at the 30th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, London, England, March 29, 1989.

"The Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey," presented at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Beverly Hills, California, November 5, 1988.

"Political Instability in Turkey during the 1970s," presented at the 29th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, St. Louis, Missouri, March 30, 1988.

"Kurdish Militancy in Turkey: The Case of PKK," presented at the 21st Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Baltimore, Maryland, November 15, 1987.

"Armenian Terrorism," presented at six-hour seminar over a two-day period to the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Training Seminar on Armenian Terrorism, Ottawa, Canada, December 1-2, 1986.

"The Contemporary Kurdish Problem in Turkey," presented at the 20th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Boston, Massachusetts, November 23, 1986.

"The American Image of Turkey," presented at the Table-ronde: Aspects de la Turquie contemporaine, Ecole des hautes etudes en sciences sociales, Paris, France, October 28, 1986.

"The New Relevancy of an Old Philosophy: Ambassador Moynihan's 'Calhounian' Strategy at the United Nations," (with Ronnie Faulkner) presented at the 82nd Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 31, 1986.

"The Armenian Dashnak Party in Crisis," presented at the 1986 International Conference of the British Society for Middle East Studies, London, England, July 6, 1986.

"The Peaceful Settlement of Disputes under the United Nations Charter," presented at the 27th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Anaheim, California, March, 1986.

"Armenian National Liberation/Terrorist Movements," presented at the Joint Meeting of the 28th Annual Convention of the African Studies Association and the 19th Annual Convention of the Middle East Studies Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 24, 1985.

"Armenian Terrorism Today: Analysis or Autopsy?" presented at the 57th Annual Convention of the Southern Political Science Association, Nashville, Tennessee, November 7, 1985.

"The Historical Origins of the Armenian-Turkish Enmity," presented at the National Conference on Genocide and Human Rights, Waltham, Massachusetts, April 19, 1985.

"Transnational Sources of Support for Armenian Terrorism," presented at the 26th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., March 6, 1985.

"The Single-Warhead Missile and the Maintenance of Nuclear Stability," presented at the 80th Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2, 1984.

"Contemporary Aspects of Armenian Terrorism," presented at the International Symposium on Terrorism, Ankara, Turkey, April 17, 1984.

"The Gore Proposal: A Passage Through the Impasse of Nuclear Arms Control?" presented at the 25th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, March 30, 1984.

"The Armenian Terrorist Campaign against Turkey," presented at the 79th Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2, 1983.

"Teaching Political Science in a Turkish University: The Experience of a Fulbright Lecturer," presented at the 78th Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Denver, Colorado, September 3, 1982.

"Teaching International Relations in a Turkish University: The Experience of a Fulbright Lecturer," presented at the 23rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Cincinnati, Ohio, March 26, 1982.

"Violating the Inviolable: The Iranian Hostages Case and Its Implications for the Future of the International Law of Diplomacy," presented at the 22nd Annual Convention of the ___ International Studies Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 21, 1981.

"Towards a New UN-NGO Consultative Relationship?" presented at the 35th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 21, 1977.

"Nongovernmental Organizations and the United Nations System," presented at the 18th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, St. Louis, Missouri, March 19, 1977.

"Recent Developments Concerning the UN Microstate Problem," presented at the 17th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, February 28, 1976.

Further Education, Workshops

"Seminar on China: Tradition and Transformation," Fulbright Summer Seminar, Beijing Normal University, Beijing, China, July 1-30, 2000.

"Cookeville Police Citizen's Academy," Cookeville Police Department, Cookeville, TN, Fall 1995.

"Seminar for Teachers of Intelligence," Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, Bowdoin College, Maine, August 8-15, 1992.

"Malone Faculty Fellows Program to Egypt," National Council on US-Arab Relations, American University Cairo, Cairo, Egypt, June 28-July 29, 1991.

"Faculty Seminar on Teaching Foreign Intelligence," Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, Bowdoin College, Maine, July 9-19, 1990.

"Russian School," Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont, June 9-August 11, 1989.

"Seminar on Ancient and Modern Israel," Fulbright Summer Seminar, Hebrew University Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem, Israel, June 19- July 29, 1988.

"Enlightenment: The Best Security in a Nuclear-Armed World," Center for Theoretical Studies, University of Miami, Miami, Florida, January 8-12, 1988.

"The Psychology of Terrorism," The Wilson Center, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C., March 16-18, 1987.

"National Security Education Symposium," Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, September 10-11, 1982.

"Ataturk International Research Conference," College of Charleston, Charleston, South Carolina, October 9-11, 1981.

"Diplomacy in International Relations," National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar for College Teachers (Adda Bozeman, Director), Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, June 9-August 1, 1975.

Other Professional Activities

Distinguished Senior Scholar & Advisory Board, The Kurdish Political Studies Program, University of Central Florida, 2014-present.

Member, Academic Research Board, Institute for Research & Development-Kurdistan, Erbil, Kurdish Region-Iraq, 2014-present.

Write monthly political articles for *GULAN Magazine*, Erbil, Kurdistan-Iraq, 2010-present.

International Advisory Board, Centre for Ethno-Political Studies, and Centre for Kurdish Studies, Exeter University, UK, 2008-present.

Advisory Board, Kurdish Human Rights Project (London), 2007-2012.

Secretary-General, European Union Turkey Civic Commission (EUTCC), 2009-present; Board of Directors, 2008-present; Advisory Council, 2004-2008.

Board of Trustees of the Azerbaijan Turkey Historical Research Foundation (ATAF), 2008-present.

Research Associate, Research Institute for European and American Studies, Athens, Greece, 1999- present.

Successfully headed efforts to raise \$10,000 to endow a Paul G. Stephenson Scholarship in political science at Tennessee Technological University, 1998-99.

Invited to lecture on various aspects of the Kurdish problem and other topics by University of Wisconsin (2014), Missouri State University (2014), Soran University, KRG (2014), Vienna University (2014, 2008), University of Chicago (2014), Universidad Liberoamericana, Mexico City, Mexico, (2014), Museo Memoria y Toleranci, Mexico City, Mexico, (2014), Universidad Anahuac (2014), Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatam House, 2013, 2007, 2004), University of California Long Beach (2012), Oxford University (Mansfield College, 2013), Tbilisi

State University (2013), London School of Economic (2013), National Press Club Washington, DC (2013, 2012), Rand Corporation (2011, 2006, 2004), European Parliament (2010, 2006), University of Exeter (UK, 2009), University of Utah (2010, 2004), Hebrew University Mt. Scopus (2010), Middle Tennessee State University (2010), University of Utah (2010), Austrian National Defense Academy (2008), US Embassy, Vienna, Austria (2008), Heinrich Boll Foundation Diyarbakir, Turkey (2007), International Press Conference, Residence Palace Brussels (2007), Vanderbilt University (2007), the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (2006), US Department of Defense/Intelligence (2006, 2005, 2004, 1993), University of Saladdin, Irbil, Iraqi Kurdistan (2005, 2006), University of Central Florida (2005), Kurdistan National Congress (2005, 2003), Eastern Mediterranean University (Northern Cyprus, 2004, 2003), Tennessee State University (2010, 2008, 2007, 2004), University of New Brunswick Canada ((2005), Mershon Center Ohio State University (2003), University of South Denmark (2002), University of Western Ontario (2001), Princeton University (1998), Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (1998), Kurdish Human Rights Watch (1997, 1998, 1999), Hofstra University (1997, 1993, 1991), Washington Kurdish Institute (1997, 1998, 1999), Middle East Institute (Washington, 1997, 1999, 2008), Patterson School of Diplomacy at the University of Kentucky (1997), Middle East Institute at Columbia University (1997, 2000, 2007), the Columbia University Seminar for Studies in the History & Culture of the Turks (1996), University of California/Santa Barbara (1996, 2000), Amnesty International (1995), University of Saskatchewan (1995), Tel Aviv University (1994), University of Tennessee/Knoxville (1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2006), Rollins College (2000, 2001, 2002, 2005, 2008 2009), US Defense Intelligence College, Washington, D.C. (1992), University of Prince Edward Island (1992), Foreign Service Institute/US Department of State (1990, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1997), University of Western Ontario (1991), King's College (London, Ontario, 1991), Foreign Press Center/National Press Club Building Washington, D.C. (1991), Kent State University (1989), and Ankara University (1984), among others.

Interviewed by the British Broadcasting Company, Voice of America, National Public Broadcasting Corporation, Al Jazeera, ABC, NBC, CBS, FOX, TV Ontario, ORF (Austria), Roz TV (Kurds), and TV-1 (New York), among numerous others re the Kurdish and other problems on numerous occasions since 1985.

Editorial Board, *International Journal of Kurdish Studies*, 1994-98; *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 1995-2012; *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 2001-present; *Journal of Kurdish Studies*, 2006-2010; Editorial Advisory Board, *Kurdish Studies*, 2013-present, Advisory Board, *Review of Armenian Studies*, 2014-present; Associate Editor, *Tennessee Tech Journal*, 1976-78; and Editorial Assistant, *Journal of International Affairs* (Columbia University), 1965. I also have frequently evaluated articles submitted for publication to the *Middle East Journal* and *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, among several others, as well as books for numerous book publishers.

Advisory Committee, Washington Kurdish Institute, 1996-2006.

Member of the National Nominating Committee, Outstanding Young Americans, 1996.

Invited to attend and speak at the 11th Congress of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), Irbil, Iraqi Kurdistan, August 1993.

Project Director, Options University Outreach Project on International Security, April 1991-2002.

Consultant, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1992-1996.

Consultant, National Geographic Society, 1992.

Faculty Advisor, Tennessee Tech University-Leningrad Electro Technical Institute Pairing Program, Citizen Exchange Council, New York, New York, March 1988-90. (I led a delegation of thirteen students to the Soviet Union, May 12-29, 1990.)

Served as discussant or chairman on panels at the Conventions of the American Political Science Association, International Studies Association, Middle East Studies Association, and Southern Political Science Association, among others.

Consultant and author for Rand Corporation re Kurdish problem in Turkey, 1985-1988.

Consultant to the Curatorial Board of the Genesis II Museum of International Black Culture, 1979-present.

Principal Participant in NSF-Funded Energy Symposium, Tennessee Technological University, Summer 1980.

Frequent speaker before Civic Groups on Topics Relating to International Politics and the United Nations.

National Model United Nations coordinator for Tennessee Technological University 1974-1982.

Faculty Advisor of International Relations Club, Tennessee Technological University, 1973-1990.

Memorial Judge for 1975, 1978, and 1980 Philip Jessup Moot International Court of Justice Competition.

Honors and Awards

Listed in *Contemporary Authors* (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2012).

Certificate for Excellence in Teaching, Research, and Publishing, The International University, Vienna, Austria, 2010.

Ohio Valley Conference Excellence in Teaching Award, 2007.

College of Arts & Sciences Award for Research & Creative Activity (Tennessee Tech

University), 2005.

Middle East Forum Campus Watch: Listed as one of thirty-two recommended Middle East academics who “offer thoughtful and balanced analysis of the Middle East, amidst a sea of politicized scholars,” January 2004.

Distinguished Visiting Professor Award, The International University, Vienna, Austria, Summer 2003.

Award for Outstanding Teaching (American Political Science Association and Pi Sigma Alpha, The National Political Science Honor Society), 2000.

Outstanding Faculty Award in Teaching (Tennessee Tech University), 1999-2000.

Services to the Kurds Award (presented by the Kurdish Human Rights Watch, Inc., Washington, D.C.), November 5, 1998.

Caplenor Faculty Research Award (Tennessee Tech University's highest recognition of excellence in faculty research), 1995.

Marquis Who's Who in America, 65th ed., 2011; 66th ed., 2012; 67th ed., 2013; 68th ed., 2014

Marquis Who's Who in American Politics 2014, 26th ed.

Marquis Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 22nd edition.

Contemporary Authors, 2012

International Who's Who, 73rd ed., 2013-2014

Who's Who Among America's Teachers, 4th ed., 1996.

Dictionary of International Biography, 22nd ed., 1992.

American Biographical Institute, *Five Thousand Personalities of the World*, 2nd ed., 1990.

Senior Fulbright-Hays Lecturer in International Relations, Turkey, 1978-79.

Kent State University Fellowship, 1971-1972.

Columbia University Fellowship, 1964-65; 1965-66.

Professional Societies

American Political Science Association
Association of Third World Studies
International Studies Association
Middle East Studies Association
National Association for Armenian Studies and Research
Southern Political Science Association
Tennessee Political Science Association
Turkish Studies Association
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