

# CURRICULUM VITAE

## Biographical Data

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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  
TTU Scholastic Research Award for Tenured Faculty, 2023-24  
TTU Research Excellence Position, 2015-  
Outstanding Faculty Award in Teaching, 1999-2000  
Outstanding Faculty Award in Research, 1995-96  
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*, 65<sup>th</sup> -73<sup>rd</sup> eds, (2011-2018); Albert Nelson Marquis Lifetime  
Achievement Award (2018)  
*Marquis Who's Who in American Politics* 2014, 26<sup>th</sup> ed.  
*Contemporary Authors*, 2012  
*International Who's Who*, 73<sup>rd</sup> ed., 2013-2014  
Thomas P. Johnson Visiting Scholar, Rollins College, FL, Spring 2025  
Distinguished Visiting Professor, Centre for Turkish Studies, Shaanxi Normal University,  
Xi'an, China, 2018-present

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 of Recognition in Publishing & Teaching, 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

### **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

### **Fulbright Abroad Awards**

China, Summer 2000  
Israel, Summer 1988  
Turkey, Sept. 1978-June 1979

### **Other Significant Positions**

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

Board of Advisory Editors, Middle East Journal. 2020-present

Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies, Chapel Hill, NC, Vice President 2015-present

Atlantic Council, Senior Advisor, Washington, D.C., The Task Force on the Future of Iraq 2016-2017

Turkish Heritage Organization (THO), Washington, D.C., Advisory Board, 2015-2023

Centre for Kurdish Progress, London, UK, Advisory Board, 2016-present

## 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 (Peer Reviewed)**

*Abdullah Ocalan and the Making of the PKK: A Political Biography* (co-authored with Joost Jongerden) (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2026).

*Forgotten Exile: The Deportations of Azerbaijanis by the Armenians in the Caucasus during the Twentieth Century* (co-authored with Ali Askarev) (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2026). “Professors Ali Askerov’s and Michael Gunter’s *Forgotten Exile* fill a much-needed void in the literature of late twentieth century Caucasian deportations and diasporas. His work brings balance to, what has been until now, an Armenian-centric historiography that excluded the plight of the Azerbaijanis. Highly recommended! Professor Edward J. Erickson, U.S. Marine Corps University. "Forgotten Exile is a profound exploration of the Armenians' systematic displacement of Azerbaijanis in the Caucasus during the twentieth century. Drawing upon archival evidence, personal testimonies, and balanced analysis, this book illuminates overlooked tragedies and fosters a deeper understanding of a complex history." Shamkhal Abilov - PhD researcher at Humboldt University of Berlin. “This books covers an understudied topic, namely the ethnic cleansing of Azerbaijanis from Armenia based on primary and secondary sources and therefore fills a significant void in the literature on the Caucasus and studies on ethnic conflict and nationalism.” Umut Uzer, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Istanbul Technical University. "This groundbreaking book provides a vital, well-researched analysis of the systematic displacement and ethnic cleansing of Azerbaijanis in Armenia from 1905 to 1989. The authors challenge dominant narratives by combining archival sources, firsthand accounts, and scholarly critique while maintaining intellectual rigor and objectivity. The book broadens its relevance beyond the Caucasus by placing these events within a global context of forced migration. Thoughtful, balanced, and meticulously documented, this study is an essential contribution to understanding ethnic conflict, nation-state formation, and historical injustices. A must-read for scholars, policymakers, and anyone interested in the geopolitics of the region. M. Hakan Yavuz, Professor of Political Science, the University of Utah.

*Heydar Aliyev and the Foundations of Modern Azerbaijan* (co-edited with M. Hakan Yavuz and Shamkhal Abilov) (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan Publishing, 2024). “This groundbreaking study stands as the foremost exploration of Heydar Aliyev's vision and policies, illuminating the remarkable reconstruction of Azerbaijan and the establishment of its modern state institutions. This is not just a book; it's a key to unraveling the roots of today's prosperous Azerbaijani state and society. An essential read for those seeking profound insights into Azerbaijan's journey of transformation.” Hikmet Cetin, Former Foreign Minister of Turkey. “Azerbaijan reclaimed independence in the 20th century after the Soviet Union's dissolution, spearheaded by Heydar Aliyev, the visionary architect of the modern state enriched with abundant oil and gas reserves. This book delves into Aliyev's multifaceted legacy – political, economic, and social. An invaluable resource for academia and the wider audience, it provides crucial insights into the strategically vital country and its international relations, both regionally

and with major powers, during a pivotal period in world history.” Michael B. Bishku, Professor Emeritus of History, Augusta University.

*Erdogan’s Path to Authoritarianism: The Continuing Journey* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2024). “Many scholars have tried, but Michael Gunter succeeds in writing a must-read biography of Recep Tayyip Erdogan that not only provides insights into his youth and rise to power, but also explains how he consolidated power and the vendettas he executed. What makes Gunter’s work a masterpiece is not just the flowing narrative, but the fact that Gunter has what so many Turkish experts do not: a balanced approach colored by decades of experience not only among Turks, but also with the Kurds, Syrians, and others too often ignored. This adds depth and a dimension that simply put, sets Gunter apart and creates a new standard for both academics and policymakers.” Michael Rubin, American Enterprise Institute. “This is an excellent, comprehensive and well-researched book not only about Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s worldview but also the most recent political history of Turkey. Gunter skillfully unravels the complexities surrounding the controversial July 16th coup, offering one of the most insightful analyses available. Additionally, the author sheds light on Erdogan’s transactional relations with Kurdish actors, providing a nuanced understanding of this intricate dynamic. In my opinion, this is the most accessible book about the ideology and politics of Turkey’s authoritarian ruler.” M. Hakan Yavuz, University of Utah. “In this highly informative and accessible account of the political journey of Turkish President Tayyip Erdogan, Michael Gunter seamlessly weaves together several critically intertwined issues involving Turkey, Kurds, and beyond. It is a must-read for anyone interested in the shifting dynamics in Turkey.” Mehmet Gurses, Florida Atlantic University. “This is a timely contribution by a respected academic. It offers a major and significant new insight into perhaps the greatest Turkish leader since Ataturk, so would become an essential book used by students, specialists, and the general reader.” Ozay Mehmet, Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus, Carleton University, Ottawa. “Anyone who wishes to know modern Turkey today needs to understand its current and longest serving leader, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and how he has played the Turkish domestic political game so successfully. Professor Gunter offers us a clear, accessible and very knowledgeable account, from Erdogan’s early years with moderate Islamist groups all the way to his present position as Turkey’s strongman and increasingly autocratic leader. Dr. Gunter objectively explains key moments in Erdogan’s rise and rule, including his conflicts and relations with Kurds, other Islamist groups, Kemalists, the Turkish military and other forces. Experts on Turkey and those new to these topics alike will greatly appreciate this book.” David Romano, Thomas G. Strong Chair in Middle East Politics, Missouri State University. “Michael Gunter’s *Erdogan’s Path to Authoritarianism* provides a comprehensive analysis of the president’s rise, his political strategies, and his transformation of Turkey. . . . The studies are valuable resources for understanding the trajectory of the strongman’s political career, the institutional changes in Turkey, and the broader implications for democracy, governance, and authoritarianism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.” M. Hakan Yavuz, *Middle East Policy* Vol. 31:4 (December 2024), pp. 151-56. Michael M. Gunter's *Erdogan's Path to Authoritarianism: The Continuing Journey* is a welcome addition to the literature. Gunter is a seasoned observer, having researched and taught Turkish and Middle Eastern politics to generations of students since the 1970s. His is a readable and informed account of Turkey's evolution since the 2000s. Dimitar Bechev, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 140, Issue 4 (Winter 2025), pp. 843-845.

*The Karabakh Conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan: Causes & Consequences* (co-authored with M. Hakan Yavuz) (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023). “This is a comprehensive and timely study by two eminent political scientists, Professors Yavuz and Gunter, on the recent war over Nagorno-Karabakh. It is essential reading for anyone interested in ethnic conflict and the failure of the international system of conflict resolution.” Ozay Mehmet, Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus, Carleton University, Ottawa. “Yavuz and Gunter’s . . . multi-disciplinary narrative includes not just Caucasian history but brings in a deep understanding and explanation of international law, “clash of civilizations” theory, diaspora narratives, great power proxy involvement, and media perception and manipulation.” Edward Erickson, Professor of Military History Emeritus, Department of War Studies, U.S. Marine Corps University.

*The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Historical and Political Perspectives* (co-edited with M. Hakan Yavuz) (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2023). “*The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict* is a comprehensive book that addresses the history of the region as well as its Sovietization and the clash over the territory between the two rival nationalisms. Both editors are senior scholars who between them have written numerous books and articles on Turkey, Turkish politics, Armenians, and the Kurds. The contributors include international analysts as well as academics from the region, providing a diversity of expertise that enriches the volume. In addition to chapters devoted to international law, one of the book's strengths is that it is up to date, including the Second Karabakh War of 2020 and more recent events. Moreover, third parties like the United States, Russia, Israel, the Arab states, and even diaspora politics in Canada are analyzed in depth. . . . *The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict* offers a wealth of information and analysis on this long-running, bloody dispute from historical, political, legal, and cultural perspectives, contributing to the study of nationalism, identity, and international law in the Caucasus. As such, it is a highly relevant case study of one of the world's lesser-known conflicts for scholars and students interested in the region. . . . This book offers so much pertinent analysis and discussion on the topic that it will serve as a reference book for all those interested in war and peace in the Caucasus.” Umut Uzer, *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 31:2 (Summer 2024), pp. 152-153.

*The Kurds in the Middle East: Enduring Problems and New Dynamics* (co-edited with Mehmet Gurses and David Romano) (Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2020). This “is a comprehensive review of the long-lasting Kurdish Question and the most important issues facing the Kurds today. Academics, students, and observers alike will find this volume valuable.” Jordi Tejel, University of Neuchatel, Switzerland. “Combining historical overview with analyses of contemporary issues, *The Kurds in the Middle East* is a must-read for those who want to have a better understanding of the origins of the Kurdish issue and the challenges Kurds face today in the Middle East and beyond.” Joost Jongerden, Wageningen University, The Netherlands.

*Kurdish Autonomy and U.S. Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity* (co-edited with Vera Eccarius-Kelly) (New York: Peter Lang, 2020). “Edited by two well-known experts in the field of Kurdish studies, *Kurdish Autonomy and US Foreign Policy* is a timely and informative book. The contributors to this volume do a remarkable job in clarifying the multiple, complex and sometimes conflicting determinants of US policy toward the Kurds, who are divided into various political groups in four countries. By providing a thorough historical context, many of the chapters help the reader see the continuities and changes in US foreign policy. The book also helps us understand how the Kurds themselves make sense of US policy, and what they do to influence it for their own benefit. Anyone interested in the Kurds, US foreign policy in the Middle East, and the diplomatic activities of nonstate actors would find this edited volume very

useful.” Ahmet Akturk, *Middle East Policy*, (February 8, 2022), DOI:10.1111/mepo 12612, online. “This collection offers a timely and much-needed examination of the complex U.S.-Kurdish relations in a volatile and strategically important region.” Mehmet Gurses, Professor of Political Science, Florida Atlantic University. “This is a timely and valuable contribution to the field of Kurdish studies. In addition, this edited volume is the first book on the topic of Kurdish-U.S. relations that covers the Trump era. The editors have done a superb job of placing the book’s main arguments in a proper historical framework.” Nader Entessar, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, University of South Alabama.

*Routledge Handbook on the Kurds* (London: Routledge, 2019). The volume under review here appears in the Routledge Handbooks series and was edited by Michael M. Gunter, who is himself probably the most prolific of today’s scholars of Kurdish politics and who persuaded over thirty colleagues to contribute chapters. . . . The volume does cover much ground, both thematically and geographically. Gunter has organised the contributions into twelve sections, of which the first contains overviews of North American and European scholarship on the Kurds. This is followed by clusters of chapters dealing with history up to the 1920s, Kurdish culture, political economy, religion, geopolitics, travel, and women. Together these take up the first half of the book. The second half has a geographical focus, with sections dedicated to the “Kurdish situation” in Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Iran, and the Kurdish diaspora. Most of the authors contributing to this volume are well-known through earlier publications . . . but besides established scholars we find also a number of younger scholars still in early stages of their academic careers. . . . The volume opens with concise and helpful overviews of the history and current state of Kurdish Studies in the USA and Europe, by Michael Gunter and Vera Eccarius-Kelly, respectively. . . . The almost five hundred pages of this volume contain a wealth of information on the Kurds [and] some very good chapters on culture, religion and social relations. . . . The history of the Kurdish movement, from the early twentieth century until the defeat of ISIS, is well covered and there are interesting though partial observations on changes in the political economy and social organisation of Kurdistan. . . . [and] some very good chapters on culture, religion and social relations. Martin van Bruinessen, *Kurdish Studies*, 8 (May 2020), pp. 209-216.

*The Kurds: A Divided Nation in Search of a State* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2019). “Michael Gunter, the doyen of Kurdish political studies in the United States, . . . has briskly condensed his three decades of scholarly engagement into a precis that can safely be put into the hands of both the student and the diplomat.” *Journal of Politics*, 80:1 (January 2018), p. 353. “Well-researched. . . . Brings much into focus, including the region-wide mayhem and the lack of a clear US policy, as well as the author’s personal trips to the region.” *Choice*.

*Historical Dictionary of the Kurds*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

*The Kurds: A Modern History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2017). “*The Kurds: A Modern History* is a very good overview of the Kurdish community in the Middle East. . . . Gunter writes probably the best overview of the Kurds in the Middle East. It is very readable, and covers a breadth of history without getting bogged down in the details. For those looking for a beginning book on the topic this would be a great start.” Joel Wing, “Musings on Iraq,” June 7, 2018. <http://musingsoniraq.blogspot.com/2018/06/review-gunter-michael-kurds-modern.html>. This book was drawn upon for a review entitled “The Kurds are Nearly There,” *New York Review of Books*, December 8, 2016, pp. 42-44. “Eppel and Gunter, both academics, demonstrate clear but guarded sympathy for the Kurds and their national aspirations. . . . Gunter

. . . focuses on recent decades, paying close attention to the period since the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq and especially the Syrian civil war that began in 2011. . . . Gunter's book sheds light on the less familiar Syrian Kurds." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2017. "His [Gunter's] most helpful contribution is twofold: a synopsis of Kurdish literary and linguistic identity, and his noted parallel between Kurdish nationalism, as it emerged from the Ottoman and Persians empires, and various European nationalist movements born from similar crumbings of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires." *Aramcoworld*, May 2018.

*Kurdish Issues: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Olson* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2016). "This volume, edited by Michael M. Gunter, a veteran scholar of Kurdish politics, in honor of one of the most notable scholars of Kurdish studies, is hence a welcome addition to the literature on the Kurdish people and their century-long struggle for recognition. . . . Overall, this book has much to offer to a wide audience interested in the Middle East and the Kurds." *Middle East Policy* 24 (Fall 2017), pp. 182-84. "The editor, Michael M. Gunter, has brought together a diverse collection of papers by established scholars in the field, including one in French, with a clear focus on political history and contemporary politics. . . . This volume presents a broad . . . overview of the state of the art in Kurdish studies. As such, it forms a worthy celebration of Robert Olson's career." *Kurdish Studies* 6 (May 2018), pp. 165-67.

*The Kurds: A Modern History* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2016). "Michael Gunter clarifies a complex web of relations among Kurdish political groups, Middle Eastern states, and Western powers. His active engagement in Kurdish issues for the last few decades includes meeting with PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan in Damascus in 1995, attending the Kurdish Democratic Party congress in 1993, and meeting with the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran, Mostafa Hejri, in Iraqi Kurdistan in 2012. It is great reading for students, scholars and anyone else interested in understanding the Kurds' rising influence in the Middle East. The book might also be useful for policy makers in Washington, Ankara, Tehran, Baghdad and Damascus. Ahmet Serdar Akturk, *Middle East Policy* 23 (Fall 2019), pp. 152-156. "Michael Gunter, the doyen of Kurdish political studies in the United States . . . has briskly condensed his three decades of scholarly engagement into a precis that can safely be put into the hands of both the student and the diplomat. . . . Gunter's *The Kurds: A Modern History* is crisper and more up to date than the book that has deservedly held the field since it was first published in 1996 (i.e. McDowall 2004) [namely David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*]. Gunter's select bibliography and documentation are better." *Journal of Politics*, 80 (January 2018), pp. 353-54. "Michael Gunter's well-structured monograph is an exceptionally accessible study of the Kurds and should be considered a mandatory read for undergraduate students with an interest in international relations. . . . Gunter also added a number of fascinating personal vignettes about his experiences in the region during the past 30 years. He integrates, for example, personal accounts including his meeting with the now imprisoned Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Ocalan back in 1998. . . . Gunter's *The Kurds: A Modern History*, just as his prior contributions in the field, adds an enormously valuable and readable study. Vera Eccarius-Kelly, *Kurdish Studies* 4 (October 2016), pp. 218-220. "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. "Gunter

(Tennessee Technical Univ.) explains . . . very well. . . . Gunter's well-researched book clearly delineates the forest from the trees. There is no emotionalism or subjectivity. The best parts are the last two chapters, which bring much into focus, including the region-wide mayhem and the lack of a clear US policy, as well as the author's personal trips to the region. . . . Summing Up: Recommended. All academic levels/libraries. N.E. Bou-Nacklie, CHOICE, 54-0828, October 2016 Vol. 54 No. 2.

*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, who has for several decades been one of the leading scholars on the Kurdish struggle, argues in this timely and comprehensive account that nation-building and self-awareness were less developed among the Syrian Kurds than in the other Kurdistans. . . . Gunter successfully uses his background on the topic to provide an in-depth, unique and comprehensive analysis of the Syrian Kurd movement to date. It is an important book for understanding the factors guiding Syria's Kurds into what will become a politically reconfigured region." Renad Mansour, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol 28(2) (April 2015), pp. 316-318. "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, *LSE (London School of Economics) Review of Books*, January 20, 2015. "The book provides an informative account of both the historical background as well as current political contestations, negotiations and conflicts over and within the Kurds in Syria, in which, alongside the Kurds, a

number of regional and transnational state and non-state actors are involved.” Metin Yuksel, *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 21 (Fall 2015), p. 259. “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. “Michael Gunter, the doyen of Kurdish political studies in the US. . . . “*Journal of Politics* 80 (January 2018), p. 353.

*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 19<sup>th</sup> century to the assassination of Turkish diplomats in the late 20<sup>th</sup> 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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. *Referemce 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 paperback 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

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*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.

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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*. "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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### Chapters in books

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"Kurdish Civil Society in the Middle East," (with Lauren H. Harding), in James Sater, ed., *Routledge Handbook on Civil Society in the Middle East and North Africa* (London and New York: Routledge, 2026), pp. 167-182.

“Genocidal Policies against the Kurds in Syria,” in Kaziwa Salih, ed., *The Palgrave Handbook of Kurdish Genocide* (Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2025), pp. 109-133.

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“Self-Determination or Territorial Integrity? International Legal/Political Doctrines in Opposition and Their Implications for Karabakh,” in M. Hakan Yavuz and Michael M. Gunter, eds., *The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Historical and Political Perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2023), pp. 115-129. “Michael Gunter explores, in an incisive chapter, the concepts of territorial integrity and self-determination—that is, whether the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh should be respected, or whether the territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan should instead be preserved. Quoting the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Gunter reminds us that this document asserts that territorial integrity holds the upper hand over self-determination (p. 115), for reasons of international peace and stability. It would not be feasible for each and every ethnic group to establish an independent state, and such endeavors would undoubtedly bring conflict and war.” Umut Uzer, *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 31:2 (Summer 2024), pp. 152-153.

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*French Politics in Transition: The Years After DeGaulle*, by Roy C. Macridis in *Contemporary French Civilization*, Fall 1976, pp. 168-170.

*Law and Responsibility in Warfare: The Vietnam Experience*, ed. by Peter D. Trooboff in *Journal of Politics*, November 1976, p. 1092.

### Correspondence

Letter to the Editor. "The United Nations and the Kurds," *UKH [University of Kurdistan Hewler]* Vol. 1: No. 1 (2017), pp. 46-47. DOI 10.25079/ukhjss.v1n1v2017.46-47.

"A Reply to Ersel Aydinli on the Role of the Turkish Military," *Middle East Journal*, Winter 2010, pp. 164-66.

"A Reply to Judith E. Tucker's Excerpt of Vahakn Dardian's Article, "The Naim-Andonian Documents," (*IJMES* 40 [2008]: 171-79; Reprint From *IJMES* 18 [1986]: 311-60), *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, November 2008, pp. 728-29.

"The Future of Kurdistan," *Azure: Ideas for the Jewish Nation*, Spring 5768/2008, pp. 16-20. "It's refreshing to see a brief and calmly stated summary of what actually happened from someone who isn't paranoid and knows what he's talking about." "Michael J. Totten Responds," *Ibid.*, p. 20.

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"Turkey's New Neighbor," *Middle East Quarterly*, Summer 2006.

"Reply to Sayari," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, November 2000, pp. 592-94.

"Reply to Hiltermann," *Middle East Journal*, Spring 1994, pp. 402-405.

"Ethnic Conflict Conference Hosted by Defense Intelligence College," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, December 1992, pp. 666-67.

"Gunter Reply to Pelletiere," *Conflict Quarterly*, Spring 1992, pp. 89-90.

"Gunter Response to Dadrian Article," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, November 1987, pp. 523-24.

"Mt. Athos and Autonomy in International Law." *American Journal of International Law*,

January 1981, p. 362.

"On Self-determination in the Western Sahara." *American Journal of International Law*, July 1977, p. 507.

### **Journal Editorial & Advisory Boards**

*Middle East Journal* (Board of Advisory Editors), 2020-2023; *International Journal of Kurdish Studies* (Book review editor), 1994-98; *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 1995-2012; *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 2001-present; *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2017-present; *Journal of Kurdish Studies*, 2006-2010; *Kurdish Studies/Kurdish Studies Journal* (Brill), 2013-present, *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.

### **Papers, Talks Presented at Academic Meetings**

"Why the Turkey-PKK Peace Process is Likely to Fail," Talk presented at Portcullis House in the British Parliament, London, UK, March 11, 2026.

"Lost Heritage: Former Azerbaijani Villages & Toponyms in Present-day Armenia," Talk presented at the Third International Conference on "Cultural heritage and the right to return: Restoration of the cultural heritage of Azerbaijanis expelled from Armenia as a path to justice, reconciliation and peace," Baku, Azerbaijan, December 5, 2025.

"Petro State," Talk presented at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS), Sulaimani, Kurdistan-Iraq, September 27, 2025.

"Isolationism in American Foreign Policy," Talk presented at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS), Sulaimani, Kurdistan-Iraq, September 27, 2025.

"U.S. Foreign Policy towards the Kurds," Talk present at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS), Sulaimani, Kurdistan-Iraq, September 27, 2025.

"Reflections on the Changing Discipline of Kurdish Studies," Paper presented at the Inaugural Kurdish Studies Forum, hosted by the Kashkul Center at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS), Sulaimani, Kurdistan-Iraq, September 25, 2025.

"Introduction to International Political Economy, Talk present at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS), Sulaimani, Kurdistan-Iraq, September 24, 2025.

"Trump at the United Nations," Talk presented at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS), Sulaimani, Kurdistan-Iraq, September 24, 2025.

“Increasing Tension in the Caucasus,” Talk presented at the “Area and Country Studies Driven by Artificial Intelligence Conference,” held online by the School of Country and Region Studies, Shaanxi Normal University (SNNU), Xi’an, China, on September 14, 2025.

“Restoring Justice, Building Peace: The Case for Azerbaijani Return to Armenia,” Talk presented at the International Online Conference “The Possibility of Living Together in Peace in a Changing World,” Baku, Azerbaijan, May 3, 2025.

“*Political Systems*,” Talk presented at the American University in Sulaymaniyah (AUIS), Sulaymaniyah, Kurdistan-Iraq, April 24, 2025.

“*Kurdish Issues*,” Talk presented at the American University in Sulaymaniyah (AUIS), Sulaymaniyah, Kurdistan-Iraq, April 24, 2025.

“*Trump’s Foreign Policy*,” Talk presented at the University of Sulaymaniyah, Sulaymaniyah, Kurdistan-Iraq, April 23, 2025.

“*Problems in the Middle East*,” Talk presented at the International Scientific Conference, “Kurdish Identity Between Challenges and Survival,” University of Sulaymaniyah, Sulaymaniyah, Kurdistan-Iraq, April 22, 2025.

“*Kurdish Identity: Then, Now, Future*,” Keynote Speech presented to the International Scientific Conference, “Kurdish Identity Between Challenges and Survival,” University of Sulaymaniyah, Sulaymaniyah, Kurdistan-Iraq, April 21, 2025.

“*The New Trump Administration’s Approach to the Kurdish Issue*,” Presentation made to the 19<sup>th</sup> International Conference on “The European Union, Turkey, the Middle East, and the Kurds,” online, EU Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, March 26, 2025.

“*The Kurds: The Other Major Problem in the Middle East*,” Presentation made at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, March 3, 2025.

“*The Middle East Problem Today*,” Presentation made at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, March 3, 2025.

“*The Kurds: Their Century-long Struggle, and the Future*,” Paper presented at the conference on “The Kurds on the Global Stage: Clashing Identities, Interests, and Perspectives,” UCF’s School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs and The Kurdish Political Studies Program, University of Central Florida, Orlando, Florida, February 27, 2025.

“*Karabakh from the Perspective of International Law*,” Presentation made at the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center-Goodman Auditorium, Skokie, IL, February 25, 2024.

“*Pursuing Academic Scholarship*,” Presentation made at Chanakya University, Bangalore, India, January 22, 2024.

“*Gaza: Past, Present, and Future*,” Presentation made at the University of Mysore, Mysore,

India, January 17, 2024.

*“The Peaceful Settlement of Disputes: Its Inherent Limitations,”* Presentation made at the US Consulate, Kolkata (Calcutta, India), January 6, 2024.

*“The War in Gaza: Its Implications,”* Presentation made at the IMI (International Management Institute) Kolkata (Calcutta), Kolkata, India, January 5, 2024.

*“How & Why Erdogan Won in the May 2023 Elections,”* Paper presented online at the 18<sup>th</sup> annual EUTCC conference on the EU, Turkey and the Kurds,” EU Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, December 6, 2023.

*“Political Leadership: Understanding Heydar Aliyev through Insights from Charles de Gaulle and Abraham Lincoln,”* Paper presented at the international conference on “Heydar Aliyev: The Founder of Modern Azerbaijan,” The Turkish Studies Project of the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, November 28, 2023.

*“The Kurds: Past, Present, Future,”* Presentation at Laval University, Quebec, Canada, November 7, 2023.

*“The Current Chaos in the Black Sea Region: The Continuing Problem of Karabakh,”* A Keynote speech presented online at Shaanxi Normal University, Centre for Black Sea Studies, Xi’an, China, November 5, 2023.

*“New Perceptions on Achieving Iraqi Kurdish Independence,”* Presentation to the Institute for Research & Development – Kurdistan, September 23, 2023, Erbil, Iraqi Kurdistan (KRG).

*“Self-Determination or Territorial Integrity” What the Secondary Status of International Law Tells Us About the Kurdish Predicament,”* Keynote presentation to the international conference on the “Kurdish Question’ in the Middle East: From Sevres to Lausanne, Revisiting a Century of Opportunities and Challenges, Soran University, September 19, 2023, Kurdistan Region-Iraq.

*“Reelecting Turkey’s Erdogan: Why & Implications?”* Talk presented at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, September 12, 2023, Ottawa, Canada.

*“Ukraine,”* Talk delivered at The University of San Francisco de Quito, March 17, 2023, Quito, Ecuador.

*“Current World Problems,”* Talk delivered at The University of San Francisco de Quito, March 17, 2023, Quito, Ecuador.

*“Why Collective Security Does Not Work,”* Talk delivered at The University of San Francisco de Quito, March 16, 2023, Quito, Ecuador.

*“Origins of International Law,”* Talk delivered at The University of San Francisco de Quito, March 16, 2023, Quito, Ecuador.

*"In the Shadow of the Ukraine War-Chaos in the Middle East,"* Moderator of panel at the 17<sup>th</sup> International Conference on "The European Union, Turkey, The Middle East and the Kurds," EU Parliament, Brussels, March 9, 2023.

*"The Question of Loyalty and the Challenges of Nation Building Process in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq,"* Conference I was invited to, but could not attend because of a scheduling conflict, Salahaddin University, Erbil, Kurdistan Iraq, March 1-2, 2023.

*"The International Law Situation on Nagorno-Karabakh after the Autumn War in 2020,"* Keynote presentation at "Remembering Khojaly: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War," Faculty House, Garden Room-2, Columbia University, New York, New York, February 22, 2023.

*"Kurdistan under New Attacks,"* a Keynote Paper presented online at the 4<sup>th</sup> International Academic Seminar "100 Years of the Republic of Turkiye: Historical Research and Future Directions," Centre for Turkish Studies, Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an, China, December 20, 2022.

*"The Other War in the Black Sea World after the War in 2020 between Armenia & Azerbaijan,"* a Keynote Paper presented online at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Black Sea Region Studies International Academic Seminar "Imperial Succession and Evolution of Black Sea Civilizations," The Black Sea Region Research Center, National Ethnic Affairs Commission of PRC, School of History and Civilization, Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an, China, December 18, 2022.

*"A Critical Evaluation of the 1915 Armenian Rebellion in Van as the Background to Erroneous Claims of Genocide,"* paper presented online to The Conference on "Massacre, Havoc and Occupation in Van: The Way to Relocation," Van, Turkey, May 26, 2022.

*"Karabakh: Two Contending Models for the Future,"* paper presented to the Shusha International Forum on "South Caucasus: Development and Cooperation," Baku and Shusha, Azerbaijan, April 29, 2022.

*"Indigenous Colonialism in the Middle East: From the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey's Neo-Ottomanist Ambitions,"* paper presented to the Maghreb Studies Association conference on "Empires in the Middle East and the Maghreb: The Shaping of Hopes and Perspectives," Christ Church College, Oxford University, Oxford, UK, March 28, 2022.

*"Remarks on Khojaly,"* talk presented to the Azerbaijani New York Association, Washington, D.C., February 26, 2022.

*"Nagorno-Karabakh: Failed Negotiations,"* paper presented on webinar to the 1<sup>st</sup> Black Sea Region Studies Conference and organized by The Black Sea Region Research Centre, Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an, China; The Belt and Road Cultural Institution of Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an, China; The South Caucasus Research Centre of Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an, China; and The School of History and Civilization and the Centre for Turkish Studies of Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an, China, screened internationally, December 19, 2021.

*"Kurdish Problems and the Feasibility of U.S. Aid,"* talk presented on webinar sponsored by the Washington Kurdish Institute and Jiyan Foundation for Human Rights US, screened internationally, September 16, 2021.

*“A Critical Analysis of the Supposed ‘Thirty-Year Genocide,’”* paper presented at the online International Symposium on “Talking the Armenian Issue Together,” The Center for Local and Regional Policy Research and Halil Inalcik Social Sciences and Research Center at Istanbul, Turkey, Sabahattin Zaim University, May 23, 2021.

*“To Mask or Not? The Covid Pandemic in Cookeville, Tennessee,”* panelist on webinar sponsored by the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir branch. Public Chamber of the Vladimir Region. Commissioner for Human Rights in the Vladimir Region. International Scientific and Practical Conference “Features of Regional Development in a Pandemic: Problems and Experience,” Vladimir, Russia and screened internationally, May 14, 2021.

*“Building Trust and Confidence between Police and Communities: Recent Problems in the United States regarding the 2020 Elections,”* panelist on webinar sponsored by the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir branch. Public Chamber of the Vladimir Region. Commissioner for Human Rights in the Vladimir Region. International Scientific and Practical Conference “The Role of Legal Sciences and Institutions in Building Trust between the Authorities and Society: Russian and Foreign Experience,” Vladimir, Russia and screened internationally, March 17, 2021.

*“The New Biden Administration and Future Relations with the Kurds,”* panelist and moderator on webinar sponsored by the European Union Turkey Civic Commission (EUTCC) broadcast internationally, January 26, 2021.

*“Chinese Naval Activities in the Black Sea Region: Implications,”* panelist on webinar sponsored by the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C. and screened internationally, December 16, 2020.

*“Iraqi Kurdistan: Overcoming Challenges,”* panelist on webinar sponsored by the Washington Kurdish Institute and screened internationally, July 8, 2020.

*“105 Years Ago: The Armenian Revolt and Ottoman Counterinsurgency,”* interview given via zoom webinar and screened internationally, Turkish-American Community Western Region, April 24, 2020.

*“New Insights from Old Journeys: Clarence K. Streit’s Visit to Ankara, January-March 1921,”* Paper presented at the Conference on “War & Independence: Trauma, Memory, and Modernity in the Young Turkish Republic (1908-1950) and Organized by The University of Utah and The Turkish Historical Society, The University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, January 25, 2020.

*“Explaining Kurdish Statelessness,”* Lecture presented to the Department of Political Science, The University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, January 23, 2020.

*“US Foreign Policy toward Turkey & the Syrian Crisis,”* Paper presented at the International Conference on “North and East Syria/Rojava: A Regional and Global Litmus Test,” The European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, December 12, 2019.

*“The US Refusal to Recognize China (1949-1979),”* Paper presented at the International

Conference on “China and US Cooperation in Global Governance: Cooperation or Conflict?” The Center for Global Governance, Institute of Global Studies, Shanghai University, Shanghai, China, December 6, 2019.

“*Syria and the Syrian Kurds Following the Trump Withdrawal*,” Keynote speech (via Skype) at US Withdrawal: Implications for the Syrian Kurds and Middle Eastern Politics,” Middle East Research Group (MERG), Tufts University, Medford and Somerville, MA, November 19, 2019.

“*Gender & Conflict in Iraqi Kurdistan*,” Paper presented at the 53<sup>rd</sup> annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, New Orleans, La, November 16, 2019.

“*US Middle East Foreign Policy in the Middle East in Perspective*,” talk presented at the Centre for Turkish Studies, Shaanxi Normal University, Xi’an, China, October 16, 2019.

“*Middle East Studies in the United States*,” talk presented at the Centre for Turkish Studies, Shaanxi Normal University, Xi’an, China, October 16, 2019.

“*Power Shift in the Middle East from Britain to the United States*,” talk presented at the Centre for Turkish Studies, Shaanxi Normal University, Xi’an, China, October 16, 2019.

“*Turkey and the Middle East: Status, Role and Impact on the Development and Security of the Region*,” Keynote speech presented at the third annual international conference on “New Perspectives on Turkish Studies: Establishing a Dialogue between the ‘West’ and the ‘East,’” Centre for Turkish Studies, Shaanxi Normal University, Xi’an, China, October 12, 2019.

“*Seminar presented on “The Armenian Issue*,” at The Center for Eurasian Studies (AVIM), Ankara, Turkey, July 1, 2019.

“*The Armenian Question as of 2019*,” Boston University, Boston, MA, April 29, 2019.

“Presentation on my book *The Kurds: A Divided Nation in Search of a State*,” Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, March 19, 2019.

“*What’s Next for the Middle East*,” Participant on panel presented by the Turkish Heritage Organization, Washington, D.C., February 28, 2019.

“*NATO and the Middle East: Crisis Versus Consolidation*,” Paper presented at the 15th annual conference of the EU Turkey Civic Commission at the EU Parliament, “The Kurdish Factor in World Politics: Crisis, Challenges and Solutions,” Brussels, Belgium, December 6, 2018.

“*Kurdish Nation Building and the Role of the Diaspora*,” Paper presented at the 4th World Kurdish Congress, Washington, DC, November 24, 2018.

“*Erdogan’s Self-Defeating Opposition to the KRG Referendum*,” Paper presented at the 52<sup>nd</sup> annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Antonio, TX, November 16, 2018.

“*US Involvement in the Middle East during the Cold War*,” Talk presented at Shaanxi Normal

University, Xi'an, China, October 19, 2018.

*"US Involvement in the Middle East before the Cold War,"* Talk presented at Shaanxi Normal University, Xi'an, China, October 18, 2018.

*"The US-Turkish Alliance in Disarray,"* Paper presented at the International Conference on "Turkey and the Surrounding World: Historical and Present Perspectives," Centre for Turkish Studies, Shaanxi Normal University, October 12, 2018.

*"Introductory Comments: How the United States First Became Involved in the Middle East,"* Talk presented at the International Conference on "Turkey and the Surrounding World: Historical and Present Perspectives," Centre for Turkish Studies, Shaanxi Normal University, October 12, 2018.

*"Early American Involvement in the Middle East,"* Talk presented at Rollins College, Winter Park, FL., September 26, 2018.

*"New Crisis in Syria,"* Talk presented at Rollins College, Winter Park, FL., September 26, 2018.

*"The Kurdish Factor in US Foreign Policy,"* Talk presented at Rollins College, Winter Park, FL., September 25, 2018.

*"Kurdish Studies in the United States,"* Paper presented at the Serbest Kurdish Studies Conference, Buffett Institute for Global Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, June 1, 2018.

*"The Ambiguity of Genocide,"* Talk presented at the conference on "Turkish-Armenian Relations," Maltepe University, Istanbul, Turkey, December 9, 2017.

*"Ethnic Conflict & Minority Issues: World War I Related Consequences in the Caucasus & Anatolia,"* Paper present at the Turkish Historical Society symposium on "Judicial & Historical Aspects of World War I," Istanbul University, Istanbul, Turkey, December 9, 2017.

*"Delisting the PKK,"* Talk presented to the 14<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the EU Turkey Civic Commission (EUTC), "The European Union, Turkey, The Middle East and the Kurds: Democratic Alternative to Tyranny and Chaos in the Middle East – Kurdish Vision and Strategies," EU Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, December 8, 2017.

*"The Current Kurdish Situation,"* Lecture present to the Flemish Documentation Society, Antwerp, Belgium, December 4, 2017.

*"Ethnic Conflict & Minority Issues: World War I Related Consequences in the Caucasus & Anatolia,"* Paper presented at The Turkish Historical Society Symposium on Judicial & Historical Aspects of World War I, 6-9 December, 2017, Istanbul, Turkey.

*"The Role and Policies of the European Institutions—Political and Legal Challenges: Delisting the PKK,"* Talk presented at the 14<sup>th</sup> annual international European Union Turkey Civic

Commission conference on “The European Union, Turkey, The Middle East and the Kurds,” The EU Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, December 7, 2017.

“*Visiting a Yezidi Refugee Camp in Iraqi Kurdistan,*” Paper presented at the 51<sup>st</sup> annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, DC, November 20, 2017.

“*The US-Russia Aspect of the Syrian Conflict,*” Paper presented at the Carnegie Middle East Center, Beirut, Lebanon, November 2, 2017.

“*Is History Repeating Itself in Iraqi Kurdistan?*” Talk presented at the Conference on Governing Diversity: The Kurds in the Middle East, American University/ Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon. November 1, 2017.

“*Methodological Techniques in the Social Sciences,*” Lecture presented at The American University/Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon, October 31, 2017.

“*An Analysis of the Current Middle East: Part II,*” Lecture presented at the Shaanxi Normal University, Xi’an, China, October 18, 2017.

“*An Analysis of the Current Middle East,*” Lecture presented at the Shaanxi Normal University, Xi’an, China, October 16, 2017.

“*US Foreign Policy in the Middle East,*” Lecture presented at The Northwestern University of Law and Politics, Xi’an, China, October 14, 2017.

“*Trump, Turkey and the Kurds,*” Talk presented at The School of History and Civilization, Shaanxi Normal University, Conference on The History and Governance of Turkey in the Context of the Changing Middle East, Xi’an, China, October 13, 2017.

“*Introduction to the Kurdish Question in Particular & Turkey in Particular,*” Keynote speech presented at The School of History and Civilization, Shaanxi Normal University, Conference on The History and Governance of Turkey in the Context of the Changing Middle East, Xi’an, China, October 13, 2017.

“*The Kurdish Factor in US Post-ISIS Counter-Terrorism Strategy,*” Talk presented at the conference sponsored by the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) and National Intelligence Council (NIC), “Partners, Power-Brokers, and Prospects for Success,” Washington, D.C., September 15, 2017.

“*Kurdistan Aborning Amidst Continuing Conflict,*” Keynote Speech. Paper presented for the “Conference on Iraqi Kurdistan at a Crossroads: Current Issues of Domestic and Middle Eastern Politics,” The University of Kurdistan Hewler, in Erbil, Kurdistan Regional Government-Iraq, May 24, 2017.

“*International Academic Exchanges: Experiences as a Senior Fulbright Lecturer in Turkey,*” Panel Discussion on International Academic Exchanges, Turkish Heritage Organization, Washington, D.C., May 15, 2017.

*“U.S. Foreign Policy in Syria: Regional Security and Strategic Challenges: Congressional Staff Luncheon Briefing,”* U.S. House of Representative, Washington, D.C., May 15, 2017.

*“Kurdish Studies in the United States: A Brief Survey.”* Keynote Speech. Paper presented for the 1<sup>st</sup> International Scientific Conference on Kurdistan after ISIS: Question of Identity and Boundary, Besikci Center for Humanity Studies (BCHS), University of Duhok, Duhok, Kurdistan Regional Government-Iraq, April 24, 2017.

*“The Kurdish Situation in Syria,”* Talk presented to the 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne), Ft. Campbell, TN, February 2017.

*“Self-Determination under International Law for the KRG?”* paper presented for the First Annual Conference on the Middle East, Independence of Kurdistan: Challenges and Opportunities, the American University of Kurdistan in Duhok, Duhok, Kurdistan Regional Government-Iraq, December 15, 2016.

*“Remembering Turgut Ozal’s Kurdish Initiatives,”* paper presented at the “Third Middle East Congress on Politics and Society,” Sakarya University, Sakarya, Turkey, October 11, 2016.

*“The Failed Turkish Coup & the Kurds and the Gulen Movement,”* paper presented at the workshop on “The Gulen Movement and the Coup of July 15<sup>th</sup> in Turkey,” University of Utah, Salt Lake City, October 7, 2016.

*“Comments Presented on the Concepts of Terrorism and Genocide,”* talk presented at the Knowledge Institute, Baku, Azerbaijan, June 30, 2016.

*“Two Books Published on Armenian Terrorism: An Analysis,”* talk presented at the First International Round Table on “Armenian Terrorism and Azerbaijani Multiculturalism,” Baku, Azerbaijan, June 28, 2016.

*“Truth and Fraud: The Reality of the ‘Armenian Genocide’ and the Issue of Genocide,”* paper presented at the First International Round Table on “Armenian Terrorism and Azerbaijani Multiculturalism,” Baku, Azerbaijan, June 28, 2016.

*“The Reality of the Armenian Tragedy & the Question of Genocide,”* lecture presented at the program “The Politicization of the Armenian Issue: Examining the Uses and Abuses of History,” Assembly of Turkish-American Associations, Washington, D.C., May 19, 2016.

*“The Kurdish Nation: Origin & Identity,”* paper presented at the conference “Towards Kurdish Identity and Independence in the Era of Globalization,” Sulaimani University, Kurdistan-Iraq, May 16, 2016.

*“The Problems of an Independent Kurdistan-Iraq,”* paper presented at the conference on “The New World of Kurdish Politics,” Exeter University, Exeter, UK, May 11, 2016.

*“The Kurdish Issue in Turkey: The End of the Peace Process,”* paper presented at the conference on “The New World of Kurdish Politics,” Exeter University, Exeter, UK, May 11, 2016.

*“The Kurdish Question and the Chaos in the Middle East: The Irresponsibility and Responsibility of the NATO Countries,”* presentation made at the British Parliament, London, UK, May 9, 2016.

*“The Turkish-Kurdish Conflict: Back to Square One?”* presentation made at the annual spring meeting of the Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Seminar (SERMEISS), Howard H. Baker Jr. Center for Public Policy, University of Tennessee, April 17, 2016.

*“Analysis of Serkan Koc’s Film ‘The Story of 1915 in Armenian Documents,’”* presentation made at the Cinema Paradiso, Ft. Lauderdale, FL, March 5, 2016.

*“Contemporary Turkey and the West,”* presentation made at the Tennessee World Affairs Council Spotlight on Turkey Workshop, Belmont University, Nashville, TN, February 27, 2016.

*“The Armenian Dilemma: Since the Ottoman Empire,”* presentation made at the Turkish-American Youth & Education Foundation, 1<sup>st</sup> Young Leader’s Summit, Washington, D.C., February 13, 2016.

*“The Kurds, ISIS and the United States: The Middle East in Turmoil,”* Distinguished Speaker Series, McGeorge School of Law/University of the Pacific, Sacramento, CA, September 8, 2015. (Also interviewed about my talk by NPR FM KXJZ Sacramento and broadcast on three other NPR stations.)

*“The Kurds, ISIS, Turkey and the Syrian Crisis,”* presentation made at The Rand Corporation meeting on the Middle East situation, Washington, D.C., August 18, 2015.

*“Concluding Remarks on the State of Armenian Studies in Turkey,”* An International Conference on the Armenian Question: Myths and Realities, IPEK University, Yeni Turkiye Conference, Ankara, Turkey, May, 23, 2015.

*“Legislating Genocide,”* An International Conference on the Armenian Question: Myths and Realities, IPEK University, Yeni Turkiye Conference, Ankara, Turkey, May 22, 2015.

*“Perspectives on the Events of 1915: The Turkish-Armenian Tragedy,”* Assembly of Turkish American Associations and Turkish American Association of Northern Texas, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX, May 14, 2015.

*“The Ambiguity of Genocide,”* Symposium on the Prospects for Turkish-Armenian Relations, Center for Eurasian Studies (AVIM), Ankara, Turkey, April 30, 2015.

*“The Armenian Massacres in World War I & the Birth Pangs of the Modern Turkish and Armenian National Identities,”* International Symposium on the History of the Armenian Question, Istanbul Aydin University, Istanbul, Turkey, April 27, 2015.

*“Why the Armenian Massacres Were Not Genocide,”* lecture presented at Times Square, Federation of Turkish American Associations, New York, New York, April 25, 2015.

*“Perspectives on the 1915 Armenian Genocide Allegations,”* Turkish American Cultural Association of Michigan and Turkish Cultural Student Association of Eastern Michigan University, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI, April 11, 2015.

*“What is Genocide: The Armenian Case,”* 35<sup>th</sup> Annual Turkish American Conference, Assembly of Turkish American Associations, Washington, D.C., March 13, 2015

*“The Ambiguity of Genocide, The Armenian Case,”* lecture presented at Stetson University, Gulfport, FL, March 3, 2015.

*“Turkish-Armenian Conflict: A Historical Perspective,”* lecture presented at Georgia Tech University, Atlanta, GE., February 28, 2015.

*“US Kurdish Studies,”* paper presented at the international conference “On the Outside Looking In: A Kurdish Studies Conference,” University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL, January 27, 2015.

*“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 11<sup>th</sup> International Kurdish Conference,”* statement made at the 11<sup>th</sup> 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 48<sup>th</sup> 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 Toleranci, 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 47<sup>th</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup> 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 25<sup>th</sup> annual conference of the Kurdish National Conference of North America, Nashville, TN, May 18, 2013.

*“Final Resolution,”* (with Kariane Westrheim), paper presented at the 9<sup>th</sup> 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 46<sup>th</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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 45<sup>th</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 44<sup>th</sup> 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 42<sup>nd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup> 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 57<sup>th</sup> 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 78<sup>th</sup> 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**

Board Member, Harlem International Museum of Black History & Culture, New York, New York, 2024-present.

Write monthly op-eds on the Middle East for the Atlas Think Center, Washington, D.C., 2025-present.

Vice President and member of the executive board of the Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies, 2008-present.

Board Member, Turkish Heritage Organization, Washington, D.C., 2015-2021.

Advisory Board, Centre for Kurdish Progress, London UK, 2016-present.

Member of the board of The Center for Genocide Studies, University of Erbil-Iraqi Kurdistan, 2016-present.

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.

Wrote monthly political articles for *GULAN Magazine*, Irbil, Kurdistan-Iraq, 2010-2014.

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.

Interviewed by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), Voice of America (VOA), National

Public Radio (NPR), Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), 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.

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 numerous others (1978-present).

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, New York, New York, 1979-2020.

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**

Tennessee Tech University Scholastic Research Award for Tenured Faculty, 2023-24.

*Marquis Who's Who in America*: Albert Nelson Marquis Lifetime Achievement Award, 2018.

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.

Summer Fulbright Award for Study in China, 2000.

Summer Fulbright Award for Study in Israel, 1988.

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*, 65<sup>th</sup> ed., 2011; 66<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012; 67<sup>th</sup> ed., 2013; 68<sup>th</sup> ed., 2014.

*Marquis Who's Who in American Politics 2014*, 26<sup>th</sup> ed.

*Marquis Who's Who in the South and Southwest*, 22<sup>nd</sup> edition.

*Contemporary Authors*, 2012.

*International Who's Who*, 73<sup>rd</sup> 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  
Kurdish Studies Association

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