

## *Index*

- Abdollahi, Abdollah, 72  
absolutism, Pahlavi, 26  
Abu Ghraib, prison, 156  
action, collective, 38, 66, 90  
Adeb, Behadin, 200  
Ahmad, Ibrahim, 72  
Ahmadinejad, Mahmud, President, 87, 162, 163, 187  
Ahmadpour, Mohammad Amin (Hamadmin Shashe), 52  
Ahwaz, 42  
Ajam, 29  
Akreyi, Zeki Kamil, 74  
Alamhool, Shirin, 201  
Alanê, 72  
Algeria Agreement, 61, 77, 126, 127, 151, 154, 156  
Alizadeh, Ibrahim, 141  
al-Anfal campaign, 155  
Al-Dawa, 151  
alternative governing system, democratic, 80  
Amasya, Peace Treaties of (1555), 32  
Amid Zanjani, Abbas Ali, Ayatollah. 187  
Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 47  
Anjiri Azar, Sediq, 74  
appeal for negotiation, Kurdish, 137  
Arabian Peninsula, 151  
Arefi, Khebat, 190  
army, Iranian, 47, 50, 52, 64, 70, 96, 107, 116, 132  
*Artesh*, 103, 106, 108, 110, 119  
Arvand Rud, 152  
Aryan nationalism, Iranian, 23  
*Ashti*, 191, 194  
Asri, Omar, 52  
Assembly of Experts, 99  
Ayobi, Colonel, 77  
Azadikhah, Jalil, 194  
Azerbaijan, Democratic Republic of the People of, 13  
Azeri delegation, 116  
Azeris, 117  
Azimi, Gholam Hossein, 13  
Azizi, Ahmad, 135  
Azizi, Khaled, 179  
Baban, Abdollah, 143  
Badinan, 76  
Badr Khans, 22  
Bahai, 89  
Baluchis, 31, 81, 99, 184  
Banisadr, Abolhassan, 106  
Barzani, Idris, 14, 70, 127  
Barzani, Masoud, 132, 158  
Barzani, Mostafa, 5, 16, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 126, 127, 128, 130, 132, 154, 218  
Barzani Initiative, 61  
Barzani, Sheikh Ahmad, 59  
Barzenji, Sheikh Mahmud, 58  
Bayezidi, Mahmud, 43  
Bazargan, 104, 111, 119  
Bazyan/Bayinjan, 170  
Behadoran, Mehdi, 117  
Beheshti, Ayatollah, 104  
Belorayan, Ghani, 173  
berader koshi, 111  
Berlin, 167  
besieged fortress, 162  
Betlisi, Sharefkhan, 104  
betrayal, feudal, 54  
bexudan, 29  
Bizütinewey İslâmî le Kurdistan, 165  
border labour, Kurdish, 195  
Boutimar, Hiva, 201  
boycott of Islamic Republic referendum, Kurdish, 119  
brayetiy-e gelan, 180

*Index*

231

- brutality, internal, 75
- Bukan, 38, 42, 43, 46, 49, 50, 124, 125
- Camp Ashraf, 172
- Camp Azadi, 170
- Camp Liberty, 172
- campaign, guerrilla
  - against central government (1961), 62
  - of late 1960s, 70
- Central Committee, *see* KDPI; Komala Chakar, 194
- Chamran, Mostafa, 104, 109, 119
- Chawarchra Square, 13
- chemical weapons, 155, 161
- Chrik Fedai*, 112, 130
- Chya*, 194, 198, 199
- citizenship, democratic, 26
- civil disobedience activities, collective, 97
- civil rights activists, Kurdish, 201
- civilian and Peshmerga forces, Kurdish, 172
- clashes, ethnic, 96
- class,
  - feudal, 36, 37, 43, 129
  - problematic in Kurdistan, 79
  - struggle, 8, 15, 36, 42, 48, 51, 53, 55, 57, 139
- clientelism, 34
- Cold War, 61
- colonisation, 19
- Çömi Mecid Xan, 38
- Communist Party of Iran (CPI), 4, 141, 145
- communities, 60
  - crossborder, 60
  - ethnonational, 9, 19, 81, 87, 88
- conflict, class, 36, 43
- consciousness,
  - class, 136
  - in Kurdish society, 142
  - collective, 16
- Coordinating Council of Kurdish Reformists, 200
- councils, village, 41
- CPI, *see* Communist Party of Iran
- crossborder
  - cooperation, 7, 66, 134
  - features, 58
- solidarity, 7, 9, 58, 59, 60, 63, 68, 130, 161
- Daneshwar, Soran, 190
- Darebag, 42
- Darenê, 73
- decree, village, 41
- defence, collective, 80, 110
- delegation, goodwill, 109, 115
- Democratic Organisations of Kurdistan, 122
- Democratic Party, Azarbaijan, 44
- Kurdistan, xi, 5
- Democratic Union of Kurdish Students, 190, 194
- dependency,
  - crossborder, 60
  - spatial, 66
- Didgah*, 194
- Dihbukri family, 43
- distance, geographical, 14, 70
- Doago, Mehdi, 190
- Eight-Article Plan, 130, 132
- Eighth Party Congress, KDPI, 135
- Emirat of Ardelan, Kurdish, 105
- environmentalism, civic, 199
- environmentalists, 192
- Esmaeelzaddeh (Samal), Abobaker, 169
- ethnic linkage, crossborder, 58
- ethnonational societies, demands, 90
- Fardoost, Hussain, 77
- Fattahi, Mansour, 169
- Fattahian, Ehsan, 201
- Fayzollabegi, 50, 52
- fetne, 185
- feudal
  - exploitation, 39
  - institutions and authority, 42
  - ‘first night rule’, 40
- forces inside the KDPI, 15
- Forouhar, Dariush, 104
- Fourth Congress, Followers of, 135
- Gelawej, Ali, 209
- geographical circumstances, 67
- Gerdi, Tahir, 156

- Ghaderi, Shawaneh, 191, 194  
*ghaele*, 107, 119  
 Ghassemloou, Abdulrahman, 37, 44, 51, 71, 82, 93, 95, 99, 101, 111, 113, 116, 144, 155, 157, 170  
 Ghotbzadeh, 106  
 Goli, Yaser, 195  
 Gordani Showan, 160  
     Green Association of Chya, 198  
 Guivi, Sheikh Mohammad Sadeghi, 111  
 Haidarian, Ali, 201  
 Halabje, 154, 155, 157, 160, 194  
 Hamadan, 42  
 Hassan, Sherzad, 193  
 Hassaniyani, Ali, 114  
 Hassanpour, Adnan, 201  
 Hassanzadeh, Abdollah, 201  
 Hawler, 75, 168  
 Hawraman, 140, 150  
 Hayderi, Salar, 72  
 Hekmat, Mansoor, 4, 145, 146  
 Hemen, Mamosta, 135  
*hezi henard-e kraw*, 179  
*Hezi Peshtian*, 134  
 Hijri, Mostafa, 164, 175  
 Hosseini, Rafat, 169  
 Hosseini, Sheikh Ezzedin, viii, 82  
 Hosseini, Sayed Jalal, 130  
 Hozni Mukrayani, Hussain, 31  
 human rights  
     advocates and journalists, Kurdish, 195  
     violations, 195  
 Human Rights Organisation of Kurdistan, *see* RMMK  
 Hussain, Saddam, 152, 157, 162, 163, 172  
 identity, collective, 8  
 interaction, crossborder, 1, 2, 3, 14, 16, 58, 60, 62, 65, 66, 209, 210  
 Iran-Iraq War, 65, 87, 150, 151, 154, 155, 157, 159, 161, 164  
 Irani, Abdollah, 46  
 IRGC (Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps), xi, 80, 96, 104, 105, 110, 111, 113, 147, 148, 154, 168, 170, 172, 187, 200  
 Ishaqi, Abdollah, 68, 69, 71, 76  
 Islamic Movement of Kurdistan, 165  
 Islamist affiliation of Al-Qaeda, Kurdish, 167  
*Jash*, 131, 146, 147, 148, 150  
 Jashyeti, 148  
 Jebhay-e Mottahed-e Kurd, 200  
 Jelalizadeh, Jalal, 200  
 Jihad, Fatwa of, 99  
*Jiwar*, 191, 194, 203  
 JK (Society for the Revival of the Kurds), xi, 11, 12, 38, 58  
*Jonbesh-e Jangal* (the Jungle Movement 1918), 40  
 Jondul-islam, 167  
 Kaboudvand, Mohammad Seddigh, 195  
*kadkhoda* (land agent), 41, 45  
 Kamanger, Farzad, 201  
 Kamanger, Sediq, 114  
 kampneshini, 179  
 Kamyaran, 125, 201  
 Kani Masi, 76  
 Kanimaran, 124  
 Karim, Lalo, 42  
 Karimi, Mirza Hussain, 46  
 Karimi, Shirzad, 190  
 Karoubi, Mehdi, 189  
 Kaveh, Said, 71  
 KDP, 126, 163, 177, 207  
 KDPI (Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran), xi, 48, 51, 60, 64, 79, 89, 100, 112, 119, 128, 130, 134, 137, 144, 163, 168, 174, 183, 192, 201, 207  
 Central Committee, 62, 69, 74, 160  
 internal dispute within, 68  
 meeting in Naqhadeh, 116  
 Provisional Leadership, 64, 123, 126, 127, 130, 131  
 Revolutionary Committee, 72  
 Revolutionary Leadership, 173  
 KDP-I (Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iran), 11  
 Keleshin, 181  
 Kerafto, 203  
 Kermashan, 27, 140, 150, 197  
 Khabat, xi, 16  
 Khalkhali, 106, 111

- Khamenei, Ali, Supreme Leader, 162
- Khani, Ahmad, 29, 43
- Khatami, Mohammad, President, 184
- khodgerdani, 101
- khodmokhtari*, 16, 80, 82, 85, 87, 92, 97, 98, 100, 101, 106, 108, 116, 132, 133, 138, 144, 149, 205
- Khomeini, Ayatollah, Supreme Leader, 86, 88, 89, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 108, 109, 111, 117, 118, 119, 129, 137, 149, 152, 187
- Khorasan, 39
- Khoshnaw, Mostafa, 59
- Khuzestan, 47, 83, 84
- kinship, crossborder, 128, 207
- KODAR, 181
- kolberi, 197, 198
- Komala (Society of Revolutionary Toilers of Iranian Kurdistan), xi, 54, 64, 79, 89, 100, 112, 119, 128, 130, 137, 145, 163, 168, 174, 183, 192, 201, 207
- Central Committee, 140, 142
- split, 144
- Komalay amoza*, 135
- Komite-haye Enqelab*, 80
- Koy-sanjagh, port of, 170
- Kurdayıti*, 8, 10, 15, 19, 28, 30, 36, 54, 68, 79, 92
- Kurdish officers, Iraqi, 59
- Kurdish Student Union, 190, 194
- Kurdistan, butcher of, 111
- Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party, 181
- Kurdistan, Republic of, 3, 11, 13, 37, 59, 61, 91, 127, 204, 207
- Kurdistan Communities Union, 180
- Kurdistan Green Association, 198
- Kurdistan Region of Iraq, 3
- Kurdistan Workers Party, *see* PKK
- Kurdistani mezen, 180
- Lajan, 43
- land reform, 37, 39, 40, 44, 48, 49, 52, 147, 150
- landless peasants, 36, 37, 41, 44, 45
- landlords
- feudal, 37, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48
- landownership system, feudal, 43
- Latif, Sheikh, 58
- Latifi, Habib, 201
- leftist, 46, 98
- forces, Iranian, 16
- groups, Kurdish, 145
- Lotfollahpour, Lotfollah, 201
- Lausanne Peace Settlement, 33
- Mahabad, 11, 13, 38, 42, 43, 50, 59, 112, 114, 130, 131, 150, 191
- Great Meeting in, 44
- Majles* (Iranian Parliament), 37, 190
- Kurdish members of, 190
- Maktab Quran*, 107, 123, 147, 149
- Mam u Zin*, 43
- Mamendi, Snar, 72, 130
- Mamle, Aziz, 114
- Mangor, 147, 150
- Mansurpoor, Colonel, 77
- Marsan, Kheder, 76
- Mardokh, Jemil, 76
- Mardokhi, Bayezid, 200
- Mariwan, 103, 111, 121, 124, 139, 150, 198
- historic exodus (*Kochi Mejoyi*), 96, 122
- Mariwan Green Association, 199
- MEK (*Mojahedin-e Khalq*), 172
- memory, collective, 13
- Middle East, 18, 29, 32, 45, 134, 162, 163, 165, 172, 175
- mobasher, 41, 45
- Modaresi, Abobaker, 179
- Modaresi, Colonel, 77
- mode of production, feudal, 39
- mofsed fil arz*, 99
- Moftizadeh, Ahmad, 107
- Mohammad, Qazi, 11, 12, 13, 52, 176, 203
- Mohtadi, Abdollah, 140, 142, 144, 169
- Mohtadi, Selah, 130, 131
- Moieni, Nawid, 135
- Moieni, Solaiman, 61, 62, 69, 70
- Mojahedin, 96, 111
- monarchy, Pahlavi, 91
- Mossadeqq, Mohammad, 47
- Mostafa-Soltani, Foad, 130, 131, 145
- Mottahari, Morteza, 162
- Mount Dalanper, 58
- Mousavi, Mir Hossain, 189
- Mukry, Mohammad, 49
- Mykonos, 167

- Naqhadeh, 96, 108, 116  
 Naseri, Mansour, 169, 170  
 Nateq-Nouri, Ali Akbar, 189  
 nation-as-people, 34  
 nation-as-state, 34  
 national self-determination,  
     Kurdish, 10  
 nationalism, 14, 126, 166  
     feudal, 25, 30  
     middle class, 25  
     peripheral, 203  
 Nawsod, 140  
 negotiation team, 115  
     goodwill, 115  
     Kurdish, 30  
 Nehri, Sheikh Ubaidallah, 21, 22,  
     25, 26  
 NGOs, Kurdish, 195  
 Nikbakht, Saleh, 200  
*Nishtiman*, 11, 38  
*Nishtman froshekan*, 148  
 Ocalan, Abdollah, 178  
 Omran, Haji, 74  
 Operation Ajax, 47  
 Osman, Mahmud, 150  
 Osman, Sheikh, 207  
 Pahlavi dynasty, 83, 90  
     suppression of Kurds in Iran, 66  
 PAK, xi, 176, 177, *see* Party Azadi  
     Kurdistan  
 Paknejad, Shokrollah, 106  
 Palestine, 165  
 Party Jeyani Azadi Kurdistan (PJAK),  
     xi, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 192,  
     201  
 Party Azadi Kurdistan (PAK), xi, 176,  
     177  
*pasdaran*, 80, 132  
 Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), xi,  
     64, 126, 163, 207  
 Paweh, battle of, 118, 119  
 Payrewani Kongrey-e Chewar,  
     173  
 PCDK (Kurdistan Democratic Solution  
     Party), 177  
 Peasant Uprising, Kurdish, 16, 36, 39,  
     55  
 Pejman, Issa, 77  
 People's Message, 195  
 Persianisation, 10, 19  
 Peymanê Sê Sinûr, 58  
 Piranshar, 70, 155  
 PJAK, xi, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 192,  
     201, *see* Party Jeyani Azadi  
     Kurdistan  
 PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party), xi,  
     167, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181,  
     196  
 political discontent, collective, 100  
 political turmoil, 153  
 Provisional Government, 104, 119, 130  
 Provisional Revolutionary  
     Government, 82, 86, 109  
 proxy, 77, 170, 175, 177, 179, 181  
 PUK, xi, 64, 126, 163, 207, *see* Patriotic  
     Union of Kurdistan  
 Qader Koyi, Haji, 30  
 Qajar, 25  
 Qalatan, 96, 108, 116  
 Qandil, 180  
 Qarne, 108, 116, 117  
 Qareni, General, 107, 108  
*qatlbay-e zanjirayi*, 186  
 Qazi, Ali, 176  
 Qazi, Fawziye, 135  
 Qazi, Rahim Sayf, 135  
 Qazi, Sadr, 13  
 Qesabe Kordestan, 111  
 Qasem, Abdul-Karim, 60  
 Qasem Karimi (tailor), Haji, 46  
 Qiyyadey Muweqet, 64, 126,  
     128  
 Qori Qela, 122  
 Qubadi, Khana, 29, 193  
 Qudsi, Mohammad, 59  
 Qurbani, Asaad, 190  
 Rafsanjani, Akbar Hashemi, President,  
     88, 104, 106, 115, 188  
 Rahman Penahi, Hassan, 140  
 Rahimbeg, Ali, 46  
 Rahimi, Mohammad Reza, 188  
     Rajayi, Mohammad Ali, 153  
     Ramezanzadeh, Abdollah, 190, 200  
 Rasan, 17, 174  
 Rashid Khan Banê, Hama, 11  
 Razmara, Ali, 41

*Index*

235

- reform movement, Kurdish, 188, 200, 201  
 reformist fronts, Kurdish, 189  
 Regional Government, Kurdistan, xi, 3, 164  
 Relative Deprivation (Gurr, 1970), 20, 36  
     Revolutionaries Union of Kurdistan (RUK), xi, 176, 181  
 Revolutionary Council, 116, 130  
     revolutionary forces, Kurdish, 119  
     Revolutionary Government, Iranian, 130  
 Revolutionary Society of Iranian Kurdistan, 1, 79  
 revolt, internal, 185  
 Rezwni, Yosef (Abdollah Sheler), 74  
*Rêkxirawê Demokratiyekan* (Democratic Organisation), 209  
 RMMK, xi, 195  
 Rojan, 197  
 Rouhani, Hassan, President, 201  
 Rowanduz, Mir Muhammad of, 30  
 roze-ye siyasi, 110  
 RUK, xi, 176, 181, *see* Revolutionaries Union of Kurdistan  
 Rûm, 29  
 Sadegh Waziri, Sarmedin, 114  
 Safdari, Ali, 107  
 safe haven, 6, 16, 60, 61, 67, 72, 78, 133, 157, 163, 165, 169, 176, 179  
 Said (Piran), Sheikh, 25  
*salî qîran* (Year of Destruction), 67  
 Sanandaj, 27, 43, 105, 107, 112, 115, 125, 129, 137, 139, 194, 200  
 Saqhez, 52, 125, 148  
 Sardesht, 130, 137  
 SAVAK, 62, 63, 67, 74, 77, 130, 132, 134, 146  
 sectarian clashes, ethnic, 96  
 self-rule, Kurdish, 11  
*Sepah-e Pasdaran-e Enqelab*, *see* IRGC  
 Seraji, Hamademin, 72  
 Shahbaziyani, 118  
 Shalmashi, Ahmad, 72  
 Shah, Mohammad Reza, 9, 47, 63, 69, 77, 127, 151, 154, 166  
 Shah Waysi, Hussain, 200  
 Sharefkandi, Sadeqh, 68, 167  
 share-cropping, 39  
 Shari Se Mange, 99  
 Sharifzadeh, Ismail, viii, 72, 73, 136, 137  
 Shatt al-Arab, 151  
 Shireen-Sokhan, Yedulla, 169  
 Shno, 132  
*shora* (councils), 80, 106, 113, 115, 123, 125  
*shoray shar* (city councils), 80, 94, 95, 114  
*shoray-e deh* (village councils), 41  
*Shoray-e Eslahteleban Kurd*, 200  
 Showan unit, 160  
 Simko, 11, 21, 58, 204  
 Sipahi Rezagri, 150  
*Sirwan*, 194  
 Sna, Newroz-i Khwenawi, 99  
 Snayi, Saeed, 135  
 Society of Militant Women of Saqhez, 122  
 Society of Revolutionary Toilers of Iranian Kurdistan, *see* Komala  
 society, environmental, 198  
 Sohrabi, Abdollah, 200  
 solidarity,  
     collective, 125  
     crossborder, 7, 9, 58, 59, 60, 63, 68, 130, 161  
 sorusat, 41, 49  
*Srwa*, 193, 194  
 strata of Kurdish society, feudal, 142  
 strikes, 122  
 student movement, Kurdish, 194  
 Sulaimani, Behroz, 114  
 Sulaymaniyah Criminal Court, 169  
 Tabriz, 117  
 Tahir, Menal, 170  
 Talebani, Jalal, 14, 64, 71, 72, 129, 133, 157  
*taqmî hawt kasi*, 135  
 Tavakkoli, Ahmad, 188  
 Tawekoli, Khaled, 200  
 Tehran University dormitory massacre, 186  
 terror, transborder, 169  
*Teshkilat*, 95, 135, 136  
 Three Borders, Pact of, 58

236

*Index*

- Three-Month Battle, 99, 103, 132, 134, 137, 148  
Tishk TV, 175  
Tofiq, Ahmad, viii, 67, 68  
Tofiqi, Ali, 200  
Tudeh Party, 41, 48, 55  
Turkmens, 84, 99  
  
Umma, Islamic, 112  
unilateral ceasefire, Komala, 143  
Union of Peasants of Mariwan, 123  
Union for Protecting Freedom and Revolution, 106  
Union of Unemployed Labourers, 122  
United Front of Kurds, 200  
university students, Kurdish, 190, 194  
Urmia, 49, 96, 111, 116, 118, 150, 197  
Ushnawiya, 132  
  
Vakili, Farhad, 201  
*velayat-e faqih*, 86  
Velayeti, Ali, 162  
  
Vienna, 167  
violence, internal, 89  
  
Wahdet-e Komonisti, 138, 145  
war, fratricidal, 4, 5, 17, 55, 111, 126, 138, 139, 140, 143, 167, 168, 207, 208  
women, Kurdish, 122, 196  
  
Yazdanpanah, Hussain, 176  
Yazdanpanah, Said, 176  
Yazdi, Ibrahim, 104  
Yekşewe, 46  
*Yekyeti Jotyaranı Mariwan*, 123, 124  
*Yekyeti Shoresherani Kurdistan*, see Revolutionaries Union of Kurdistan, xi, 186  
Yousefi, Aziz, 121  
  
Zehirnejad, 118  
Zekriyayi, Shoaib, 121  
Zemani, Arman, 190  
Zohab/Zehaw, 33