

KURDISH

HUMAN RIGHTS

Statelessness, Resistance and Survival

Date: September 04-05, 2004

Venue: Auditorium (3rd Floor)

Hosted By

The Social And Cultural Anthropology Program

California Institute Of Integral Studies

Conference Schedule

DAY ONE, SEPTEMBER 04, 2004

Breakfast: 8 am

Opening: 9-9.30 am

Invocation: Mustafa Kart

Opening Remarks: Richard Shapiro

Welcome: Joseph Subbiondo

Introduction and Keynote: 9.30-10 am

Introduction: Angana Chatterji, *Indigenous Peoples, Human Rights and the Nation-State*

Keynote: Kerim Yildiz, *Kurdish Human Rights Project and the Protection and Promotion of Kurdish Human Rights*

Conference Outline: 10-10.15 am

Fredrick Cloyd

Panel I: Kurdish Cultural Survival: Struggles for Self-Determination 10.15 am-12.15 pm

Chair: Ali Ezzatyar

Tara Aziz, *Civil Society in Iraqi Kurdistan: The Activism of Women since 1991*

Michael Gunter, *Possibilities for an Independent Kurdish State*

Nicole Watts, *Democratization in Diyarbakir? Images and Notes*

Lunch: 12.30-1.30 pm

Panel II: Kurdish Human Rights: Global Realities 1.30-3.30 pm

Chair: Bruce Khailany

Soraya Serajeddini, *Iraq Drama: Good Shi'ite--, Bad Shi'ite, Kurds Lose Again*

Robert Olson, *Kurdistan-Iraq and Turkey Relations 2003-2004*

Kani Xulam, *Stolen Women of Kurdistan*

Coffee break: 3.30-3.45 pm

Round Table: Kurdish Futures: Conflicts and Possibilities 3.45-5.45 pm

Chair: Stephen Zunes

Stephen Zunes, *The US and the Kurds: Allies or Pawns?*

Rashid Karadaghi, *Alliance or Self-Reliance?*

Mitchell Plitnick, *The Jewish State: An Object Lesson for the Kurdish People?*

Noura Erakat, *Kurdish Self-determination, Arab Nationalism and the Palestinian Question*

Soraya Mofty, *Odd Alliances & Consequences for Kurds*

Working Groups: 6-7 pm

Diane King, *Images of Kurdish Life 1995 – 2004*

Dinner and Kurdish Festival: 8 pm onwards

DAY TWO, SEPTEMBER 05, 2004*Breakfast: 9 am***Film Festival: 10 am onwards**

Time	Namaste Hall	Room 311
9:00 AM	Breakfast	Time for Drunken Horses
10:00 AM	Saddam's Mass Graves	Break for Lunch
12:00 PM	Break for Lunch	Saddam's Mass Graves
1:00 PM	Innowhereland	Saddam's Mass Graves
3:00 PM	Jiyan	Saddam's Mass Graves
5:00 PM	Song for Beko	INNOWERELAND Hiçbiryerde (Turkish)
7:30 PM	Closing Remarks	

INNOWERELAND

Hiçbiryerde (Turkish)

After losing her Kurdish husband following political persecution, the widow, Sukran is very careful about how she brings up her only son Veysel. She is always anxious to keep him away from any political activities. Then, one day, he disappears. Refusing to believe her missing son is dead, Sukran journeys to southeast Turkey-- "Innowhereland". Arriving in the ancient town of Mardin, she meets with hostility and bureaucratic indifference, until some people claim to know where the boy is hiding. Directed by Tayfun Pireslimoglu, and starring Zuhul Olcay, Michael Mendl and Parkan Ozturan.

Montreal World Film Festival, Special Jury Grand Prix Award 2002

International Istanbul Film Festival, Best Actress Award 2002

Radikal Newspaper, Audience Award 2002

International Mediterranean Film Festival, Jeune Public Award 2002

Turkish with English subtitles (Turkey, 2001). Text courtesy of London Kurdish Film Festival.

JİYAN (Life)

Five years after the infamous chemical and biological bombing of Halabja in Iraqi Kurdistan by the Iraqi military, Diyari returns to his homeland to build an orphanage in what is left of the town. He meets Jiyan, a ten-year old orphan and a survivor of the chemical attack, doomed to live with a burn scar covering most of her right cheek. A strong bond between the two ensues and later he names his orphanage after her. During the course of his stay in Halabja, Diyari meets a colorful bunch of townsfolk, many of whom remain physically and/or psychologically marked with the effects of the chemical agents. Among them is Jiyan's only living relative, Shêrko. In addition to building the orphanage, Diyari brings a spark of hope and happiness to Shêrko's and Jiyan's lives. Directed by Kurdish-American Director Jano Rosebani.

Winner, Special Jury Award, New Director's Showcase
Seattle International Film Festival 2002

Winner, Best Film, "Man and His Environment" Award
International Film Festival Festroia 2002
Setubal, Portugal

Official Selection, Tiger Competition
International Film Festival Rotterdam 2002

Honorable Mention, Best Feature
In The Spirit of Freedom Award, In Memory of Wim Van Leer
19th Jerusalem Film Festival 2002

Winner, Popular Jury Award
Rights to Have Rights Film Festival 2003
Modena, Italy

Kurdish (Sorani dialect) with English subtitles (Iraqi Kurdistan, 2001). Text courtesy of Evini Films.

DOCUMENTARY: SADDAM'S MASS GRAVES

The Anfal Campaign masterminded by Saddam Hussein and carried out by "Chemical Ali," was a genocidal action that sought to annihilate Kurdish villages and Iraqi Marsh-Arab communities beginning in 1988. Over 270 mass grave sites have been discovered so far, containing 300,000 bodies. 1.2 million Kurdish and Shi'a Muslim men, women and children have been executed by Saddam's regime since 1975. This documentary presents interviews with family members, human rights workers, and politicians showing the discoveries of the mass grave sites into which most of the Kurdish and Shi'a Muslims had been thrown after their deaths. This film is Kurdish-American Director Jano Rosebani's most recent film.

Kurmanji, Sorani, Arabic, and English (Iraqi Kurdistan, 2003)

A SONG FOR BEKO

Klamek Ji bo Beko (Kurmanji)

Nizamettin Aric made his directorial debut and also stars in "A Song for Beko", one of the first films in Kurdish. He also scripted and starred in this eloquent film, as well as composed and played its musical score. Aric was himself imprisoned for speaking the Kurdish language in public and exiled from Turkey. Beko begins his long pilgrimage -- in search of his brother -- in Kurdish areas of Turkey, where he escapes arrest. Fleeing into Syria, this modern-day Odysseus then makes his way into the serenely beautiful highlands of the Kurdish areas of Iraq. Here, in a nomadic community caring for refugee children, Beko finds himself and a homeland. But inevitably this peace is broken. "To be a refugee is a Kurdish fate," says Aric. "The more the people of the world know about us, the more we can hope. That is why I made this film."

Winner, Special Jury Award
Fribourg International Film Festival (Switzerland) 1994

Kurdish (Kurmanji dialect) with English subtitles (Germany/Armenia, 1992). Text Courtesy of HRW Film Festival.

TIME FOR DRUNKEN HORSES

Bahman Ghobadi's tragic yet unsentimental first feature is influenced by his own childhood in Iran's Kurdistan. In a remote Kurdish village on the Iran-Iraq border, five motherless children endure hardscrabble lives, heavily burdened by responsibility and loss as a smuggler's mule. Ayoub (Ayoub Ahmadi) and his young sister, Ameneh (Ameneh Ekhtiar-Dini) work at a bazaar to earn money while simultaneously caring for their tiny, ill brother, Madi (Mehdi Ekhtiar-Dini), who suffers from a form of dwarfism. When a landmine kills their smuggler father, Ayoub must provide for the family, despite his young age. He joins the smugglers, carrying heavy loads on his back through the snowy mountains toward Iraq, while dodging the constant threat of ambush and mines. Pressure on Ayoub increases as poor Madi's illness worsens. An operation in Iraq is Madi's only hope, yet Ayoub's earnings barely cover the family's necessities. A possible solution arises when the children's eldest sister, Rojin (Rojin Younessi) enters an arranged marriage with an Iraqi, who promises to pay for the operation. With its sparse dialogue, rough settings, and intimate view of Kurdish life, Ghobadi's first feature film is a simply told and very powerful tale.

Farsi and Kurdish (Sorani dialect) with English subtitles (Iran, 2000). Text Courtesy of Troygift.com

We have received support from various sources, including:

- American Kurdish Information Network
- Evini Films
- Cheryl Hatch
- Ed Kashi
- Mustafa Kart
- Koma Govend Kurdish Folk Dance Group
- Kurdish-American Youth Organization
- Kurdish Human Rights Watch
- Kurdish National Congress
- Susan Meiselas/Magnum Photos
- Middle East Children's Alliance
- Vanguard Public Foundation
- Washington Kurdish Institute

Presenters and Session Chairs**TARA AZIZ**

Tara Aziz has been working as Program Officer with WKI (Washington Kurdish Institute) since January 2002. Since 1991, she has worked for UNHCR, UNICEF, ICRC and other international humanitarian agencies in Iraqi Kurdistan. In these positions, she worked extensively with local and international NGOs, developing and analyzing a wide range of programs. In 2000, Ms. Aziz participated in the establishment of a local NGO that promotes women's empowerment in Iraqi Kurdistan. She received an M.A. in International Peace Studies from Notre Dame University (1998) and is fluent in English, Arabic, Kurdish and French.

ANGANA CHATTERJI

Angana P. Chatterji has integrated scholarship, research, and activism in linking the roles of citizen and intellectual. A rigorous and passionate advocate for social justice, she has been working with postcolonial social movements in India and internationally, since 1984, toward enabling participatory democracy for social and ecological justice. An associate professor of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the California Institute of Integral Studies, her work focuses on issues of globalization, identity politics, sustainable development, cultural survival, religious fundamentalism and nationalism. Dr. Chatterji has been working with issues of indigenous land rights and community governance, and with issues of gendered violence and grassroots resistance. In response to September 11, 2001, she has convened the Dialogues for Peace. She serves on the Board of Directors of Earth Island Institute and International Rivers Network. Her intellectual interests include postcolonial and poststructural thought, feminist critique, policy, participatory and action research in India. Professor Chatterji has published extensively, including 'Land and Justice: The Struggle for Cultural Survival' in press, and is completing 'Violent Gods. Hindu Nationalism in India's Present', forthcoming from Three Essays Press Collective in Delhi.

FREDRICK CLOYD

Fredrick Cloyd is an activist living in San Francisco, California. He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Social and Cultural Anthropology at the California Institute of Integral Studies. He has over 30 years' experience teaching, facilitating workshops and lecturing on anti-oppression issues, especially in the areas of race, gender, sexuality, class, intercultural communication, and identity politics. He regularly writes for the Pacific Reader in Seattle, Washington. His Ph.D. work focuses on the effects of violence and nation building on the Kurds of Turkey.

NOURA ERAKAT

Noura Erakat is a Palestinian-American student-activist completing her legal education at UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall School of Law and intends to practice international human rights law after graduation. Prior to attending law school, she helped to launch the divestment campaign with the Students for Justice in Palestine at UC Berkeley. During her undergraduate career, Noura studied at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. She also co-led Global Exchange's fact-finding delegation throughout the Occupied Territories and Israel proper. She has also volunteered in Palestinian refugee camps in Bethlehem, Jericho, Beirut and Tripoli. In 2002, Noura produced a radio documentary, "Sabra and Shatilla: We Refuse to Forget," commemorating the 20th year since the Sabra and Shatila massacre using interviews she collected during her stay in Beirut. Most recently, she interned at the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel in Shafa'amr, where she helped to file petitions before the Israeli High Court on behalf of the Palestinian-Israeli citizens. In the summer of 2004, she is working on secret evidence and government misconduct cases at the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York.

ALI EZZATYAR

Ali Ezzatyar was born in Tehran, and his parents are from Sanandaj (Sina in Kurdish language), a Kurdish city in northwest Iran. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from UC Berkeley, where his studies concentrated on the Middle East. He received his Master of International Affairs degree from Columbia University, where he concentrated on Security Policy. He also completed an Advanced Certificate in Middle East Studies from Columbia's prestigious Middle East Institute. Mr. Ezzatyar also conducted research at Oxford. He is currently pursuing a J.D. at UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall School of Law.

MICHAEL GUNTER

Michael M. Gunter is a professor of political science at Tennessee Technological University in Cookeville, TN. He is also a former Senior Fulbright Lecturer in International Relations in Turkey, and has taught in China and Austria. He has published 11 books and more than 75 scholarly articles (many on Kurdish issues) in many prestigious publications, including the Middle East Journal, Middle East Quarterly, Orient, American Journal of International Law, and Orbis.

RASHID KARADAGHI

Rashid Karadaghi was born in the Karadagh region in Iraqi-occupied Kurdistan. He received his Ph.D. in English from the University of California at Santa Barbara. He is an educator and writer on Kurdish affairs, as well as the author of a forthcoming comprehensive English-Kurdish dictionary.

BRUCEK KHAILANY

Dr. Brucek Khailany is a Kurdish-American born in Ann Arbor, MI. He holds a Ph.D. in Electrical Engineering from Stanford University. He has been a lifelong supporter of Kurdish rights and an active member of the Kurdish National Congress of North America (KNC). In January 2004, he traveled to Southern Kurdistan with several professors to discuss topics related to technology and education at Kurdish universities. In 2004, Dr. Khailany was elected to the Board of Directors of the KNC, where he has served as Communications Chair.

DIANE KING

Diane King is a cultural anthropologist whose research focuses on migration and displacement, gender, kinship, violence, memory, and identity. She has conducted multi-sited research with Iraqi Kurds since 1995, and has worked on urban-rural migration in Malaysia. She is interested in the process of diaspora formation, and how non-migrants understand themselves and local social collectivities in the context of diasporization. She is currently working on a revision of her dissertation, "When Worlds Collide: The Kurdish Diaspora from the Inside Out", as well as on the research project "Kurdish Migration Histories." In 2001-2002 she was a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of History at the University of Kentucky, and in 2003 was awarded a fellowship funded by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation in support of a semester at UC San Diego as a Visiting Scholar. She teaches concurrently in the Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences and the Civilization Sequence Program, and is an affiliate of the Center for Arab and Middle East Studies at American University, Beirut, Lebanon.

SORAYA MOFTY

Soraya Mofty was born in the Hewraman region in Eastern Kurdistan and attended the American University in Beirut, Lebanon. She was awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from the University of San Francisco, and a Master of Arts degree in International Relations from San Francisco State University. Her Master's thesis was on the Kurdish political movement. In 1997, Soraya Mofty published an audiotape, accompanied by a booklet, for Westerners traveling to Kurdistan. She has also served on the Board of Directors for both the Kurdish National Congress and the Washington Kurdish Institute.

ROBERT OLSON

Robert Olson is a professor of Middle East History and Politics at the University of Kentucky. He received his Ph.D. in 1973 from Indiana University. Professor Olson is the author of some 70 research articles, 80 essays and reference works including *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations, 1718-1743: A Study of Rebellion in the Capital and War in the Provinces of the Ottoman Empire* (1975), translated into Arabic (1983); *The Ba'th and Syria, 1947-1979: An Interpretative Historical Essay* (1980); *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism* (1991); *The Kurdish Question and Turkish-Iranian Relations: From World War I to 1998* (1998); *Turkey's Relations with Iran, 1979-2004: War, Revolution, Ideology, War, Coups and Geopolitics* (2004). Professor Olson has been Fulbright Senior Professor of Research in the Middle East Civilization Program Fellowship (1990-91); University Research Professor, (1995-96); Albert D. and Elizabeth H. Kirwan Memorial University Professor (1999-2000) and Distinguished Professor of the College of Arts and Sciences (2000-01). He received the Best Book Award from the Third World Studies Association in 1999-2000. From 2000-2004 Professor Olson has served on the Strategic Assessment Group for the Central Intelligence Agency's Turkey Future Panel: 2000-2010 and the Kurdish Question.

MITCHELL PLITNICK

Mitchell Plitnick, Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP)'s Director of Education and Policy, has been a key organizer in growing JVP into the largest Jewish peace organization of its kind in the U.S.. He is an editor of Jewish Peace News and his articles have appeared in many publications, including Jewish Currents, Outlook, The UN Observer, Israel Insider, the San Francisco Chronicle and many others. He has been active for many years on a wide variety of issues, including anti-racism work, women's rights, LGBT rights, and international issues including Central America and South Africa. Mitchell was born in New York City, raised an orthodox Jew and educated in Yeshiva. He has been fascinated by and engaged in the study of Israeli and Jewish history since he was a child. He comes from a community that supports much of the radical Israeli right, giving him a unique and rounded perspective and understanding of a wide spectrum of views on Israel. Mitchell graduated with honors from UC Berkeley in Middle Eastern Studies, having written an honors thesis on Israeli and Jewish historiography. He has been a key organizer in bringing Jewish peace groups together nationally.

SORAYA SERAJEDDINI

Soraya Serajeddini is a human rights and Kurdish political activist living in California. She was born in Iran and lived briefly in Iraq before attending San Francisco State University and Northeastern University. She joined the Kurdish National Congress of North America (KNC) in 1991 and has been active in bringing about unity among Kurds and advocating for the formation of a united, free Kurdistan. She is currently serving as an executive board member with the KNC while continuing her work with the larger Kurdish community. She is a strong advocate of building bridges between Kurds and other progressive groups in the world.

RICHARD SHAPIRO

Richard Shapiro is the Director of the Social and Cultural Anthropology Program at the California Institute of Integral Studies. Professor Shapiro has been involved in shaping emancipatory education in the Bay Area, particularly in developing critical, interdisciplinary, activist and multicultural education at CIIS since 1986, and as the Director of Humanities at New College of California from 1986 to 1994. Professor Shapiro is an original member of Todos: The Sherover-Simms Institute for Alliance Building,

an organization that works with youth, engaging issues of social oppression, cultural identity, and political empowerment. His work spans the historical and cross-cultural study of subjectivity, intersections of race, class, sexuality and gender, critical traditions of European thought, social movements, and anthropology as cultural critique. Professor Shapiro has been working in India with issues of cultural survival. His intellectual interests include: Philosophical anthropology, poststructural and critical social thought, multicultural education, alliance building, ethnographic research; US, Europe.

JOSEPH SUBBIONDO

President of the California Institute of Integral Studies since June 1999, Joseph Subbiondo has an accomplished background in both administration and academics. Prior to coming to the Institute, he was dean of the School of Liberal Arts at St. Mary's College of California; vice president for academic affairs at the University of the Pacific; and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Santa Clara University. His academic background is in linguistics, and he was a tenured professor at several universities.

BIRUSK TUGAN

Birusk Tugan has reported, written and edited for several Kurdish, Turkish and English magazines and newspapers. In his work as a journalist, he endured arrests, torture and death threats, and was facing years in prison before he was forced to leave Turkey in 1994. Tugan graduated from Istanbul University and also has a Master of Arts degree in journalism from UC Berkeley. He is on the board of directors and the secretary of the Washington Kurdish Institute.

NICOLE WATTS

Nicole Watts is an Assistant Professor in the Political Science Department at San Francisco State University. Her research focuses on pro-Kurdish politics in Turkey, with particular emphasis on pro-Kurdish political parties, transnational pro-Kurdish activism, and human rights organizations in Turkey. She worked as a newspaper correspondent from Turkey for the San Francisco Chronicle and has published articles on pro-Kurdish politics in Turkey in the International Journal of Middle East Studies, New Perspectives on Turkey, and in other collections. She is currently working on a book manuscript analyzing different types of pro-Kurdish activism in Turkey. She completed her Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Middle East Studies at the University of Washington in 2001 and has an Master of Arts degree in Modern Turkish Studies from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

KANI XULAM

Kani Xulam is a Kurd from Turkish-occupied and -misruled Kurdistan. He runs a small advocacy office, the American Kurdish Information Network (AKIN), in Washington, D.C. to offer a Kurdish perspective on Kurdish politics and affairs. His work includes a 40-day hunger strike on the steps of the U.S. Capitol, which was featured in the documentary, "Good Kurds, Bad Kurds: No Friends but the Mountains". He and his friends also completed a 221 day (24/7) vigil in front of the Turkish Ambassador's residence to free Kurdish parliamentarians. His activism continues. Most of it is listed on AKIN's site: <http://www.kurdistan.org>.

KERIM YILDIZ

Kerim Yildiz is the founder and Executive Director of the Kurdish Human Rights Project, an independent non-political human rights organization founded in London in 1992. Following on his lecturing work in Turkey and postgraduate studies in International Human Rights Law at the University of Essex, Mr. Yildiz is now responsible for the development and implementation of the KHRP program. This work includes Mr. Yildiz's preparation of cases before the European Court of Human Rights and his work as a representative at the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) where he has made annual presentations since 1993. Having fled Turkey in 1986 after being one of Amnesty International's Prisoners of Conscience there, Mr. Yildiz now lives as a refugee in London. He has served as a consultant to the Education Project of the British Refugee Council and to the Southeast branches of Insan Haklari Dernegi (IHD), the largest human rights organization in Turkey. Mr. Yildiz has written extensively on matters of human rights, minority rights and international law, particularly as they affect the Kurds, most recently *The Kurds in Iraq: Past Present and Future* published by Pluto Press.

STEPHEN ZUNES

Stephen Zunes received his B.A. from Oberlin College, his M.A. from Temple University, and his Ph.D. from Cornell University. Dr. Zunes serves as Middle East editor for the Foreign Policy in Focus Project and was a senior policy analyst during his 2001-2002 sabbatical year. He also serves as an associate editor of *Peace Review* and as a research associate at the Center for Global, International and Regional Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. He is currently an Associate Professor in Politics and Latin American Studies and the Program Coordinator of Peace and Justice Studies at the University of San Francisco. Dr. Zunes is active in several professional organizations, including the governing council of the International Peace Research Association. He has traveled frequently to the Middle East and other conflict regions and has served as a political analyst for National Public Radio and Pacifica Radio, the British Broadcasting Corporation and MSNBC. He has appeared on numerous television and radio talk shows and has published scores of articles in academic journals, anthologies, magazines, and newspaper op-ed pages on topics such as U.S. foreign policy, Middle Eastern politics, Latin American politics, social movements and nonviolent action.