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By Godson S. Maanga

Abstract- The paper aimed at displaying the necessity of rewriting Chagga history (one of the numerous African microhistories) with reference to ethno-anthropological distortions and misconceptions made over the centuries. Amid this objective history recorders are called upon to rewrite African history, a bigger entity formed by local and regional African histories. After the definition of keywords (Chagga, Chaggaland, history, microhistory, historicism, historiography, anthropology, and ethnology), the paper's relevance was embedded in the realization that rewriting history is a never-ending exercise and due to that fact, history (microhistories in particular) should be rewritten continuously. The towering finding of the paper was that it is imperative to rewrite Chagga history because, as it is the case with African history, for quite a long time Chagga culture has been misunderstood and as a result distorted by least informed foreign historians, anthropologists and ethnologists. Using an historical-linguistic and ethno-anthropological methodology, the paper came up with the conclusion that there can only be correct African history if there are correct African microhistories, Chagga history being one of them.

REWRITINGCHAGGAHISTORYFOCUSONETHNO-ANTHROPOLOGICALDISTORTIONSANDMISCONCEPTIONS

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Rewriting Chagga History: Focus on Ethno-Anthropological Distortions and Misconceptions

Godson S. Maanga

Studying and rewriting history is stimulating and a never-ending task
– Basil Davidson[1]

Abstract- The paper aimed at displaying the necessity of rewriting Chagga history (one of the numerous African microhistories) with reference to ethno-anthropological distortions and misconceptions made over the centuries. Amid this objective history recorders are called upon to rewrite African history, a bigger entity formed by local and regional African histories. After the definition of keywords (Chagga, Chaggaland, history, microhistory, historicism, historiography, anthropology, and ethnology), the paper's relevance was embedded in the realization that rewriting history is a never-ending exercise and due to that fact, history (microhistories in particular) should be rewritten continuously. The towering finding of the paper was that it is imperative to rewrite Chagga history because, as it is the case with African history, for quite a long time Chagga culture has been misunderstood and as a result distorted by least informed foreign historians, anthropologists and ethnologists. Using an historical-linguistic and ethno-anthropological methodology, the paper came up with the conclusion that there can only be correct African history if there are correct African microhistories, Chagga history being one of them. Reconstructing the history of an area, ethnic group, community, or a politico-economic organization should be the essential task of any relevant or visionary historian.

I. Introduction

The few historical documents (published and unpublished) highlight the Chagga-European relationship but there is more or less non-existent record of Chagga relationship with the neighboring communities like the Pare, the Sambaa, the Maasai, the Kamba, the Taita and others.[2] Some authors argue that Chagga roots can also be traced among the Kahe, the Meru, the Dorobo, the Pokomo, and the Dabida (Mojola 1998:60). Explaining why some Chagga are light-skinned, Johannes Raum gives the Chagga a Semitic origin like the Wakilindi or Wambugu of Lushoto Tanga who are believed to have an Arab ancestry (Raum 1909/1964: 2-3). In the 1950s and the 1960s there was a free movement of the Kisii in Chaggaland but nowhere is the Kisii-Chagga encounter thoroughly documented.

There is a need of investigating on issues like the influence of the Kisii in Chaggaland, intermarriage between the Kisii and the Chagga (if any), and why nowadays the Kisii are no longer on the Chagga scene.

It is culturally and academically frustrating to see that some heroes and heroines in the African history are purposely left out in some historical accounts. Worse still, foreign writers and some brainwashed local historians blow trumpets of alien masters, sometimes at the expense of local champions. Pouring too much praise on foreigners and despise the local people is the result of historians who have forgotten their responsibility. A serious observation drives home the fact that "the historian who seeks to gain a balanced view of the entire continent must always be on his guard against exaggerating the importance of aliens in an African context" (Hallett 2005:12).

The late Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of independent Kenya, in a foreword to his popular treatise called *Facing Mount Kenya*, says articulately that one of the factors that stimulated his interests to do the laborious task "was to produce on some aspects of African tradition and culture, which would make impact on those who had no knowledge of how Africans lived and thought and organized their own societies" (Kenyatta 1991: i). The word 'some' in this excerpt is determinative in the sense that it stresses the point that what is contained in such a nice book like that of Kenyatta is only a fraction of the enormous corpus of Kikuyu cultural identity.[3]

Recorders of Chagga history should bring to the public attention the fact that the Chagga society, just like other societies all over Africa, has civilization and cultural tenets so unique and useful that it rubs shoulders with any other human society in the world – cultural tenets that are philosophically sound and spiritually enriching. Long before the coming of European intruders who destroyed Africa's image, many areas of the continent had marvelous socio-religious and politico-economic wellbeing. As it is narrated in one of the historical documents, between 1000 and 1600 AD many communities in West Africa.

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[1] See Davidson 1970:2.
[2] There is both historical and cultural evidence that the Chagga originated in these communities, as it is narrated by the pioneer researchers on the Chagga community (Stahl 1964: 51-56, Dundas 1932:127-129; 1968:40-50, Lema 1982:36-38).

[3] Other writers noted for their commendable determination in highlighting the glorious and rich cultural heritage in Africa are Rems Nna Umeasiegbu who wrote *The Way We Lived* and Chinua Achebe in his traditionally acclaimed novels: *Things Fall Apart*, *No Longer at Ease*, *Arrow of God* and *Anthills of the Savannah*.

developed more useful methods of government. . . . They worked out new ways of organizing their community life, and of enforcing law and order. Some of them . . . founded large states and empires. Cities grew in number, size, and wealth, and became the home of new kinds of craftsmen and traders, politicians, priests, soldiers, writers and men of learning. With their export of gold and ivory, these trading cities and states became a valuable part of the whole wide network of international trade that was composed of West and North Africa, southern Europe and western Asia. . . . There were plenty of war and ruin in this period, as well as peace and prosperity. Yet we can often think of this period as one in which splendid things were done (Davidson 1970:27).

In Chaggaland there were very strong chiefdoms, just like the ones found in other areas of Africa before the continent was ruled by colonialists, with the support of local stooges. Before the 1870s, there existed in Africa very strong and well-articulated kingdoms like the Bunyoro Kitara, Buganda, and the Mwenemutapa, as well as strong empires such as Songhay, Kanem-Bornu, Mali, and the Sokoto Caliphate. There were leaders with enormous leadership qualities such as Shaka the Zulu, Askia the Great, Sundiata (Mari Diata), and Mamari Kulibali, to mention only a few. In the pre-colonial era Africa was proud of successful cultures with centers led by knowledgeable people, trading towns and heroes who had dominion on big wealthy kingdoms (Muragijimana 2011:1).

II. Background

Reading through different volumes of African history, one quickly realizes that to date a larger part of this second largest continent is not sufficiently known. The known part of African history is like a tip of an iceberg in the sense that the history below the surface "seems to lie in unilluminable depths" (Hallett 2005:6). For many centuries, Africa (including Chaggaland) has sort of remained like a locked hut, as it is reflected in the rather irksome accounts by foreign historians, geographers, and narrators of various adventures around Africa.

The African continent is renowned for her richness embedded in her splendid culture, languages, traditions and a very attractive history that is more advanced than most people would like to admit. This kind of wealth gives Africa a permanent place in the world history.

Decades in and decades out, Africa has been dismissed as a continent that is uncouth, dark, ignored, backward, directionless, primitive, underdeveloped, poor, and chaotic. Africa has been looked at as a continent rife with bad governance, corruption, disunity, and coups. For most people, particularly outsiders, Africa is home to hunger and famine, cholera, HIV and AIDS, Ebola, Marburg, and Dengue. Africa teems with rape, polygamy, over-breeding, nepotism, female circumcision, witchcraft, loitering, embezzlement, luxury, and lawlessness.

Many people look at Africa as a continent with people to be subjugated, exploited, discriminated upon, and marginalized. Such negative attitude on Africa has made historians write African history in a very negative way – so negative that it has affected even the Africans themselves. This kind of negative attitude on Africa has made Africans to walk around with the mentality of defeatism, self-hate, and deep inferiority complex. What must be said aloud is that it is quite untrue to say that Africa is a continent inhabited by people who are destitute, piteous, primitive, and backward (Muragijimana 2011:1).

Uncritical media, mainly in the west, portray Africa as the continent "wracked by civil war and senseless killings, and overrun by grinding poverty and AIDS" (Marquardt 2013:54). What is always forgotten is that most of these civil conflicts and killings as well as poverty and diseases are fuelled in the western hemisphere. Western supply of weapons, perpetual exploitation by western powers and using Africa as a filthy dustbin for western consumerism has largely contributed to the continent's present-day socio-cultural, politico-economic, and psycho-physical disorders.

Stating that Africans are so backward that they cannot excel in anything is to utter lies of the highest order, just as Albert Schweitzer – a missionary-cum-medical doctor – concluded hastily and racially that an African is always a baby in thoughts and deeds. In his *Philosophy of History*, Georg Hegel (1770-1831) considered one of the greatest philosophers of his time, dared to insult all black people by declaring that Africans cannot change or develop because they cannot be educated and that their continent has no history; and Richard Burton, another racist, asserted that the black person cannot improve because mentally he/she always remains a child (Ki-Zerbo 1990:12).

It is very unfortunate that for quite a long time Africa has been judged or evaluated using a western yardstick – even the name Africa began as a European idea in the sense that it was coined by Greek geographers (Hallett 2005:4). When Bruno Gutmann insisted that Chaggaland had valuable and sensible culture he was ridiculed and harshly accused of being a confused ethnologist embracing or entertaining "antimodern ethnical romanticism" (Burkle 1985:i). His countrymen utterly opposed him, claiming pointblank that nothing good could ever come out of Africa. His malicious critics wanted to tell him that Chaggaland had no history just as some shortsighted racists asserted that Africa had no history. This racially-motivated tendency of looking at Africa as a place where nothing good can come from still resonates as late as the 21st century, something proven by the malicious and

unbalanced attack leveled at Martin Bernal, a distinguished and bold scholar, who put forward a well-researched thesis that Egypt (a part of Africa) stands as one of the origins of Ancient Greece (Bernal 2001).

Any sensible and honest social analyst would admit that every human society has history because every human society stands for the result of the last "product of a long process of historical evolution, even if the sources needed to describe this process are lacking" (Hallett 2005:6). Furthermore, failure to record history due to factors like illiteracy or financial constraints does not rob members of the society of their history which permanently stands as a part and parcel of their socio-cultural existence.

It is necessary to stress that man, as Jurgen Moltmann asserts, learns to know himself via historical interaction and historical comprehension of other human beings as well as cultures of other people. This is due to the fact that in every culture man makes a shape for himself and the images he attributes to himself are always temporary and subject to change (Moltmann 1974:11).

III. Aim of the Paper

This paper is written to root out negativism and pessimism aspects from Chagga cultural and historical identity. However, the researcher's aim is not to despise what has so far been written by other writers concerning Chagga history. A good builder makes use of his predecessors' work regardless of the fact that this particular work is not impeccable. Moreover, something is better than nothing due to the fact that something written is better than nothing written at all. It is the history that has been written so far, regardless of the distortion or misconception it has suffered in the hands of the previous historical chroniclers, that has produced various historians in Africa – dead or living.

It is inevitable to rewrite Chagga history because history is a product of an endless discovery. Despite the fact that there are many facts that are already known about the past, more historical facts will continue being discovered (Davidson 1970:2). History, like a building, is something which constantly needs "repair, enlargement, or even total demolition" (Hallett 2005:4). Nevertheless, the researcher does not support the idea of demolishing history for the sake of demolishing it, no matter how bad or awkward the history is. His main concern is therefore to correct, sharpen, polish, and clarify Chagga history. He is focused on defending, explaining, propagating, sharing, and teaching Chagga history for the benefit of the present-day generations and the coming progenies.

The African people, including the Chagga, are supposed to find meaning and pride in their history "if there is to be any hope in rebuilding their societies after the depredation of colonialism" (Muragijimana 2011:1).

A foreigner traveling around Africa, always comes across numerous resources and is greatly appealed to the cultural ones – "music and dance, remote communities, old kingdoms, traditional architecture and dress, and the sheer ebullience and good grace of people in the face of hardships that would crush most visitors" (Gregg and Trillo 2011:6).

In a wider scope, this paper seeks to prepare ground for future work – rewriting Chagga history. Even in African literature studies, African scholars aim at "rewriting the history of the roughly 80-year colonial encounter in order to reveal a more nuanced understanding of the contributions of Africans themselves to an earlier nationalist enterprise" (Kroll 2013:115). The history of Africa is supposed to be rewritten because for quite a long time, as it is noted in a historical volume edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, selfishness and lack of knowledge has largely distorted it. Without Africa's life it is very difficult to comprehend the world and human life in general. Rewriting African history is a right and responsibility of Africans because African history is formed by the Africans themselves and they are the most appropriate people to persist constructing it. From the historical viewpoint, "living without a history is like being a piece of flotsam or like a tree that has been felled and seeks to form a link with alien roots" (Ki-Zerbo 1990:9). Chinua Achebe, Africa's literary guru, was inspired to write by "the urgency of telling an Igbo story from an Igbo point of view" (Kroll 2013:127). Likewise, African historians should record African history, including Chagga history, from the African viewpoint.

Rewriting Chagga history, using sources of historical information like archaeology, Chagga language and oral traditions, might end up making new discoveries like the one made by Louis Leakey at Olduvai Gorge. Historical scholarship like that of Dr Leakey has proven that Africa is the "cradle of mankind and the scene of . . . one of the first technological revolutions in history" (M'bow 1990:ix).

Materials like the speeches of Chagga personalities such as Thomas Marealle, Joseph Kimalando, Solomon Eliufoo, Chief John Maruma as well as Chagga newspapers like *Kusare* and *Komkya* are of utmost importance while rewriting Chagga history. Chagga grammar books, archival sources and interviews with intellectuals would also contribute extensively to the task of recording Chagga history. As it is well explained by a prominent historian, the historian searching for things like oral materials in Africa finds himself/herself in the homes of local rulers where he/she would not otherwise get an opportunity to visit. The historian gains new experiences that "stimulate and refine a historical imagination . . . [and] it should be noted that oral information may also serve to supplement or correct the written record" (Hallett 2005:22). To crown it all, it is through "the study of

history and the use of historical imagination, scholars, teachers, and students can appreciate the awesome legacy that has made our current lives possible" (Smythe 2013:41).

Rewriting history with a sense of imagination is of great advantage because imagination helps a lot in interpreting various facets of people's history. When a historian is told that there was a strong chief in a certain place, the statement implies that the chief was great in terms of cattle, crops, many wives and a large family. A great chief, even if not mentioned, had a military power, able advisors, as well as rewarding relationships with different people, inside and outside his chiefdom. When the historian hears that a certain kingdom collapsed, the historian would arrive at the conjecture that the kingdom had traitors, weak heirs, weakness in collecting revenues, adversaries, as well as a selfish monarch who had poor diplomatic dealings with other people. From this perspective it can be asserted that to understand African history, one needs historical imagination.

Among other things, imagination enables pre-history scholars – paleontologists, physical anthropologists, archaeologists, and chemists – to interpret or explain the message underlying things like fossils, skulls and bones and teeth, as well as artifacts and radiocarbon materials. Outlining things like the ability or inability, strength or weakness, as well as success or failure of a certain society needs fecund imagination on the side of the historian because a sound "interpretation of history depends on the point of view of the historian" (Roselle 1973:1) and genuine historical point of view goes hand in hand with historical imagination.

The events considered trivial or minor are, to the surprise of the majority, very important. The Chagga had an ethnic government, a constitution, an anthem, and a flag (Mallya 2002:85-90). The factors that led to this political and administrative structure are to date not fully studied and recorded. If the Chagga had a comprehensive governance way back in the colonial period is something that imparts a special message – Africa "is diverse and offers alternatives to Western philosophy in political, economic, religious, and social thinking" (Lundy and Negash 2013:7).

Chagga history needs to be rewritten to enable people know, for example, why in the 1920s and 1930s politics became so popular among the Chagga. Why were the Chagga taken by the multiparty euphoria? Who were behind the politics of that time and why did the pluralistic politics reintroduced in the early 1990s become so popular among the Chagga? These are questions that would get concrete answers by doing research and rewrite Chagga history.

IV. Definition of Keywords

The word *Chagga* is both a noun and an adjective. As a noun it means a person born of Chagga parents and as an adjective it means anything with the history, characteristics, nature, or qualities of the ethnic group called Chagga. As an ethnic group, the Chagga are believed to have different origins and because of that they do not speak one language. The earliest recorders of Chagga history claimed to have identified more than twenty-two groups (Dundas 1968:40f), each with its own dialect, but as it was confirmed by a study done by Summer Institute of Linguistics in the second half of the 1980s, there are about six dialects spoken in Chaggaland. These dialects are *Kyiurombo*, *Kyiunjo*, *Kyimochi*, *Kyikyiwoso*, *Kyimashami*, and *Kyishira* (Maanga 2008:16).

Chaggaland is an area on the eastern, central, and western slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain in Africa and the second highest in the world – after the Himalaya in Central Asia. In the pre-colonial period this area was occupied mainly by the Chagga but nowadays the population consists of non-Chagga as well, due to socio-political factors. As it is the case in almost all areas in the country, quite a big number of non-Chagga come to Chaggaland through intermarriages, civil service, business, and tourism.

Simply defined, *history* means the study of the past. The problem with this brief definition is that it is difficult to know exactly where the line of demarcation between the past and the present lies. Basil Davidson gives a more elaborate definition of history when he says that history means the picture that emanates from the kind of life lived by our ancestors – what happened to them and how they lived. History tries to explain the factors underlying the ancestors' life as well as their failure and success. It aims at explaining the factors that pushed our ancestors into war as well as the environment that made them peaceful and happy. Without understanding the past it is not possible to understand the present (Davidson 1970:1). Robert Odero airs a very fine commentary on history. According to him "whichever entity comes into being belongs to history. Whichever grows, develops, moves or changes over time belongs to history. History is a function of time and whereas there are some entities we might not find worthy of our attention, we must at least concede that they exist and that they therefore deserve a section, a chapter or even a footnote in the pages of history" (Odero 2013:1).

Microhistory is a smaller component of history that when added to other components form a bigger history. For instance, Chagga history is a microhistory that forms Tanzanian history when it is combined with other microhistories such as Nyakyusa history, Sambaa history, Bena history, Gogo history, Pare history, Nyamwezi history, Nyaturu history, Haya history, Sukuma history, Hehe history, and Zaramo history respectively.

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, the term *historicism* means "the theory that

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cultural and social events and situations can be explained by history. In the light of this particular definition, historians become of utmost value in any society because, through research and writing, they constantly explain various events in the society. Historicism sheds much light on the crucial task of comprehending the human society.

Historiography, in the *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary*, is briefly defined as "the art or employment of writing history". Elsewhere, the term is explained as a task which "refers to both the study of the methodology of historians and the development of history as a discipline, and also to a body of historical sources, techniques, and theoretical approaches" (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historiography). All continents have a particular historiography, with an origin and characteristics of its own. For instance, as it is asserted by Robin Hallett, African historiography stands for a learned tradition the origin of which goes "back to scholars of classical antiquity and the historians and geographers of medieval Islam. . . . During the colonial interlude a number of scholars, European administrators and missionaries or Western-educated Africans made many valuable contributions to the corpus of historical knowledge" (Hallett 2005:22). Towering above other aspects in Chagga historiography should be the social set-up in its myriad facets because today historiographers or writers of history tend to focus more on social history than on political history which took a larger time and energy of historical scholars in the past (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historiography).

According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, *anthropology* means "the study of the human race, especially of its origins, development, customs and beliefs." Bearing this definition in mind, it is anthropology that would put Chagga ethos into proper perspective because it is the proper medium for presenting a proper account for Chagga cultural tenets as well as the Chagga moral ideas and attitudes. Anthropology and ethnology are closely related and some historians use these two terms interchangeably despite the fact that they are not exactly the same. Anthropology deals with history and content whereas ethnology deals with approach and comparison. Jurgen Moltmann notes correctly that cultural anthropology originates in the comparison between a human being with another human being. He further argues that, with a view to comprehend repeatedly, ethnology "passes over into anthropology treated pragmatically" (Moltmann 1974:11).

Ethnology, according to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, means "the scientific study of and comparison of human races." Talking from an ethnological point of view, African societies need ethnographers, i.e. people who are responsible for studying scientifically Africa's different races and cultures.

V. Methodology

In rewriting people's history, historical-linguistic as well as ethno-anthropological methodology is mostly used because all available documentary materials in these fields are perused. This kind of methodological approach is put into play with the understanding that all recorders of history are teachers – they teach people with what they write. Generally speaking, teachers or educators "have a very important role in changing misconceptions and misinformation about Africa" (Wheeler and Ntihirageza 2013:105). To a large degree, a paper focusing on writing anew people's history becomes interdisciplinary in the sense that various sources are combined to arrive at the researcher's goal. The historical development of the Chagga, coupled with Chagga cultural anthropology, has been the main avenue of bringing this paper into being.

Bearing in mind that a big corpus of Chagga history is yet to be written, the researcher has been wary when it comes to mentioning exact dates, i.e. days, months, and years. Writers purporting to be exact in their record of Chagga history, as it has happened in quite a big number of places in Africa, commit more historical errors than they are aware of. Moreover, in a paper of this kind a chronological or linear approach inevitably remains minimal owing to its nature or theme. When ethnic history is recorded for the first time, the recorder cannot avoid assumptions and generalizations due to the fact that the task of writing and rewriting people's history incorporates a number of tentative assertions which are straightened or polished over the course of time.

VI. Literature Review

In any historical study, making use of the existing literature on the topic becomes of utmost importance. It is by examining the work done by other researchers historiography is tackled in a meaningful and profitable way. On these grounds historiography is viewed as a way of writing history. However, when a person studies 'historiography' he/she does not study the past events directly, but rather the "changing interpretations of those events in the works of individual historians" (Furay and Salevouris 1988:223). Africa has had recorders of history who from the historical viewpoint can be considered as "the precursors of modern African historiography, suffering the hardships – isolation, lack of interest, absence of encouragement – of the pioneer in any field of scholarship" (Hallett 2005:22).

Thanks and credit to the pioneers of recording Chagga history – the documents from the pens of these pioneers (unfortunately most of them are from the west) should be consulted by any person venturing to write Chagga history. The documents used by the researcher

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to prepare this paper include Kathleen Stahl's *History of the Chagga People of Kilimanjaro*, Charles Dundas' *Kilimanjaro and Its People*, Sally Falk Moore's *Social Facts & Fabrications: Customary Law on Kilimanjaro, 1880–1980*, Godson S. Maanga's *Evening Realization*, Petro Itosi Marealle's *Maisha ya Mchagga Hapa Duniani na Ahera*, Otto Raum's *Chagga Childhood*, Bruno Gutmann's *Dichten und Denken der Dschagga-Neger*, Anza Amen Lema's *The Foundation of the Lutheran Church in Kilimanjaro* and Ludiger Wimmelbucker's *Kilimanjaro – A Regional History: Production and Living Conditions, C. 1800–1920.*

A few papers on the Chagga, written mostly by westerners to meet colonial interests and packed in several volumes of the journal entitled *Tanganyika Notes and Records* (now out of print), have also been examined by the researcher. Unfortunately, a big corpus of these papers was prepared by hasty travelers, tourists, and colonial administrators who did not employ rigorous methods of doing an academic study.

VII. Significance of the Study

What is the relevance of rewriting Chagga history and what factors justify the task of rebuilding Chagga history? It is expected that future research on the Chagga would uncover the aspects of Chagga history which are not yet researched upon but this argument should not impart the impression that there will ever come a time when Chagga history would be perfect. Future papers on Chagga history will put in record the unrecorded tenets of Chagga history as well as trimming bias and boastfulness embedded in the previous historical records, written to suit foreign taste and interests. With such papers, book lovers and ethno-anthropological fans would get a chance of enjoying the beauty and grandeur of Chagga cultural identity which is so far locked up in partially or erroneously recorded customs and traditions.

The researcher does not support the claim that studying African ethnic groups separately is 'pointless and unhistorical' (Sutton 1997:1). This is because he is fully convinced that comprehensive studies of individual ethnic groups in Tanzania and Africa at large is not being parochial but rather tackling history from the grassroots. Any big thing is formed by smaller components – a river is formed by streams and an ocean is fed by rivers. What should be pointed out honestly is that appealing for rewriting the Chagga history does not imply that the researcher is not aware of the fact that history "cannot be restricted by the limits of ethnic group, nation, or culture" (Clarke 1991:xviii).

People's socio-cultural and politico-economic history keeps on changing and African societies, as it is true with other societies in the world, are characterized by constant divisions. From the geographical and administrative viewpoint there are new regions, as well as new villages and sub-villages that keep on coming

into existence. In the post-independence era some countries in Africa have adopted new names, different from the names used in the pre-independence era. Vivid examples are Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and Congo Kinshasa that all adopted new names in the post-colonial era.[4]

The task of rewriting Chagga history is significant because ethnic groups are always in the social characteristic of constant change and interaction; and the history of individual peoples is the initial step in the study of world history. National history (e.g. the history of Tanzania), regional history (e.g. the history of East Africa), and continental history (e.g. the history of Africa) is baseless, if not irrelevant, without the history of particular history of single ethnic groups such as Chagga history. It is on these grounds the paper is expected to stimulate more research on the gorgeous and sumptuous Chagga culture, as passed on from bygone generations – from prehistory to the present day.

Chagga history needs to be rewritten to prove that, contrary to the reports of former historians, not all people in Chaggaland responded negatively towards the western rule. Quite a big number of the Chagga responded positively. Histories of various ethnic groups in Africa need to be rewritten with a positive and balanced attitude. Thus, historians need to show that in modern Africa there is no need of continuing responding negatively to western intrusion that was facilitated by the agents of colonialism: explorers, missionaries and traders. As Iliffe sums it up, "African response to change can no longer be described in the negative terms of resistance . . . [because attempts] to initiate, accelerate, and control change become . . . equally important" (Iliffe 2008:6).

Rewritten Chagga history would prove that even in the Chagga cultural milieu there are philosophers, sages, and accomplished story-tellers. It would unearth the enormous knowledge, both obvious and secret, that can be deciphered from the collection of Chagga rites of passage and mythology in their historical perspective. Rewritten Chagga history would open up the soul of Chaggaland which is the seat of Chagga etiquette, generosity, kindness, and hospitality. For instance, despite their limited financial resources, the Chagga offered to beautify the tomb of Charles Dundas in

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[4] In the post-colonial era the name Ivory Coast was changed into Cote D'Ivoire, Upper Volta was named Burkina Faso, and Belgian Congo was called Zaire and later on Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the name it has borne to date. In the same era Tanganyika was renamed Tanzania, Southern Rhodesia was called Zimbabwe, Northern Rhodesia was named Zambia, and Nyasaland became Malawi. Even elsewhere in the world, Burma was named Myanmar, and the former USSR – as an aftermath of the end of the cold war – disintegrated and produced new autonomous countries like Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Slovenia, Slovakia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan (See *Pearson Secondary Atlas*).

London. Doubtlessly, people would like to know why the Chagga bothered to decorate a tomb in Europe! Furthermore, the Chagga affection for land and education surpasses all other kinds of love but very few people know exactly why. Answers for these questions and many others would be acquired in the course of rewriting Chagga history.

Rewriting Chagga history is a significant exercise in the sense that it would make foreigners develop interest to stay and live in Chaggaland (to get a deeper knowledge on the Chagga), contrary to the current situation where we see non-Chaggas, tourists in particular, hurriedly passing through Chaggaland on their way to climb Mount Kilimanjaro or to catch a plane at Kilimanjaro International Airport (KIA) or to spend a few days in luxurious hotels and lodges in the northern zone of the country. As it has been noted while talking about the tourists who come to Africa, instead of staying in expensive hotels and go back home without gaining any substantial knowledge about the continent, their experience would be richer if they are ready to take "time to get to know [African] people and make a few personal discoveries about life in this much-misunderstood continent" (Gregg and Trillo 2013:186). Getting a richer or first-hand experience about Chaggaland, a non-Chagga needs to spend sufficient time in it as well as read books about its history, books written by people with cultural poise and sincerity.

Correct Chagga history, as it is for other African ethnic groups, is needed because, as Isaria Kimambo disclosed some decades ago, information based on archaeological, linguistic and ethnological research is still lacking (Kimambo 1997:14).

VIII. Distorted and Misconceived Aspects of Chagga History

A brief survey on the culture, orthography, and fact-finding incompetence suffices to illustrate how in the past superficial research among the Chagga has brought about alarming distortions and misconceptions in connection with Chagga history.

a) Culture

There are many customs and traditions which baffle people from the western hemisphere, especially people coming to Africa for the first time. This situation is also true with Chagga culture which sometimes poses a strong baffle and shock to foreigners. To the amazement of many people, the Chagga had had irksome customs like human sacrifice and female circumcision. For example, in Old Moshi when there was acute famine, an 18-year old maiden was thrown alive into a well, as a way of soliciting rain from the ancestral spirits (Mojola 1998:70-71). Furthermore, as a means of declaring permanent peace between Mwika and Rombo, a virgin and a boy who had not known a woman carnally were buried alive at the Kishingonyi Hills

(Dundas 1968:69-70, Maanga 2013:12). Even the Chagga customs denounced by the first missionaries (e.g. circumcising or marrying a dead person, and cleansing a field cursed by a dead person) occupy an important place in the Chagga ethnological history. Why the Chagga do not bury their kin outside Chaggaland – even a Christian – needs research. It is said that most Africans are Christians in the daytime and not in the night. Whether this observation is true among the Chagga is something that is subject to research.

A big number of these shocking customs and traditions are found in books written mainly by non-Africans, something which makes most westerners come to Africa completely or partially ignorant of Africa's socio-cultural fabric. As a result there is an enormous amount of 'culture shock' in Africa. Most westerners, particularly tourists, come to Africa with the misconception that they know Africa but once they are right inside the continent they realize that the reality is quite the contrary. As writers of a popular tour guidebook put it correctly, the naked contrasts between life realities in Africa and the living conditions westerners are familiar with "can seem overwhelming, and unfamiliar social norms may leave [a Westerner] embarrassed and confused" (Gregg and Trillo 2013: 187). Failure to comprehend African culture has made foreigners reach the extent of condemning this culture, describing it as something archaic and uncivilized. Suffice it to say that blotting out all local customs claiming that they are barbaric and outmoded is like throwing away a baby with the bath water.

Condemnation of African culture is not without foundation because following the "comings and goings of a host of travelers, slave traders, merchants, soldiers, administrators and scholars of all kinds over thousand of years, the image of Africa in many people's minds has become tainted by misconceptions about its poverty, barbarism, irresponsibility and chaos" (Ki-Zerbo 1990:1). Considering misleading ideas such as the ones spread by racially-minded scholars like Hegel and Burton, it becomes quite inherent that most teachers in the west offer vague teachings and misconceptions about Africa (Lundy and Negash 2013:2).

b) Mispronounced and Wrongly-spelt Terms

Gripped with haste and suffering least command in African tongues, some foreign historians and linguists have committed mistakes of wrong spelling and mispronouncing things like names of people, areas, mountains, rivers, food and traditional dances. Spelling and pronunciation mistakes have made many areas in Africa to be given wrong names – hence distorting Africa's history and ultimately give a false image of the continent.

Some of the mispronounced words as far as the Chagga geographical history is concerned are Morang'u (mispronounced as Marangu), Mashami (mispronounced as Machame), Shira (mispronounced

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as Siha), Kyiwoso (mispronounced as Kibosho), Orombo (mispronounced as Horombo), and Tuweta (mispronounced as Taveta).

Wrongly pronounced terms have really distorted linguistic equilibrium and palatability in Chaggaland, just as it has done elsewhere. Bruno Gutmann (1926) writes *menja ja mringa* instead of *menya ya mṛinga* (iron of water) and *menja ya modo* instead of *menya ya modo* (iron of fire). Kathleen Stahl (1964) writes Munoo instead of Munuo, Sumu instead of Suum, Wakoningo instead of Wakonyingo, Samake Maene instead of Samaki Maini, Masake instead of Masaki, and Maringa instead of Maṛing'a. Charles Dundas (1968) writes Wako Teri instead of Wakoteṛi, Wako Kimei instead of Wakokimei, Wako Makundi instead of Wakomakundi, Wako Ngowi instead of Wakongowi, Kirita instead of Kyiṛiita, and Narumo instead of Narumu. He writes Marawite instead of Marawiti, *mafiga* instead of *mashiga* (in Kyiunjo pronounced as *mashigha*), *ndaswe* instead of *ndasu*, *arera* instead of *aṛeṛa*, and *longu* instead of *long'u*. Sally Moore (1986) writes Makayuni instead of Makuyuni, Kinyamuvo instead of Kinyamvuo, Nganyeni instead of Nganyeny, Kondeni instead of Kondeny, Mwika instead of Miika, Ngasseni instead of Ngaseny, Mrau instead of Nrao, Wikiwawoko instead of Wukyiwawoko, *kihamba* instead of *kyigamba* (in Kyiunjo pronounced as *kyighamba*), and *magaddi* instead of *mmbala*. Even outside Chaggaland, for instance among the Maasai where the Chagga have ancestral connections, foreigners have left quite a distorted pronunciation legacy.[5]

It is no exaggeration to assert that most documents with Chagga history suffer spelling mistakes, a situation which gives wrong information to people who are novices in Chagga orthography. Ironically, even some history books written by local researchers have spelling flaws. For instance, in Malya's *Wamarangu: Historia na Maendeleo*, one comes across words like *fuphu* instead of *fumvu*, *aleuta* instead of *alewuta*, *iwe* instead of *igoe* (in Kyiunjo pronounced as *ighoe*), *ma* instead of *maa*, and *Ndegoruo* instead of *Ndegoṛuo*, to cite only a few orthographic mistakes. While reading Machangu's *Kindo kya Kando*, the reader encounters wrongly spelt words like *kindo* instead of *kyindo*, *kitapu*

instead of *kyitapu*, *ku-i* instead of *kui*, *Kichagga* instead of *Kyichaka*, *ngyurukenyi* instead of *ngyuurukyeny*, *mawokyionyi* instead of *mawookyiony*, *tsose* instead of *tsoose*, and *shiwanu* instead of *shiganu* (in Kyiunjo pronounced as *shighanu*).

In Kyiunjo, there are two special characters which, if not maintained in a piece of writing, the message is completely distorted. These characters are r with a dot on top and r with a bar underneath and they exist alongside the normal r which also has a place in the Kyiunjo vernacular. A good example about an orthographic error in these two special characters is found, among other documents, in one of Sally Moore's books. While talking about one of the banana species used for making local beer Moore writes *mrarao* (Moore 1986:237). When the word is correctly written the r that appears twice in this word should have a dot on top of it. Moore also writes the marriage trustee or marriage sponsor as *mkara* (Moore 1986:200) instead of putting a bar under the r so that the word would correctly read as *mkaṟa*.

All Chagga proverbs cited in Dundas 1968:341-346 have words which are mostly wrongly spelt, hence giving a distorted impression as well as imparting a wrong meaning from the viewpoint of Chagga oral traditions, one of the key sources in the task of writing Chagga history. In some of the proverbs Dundas writes *ekegambo* instead of *nekyegambo*, *manawo o mka* instead of *mana o mka*, *yekesonguo pfo* instead of *yekyesonguo-pfo*, *mbie* instead of *mmbie*, *lyekapfia* instead of *lyekyepfiiya*, *paara* instead of *ipaara*, *pfuma* instead of *pfumu*, *chonyi* instead of *njonyi*, and *ura mana* instead of *iwuṟa mana*. Moreover, the English rendering of these few proverbs mostly misses the Chagga cultural and philosophical point.

The spelling and pronunciation errors cited in the preceding paragraphs reflect failure on the side of foreigners to speak the Chagga tongue correctly or intelligibly. On their side too, the Chagga themselves commit lingual errors that need correction via rewriting Chagga history. For instance, when the non-Chagga (including the white people) mentioned places like 'Kwa Matthew' the Chagga pronounced it as 'Ko Mafio'; when they said 'Kwa Nicolaus' the Chagga pronounced it as 'Ko Niko'; when they said 'Kwa Baldwin' the Chagga pronounced it as 'Ko Balueny'; when they warned people to beware of trains by saying 'Check train' the Chagga pronounced it as 'Chekyereny'; and when they said 'Siding' (i.e. railway siding) the Chagga pronounced it as Saidingyi.

c) Misleading Facts

When in 1848 Johann Rebmann reported to his fellow Europeans that there was a snow-capped mountain – Kilimanjaro – found only a few degrees from the Equator, his report was dismissed as information from a day-dreamer and a person arguing

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[5] Kenya is the result of mispronouncing the Maasai term Kipwokenya waanu (walking until when). Ngong'u (spring or water source) is mispronounced as Ngong, Naikurukur (where water roars) is mispronounced as Nyahururu, Embusel (soda ash place) is mispronounced as Amboseli, Kejuoodo/Elkajuado (a long river) is mispronounced as Kajiado, and Engareoormotonyik (birds' water) is mispronounced as Ngaramtoni. Other mispronounced Maasai words are Kiborilong'oi (shield-making place) mispronounced as Kiboriloni, NasaiEngai (place for praying to God) wrongly shortened as Nasai, Endonyoomodiok (cow-dung hill) mispronounced as Mudio, Endonyoormorwak (elders' hill) mispronounced as Donyomuro, and Longiito (stones hill) mispronounced as Longido. (Interview with Rev. Joshua Laiser – a very knowledgeable Maasai – Uhuru Hotel Moshi, Tanzania, 11 November 2014).

unscientifically (Stahl 1964:40-41, Dundas 1968:11, Reader 1982:9). He was ignored and ridiculed like the first man to report that the world was round and square like a table as it had been hitherto believed. Existence of the snow-capped Kilimanjaro right in the equatorial zone where the sun shines relentlessly was a shocking reality. Rewriting Chagga history would disclose or uncover more other unbelievable realities. For example, most people would not believe that the Chagga had female rulers.[6]

Chaggaland had able monarchs like Sina, Mankinga, Marealle, and others but their political and military prowess get least coverage in the historical accounts by alien historians. Mention needs to be made of the fact that the strategic wars and the resistance of Chagga chiefs against being subjugated by foreign masters are not sufficiently written by the historians who wrote in the preceding decades. Maybe, intentionally or obliviously, the incidents of white people being outwitted by Chagga chiefs feature very briefly in the Chagga history books. Overlooking certain facts in Chagga history is pathetic because it reflects the tendency witnessed among the historians who merely make coverage of Africa-western relationship, leaving aside things like the Africa-Asia relationship which existed for a very long time. One of the most common shortcomings of Chagga history is the distortion brought about as a result of factual negligence and oversight.

Factual errors in Chaggaland arise when researchers approach Chagga history wearing a foreign mantle. The first written history on Africa was done by detached historians, "largely by white people viewing very strange and different cultures, and could never have been an accurate or balanced portrayal of African culture" (moronwatch.net/2012/02/rewriting-african-history-html).

Sally Moore (in her book entitled *Social Facts & Fabrications: Customary Law on Kilimanjaro, 1880–1980*) calls Chagga administrative units *mitaa* instead of using the correct term *shikaṟo*. Despite the fact Moore largely relies on information from the local people, she still uses a lot of non-Chagga terminology (largely Swahili) such as *kihenge*, *shamba*, *ugoni*, *mila*, *fidia*, *mchawi*, *wazee*, *baraza*, *pombe*, *balozi*, *mjumbe*, *wasimamizi*, *mrithi*, and *boma*. Had she put priority on local coloration while extracting information from her Chagga informants, she would have minimized or avoided altogether these Swahili terms because Chagga terms for all these non-Chagga words are available. However, on the other side of the coin, Sally is commended for using correctly Chagga terms like *mlaso*, *kyidari*, *masiro*, and *ndafu*.

Sally Moore (1989) uses the word *mtaa* in a very confusing way. For example, she refers to areas like Rombo, Mwika, Mamba, Marangu, and Kyilema as *mitaa* while a native Chagga would not do so. For the native Chagga Mwika is *uruka* which is divided into *shikaṟo shing'any* (big villages) which in turn are divided into smaller villages (*shikaṟo shitutu*); and the smaller villages are further divided into smallest villages (*mfongo*). Administratively, a big village in Chaggaland is led by *mangi*, a smaller village is led by *mchilyi* and the smallest village is led by *meeku o mfongo* or *ngamnyiny*. Nevertheless, as time goes by the number of people in the smallest villages grows and become small villages like Msae, Mrimbo, Maring'a, Shokony, Uuwo, Lole, and Kyiruweny in the case of Mwika. Unfortunately, the Chagga use the same word (*uruka*) for district, region, country, continent, world, and universe.

Another depiction of factual misinformation is seen in the wrong interpretation of some Chagga socio-cultural and ethno-historical aspects. For instance, Stahl says that Ndegoṟuo means punishment while it should be 'I punished' or 'the punisher'; Melyiari[7] means 'the indefatigable' while it should be 'the hero'; and Kyilamia means 'the conqueror' while it should be 'the oppressor' (Stahl 1964:308).

Sally Moore says that in the 19th century it was legitimate for the Chagga to kill a murderer. "Where a homicide occurred between *lineages*, the victim's kin were under pressure to avenge the death with a reciprocal killing. The decedent's spirit could trouble living kin if they did not take action" (Sally 1986:57). This observation is not quite true because the normal custom for murder among the Chagga was appeasement implemented by the killer or the killer's kin paying something as compensation for the blood of the murdered individual. The compensation for a slain person depended on gender and social status. Maybe she was misled by a least informed informant and it might also be true that researchers like Sally Moore were influenced by the Jewish law of killing a person who has killed another one, as it is written in the Old Testament – "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed; for God made man in his own image" (Genesis 9:6).

That the Chagga did not sanction killing a killer, is proven by Bruno Gutmann (*Wasawu o Wachaka* – Grandfather of the Chagga) who says that the Chagga did not allow a person who has killed a person to be killed but rather to pay something to compensate for the spilt blood (Gutmann 1926:240). Gutmann goes on to talk about the Chagga custom of according the killer a chance of seeking asylum in the chief's house, to allow the killer's relatives to pay what was needed as blood

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[6] Somewhere in the past, in their prestigious history, the Chagga had some female chiefs such as Mashina of Mamba and Msanya of Marangu (Dundas 1968:69-72, Malya 2002:33-34, Stahl 1964:285).

[7] Melyari was 'anglicized' or wrongly pronounced as Marealle (Stahl 1964: 308).

compensation. In case the killer was a pauper and without able kin, the chief could pay for him, with the condition that the killer would work at the chief's homestead as a servant (Gutmann 1926:243, Moore 1986:57). Homicide was detested among the Chagga but there was no justification for killing a person who had killed another person.

IX. Results of Distorting and Misconceiving Chagga History

When people's history is distorted or misconceived, the outcome is hopelessness, imitation, oversight and negligence, unfair judgment, stereotypes, and prejudice.

a) Hopelessness

A historian who does not see any hope for Africa would write a Chagga history that teems with hopelessness. Looking at the despondence that has befallen Africa, it is easy for a person to conclude that there is no hope for Africa. Africa's past, present, and probably the future is full of disappointments, frustration, and pessimism – so strong that it is easier to conclude that Africa is a cursed continent, now and for ever. However, regardless of their despised past, the Chagga can use the experiences they have gathered over the past decades and centuries to rewrite their history from a very positive perspective. Despite the fact that to a certain degree Africa's past has been a period of ethnic clashes, coups, economic stagnation, and cultural deterioration, historians documenting the history of Africa should do so with hope, confidence, and determination. The same thing is expected of people writing Chagga history.

b) Imitation

For quite a long time African history in general has been written and rewritten to favor or meet the narrative styles and objectives stipulated by westerners (Muragijimana 2011:1). Even today, some western editors force African writers to write books in tune to western expectations. A budding writer confided to the researcher how her manuscript on African culture was frequently criticized maliciously and eventually rejected simply because she refused being pressed by the editor(s) to meet what they claimed to be international standards but in the actual fact western interests. It is also narrated that some myopic assessors refused to elevate a famous African novelist and playwright to the level of professorship on the grounds that creative writing has no elements that can qualify a person to become a professor. It needs to be remembered that in various disciplines historians and writers in general perceive the world from their angle of observation and not necessarily from the mirror held by other people.[8]

Elaborate Chagga history should be written in such a way that it would depict the Chagga doing things their way. No slavery surpasses that of thinking with somebody's brain, walk with somebody's legs, and see with somebody's eyes. The Chagga should be allowed to be themselves in their prestigious history.

c) Oversight and negligence

The division of Chaggaland into Rombo, Vunjo, Old Moshi, Machame, and Siha has always been overstressed by the previous hasty historians who were oblivious of other important areas, just as the act of dividing Africa into two blocs (North of Sahara and South of Sahara) has made some historians to write history as if other smaller areas on the continent are non-existent. Sometimes historians leave out tribal issues that are of utmost importance. For example, chroniclers of Chagga history omit important things such as Chagga royal weddings, circumcision of people from royal families, Chagga political structure and judiciary, as well as inheritance systems and procedures. Fans of Chagga history would like to know in detail as to why some Chagga clans[9] specialized in the art of furrows, beekeeping and honey harvesting, blacksmithing, pottery, weaving, embroidery, and herbal treatment. Another very important issue of historical interest is the development of various clans or surnames in the Chagga community.

The history of some Chagga clans can be traced to the ethnic groups regarded as the origins of the Chagga, i.e. the Maasai, the Kamba, the Kikuyu, the Sambaa, and the Pare. But how synonymous clans like Chao, Shao, Shayo, and Mashayo came into existence is something which needs intensive research in the entire exercise of rewriting Chagga history.

An obvious cause of oversight while writing Chagga history is failure to use other sources apart from historical documents – things like archaeology, literature (poems, songs, novels, fables, riddles, proverbs), linguistics (primers), anthropology, sculpture, and woodcarving. Rewriting Chagga history is necessary because up to the last decades of the 19th century, "most African societies transmitted their culture without writing – through oral tradition, music, dance, architecture, woodcarving, metalwork and weaving" (Gregg and Trillo 2011:32). Even the languages of most African ethnic groups are not yet studied and written down, bearing in mind that language is one of the crucial components of people's history and culture.

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[8] Even in soccer African footballers are expected to play football according to western criterion, and on the pitches – for instance, during world cup matches – some racially-motivated referees make judgment with a lot of partiality.

[9] A clan is a "social organization whose purpose is to meet economic needs and to challenge nature. It is founded on a deliberate choice of unilateral type of kinship (patrilineal or matrilineal, according to the economic context), of a private or collective type of ownership, of a mode of inheritance, etc." (Diop 1991: 111).

d) Unfair judgment

Unfortunately some historians writing African history have fallen into the temptation of making ultimatum judgments as if they are gods sent to declare doom and punishment on Africa. Instead of writing with a judgmental attitude, the historian dealing with Africa "needs to acquire an imaginative awareness of the dynamic quality, the resilience, the adaptability inherent in all African societies" (Hallett 2005:8).

A typical aspect of misjudging Chaggaland is the issue of tribal wars that prevailed in the region prior to the coming of foreign masters. Some historians have described African interethnic wars as acts of backwardness and barbarism. If these wars were acts of barbarism, then the increasing phenomenon of invading other countries in the pretext of deposing despots who have refused to bow to modern western imperialism or planting a democratic regime as it was done in Libya during the reign of Muammar Gaddafi is sheer barbarism.

Georg Hegel, writing about Africa dared to say categorically that "Africa proper has no historical interest of its own, for we find its inhabitants living in barbarism and savagery in a land which has not furnished them with any integral ingredient of culture" (Hegel 1820). And a British traveler who boasted of living in Chaggaland for a long time posed a racial question, asking as to why 'silly savages' – the Chagga – who lived in such an attractive country like Kilimanjaro could not think of any other thing except 'mutual extermination' (Johnson 1886:177). Rewriting Chagga history would get rid of derogatory platitudes about the Chagga like the one inherent in Johnson's book.

History has it that the countries which claim to be democratic and civilized were once rife with tribes described as rude and primitive like the Vikings and the Goths from Northern Europe. It is unfair to dismiss Africa as a continent of maniac dancers and chaps who breed like rats because even in Europe in the Medieval Period there were people who spent most of their time in primitive acts and breeding like mice.[10]

e) Stereotypes

It is nauseating to see that for quite a long time Chaggaland and Africa in general has been accorded an unfair description based on generalizations. Rewriting Chagga history would minimize stereotypes about the Chagga and their society. From the sociological and educational point of view, stereotypes accrue and continue in the society due to "lack of exposure, ignorance, fear, and stories about the 'Other'" (Viakinou -Brinson 2013:178). That is why some sociologists say that a stereotype is an exaggerated description that puts all people in the same category, painting them with the same brush as well as ignoring facts and distorting the reality (Macionis 1999:23). Analysis and interpretation of colonial and racially-motivated media drives home the fact that "constant, repeated, single negative stories about Africa in Western media and in canonized literature such as *Heart of Darkness* have failed to reveal the many untold positive stories of Africans" (Viakinou-Brinson 2013:178). Joseph Conrad viewed Africa as the seat of darkness and motivated by this negative and incorrect perception on Africa he wrote that novel entitled *Heart of Darkness*. Set in Belgian Congo, the novel has blatant racial overtones as far as derogating Africa and her people is concerned but ironically it was praised as one of the greatest novels in the English literature. This novel was first published in 1902 and reprinted in 1999, doubtless to continue spreading false information in the west that Africa is the heart of darkness.[11]

A lot of positive and balanced history about African communities is yet to be put on paper. There is also a need of giving correct information about different ethnic groups in Africa because, to the amazement of everybody, until today Africa is still a dark continent for many western students. All people who still think that Africa is a dark continent should understand that the continent has a very 'rich and diverse history' and a person who wants to be a well-informed student or scholar of African history should study and get first hand information about African societies (Lundy and Negash 2013:6-7). Unless Africans think and act standing on a correct account and interpretation of their ethnic histories, they cannot succeed in their struggle against multi-cultural or multi-faceted forms of neo-colonialism as well as the anti-materialistic and anti-imperialistic forces that persist pestering and enslaving Africa.

f) Prejudice

Most historians have written African history using research done on biased and parochial basis, something that has brought about a negative approach to the continent. Curtis Keim is of the opinion that Africa should be approached with minimal bias because its "size, population, resources, and modernization play an increasingly important role in the world" (Keim 2009:12). Most of the historical studies done on Chaggaland have ignored important aspects of Chagga history such as

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[10] It is not an exaggeration to say that before the introduction of family planning methods, western couples had very large families. A living case in history is the family of Emperor Francis I of Austria and his wife Maria Theresa who had a total of sixteen children (Roselle 1973: 341-343).

[11] In 1989, infuriated by the novel's negative depiction of Africa, Chinua Achebe reacted boldly by writing the historic essay called "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*". In *Hopes and Impediments: Selected Essays*. New York: Doubleday, pp. 1-20.

Chagga nationalism versus western imperialism, as it is reflected in the person and deeds of Joseph Merinyo who in many circles is described as a frontline Chagga nationalist and champion for human rights (Maanga 2014:1). This situation is not accidental because it has been the tendency of western historians or African historians educated in the west to deal mainly with the "theme of European Imperialism and African Nationalism" (Hallett 2005:13) and forget other issues such as the reaction of the local people to this particular theme. The most important thing in Chaggaland, and the least portrayed by local and foreign historians, is how foreign powers (first the Germans and then the British) intruded Chaggaland and how the Chagga resisted the intrusion through the sophisticated strategies of the local chiefs.

Writing history guided by prejudice caused by things like politics, religion, gender, race and the like is another factor that necessitates rewriting Chagga history. The British historian, Basil Davidson, asserts that there is good and bad history.

Bad history appears when historians allow their prejudice and personal feelings to get the better of them. Many imperialist historians of Africa, during the colonial period, wrote bad history. Their prejudice and personal feelings made them write that Africans had not history of their own. It is part of the modern rebirth of Africa that we know this view to be entirely false (Davidson 1970:1).

In addition to Davidson's assertion, for quite a long time prejudice has made Africans robbed of their right of being considered initiators and propagators of their own history. Africans are therefore compelled by the negative status quo to re-establish their 'historical authenticity' and place it on a stable foundation. Any person determined to rewrite genuine Chagga history needs to understand beforehand how myths and prejudices have placed genuine African history behind the curtain (M'bow 1990: vi-viii).

It is true that Africa has many "abandoned wrecks littering the historiographical roadsides" (Nugent 2004:1). With Nugent's irony-packed remark, it can be stated that it is now time to depict Chaggaland and Africa in general as an area with a logical and lasting history. This appeal is catapulted by the fact that for many years Africa suffered the problem of having its history written even by people who had not set foot on the continent, like E.P. Murdock who in 1959 published an over-praised historical treatise entitled *Africa: Its Peoples and their Culture History* while in the actual fact he had never visited the continent.

Africa has an indelible history on the world map because there is much consensus among archaeologists that God gave the continent the honor of being the origin of mankind. Chronological, anthropological, and prehistoric archaeological data – obtained from humanistic paleontology done by scholars like Dr Louis Leakey – shed much light on the notion that "Africa is the birthplace of humanity" (Diop 1991:5). Being the cradle of humanity, Africa "offers an important view of history that allows students to see the tremendously difficult environments and challenges that humans overcame on their journey to the contemporary world" (Smythe 2013:39). This particular awareness is very important because a child growing up in a city like London or New York, even in Lagos or Johannesburg may be quite ignorant of the hardships experienced by the ancestors in making the cities what they are today.

Some historians brag to know better than the members of the studied communities, a situation which causes a lot of bias in historical recordings. Any historian who wants to learn from the people whose culture he/she is recording must admit that he/she is ignorant of this particular culture, otherwise he/she would write history which is nothing but a human product based on misconception, bias, and generalization. Rewriting Chagga history, especially by a foreign historian requires the historian to be balanced, open-minded, bias-free, and ready to learn from the Chagga themselves – the best narrators of Chagga history are the Chagga themselves. It is therefore necessary for a foreign historian to understand that "other patterns are likely to emerge if he makes the effort to change his viewpoint, puts out of mind all he has been told by the historians of his own culture, and makes the imaginative effort of looking back on the recent past through the eyes of a particular African people" (Hallett 2005:13) such as the Chagga.

There are historians who think wrongly that African communities are so simple that they do not deserve any serious study. It is important to remember that any research involves moving from simple to complex entities. So even the smallest units of the Chagga society should be studied without any traces of partiality like the ones witnessed among the previous recorders of African history. Any person purporting to rewrite African history needs to discard from his/her mind all kinds of superiority complex caused by cultural preconceptions. Although this is a difficult thing to do it must be done because for a hasty historian there is a temptation of embracing the previous sweeping sentiments made by his/her compatriots and ignore the "views expressed by peoples of other cultures" (Hallett 2005:24).

X. Impingement of Modernity on the Chagga Traditional Society

Forces of modernization have had such a deep and far-reaching effect on the Chagga traditional society that if urgent steps to rewrite Chagga history are not taken, quite a big amount of this particular history would be forgotten. For example, in the past a Chagga woman did not inherit or own land but these days some of them

do own. The Chagga inheritance system needs more study because a lot of confusion is witnessed while settling the post-funeral affairs at the home of a deceased person.

Intermarriages are becoming more and more common in Chaggaland, contrary to the former times when the Chagga practiced strict endogamy. The growing number of non-Chagga people gaining access into Chaggaland via intermarriages makes it rather difficult to know the value of preserving the good things packed in Chagga culture and history. The political structure is increasingly altering the Chagga traditional system of administration, i.e. there are no more traditional rulers such as *wachilyi*, *wamangyi*, *ngamnyiny* or *wameeku wa mfongo* – in the post-independence era all these leaders have been replaced by District Commissioners, ward leaders, ten-cells leaders, and Members of Parliament.

In modern Chaggaland dowry is largely paid in cash instead of the traditional system of using cows, goats, sheep, and barrels of local beer. The customs of borrowing children from young couples as well as entrusting one another with domestic animals (*iariana shima*) are becoming less and less. From the economic point of view, fallen coffee prices have adversely affected the Chagga and some people have decided to uproot this cash crop which for quite a long time has been the heart or blood of Chaggaland.

The cultural and philosophical meaning of pre-Christian self-explanatory names has not been sufficiently studied – names like Ndeiiso, Mkyamise, Ndemasiawengyi, Mkarupia, Nderaisho, and Makyitucha.[12] Moreover, there were traditional names the meaning of which seems difficult to discern, e.g. Tomonja, Kyirama, Kyilonare, Rifo, Makyiponyi, Kyiramu, Saunanga, Mafong'a, Molo, Mlasany, Teti, Kyipura, Salewi, Manaiya, Ngarumau, Motesha, Satale, Msile, Ndikyira, Mayawia, Ndawia, Mtolyi, Tukye, and Makyitauwo.[13]

The rise and disappearance of names in the first two or three decades of Christianity in Chaggaland is something that has had a least coverage. Some of these names are Ndekooyasia, Ndeletso, Aiana, Amkauane, Kristoforo, Shichanaisaria, Ambilyiasia, Siangyicha, Ndelyimikyio, Ikanyio, Uforosia, Afukyiasienyi, Ndehoorio, Ngyitetera, and Engyerasaa.

Modern Chaggaland is increasingly becoming full of non-Chagga names which in the Chagga

worldview seem to be meaningless and as far as the paper is concerned, there is a need of doing both socio-cultural and ethno-historical research to know why most people nowadays tend to shun the meaningful names used in the Chagga traditional society.

XI. Conclusion

As it has been inherent in the course of the paper, the first step in writing the African history is to ensure that all microhistories are properly written. At this juncture let us insist that it is necessary to rewrite Chagga history because history proper entails a lot of revision – what was a historical fact yesterday may be a debatable concept today and what is true today may be quite the opposite tomorrow. Rewriting Chagga history is indeed an unavoidable task because wrong or distorted Chagga history should be replaced by correct history. Historians working on Chagga history are called upon to do their work with commitment, expertise, and vision so that they can produce correct and relevant history.

As far as Chagga history is concerned, there are many areas that historians have not sufficiently studied and some important questions still remain unanswered. For example, why didn't Indian traders flourish in rural Chaggaland? Why did the few Indians who had shops at Mwika Madukani terminate their trade and left without leaving behind any legacy? What is the history of Chagga geographical divisions and political units? How did various villages in Chaggaland evolve? How did various sub-towns such as Mkuu, Mwika, Kyisambo, Marangu Mtoni, Kolila, Mula, and Kyibong'oto come into being? What was the politico-economic and socio-cultural effect of the Tanga-Arusha railway which reached Moshi in 1898? History has it that some Chagga chiefs were once hauled into exile. Did the Chagga influence spread through the Chagga chiefs' spells of exile? Why were tourist hotels (e.g. Marangu Hotel and Kibo Hotel) built in Marangu and not somewhere else? What factors led to the construction of the first tarmac roads (the one from Himo to Marangu and the one from the Moshi-Arusha Highway to Machame) in rural Chaggaland? Why were these roads constructed only in Marangu and Machame and not in other areas? It was only recently (2008-2015) at least one tarmac road was built in all areas of Chaggaland except Old Moshi. Why was Old Moshi left out while the area was the first to host the first missionaries to Chaggaland as well as being the site of the first town of Moshi? Such crucial topics and burning questions in Chagga history demand the attention of future researchers who are expected to supply history lovers with correct information about the Chagga.

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[12] Other pre-Christian Chagga names are Kyisakyisa, Ndelyawukyiwa, Mturuchuoe, Tarawia, Mlatiye, Ngatara, Mwiipale, Kyinanja, Kyitefure, and Mainja, to mention only a few.

[13] In Chaggaland there were also people called Mmochi, Mmamba, Mmorang'u, Mkahe, Mkahimo, Mmachame, Mkondeny, Mseri, Mkyiruwa, Mtaita – names which on literal explanation connotes a person from these areas. For instance, Mmochi means a person from Old Moshi, Mmamba means a person from Mamba, Mseri means a person from Usseri, and so forth.

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The Kurdish Peshmarga Force 1943-1975

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Abstract- This article shows an area of key interest in modern-day of the Kurdish military, ora well-known Peshmarga force "those who face death" history. The Peshmarga have become anessential of Kurdish sociopolitical culture in the last 100 years. The Peshmarga formally structured by Mustafa Barzani in 1943, they have come to represent the Kurdish nationalist movement in the Middle East, especially in Iraq. Inappropriately, there have been few detailed works at length on the Peshmarga and their link to the Kurdish struggle. Through this paper this link is shown in conjunction with the development of Kurdish military forces. This research paper focuses on the roots of the Peshmarga from 1891 to 1975.This article outlines the historical roots and genesis of the Kurdish Peshmarga forces and their role in the Kurdish issue in the Middle East especially in Iraq. This study presented a noteworthy amount of positively not published details about these parties. It delivers a short history about how the Kurdish Peshmarga force formed; its role in the Kurdish nationalist liberation movement and the Iraqi Kurdish revolts as well.

Keywords: the Kurdish issue and revolts in Iran, Turkey and Iraq, roots of Peshmarga and their role in the Kurdish movement, Kurdish leaders, Iraqi-Kurdish war.

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Abstract- This article shows an area of key interest in modern-day of the Kurdish military, ora well-known Peshmarga force "those who face death" history. The Peshmarga have become anessential of Kurdish sociopolitical culture in the last 100 years. The Peshmarga formally structured by Mustafa Barzani in 1943, they have come to represent the Kurdish nationalist movement in the Middle East, especially in Iraq. Inappropriately, there have been few detailed works at length on the Peshmarga and their link to the Kurdish struggle. Through this paper this link is shown in conjunction with the development of Kurdish military forces. This research paper focuses on the roots of the Peshmarga from 1891 to 1975.This article outlines the historical roots and genesis of the Kurdish Peshmarga forces and their role in the Kurdish issue in the Middle East especially in Iraq. This study presented a noteworthy amount of positively not published details about these parties. It delivers a short history about how the Kurdish Peshmarga force formed; its role in the Kurdish nationalist liberation movement and the Iraqi Kurdish revolts as well. It shows how the Peshmarga forces role developed from insufficient militias to well-trained and organized forces. This article also shows the relations between Peshmarga and its military leaders in struggling. This study explores what were the political and military conditions of Peshmarga from its creation till 1975. It further shows the Peshmarga conditions in the new republic of Iraq. Specific attention is given to relation between the roots of the Peshmarga, the role of the Kurdish forces in the Kurdish revolts, and the emergence of the Barzani's forces, the Peshmarga's role in Mahabad Republic and their fate after the collapse of the Mahabad Republic. The Role of the Peshmarga in the Iraqi-Kurdish war, as well as their relations with their leaders particularly Mullah Mustafa Barzani. This study is a historical research based on qualitative analyze of perspective from some rational materials .This study is used some relevant secondary sources, which are related to this study.

Keywords: the Kurdish issue and revolts in Iran, Turkey and Iraq, roots of Peshmarga and their role in the Kurdish movement, Kurdish leaders, Iraqi-Kurdish war.

I. Introduction

The roots of the modern-day Peshmarga force, particularly in regards to training, can be found in the early efforts of the Ottoman Empire to generate an organized Turkish-Kurdish military force. In 1891, Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) created the Suwaren Hamidi (Horse soldiers, hereafter Hamidiya Knights), merging Turkish leadership with Kurdish tribal troops. This force had two primary objectives: to defend the Cossack Region from a possible Sovietthreat (McDowall 2004:59; O'shea 2004:78) and secondly, to decrease the possible of Kurdish-Armenian collaboration

collaboration (Safrastian 1949: 66). Dividing two of the biggest minority groups in the region guaranteed the Ottoman Empire control of Eastern Anatolia and countered current losses of its western lands to the expanding European powers. The Hamidiya Knights might urther more have been started to produce a feeling of "Pan-Islam", especially in light of a perceived possible British- Russian-Armenian Christian alliance (Olson 2013:8; Zakhoyi 2005: 20).

Although efforts were prepared to assimilate select Kurdish fighters in the Ottoman military previous to the (Hamidiya Knights), most, if not all, Kurdish mounted troops and riflemen were faithful only to their local tribes or regional sheikhs. To join the fighting capability of the Kurds into the Ottoman armed forces, Hamid II's administration employed many of the durable tribes in Eastern Anatolia (McDowall 2004:59; O'shea 2004:79). According to Zakhoyi, authoritative tribes, such as the Mirans, the Tayans, the Batwans, the Duderis, the Kachans and the Shernakhs were to supply nearly 40 battalions. Smaller tribes, such as the Heiderans, the Jibrans, the Jallals and the Mugurs were only to donate units. Ottoman frontrunners, after selecting which tribes were to contribute in the Hamidiya Knights, summoned the corresponding chiefs to Constantinople and endowed them with military ranks. These chiefs and their associates, armed frequently with atamans (Zakhoyi 2005:22), kandjarrifles, and Russian Winchester cavalry rifles, were coached to newcomer troops and form units. After recruiting, thetribal chiefs and taking place groups of Kurdish leaders were sent to the Hamidiya Suvari Mektabi, a special military school in Istanbul (Olson 2013:9). Although Greene states that these units were to be cavalry units exclusively, it is uncertain as to how accurate his interpretations were and whether or not positive Kurdish tribes were structured as infantry units (Lortz 2005:6).

With the purpose of differentiate themselves from other cavalry troops under the Sultan's command, the Hamidiya Knights were delivered distinctive costumes consisting of large black wool caps with brass badges on the front (Lortz 2005:6). This headdress was seen during their "ground" operations, whereas some elements of the Cavalry were observed wearing Cossack-style costumes (McDowall 2004:59) and costumes worthy of being paraded before the Sultan earlier to the 1897 war with Greece (Safrastian 1949: 67). According to Italian diplomatic correspondence, "some wore a uniform similar to that of the Cirassian's, others like that of the Cossacks, and finally others,

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instead of the kalpak worn by the first group, were wearing the keffeyia like Arab horsemen" (Lortz2005:6)..
The rank organization of the Hamidiya Knights reflected Turkish distrust in the Kurdish leadership. With the aim of limiting Kurdish development and control, the pre arranged arrangement of the officer corps was a commanding Turkish cavalry overallin charge for all cavalry forces, a Kurdish brigadier general commanding up to four Hamidiya Knights regiments, four colonels per regiment (two Kurds and two "prescelti" – a shadowing Turkish officer of comparable rank used to ensure conformity), four lieutenants (two Kurds and two prescelti), two majors (one Kurd and one prescelti), and two adjutant-majors (one Kurd and one prescelti) (Lortz2005:6).Generally, the Hamidiya Knights was included of 48 to 76 regiments, each having roughly 400 to 600 men. In total, there were around 50,000 troops in the unit (Kreyenbroek & Stefan 1992: 197).The Hamidiya Knights was in no way a cross-tribal force, notwithstanding their military presence, institute, and possible. Simply when smaller tribes were incapable to fully man their unit necessities were other tribal warrior's integrated (McDowall 2004: 59).

As tribal commanders regularly took benefit of their newfound power and state connection, great tribes, such as the Jibran tribe, which retrieved four regiments, found it easy to control, frighten, and terrorize smaller non-Hamidiya tribes. These chief officer repeatedly used Hamidiya Knights and equipment to settle tribal variances. Instructions also came from the state as tribes in the Hamidiya Knights were called upon to overpower "recalcitrant tribes" (Olson 2013: 9). The "benefits" of being involved in the Hamidiya meant getting not only artilleries and exercise, however a confident level of prestige. Hamidiya majors and militaries rapidly acknowledged they could only be tried through a military court martial (Lortz 2005:7) and not through civil administration. Understanding their immunity, Cavalry leaders speedily turned their tribes into "lawful robber brigades". Hamidiya soldiers would every so often steal grain, reap fields not of their possession, drive off herds, and agreeably steal from storekeepers. The Hamidiya Knights was moreover used by the Ottoman Empire to overpower Armenian revolts in Eastern Anatolia. The Sultan's militaries, including the Hamidiya Knights, made no distinction between pro- or anti-government Armenians as the European powers improved their desire for Armenian Christian concerns. Massacres happened in numerous Armenian areas, with victims reaching the thousands in several towns (McDowall 2004: 60). Hamidiya strategies during these raids were principally cavalry in nature although unorganized Kurdish "brigands" conducted most dismounted occurrences. In total, more than 200,000 Armenians were killed between 1894 and 1896(Lortz 2005:7).

After the overthrow of Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1908, the Hamidiya Knights was disbanded as asystematized force. Select few units were kept in administration service nevertheless, renamed "Tribal Regiments", and deployed to Yemen and Albania. Sent to subdue trouble on the fringes of the Ottoman Empire, the performance of these former Hamidiya units was poor at best. According to McDowall, they not only sustained heavy losses, however also acquired a "reputation for savagery" (McDowall 2004:63).The Hamidiya Knights is showed as a military disappointment and a failure because of its contribution to tribal feuds and "one of the darkest stains in Kurdish history" (Lortz 2005:7) because of its role in the Armenian massacres. Despite these charges, it remains integral to the history of the Peshmarga. Many Kurds received their first training in non-tribal warfare from the Hamidiya Knights, learning strategic military strategy, and acquiring "knowledge of military technology and equipment and the experiences to use it" (Olson 2013: 15). Many of the same officers that led Hamidiya Knights troops would play alike roles in future Kurdish revolutions and influence future Kurdish military organization (Lortz 2005:7).

II. Kurdish Forces during the First World War

As the Ottoman Empire resisted to stay together during World War I, it once again called on the Kurds, with their newly-acquired military experience, to enhancement the Turkish armed forces. According to Safrastian, most military age Kurds not already in the light cavalry regiments were drafted into the Turkish army and refreshed to fight with their Muslim Turkish brethren against the Christians and Armenians (Safrastian 1949: 75).Because of the anti-Christian and anti-Armenian advertising, the Turkish armed forces fielded enough Kurds to entirely man numerous units. Among the all-Kurdish units were the eleventh Army, headquartered in Elazig, and the Twelfth Army, headquartered in Mosul. Kurds similarly made up a mainstream of the Ninth and Tenth Armies and supplied enough troops for many frontier units and 135 squadrons of reserve cavalry (Olson 2013:18). These militaries, with their experience and acquaintance of the terrain, were crucial in fighting the Russian hazard to the Eastern Ottoman Empire. The end of World War I brought forth a new era in the prospective for an organized Kurdish armed forces. Due to the Sykes-Picot Treaty of May 1916 (McDowall 2004:115).

Kurdistan was no longer the unauthorized buffer between the Ottoman and Persian Empires, but a region divided between several new nations (Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran). With a majority of Kurds fragmented between British-controlled Iraq (Southern Kurdistan) and the newly dismantled nation of Turkey (Northern

army. Despite their physical division, the increasing number of Kurdish intelligentsia endeavored to take advantage of the regional dismay and lobby for a Kurdish nation-state (Izady 1992:59). Originally, Kurdish ideas of independence went well as Britain, the reigning Allied superpower in the region, agreed to sponsor an independent nation in Southern Kurdistan in 1918. Accordingly, British support would be limited to political and administrative advice only. The Kurdish people would responsible for all else, including their own administration, judiciary, revenue, and military. Once established, the Kurdish armed force was to be comprised in part from local Kurdish levies trained by British Major Denials as well as the cavalry forces of Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji, head of the Qadiri Sufi Order and a landed aristocrat. According to Eskander, Sheikh Mahmud was "by far the most influential Kurdish personality in southern Kurdistan during and after the war" (Eskander 2005:143).

Thoughts of political autonomy and a possible Kurdish military would soon be eliminated however. Neither the British nor the developing Kemalist Turkish government wanted to see an independent Kurdistan, expressly one able to defend itself (Eskander 2005: 145; McDowall 2004:126). For the British, the notion of a recognized nation in Southern Kurdistan was believed unreasonable due to the incapability of the Kurds to govern themselves. The British were also worried with the prospect of oil in the Kirkuk, Kifri, and Erbil regions. Henceforth the British need to pull to pieces the Kurdish Republic, and assume command of the Assyrian-Kurdish Levies. By May 1919, months into the "new" British policy, Kurdish officers amongst the Levies decreased from 36 units under Kurdish self-government to nine. British officers rapidly took charge of units and conscripts from the Kurdish region were "forced into service under the British government" (Eskander 2005:157).

The possible for a Kurdish armedforces in Northern Kurdistan was pretty different from that in the south due to the growth of Mustafa Kemal and Turkish nationalism. Numerous Kurdish forces, both former Hamidiya and non-Hamidiya tribes, were once again united under Ottoman and pan-Islamic propaganda. These armed forces commonly participated in battles to liberate Turkey from the so-called "foreign invaders", namely the Greeks and Armenians. Led by Miralay (Colonel) Halid Beg Cibran, former commander of the Second Hamidiya Regiment, Kurdish troops expelled numerous Russians and Armenians from Eastern Anatolia. Under Kemal's original plans, Turkey was to become a land of Turkish rule with the Kurds assimilated within the society (McDowall 2004: 191).

By the end of the 1920s, political boulevards of independence and the capability to lawfully create their own armed forces were all however closed for the Kurdish people both in northern and southern Kurdistan.

Both the Turks and the British had used the Kurds for their own regional interest purposes and given the Kurds diminutive in return. For the common Kurd, equality and sustenance was seen merely at the local level, where sheikhs became not only the biggest religious authorities, but then again political and military leaders too. According to Van Bruinessen, the inter-tribal effect of the Kurdish sheikhs developed them into "astute political operators, who succeeded in imposing their authority on even the largest tribal chieftains of their regions" (Martin 1999:15).The improved power of the sheikhs furthermore led to the assumption of regional military commands, as sheikhs and their followers saw no choice however to take up arms in the struggle for regional appreciation. Two sheikhs in particular, Sheikh Said of Piran in Northern Kurdistan and Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji in Southern Kurdistan, would lead their followers the future Peshmargain military struggles and attempt to influence the politics of the principal powers(Lortz 2005:8).

III. Sheikh Mahmud of Barzanjirebellion

Even though both the Turks and the British used Kurdish tribes to originate cross-border conflicts, local sheikhs recruited Kurds to revolt against the regional player powers. The first of these Kurdish call-to-arms happened in British controlled Southern Kurdistan in May 1919. Shortly before being selected governor of Sulaymaniyah, Sheikh Mahmud Bazanji ordered the arrest of all British political and military officials in the region (Eskander 2005:157.153). After seizing control of the region, Barzanji raised anarmed force from his Iranian tribal followers and announced himself "Ruler of all of Kurdistan". Tribal fighters from both Iran and Iraq rapidly allied themselves with Sheikh Mahmud as he became more effective in opposing British rule. According to McDowall, the Sheikh's forces "were largely Barzinja tribesmen, the Hamavand under Karim Fattah Beg, and disillusioned segments of the Jaf, Jabbari, Sheikh Bizayni and Shuan tribes". The admiration and numbers of Sheikh Mahmud's multitudes only increased after their ambush of a British armed forces column (McDowall 2004: 158).

Among Mahmud's many supporters and troop leaders was 16-year-old Mustafa Barzani, the future leader of the Kurdish nationalist movement cause and commander of Peshmarga forces in Kurdistan of Iraq (McDowall 1996: 26). Barzani and his men, following the orders of Barzani tribal Sheikh Ahmad Barzani, crossed the Piyaw Valley on their way to join Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's forces. Despite being ambushed several times along the way, Barzani and his men reached Sheikh Mahmud's location, albeit too late to help in the revolt (Barzani 2002:22). The Barzani fighters were only a part of the Sheikh's 500-person force. As the British

became aware of the sheikh's developing political and armed forces power, they were forced to respond militarily. Two British brigades were positioned to defeat Sheikh Mahmud's fighters (McDowall 2004: 158) at Darbandi Bazyan near Sulaymaniyah in June 1919 (Ghassemlou 1965: 63). Sheikh Mahmud was eventually arrested and exiled to India in 1921(Olson 2013:61).

At the root of the revolution, Sheikh Mahmud's leadership appealed to both Kurdish nationalist and religious feelings. Even though he knew he could not directly defeat the British, Sheikh Mahmud expected to seek recognition of Kurdish nationalism (Eskander 2005: 153) by supporting a 'free united Kurdistan'. Using his ability as a religious leader, Sheikh Mahmud called for a jihad against the British in 1919 (McDowall 2004: 158) and therefore acquired the support of many Kurds indifferent to the nationalist struggle. Although the passion of their struggle was motivated by religion, Kurdish peasantry seized the idea of "national and political freedom for all" and endeavored for "Andevelopment in their social standing" (Ghassemlou 1965: 63). Despite opposition by other regional tribes, feasibly fearful of the sheikh's developing power, Sheikh Mahmud's troops continued to oppose British rule after the sheikh's arrest (McDowall 2004: 158). Even though no longer organized under one leader, this inter-tribal vigor was "actively anti-British", engaging in hit-and-run bouts, killing British military officers, and contributing in local uprisings. The fighters sustained to be inspired by Sheikh Mahmud's capability to "challenge British interference" (Eskander 2005: 153).

The success of the Kurdish fighters' anti-British upheavals forced the British to recognize Kurdish political autonomy in 1923 (McDowall 2004: 159). Returning to the region in 1922, Sheikh Mahmud continued to indorse raids against British militaries (Lortz 2005:8). Once these uprisings were subdued, the British government signed Iraq over to King Feisal and a new Arab-led government (McDowall 2004: 158). After having to retreat into the mountains, the defeated Sheikh Mahmud signed a peace harmony with the new Iraqi government and settled in the new Iraq (Ghassemlou 1965: 66).

IV. Sheikh said of Piranuprising

As Sheikh Mahmud battled for Kurdish political autonomy and liberation in Southern Kurdistan, similar revolutions were happening throughout Northern Kurdistan against the unexperienced Turkish government. Of these revolts the chiefly tribal Kuchgiriup rising of 1920 was possibly the most prominent as Kurdish fighters struggled for political autonomy and were clever to seize many Turkish arms and supplies (Olson 2013:32). The defeat of these revolutions inspired the Turkish government to deal with the "Kurdish question" by enacting laws limiting both Kurdish identity and the governing capability of sheikhs

(O'Ballance1973:15). As the Turkish nationalist position became firmer, attacks on the democratic rights of the Kurds improved (Ghassemlou 1965: 51).

Forced underground, Kurdish nationalist leaders formed the political group Azadi (Freedom) in Dersim, Turkey in 1921 (McDowall 2004: 192). Dissimilar earlier Kurdish nationalist collections, the core of Azadi was comprised of practiced military men, not the urban Kurdish intelligentsia (Bruinessen 1992:280). According to Olson, Azadi' sbelligerent forces included various tribal armed forces and several former Hamidiya regimental leaders, all equipped with rifles and other weapons previously owned by the Turks The strength and expansion of Azadi would lead to its downfall. During a Turkish military expedition in September 1924 more than a few Azadi leaders mutinied, fleeing into the mountains with various artilleries and hundreds of lower-ranking Kurdish soldiers (Olson 2013:50). Over 500 officers and soldiers – three companies of one battalion and one company of another left the Turkish ranks to join the Kurdish army (Bruinessen 1992:284).

In reaction to the revolution, the Turkish government, recognizing the strength of Azadi, quickly arrested many of the organization's leaders, both mutineers and conspirators (Olson 2013:50). With their leadership exhausted, a power vacuum formed in the political-military arrangement of Azadi. Out of the remnants of Azadi emerged Sheikh Said of Piran, a Naqshbandi sheikh related through marriage to Khalid Beg, Turkish Army colonel and Azadi founder (Bruinessen1992:281). The remaining Azadi substructure supported the Sheikh's leadership, considering a sheikh could generate more support than amilitary officer. Once persuaded to join the uprising (Olson 2013:94), Sheikh Said directly began assembling contributors and forming a chain of command. As Van Bruinessen demonstrated Sheikh Said "knew what he wanted, had the capacity to convince others and had a great reputation for piety, which was useful when his other arguments were insufficient" (Bruinessen 1992:281).

As a new leader, Sheikh Said, similar Sheikh Mahmud years earlier, appealed to the Kurdish sense of Islamic unity. In addition the usual fighting attendants of a Kurdish sheikh, Sheikh Said was able to increase his ranks during his tour of Eastern Anatolia in January 1925. New recruits answered the call to arms as Said issued fatwasfor war (Call for holy war), gave speeches denouncing the secular Kemalist policies, and wrote letters inviting numerous tribes to join in a jihad against the government (Olson 2013:95). Said similarly met personally with tribal leaders and their representatives, including Barzan tribal representative Mullah Mustafa Barzani (Mc Dowall 1996:27).

Although some tribes rejected to follow Said, he was acknowledged definitely in many towns. The Sheikh's rise to power permitted him to declare himself

'emir al-mujahidin' (commander of the faithful and fighters of the holy war) in January 1925. Overall, 15 to 20,000 Kurds mobilized in support of Sheikh Said and Azadi. Many of these fighters were armed with horses, rifles, or sabers (Olson 2013:95)attained from the various munitions depots across the countryside. Other Kurdish armament was either personally owned earlier to the rebellion or taken from the Armenians, despite Turkish attempts at Kurdish disarmament (Safrastian 1949:82).With sufficient firepower recruited from the tribes, a plan of outbreak was set in place. In generating a battle strategy, Said and the other prominent remaining Azadi leadership recognized five major fronts to be commanded by regional sheikhs (Bruinessen 1992:292). These sheikh leaders were aided by former Hamidiya Knights officers who provided military construction to the revolution. After institute, unit responsibility was distributed among nine areas. The overall headquarters of Said's armed force was located in EgriDagh and protected by a force of 2,000 men (Lortz 2005:14). Duringthe onset of the revolution, Said's fighters, facing nearly 25,000 Turkish troops (Olson 2013:107), gained control of a Vilayet near Diyarbakir (Lortz 2005:14). Besides seizing Turkish land and acquiring additional munitions, early victories instilled confidence in the rebellion and garnered further Kurdish support. Throughout the conflict, Said's fighters used both conventional military tactics, including multi front attacks and efforts at urban seizure, and alternative warfare, including guerrilla tactics (Olson 2013:110). An example of the conventional military organization was evident in the assault on Diyarbakir, where reports saw "three columns of 5,000 strong, under the personal command of Sheikh Said". The formation of conventional sophisticated levels of Kurdish armed forces command may moreover be assumed as documents written by foreigners were lectured to a 'Kurdish War Office'. These official papers, found by Turkish forces, may have been propaganda nevertheless, designed to create the illusion of international support for the Kurdish revolution (Lortz 2005:15).

Despite the valiant efforts of Said's fighters, the Kemalist administration was able to rapidly amass forces to overpower the rebellion by early April 1925 and arrested Sheikh Said as he endeavored to flee to Iran on 27 April 1925 (Bruinessen 1992:290). After his arrest, Sheikh Said was punctually trained for his actions against the Turkish administration. Said, along with a number of his factions, was hung on 29 June 1925(Olson 2013:127). Similar the Iraqi Kurds under Sheikh Mahmud, Sheikh Said's persisting followers did not halt their assaults after the removal of their leader. Throughout 1925 and 1926 their attacks sustained as they conducted guerrilla maneuvers against Turkish military units (Bruinessen 1992:290). After their arrest, these remaining armed forces proclaimed themselves to be 'the unvanquished tribe of the nation' (Lortz 2005:15). Whether or not these thoughts of nationalism were articulated by all the remaining followers cannot be strong-minded, though, according to Van Bruinessen, "neither the guerrilla troops, nor the leaders of the Ararat revolt that followed, used religious phraseology" units (Bruinessen 1992:299).

Because of growing Kurdish awareness, nationalism, despite its primary urban, intellectual, and political individual roots, had become a military reason in and of itself, separate from religious inspirations. Even though recruitment continued based on tribal or sheikh allegiances, the Kurdish nationalist struggle became anauthentic call to arms. By fighting for "Kurdistan," Kurdish troops, the future Peshmarga, separated themselves from the mujahedeen, their regional religious combatant brethren (Lortz 2005:15).

V. The Ararat Uprising

Despite the failure of Sheikh Said and Azadi, Kurdish intellectuals and nationalist leaders sustained to proposal for an independent Kurdistan (McDowall 2004: 202). Many of these nationalists met in October 1927 and not only declared the independence of Kurdistan, but then again moreover formed Khoybun (Independence), a "supreme national organ … with full and high-class national and international powers" (Safrastian 1949: 84)..102 This new organization's leadership supposed the crucial to success in the struggle for an independent Kurdistan lay not in tribal loyalties, however in a "properly conceived, planned and organized" military initiative (McDowall 2004: 203). In showing the need for a proper military construction, Khoybun nominated IhsanNuri Pasha Commander-In-Chief of the Kurdish National Army. Nuri Pasha, besides being a former Kurdish member of the "Young Turk Movement", showed his loyalty to the Kurdish question when he led the mutiny within the Turkish military earlier to the Sheikh Said Uprising (Bruinessen1992:284;Izady 1992:62).

After forming leader ship of Khoybun sought the assistance of many influential European forces to help supply the Kurdish nationalist military attempted (Ghassemlou 1965: 54). Despite their irritation with the Kema list regime, however, neither the British nor the French gave much support to Khoybun. (McDowall 2004: 203). According to Safrastian, the European powers, once supportive of Kurdish independence, were persuaded through Turkish media and press reports (Safrastian 1949: 85). With little assistance from Europe, Khoybun eventually settled for the support of the Armenian Dashnak Party, the Shah of Iran (McDowall 2004: 204), and fellow Kurds such as Sheikh Ahmad of Barzan, leader of the Iraqi Kurdistan Barzani tribe (Izady 1992:62). Syrian Kurds also came to the assistance of Khoybun, cutting railroads, pillaging Turkish villages, and conducting guerrilla assaults (Mella 2005 103).

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By 1928, Nuri Pasha had assembled a small clutch of soldiers' armed force with modern weapons and trained in infantry tactics. This force initiated the Khoybun revolution, marching towards Mount Ararat (McDowall 2004: 203). Nuri and his men not simply achieved success in reaching Mount Ararat, nonetheless they were capable to secure the towns of Bitlis, Van, and most of the countryside around Lake Van (Izady 1992:62)., establishing a notable area of Kurdish resistance (Mella 2005 103)..Along with their weapons, organization, and ability, Kurdish strength was enhanced by the positioning of the rebellion. Although Turkish forces attempted to suppress the revolt as early as 1927, their success was tempered by a lack of Persian cooperation, as Mount Ararat lay in the Turkish-Persian border (McDowall 2004: 204). By 1930, however, Turkish forces began to take the upper hand. Beginning in May, the Turkish army went on the offensive, surrounding Mount Ararat with over 10,000 troops by late June. Troop numbers on both sides sustained to cultivate as Kurdish tribes were enlisted to join the cause and roughly 60,000 more soldiers were called up by the Turkish government (Lortz 2005:17).

Besides facing acumulative numerical disadvantage, the Khoybun resistance slowly saw its regional support disappear. Pressured by the Turkish government, French administrators in Syria and British administrators in Iraq restrained much of the southern support for Khoybun (Izady 1992:63). Preceding to Turkish persistence, Barzani military assistance from Southern Kurdistan included 500 horsemen from the Mosul district brought by the "Sheik of Barzan". Other Kurdish tribal chiefs such as Hatcho and Simqu, both from Syria, came to the assistance of Khoybun in 1930. The biggest blow to Khoybun's Ararat revolution, nevertheless, came from Persia. Although initially sympathetic of Kurdish resistance, the Persian government did not fight Turkish military developments into Persia to surround Mount Ararat (Mella 2005 104). Persian frontier guardsmen similarly stigated to close the Persian-Turkish border to non-essential travelers, including Kurdish tribes endeavoring to reinforce the revolt. Persia would ultimately completely submit to Turkish operational demands, trading the land surrounding Mount Ararat for Turkish land near Qutur and Barzirgan. The organized revolution on Mount Ararat was beaten by the fall of 1930, although then Turks waited until the following spring to attack any outstanding tribal dissenters. Similar to the consequence of previous Kurdish revolutions, the Turkish government was merciless to the rebels and anyone supposed of assisting them, destroying villages and killing hundred thousands of Kurds (Mella 2005: 104).

Despite the defeat, Khoybun and the Ararat revolt are significant to the historical roots of the Peshmarga for three reasons. First,never before had a military force been constructed specifically for the Kurdish nationalist ideal. The influence of the tribal sheikh as military commander was increasingly reduced as nationalism became a more important reason for Kurdish military actions. Second, the Khoybun revolt showed a growing relationship between the Barzani tribe and Kurdish nationalism. Although Mullah Mustafa Barzani had been involved in Sheikh Mahmud's revolt and had met with Sheikh Said, the military support granted to the Khoybun cause from the Barzani tribe (as led by Sheikh Ahmad and commanded by Mullah Mustafa) was unprecedented. This level of support would continue to grow as future Peshmarga, specifically from the Barzani area, would again be called on to defend attempted Kurdish nation-states. Finally, the Khoybun revolt began a pattern of international cooperation against Kurdish nationalism. Exchanges of land between neigh bouring countries would be seen again as regional powers temporarily put aside their differences in an attempt to suppress Kurdish military ability (Lortz 2005:18).

VI. The Role of Barzani Tribe in the Kurdish Issue

Before exploring more the early history of the Peshmarga and its role in Kurdish revolts, the influence of the Barzani tribe and their sheikhs must be discoursed. Not simply would the leaders of this tribe (Sheikh Ahmad and Mullah Mustafa) play a great role in early Kurdish nationalist conflicts, however it is their fighters who defined what would become the Peshmarga– those who face death. The influence of the sheikhs in the village of Barzan was first noted in the early 19th century with the emergence of Taj ad Din, the first Barzani sheikh (Bois 1996: 50). Located in the northernmost part of Iraqi Kurdistan (Barzani 2002:17), "in the mountain vastness northeast of Arbil in Iraq, on the Greater Zab River and in the highlands above it" (Eagleton 1963: 47), Barzan is illustrated as a small village with "no outstanding features except for the solid stone houses of the sheikhs". On the other hand, nondescript their residence, Barzani villagers had a long-standing reputation as great armed forces. This reputation applied particularly to those who followed the resident sheikh. According to Eagleton, the idea of the Barzani people as capable fighters, combined with support from members of outside tribes, allowed the Barzanis to defend themselves despite being outnumbered by neighboring enemies. After the execution of Sheikh Abdul Salam in 1914 by Turkish authorities, his 18-yearold brother, Ahmad Barzani took charge of the Barzani tribe. Ahmad, defined as "young and unstable", continued to rule as his brother had, seizing both religious and political power and becoming sheikh of the region(Eagleton 1963: 47).

Sheikh Ahmad's growing religious authority would eventually lead to conflict. According to Mir

Hadilzady, Ahmad instituted a new religion in 1927, attempting to combine Christianity, Judaism, and Islam for the sake of unifying the "religiously fragmented" Kurdish populace (Izady 1992:64). Persuaded of Ahmad's divineness, Mullah Abdul Rahman proclaimed the sheikh to be "God" and declared himself a prophet. Although Abdul Rahman was killed by Shaikh Ahmad's brother Muhammad Sadiq, the ideas of Ahmad's divineness spread. Sheikh Ahmad's eccentricities would become the target of rival tribes by 1931 (Izady 1992:64). As the numerous tribal strikes and counterstrikes involving the Barzanis began to wave the countryside, the new Iraqi government, having recently agreed to independence with Britain, attempted to destroy the contentious Barzani tribe (McDowall 2004: 179). According to Masud Barzani, the Iraqi intent to subjugate the Barzanis was "without foundation because there was already a civilian administration in the Barzan region, and Sheikh Ahmad was not in opposition to it". Masud Barzani further asserts that the Iraqi objective was to "vanquish Barzan because of its firm patriotic stand". Conflict between the Barzanis and the Iraqi forces initiated in late 1931 and continued through 1932. Commanding Barzani fighters was Sheikh Ahmad's younger brother, Mullah Mustafa Barzani. Mustafa would intensification to prominence against the Iraqi forces (who were supplemented by British commanders and the British Royal Air Force). Despite his young age, the 28-year-old Mustafa Barzani displayed "excellent defensive and offensive military superiority" and his "outstanding abilities raised the morale of his fighters and their trust in his leadership".

Iraqi numerical superiority and air power overcame Kurdish bravery, nevertheless. By June 1932 Sheikh Ahmad Barzani, his brothers, and a small contingent of men were forced to seek asylum in Turkey. Although Ahmad was separated from his followers and sent to Ankara (Barzani 2002:28), Mullah Mustafa and Muhammad Sadiq continued to fight Iraqi forces for another year before surrendering. After swearing an oath to King Faysal of Iraq, the Barzanis (sans Sheikh Ahmad) were allowed to return to Barzan in spring 1933, where they found their "devoutly loyal" forces had kept their organization and weapons (McDowall 2004: 180).

Eventually Mullah Mustafa was reunited with Ahmad Barzani as the Iraqi government arrested the brothers and exiled them to Mosul in 1933. The two Barzanis were transferred to various cities in Iraq throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. During this time their stops included Mosul, Baghdad, Nasiriya, Kifri, and AltinKopru before finally ending in Sulaymaniyah. In the meantime, back bone in Barzan, the remaining Barzani tribal fighters were faced with constant pressures of arrest or death. Although initially a tribal dispute, the involvement of the Iraqi government inadvertently led to the growth of Sheikh Ahmad and Mullah Mustafa Barzani as prominent Kurdish leaders. Throughout these early conflicts, the Barzanis consistently displayed their leadership and military prowess, providing steady opposition against the fledgling Iraqi military. Additionally, exile in the main cities exposed the Barzanis to the ideas of urban Kurdish nationalism, movements they had only been a part of militarily (Barzani 2002:49). This exposure was especially important for Mullah Mustafa Barzani as he increasingly recognized the need for an organized armed force to coincide with Kurdish nationalism, realizing tribal disagreement could never defeat the Iraqi government. As Barzani military had strong point, with its disdain for the Iraqis and desire for political autonomy, merged with the growing nationalist-oriented Kurdish intelligentsia, Barzani influence in Iraqi Kurdistan became even greater (McDowall 2004: 290).

VII. Appearance of Mullah Mustafa Barzani's Forces 1943-1945

As World War II instigated to occupy the attention of the world's nations, the Barzanis and their tribe were still internally separated and remained at odds with the Iraqi government. The British occupation of Iraq in 1941 and their seizure of Baghdad, presumably to ensure Iraqi compliance with the Allied cause, would indirectly lead to a reunion between Mustafa Barzani and his people and again pose a challenge to Iraqi authority (McDowall 2004: 290).Two years after the British occupation, in 1943, with inflation gripping Iraqand the British showing little unease about the Kurdish issue, the Barzani family found themselves unable to subsist on their meager government stipend. Still in exile in Sulaymaniya, the Barzani financial situation became so dire the family resorted to selling their rifles and their gold jewelry just to survive (O'balance 1973:21). The indignation of having to part with their family fortune and their methods of self-defense led Mustafa Barzani to plot his return to Barzan (Barzani 2002:43).

The impetus for Barzani's return was strictly economic, not nationalist nor caused by a desire to counter any anti-British sentiment in Kurdistan (McDowall 2004: 290), although Barzani did have contacts within Kurdish nationalist circles in Sulaymaniyah who may have assisted him in his escape. After receiving permission from Sheikh Ahmad Barzani, Mullah Mustafa, along with two close friends, fled Sulaymaniyah and crossed into Iran. Once in the Iranian town of Shino, Barzani reunited with resettled members of the Barzani tribe and made his way to Barzan. (Barzani 2002:43) Upon his return, Mullah Mustafa became "the immediate object of attention from his own followers, the chiefs of neighboring tribes, Iraqi government officials who wished to reinter him and members of the Kurdish nationalist movement" (Eagleton 1963: 51). This latter group included Mir Hajj

Ahmad and Mustafa Koshnaw, Kurdish officers in the Iraqi army and members of Hiwa, an underground Kurdish nationalist movement (McDowall 2004: 293).

Upon his return to Barzan, Mullah Mustafa recruited a force to challenge regional Iraqi authority. Numbering virtually 750 in only two weeks, Barzani fighters began small operations such as raiding police stations and frontier posts (Barzani 2002:44). These early raids demonstrated the growing military organization of Barzani's forces. Although still mostly tribal, enrollment in Barzani's force grew to nearly 2,000 within months as local Kurds, including those deserting the Iraqi army, joined the ranks (O'balance 1973:24). With the purpose of organizing this growing force, Barzani created combat groups of 15-30 men; appointed Muhammad Amin Mirkhan, Mamand Maseeh, and Saleh KaniyaLanji commanders; and instilled strict rules of soldierly conduct. These rules included the need for fighters to obey and carry out guidelines, the need for commanders to stand with their fighters as equals and treat them like brothers, instructions on how to treat civilians and prisoners, and how to disperse the spoils of war. Barzani adhered strictly to his own instructions, refusing privileges of command and sharing duties such as mounting guard (Barzani 2002:44).

Throughout 1943 Barzani and his fighters seized police stations and re-supplied themselves with Iraqi arms and ammunition. Barzani used these primary skirmishes as well as future battles to classify who among his force was best suited for leadership positions, who was best in handling logistics, and who might fill other supervision positions (Barzani 2002:45). Once levels of command were formed, Barzani established his headquarters in Bistri, a village halfway between Rawanduz and his Barzan forces. Barzani's conclusions to develop command and control, combined with intense feelings of reliability and camaraderie among the Barzani troops, led to victories in the Battle of Gora Tu and the Battle of Mazna. During these battles, Barzani forces were able to defeat trained, organized, and well-supplied Iraqi armed forces units (Lortz 2005:23).

Consequently of his developing regional control, augmented reliability, and developing military power, Barzani appealed the Iraqi government for political autonomy as well as the release of Kurdish prisoners, including Sheikh Ahmad Barzani. Even though the political autonomy request was denied, the Iraqi government did negotiate with Barzani throughout the early 1940s (McDowall 2004: 293). These negotiations not only led to the release of Sheikh Ahmad in early 1944 (Eagleton 1963: 48), but also brought the word government collaborator "Jash" into common Kurdish usage. Barzani used the term, meaning "donkey" in Kurdish, as a way to openly criticize Kurds who collaborated with the Iraqi government, derogatively

labeling them the "jash police". Due to Iraqi recognition and Barzani's extensive influence and power, Kurdish loyalists began to rally around Barzani, viewing him their respect and turning him into the "national beacon of the Kurdish liberation movement" (Barzani 2002:45).

Relations between Mustafa Barzani and the Iraqi government began on a positive note, partially due to more than a few Kurdish sympathizers within the Iraqi government. After the resignation of the Iraqi cabinet in 1944, a new ruling body took over, one far less willing to give into Kurdish aspirations (Eagleton 1963: 52). Consequently, previous concessions were overlooked and pro-Kurdish diplomats were dismissed, opening a new round of Iraqi-Kurdish hostilities (Barzani 2002:45). With his position only reinforced by the previous administration, Mustafa Barzani continued his demands while simultaneously preparing his forces for additional military actions (McDowall 2004: 293). Knowing a conflict was imminent, Barzani separated his forces into three fronts: a Margavar - Rawanduz front, commanded by former Iraqi official Mustafa Koshnaw; an Imadia front, led by Izzat Abdul-Aziz; and an Aqra front, led by Sheikh Suleiman Barzani. All fundamentals would be responsible to Mustafa Barzani, the self-proclaimed "Commander-In-Chief of the Revolutionary Forces" (Barzani 2002:77).

Knowing tribal discord and inefficiency of the Kurdish general public could hinder his forces, Barzani, with the approval of Sheikh Ahmad Barzani, formed the Rizgari Kurd (the Kurdish Freedom Party) in early 1945. Consisting primarily of Kurdish officers, government officials, and professionals, Rizgari Kurd intended to unify the Kurds, form autonomy or independence within Iraq, and continue to create armed units to defend Kurdistan. Despite Barzani's order to his armed forces to "not initiate fighting", conflict erupted in August 1945 in the town of Margavar. This violence led to the death of prominent Kurd Wali Beg and numerous Iraqi police officers (Barzani 2002:73). As a result of Beg's demise, the Kurdish populace, without any armed forces authorization, overran the police stations in Margavar and Barzan (Lortz 2005:24).

Barzani speedily returned from arbitrating a local tribal dispute and took command of the revolt (Barzani 2002:73). Against British advice, the Iraqi government attempted to mollify the region, declaring martial law, threatening military action, and demanding Barzani's surrender. With diplomacy no longer an option, the Iraqis deployed numerous armed forces units to the region to subdue the developing rebellion (Lortz 2005:24).In preparation for the conflict, Mustafa Barzani met with Sheikh Ahmad Barzani to decide who should command the forces against the looming Iraqi threat. The Barzanis decided that Mustafa Barzani himself should lead the Aqra force; Muhammad Siddique Barzani, brother of Sheikh Ahmad and Mullah Mustafa, would lead the Margavar-Rawanduz front; Haji

Tahalmadi would lead the Balenda-Imadia front; and As'adKhosavi was given the responsibility of both surrounding the Bilah garrison and supplying the forces of the Aqra front. With command in place, the Barzani forces were able to dominate the early battles. The Iraqi army, attempting to seize the eastern slopes of Mount Qalandar, was driven back to the GaliAli Beg Gorge. Although victorious, the Barzani forces did sustain numerous losses, including a serious injury to Commander Muhammad Siddique Barzani (Barzani 2002:89).

On 4 September 1945 the Iraqi assault continued, as army units from Aqra and Rawanduz and a police unit from Amadia were deployed towards Barzan (Lortz 2005:25). A few days later in the Battle of Maidan Morik, Barzani fighters once again held their own against Iraqi mechanized and artillery batteries. As the battles degenerated to hand-to-hand combat, the Iraqi army, presumably losing command and control, was forced to retreat temporarily from the region (Barzani 2002:89). However the undervalued abilities of Barzani's military harshly dampened the morale of Iraqi ground armed forces, Iraqi air raids sustained unabated (Lortz 2005:25).Despite the primary victories, by the end of September 1945 the Iraqi government turned the tide of the battle, resounding regional tribes to oppose the Barzanis and aid in suppressing the revolt. These tribal fighters, including members of the Zibrari, Berwari, and Doski tribes, and "elements of the 'Muhajarin' trustworthy to several of the sons of Sayyid Tahaof Shemdinan (and led by Abdul Karim Qassim)" (Eagleton 1963: 53) attacked Barzani and his men, uprooting them from their "defensive strong holds" and preventing them from further attacking Iraqi troops in the region (Lortz 2005:25).These "treasonous" assaults, combined with the Iraqi occupation of Barzan on 7 October, forced Barzani to order his forces to retreat from the region and cross into Iranian Kurdistan. Once there, the Barzani family and their supporters settled in various towns in the Mahabad area, joining the Kurdish autonomous movement in the region and setting the stage for the official creation of the Peshmarga. The early 1940s are extremely important in the history of the Peshmarga. Although still without an official title, the core of the Peshmarga was definitely created when Mustafa Barzani returned to Barzan in 1943 (Barzani 2002:94).

By taking advantage of World War II and the British occupation of Iraq, Barzani was given the time to mold anarmed force that superseded tribal affiliation, an idea that the Ottoman Empire, with its Hamidiya Knights, had failed in creating. Without Barzani's leadership and organizational and tactical ideas, it is doubtful his forces would have been capable to achieve the results they did or, more outstandingly, conduct the tactical retreat that kept most of the command structure together in Iranian Kurdistan. It is uncertain however, how much of the military loyalty given to the Barzanis was due to their tribal standing and how much was because of their struggle against the Iraqi government (Barzani 2002:95). Even the nationalist leanings of the revolt are not completely clear. McDowall dismisses the notion of Mustafa Barzani as an ardent nationalist at this point and claims that the Barzani revolts were initiated simply to increase the tribe's regional power(McDowall 2004: 293). Barzani's creation of the Rizgari Kurd, however, reinforces the idea of Barzani as nationalist leader, albeit with a tribal based force. Combined with the emerging Kurdish administration in the Iranian-Kurdistan town of Mahabad, Barzani's influence and the prominence of his troops would continue to change the politics of the region (Lortz 2005:25).

VIII. The Peshmarga in TheKurdistan Republic

The Mahabad Republic stands as the high point of the Kurdish nationalist liberation movement. This short period of national identity marked the formal formation of the Peshmargaand cemented the role of Mustafa Barzani as a military hero of the Kurdish people. During the short life of this nation-state, the idea of a Kurdish homeland finally came into being. Unfortunately for the Kurds, the Republic lasted only 11 or so months, from January 1946 to December 1946 (Yassin 1995:140). In the opening years of the Cold War, as the British re-occupied Iraq, the Soviet Union seized northwestern Iran to ensure the "uninterrupted flow of vital supplies to the Soviet Union". Central control of Iran, similar to the occupation of Iraq, included a diminished capability to undermine the growing Kurdish nationalist movement (Jwaideh 2006:713).Nearsighted a window of opportunity, the newly-formed Komala-iJiyanawi Kurdistan (The Committee for the Revival of Kurdistan - Komala), a predominantly middle class democratic nationalist party, originated to negotiate with the occupying Soviets with the idea of creating a Soviet-sponsored Kurdishre public, independent of Iranian control (Lortz 2005:26). Leading the nascent Kurdish republic and fully endorsed by the Soviets was Qazi Muhammad, the religious and ostensible leader of Mahabad. Muhammad, who had become democratic Komala's sole leader – a position the communist Soviet leaders were comfortable with was stress sedthrough the Soviets to leave Komala and generate a more centralized party (McDowall 2004: 240).

In September 1945, for example, the Kurdish leadership, including Muhammad, was taken to Soviet Azerbaijan where the Soviets agreed to supply the Kurds with money, military training, and arms, including tanks, cannons, machine guns, and rifles, thereby ensuring autonomy from Iran (Eagleton 1963: 44). In exchange for the support the Kurds had to abandon Komala, which Soviet Azerbaijan President Bagherov labeled "an instrument of British imperialism" and create

the "Democratic Party of Kurdistan Iran" (KDP-I). Bagherov also warned the Mahabad leaders not to trust Mullah Mustafa Barzani, whom Bagherov called "a British Spy" (Eagleton 1963: 46). Dismissal of Mustafa Barzani was not straightforwardly accomplished however. Knowing tribal opposition to a less-than-democratic ideal could derail his position as leader (Lortz 2005:27). Qazi Muhammad, upon his return from Soviet Azerbaijan, met with Barzani in an endeavor to attach Barzani's prestige and his troops to the KDP-I cause (Barzani 2002:99). Barzani approved to support Muhammad and the KDP-I in exchange for billeting and supplies for his family and forces, 3,000 of which would be stationed in Mahabad. Barzani may have met previously with Soviet representatives through his Iranian Kurdistan contacts so as to "dispel their well-known suspicions regarding his previous associations and orientations" (Eagleton 1963: 57). With the purpose of procuring their trust, Barzani approved to collaborate with Muhammad and to avoid the "public eye" due to the possible unwanted pressure on the Soviet Union by the governments of Iraq and Great Britain (Barzani 2002:99).

With Barzani's collaboration guaranteed, Muhammad, along with 60 tribal leaders, including Barzani, established a KDP-I party platform, created a Kurdish People's Government, and raised the official Kurdish national flag(Eagleton 1963:57). As the people of Iranian Azerbaijan moved towards their own neighboring Soviet-sponsored state, Qazi Muhammad was elected the first Kurdish president and on 22 January 1946 the Mahabad Republic was born. Subordinate to the new Kurdish president was a government consisting of a Prime Minister, a 13-person parliament, and various ministers, including Minister of War Mohammad Hosein Khan SeifQazi, Qazi Muhammad's cousin and former honorary captain of the Iranian gendarmerie. SeifQazi was responsible for an emerging Kurdish army that included Amr Khan Shikak, Hama Rashid, Khan Banei, Zero Beg Herki, and Mullah Mustafa Barzani, all of whom received the rank of marshal. Each of these "marshals" was outfitted with Soviet-style uniforms, "complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps" (Lortz 2005:28). The forces under these commanders were further advised and organized by Soviet military officer Captain Salahuddin Kazimov. The Soviets continued their influence, sending at least 60 Kurds to Soviet Azerbaijan for additional military training. In total, the Mahabad army consisted of 70 active duty officers, 40 non-commissioned officers, and 1,200 lower-enlisted privates(Eagleton 1963 :78).

Mustafa Barzani, as one of the higher-ranking commanders, was again responsible for doling out titles among his men. Barzani appointed Major Bakr Abdul-Karim commander of the first regiment and Mohammed Amin Badr Khan, Mamand Maseeh, and Faris Kani Boti

his company commanders; Captain Mustafa Koshnaw was to be commander of the second regiment with Sa'idWali Beg, Koshavi Khalil, and Mustafa Jangeer his company commanders; and Captain Mir Haj Ahmad was appointed commander of the third regiment and SalihKani Lanji, Haider Beg Arif Beg, and Wahab Agha Rawanduzi were his company commanders (Barzani 2002:100).

Many of these men had served under Barzani since the police raids of 1943. Now under the banner of the Mahabad Republic, they remained extremely loyal to Barzani. Besides appointing higher levels of command, Qazi Muhammad helped to literally define who his forces were. On orders from Muhammad, a committee of "hand-picked litterateurs and writers" constructed distinct terms for positions in the Kurdish military. Among the many words the committee helped standardize was the Kurdish word for soldier – "Peshmarga" – a term meaning "one who faces death" or one willing to die for a cause in April 1946 (Lortz 2005:29). Despite protests leading to Sheikh Ahmad Barzani's dismissal from Mahabad, Qazi Muhammad and the Kurdish Parliament's first deployment of the Peshmarga was to put down resisting tribes in the region (Jwaideh 2006:749).

These were minor conflicts however, compared to the new army's first test against Iranian forces eager to reclaim their land. Knowing Iranian intentions and fearing a withdrawal of Soviet aid, many of the Peshmarga, including much of Mullah Mustafa Barzani's forces, were deployed on the republic's southern boundary. On 29 April 1946, only five days after the Mahabad Republic signed a military collaboration accord with neighboring Azarbaijan, the First Kurdish Regiment, located in the southeast corner of the republic in Qahrawa, and faced 600 Iranian soldiers reinforced with weaponry and cavalry. Regional support for the Mahabad Peshmarga included numerous small Kurdish tribes "always ready for fighting and looting" (Lortz 2005:29).

The Peshmarga under Barzani's command quickly showed their abilities against Iranian forces, ambushing the first Iranian units to reach Qahrawa, killing 21, wounding 17, and capturing 40. Although short lived, the ambush was considered the first military victory for the Kurdish Republic. The Mahabad Peshmarga also engaged Iranian reconnaissance teams in the region as the Iranians attempted to mass forces throughout timely May 1946 (Eagleton 1963:90). Kurdish offensives were limited to minor skirmishes due to the removal of Soviet influence in the region that month, possibly due to a Soviet-Iranian oil agreement. A ceasefire agreement signed 3 May 1946 between Kurdish forces and Iranian General Ali Razmara discouraged major attacks, promoted withdrawals, and allowed each side to further equip their forces in the region(Lortz 2005:29).

By mid-May 1946 Kurdish forces included approximately 12,750 Peshmarga, 1,800 of which were dedicated infantry under the command of Mustafa Barzani. The majority of the armed forces were cavalry-based, which according to Eagleton, "could still terrify an ill-armed or badly organized force, but it could not prevail against trained infantry carrying repeating rifles and concealed by the rugged terrain of Kurdistan" in 1946 (Eagleton 1963:93).

On 15 June 1946 the period of preparation ceased as the fighting positions of the Second Kurdish Regiment at Mamashah (Mil Qarani) were attacked by two Iranian battalions supported by weaponry, tanks, and aircraft. The purpose of the Iranian attack was two-folds: first, to seize the highest point of Kurdish occupation in the area and second, to stop Kurdish snipers from attacking Iranian supply vehicles. Although accounts of the Battle of Mamashah vary, the Peshmarga again demonstrated their expert use of cover and concealment (Barzani 2002:103). Among the Peshmarga killed during the battle was Khalil Khosavi, a Kurdish soldier who "demonstrated capable leadership and utmost courage." Mustafa Barzani correctly predicted that the surrender of Khosavi's hilltop position would only come with his death (Eagleton 1963:96).

Khosavi's actions in the battle earlier to his death were at the root of the battle's conflicting accounts. According to Masud Barzani, after Iranian forces seized the initial "upper hand," Khosavi led Peshmarga forces, reinforced by the First Kurdish Regiment, in a successful counterattack, repelling the Iranian assault (Barzani 2002:104). Other accounts portray the battle as an Iranian victory, albeit a victory for Kurdish morale and increasing the regional confidence in the Peshmarga (O'balance 1973:31). According to Eagleton, neither Kurdish nor Soviet reinforcements arrived, leaving the Barzani forces stranded in their defensive positions and allowing Iranian forces to seize the hill(Eagleton 1963:96).

McDowall also explores the question of Kurdish supports in the area, stating the apparent lack of assisting forces may have been due to tribal disunity. According to McDowall, regional Kurdish tribal leader Amr Khan simply brought tribal fighters from the Shikak and Harki tribes south after getting a Soviet bribe. These fighters, lacking the dedication of the Barzani Peshmarga, were quick to flee the battlefield as fighting intensified (McDowall 2004: 243). As a result of the Kurdish military defeat in the Battle of Mamashah, the Iranian military was able to seize the highland, erect military watchtowers, and ensure a military presence in the area (Barzani 2002:105)

Lack of tribal unity continued to hinder the cause of the Mahabad Republic following the Battle of Mamashah. As tribal interest in Qazi Muhammad's government waned, the Barzani Peshmarga were left as Mahabad's lone fighting force. Despite their loyalty,

Barzani's fighters had their own difficulties with the government as lack of food and diminished sanitary conditions caused a typhoid outbreak, hindering their fighting ability (Lortz 2005:30). Consequently, the cause of the Mahabad armed force was all but lost by late 1946 as even assured Soviet support failed to arrive. The Mahabad Republic faced its most difficult challenge as Iranian forces planned to reclaim Mahabad following the seizure of Iranian Azerbaijan in December 1946 (Mella 2005: 84). Initially the Mahabad government resisted Iranian developments positioned the Peshmargain both Saqqiz and Mahabad (Barzani 2002:112). Shortly thereafter, negotiations began with the purpose of ensuring the peaceful reoccupation of Mahabad. Important to the agreement was the withdrawal of Barzani forces from Mahabad. Afterthe Barzanis, including the Peshmarga and their families, withdrew to Naqada on 15 December 1946, the Iranian military entered Mahabad, officially ending the one-year life of the Kurdish Republic (Lortz 2005:30).

IX. The Fate of Peshmarga post-Kurdistan Republic

Following the fall of Mahabad, the Barzanis and their Peshmarga again faced the struggle of resisting national powers without the support of a recognized nation. After leaving Mahabad and ordering the establishment of defensive positions between Mahabad and Naqada, Mullah Mustafa and several of his officers were ordered by Iranian officials to dismiss the Peshmarga, lay down their arms, and integrate into Iranian controlled areas. If they failed to do so, the Iranian government stated they would order military action against the Barzanis (Barzani 2002:113). Although Mullah Mustafa may have agreed with the proposal, Sheikh Ahmed Barzani put up defiant, stating the Barzanis and their Peshmarga would stay until the spring thaw when they would then travel back to Iraq (Eagleton 1963:117).

With both sides at a political impasse, conflict became inevitable. As he did prior to earlier conflicts, Mustafa Barzani divided his Peshmarga into several fronts and assigned command. Barzani appointed Ali Khalil, SalihKaniya Lanji, and Kako Mullah Ali commanders of the Nalos-Sofiyan Front; Hassan Ali Suleiman Kakshar, Sultan Mar'an Agha, and Mahmud Mira commanders of the Qalatan Front; ArisKhano and Mahmud Ahmad Babkayi commanders of the Albeh-Koyek Front; and As'adKoshavi, Mohammad Amin Mirkhan, and Sheikh-Omer Shandari commanders of the Margavar Front. Although several of the aforementioned had led Peshmarga forces earlier, including SalihKaniyaLanji and Mohammad Amin Mirkhan (both of whom had commanded since the 1943 raids on Iraqi police stations), the loss of many officers to executions in Iraq and Iran forced Barzani to make changes in

Peshmarga command (Barzani 2002:121;Nerwiy 2012:32).The Barzani Peshmarga, again outnumbered by their opposition, was well armed in anticipation of the conflict. Despite Iranian attempts to disarm the remnants of Mahabad, the Barzani Peshmarga was able to smuggle out 3,000 rifles, 120 machineguns, numerous hand grenades, and two 75 mm artillery cannons (Eagleton 1963:115). These cannons fell under the command of former Iranian officer Tafrashiyan and six other trained Kurdish officers. Iranian forces, on the other hand, were numerically superior and aided by American experts and weaponry (Barzani 2002:121).

In March 1947, the Peshmarga finally faced their Iranian foes (Lortz 2005:32). During the conflict the Peshmargaonce again fought with tenacity and dedication (Ghassemlou 1963: 78). In various battles throughout mid-March, the Peshmargade fended themselves against numerous offensives as Iranian forces continued their attacks, often recruiting rival tribes to oust the Barzanis (Eagleton 1963:120). Even though many Peshmarga were killed in the fighting, more Iranians died as the Kurds claimed early victories. Among these victories was the Battle of Nalos, where Peshmarga forces effectively used their artillery to kill many Iranian soldiers, including Colonel Kalashi, the Iranian regimental commander (Barzani 2002:121). The Peshmarga also took many Iranian officers and soldiers captive, further decreasing Iranian armed forces effectiveness. Other Peshmarga high lights during their various post-Mahabad battles include ambushing an Iranian military column, killing 50 enemy soldiers and capturing Iranian Lieutenant Jahanbani, son of General Jahanbani. Lieutenant Jahanbani was used as a bargaining chip to save the Barzanis from Iranian air force attacks, the only Iranian method of punishing the Barzanis that at the time minimized Iranian casualties (Eagleton 1963:121).

With his forces withering under the continuous attack, Mustafa Barzani realized the need to flee Iran and cross the border into Iraqi Kurdistan. The Barzani plan of escape was two-fold: first, Sheikh Ahmad Barzani, after receiving a written guarantee of amnesty from Iraqi authorities, would cross into Iraq with a majority of the tribe, including the former Iraqi military officers who had led the Peshmarga. The second wave of Barzanis fleeing the Mahabad region was to be led personally by Mustafa Barzani and included most of the Peshmarga. The return plan faced mixed results. Once the first group crossed the Kalashin Pass the Iraqi army immediately seized the ex-Iraqi officers and brought them to trial, executing many (Chapman 2008:48). Among the Kurdish Army officers put to death were Izzat Abdul-Aziz, Mustafa Khoshnaw, Muhammad Mahmud, and Khayrullah Abdul-Karim. At their death, each of these officers yelled patriotic slogans praising the ideal of Kurdish nationalism (Jwaideh 2006:766). The second wave of Barzani followers also faced Iraqi forces upon

their return. Prior to crossing the border, Barzani divided his forces into five sections and appointed Sheikh Suleiman, As'adKhoshavi, Mamand Maseeh, Muhammad Amin Mirkhan, and Mustafa Mizori commanders. These commanders led their Peshmarga into Iraqi Kurdistan, defeating Iraqi police and jash forces. After their victory, Mustafa Barzani and his commanders were finally able to lead their troops into Barzan on 25 April 1947(Barzani 2002:127).

Almost immediately, the Iraqi government, after Sheikh Ahmad Barzani and other family members, sought the surrender of Mullah Mustafa Barzani (O'balance 1973:34). Knowing arresting Mustafa Barzani would not be a simple task, the Iraqi military began mobilizing forces towards the Barzan region. Once the attack became imminent Barzani realized he had to flee yet again. Because both Turkish and Iranian Kurdistan could no longer be regarded as safe haven, Barzani decided to take his Peshmarga to the relative security of the Soviet Union (Eagleton 1963:128). The Peshmarga journey to the Soviet Union began in late May 1947. Receiving accommo dations and supplies from Kurdish villages along the way (Barzani 2002:133).

Barzani and his were able to weave their way along the Iran-Turkey border and made their way north to the USSR. Often, as the Barzani-led forces crossed into Iranian territory, they had to prepare for potential Iranian military assaults. Using their well-refined skills in cover and concealment, the Peshmarga were often able to elude the Iranian military presence. In areas where stealth was impossible, the Peshmarga did not hesitate to engage their adversaries with their guerrilla tactics. On 9 June 1947, for example, the Peshmarga attacked the flank of an Iraqi army column. During the two-front attack, led by both Mustafa Barzani and As'adKhoshavi, the Peshmarga killed hundreds of Iranian soldiers, destroyed several tanks, rendered an artillery battery ineffective, and downed an Iranian aircraft. After evading or engaging the Iranian army throughout their trip, the Barzanis, along with over 500 Peshmarga and their families (Barzani 2002:135), crossed the Araxes River into the Soviet Union on 18 June 1947. In total, they traveled nearly 220 miles in 14 days (Eagleton 1963:128).

The period from 1945 to mid-1947 was integral to the development of the Peshmarga as a recognized fighting force. First and foremost, the soldiers of the Mahabad Republic were given the title of Peshmarga, a Kurdish term, rather than serbaz, the Persian word for soldier. Defining who they were in the Kurdish, rather than the Persian context, only added to the fighters' loyalty and morale. As they were being "named", the development of the Peshmarga military structure grew dramatically during the period of the Mahabad Republic. No longer was the military organization confined to fighters of the Barzani tribe. The Mahabad administration effectively merged officers and soldiers

from Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan, creating a unified Kurdish force that crossed tribal lines (Lortz 2005:34).

The downfall of the Mahabad Republic, however, destroyed the Kurdish Army's organization, as many fighters returned to their respective tribes. As a result, the Barzani Peshmarga and others loyal to Mustafa Barzani were left as the only force willing to defy the Iranian government in the name of Kurdish nationalism. Unfortunately, with their limited numbers and lack of national recognition, Barzani's trek to the USSR can be seen as his only realistic avenue of escape. With their commander leaving and their hopes for a free Kurdistan dashed, many Peshmarga had little choice but to follow Barzani into the Soviet Union (Eagleton 1963:129).

X. The Barzani's Peshmargaforce in The Soviet Union 1947-1958

Life for the Peshmarga failed to develop upon entering the Soviet Union. They were rapidly brought to an unprepared compound surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by Soviet troops. According to Masud Barzani, the Kurdish exiles were interrogated, given bread and soup, and treated as prisoners of war. The Peshmarga also were soon deprived of their leader. Within weeks of their arrival, Mustafa Barzani was escorted to Nakhichevan, Soviet Armenia, where he stayed until being transferred to shush and finally to Baku, Soviet Azerbaijan. Ultimately, many of the Peshmarga leaders were separated from the rank and file and their families. Among those separated were Sheikh Suleiman, Ali Muhammad Siddique, Sa'id Mullah Abdullah, and Ziyab Dari. The separation would not last however, as the rest of the Barzani tribe and their Peshmarga were brought to Baku by the end of 1947. While in Baku, the Peshmarga were reorganized under the command of As'adKhoshavi. Under Khoshavi, Sa'idWali Beg, Mohammad Amin Mirkhan, Mamand Maseeh, and MistoMirozi were appointed company commanders. Once reconstituted and given Soviet uniforms and weapons, the Peshmarga conducted training in "regular" military operations under the tutelage of several Soviet military officers(Lortz 2005:35). After their first few years in the Soviet Union, the Peshmarga and other followers of Barzani saw their training cease, quickly becoming subject to government manipulation. For long periods the Peshmarga were separated from their leadership with many forced into hard labor. Only after Barzani personally wrote to Soviet leader Josef Stalin did conditions finally According to Dana Adams Schmidt, Barzani inquired about refuge for him and his men in the U.S. while in a meeting with U.S. Ambassador George V. Allen in Tehran improve for his followers(Schmidt 2008:104.). The Peshmarga were finally reunited with their command in late 1951. Under their developed conditions in Tashkent, Soviet

Uzbekistan, the Barzanis and the Peshmarga developed their lives dramatically. Many took advantage of the opportunity and became literate, with some even attaining degrees of higher education (Barzani 2002:143). This period of relative prosperity for the exiled Kurds also led to the interesting phenomenon of Kurdish men marrying blond haired, blue eyed Soviet women, many of whom were widows of deceased WWII Soviet soldiers (Lortz 2005:38).

Finally, after nearly 20 years, the followers of the Barzanis were allowed to live "normal" lives. Conditions also developed for Mullah Mustafa Barzani as he was eventually granted the privileges of a leader-in-exile. Throughout his years in the USSR, Barzani was capable to broadcast through Soviet radio (Edmonds 2008:62) and attended courses in language (and politics. Although many sources claim Barzani was given the rank of general in the Soviet Army (Kinnane 1964: 59).Masud Barzani denies that this occurred. Possibly most significant, however, was Barzani's ability to correspond with Kurdish exiles throughout the world, including Jalal Talabani and IsmetCherifVanly (Barzani 2002:140). Meanwhile, the successful coup d`etat of Brigadier Abdul Karim Qassim and his followers in Iraq on 14 July 1958 opened a new chapter in Iraqi-Kurdish relations. Shortly after taking power, Qassim pardoned Sheikh Ahmad Barzani and allowed Mullah Mustafa, his followers, and his Peshmarga to return to Iraq (Edmonds 2008: 150) . The Barzani exile in the Soviet Union ended after 12 years, and upon their return, the Peshmarga would once again play a prominent role in Iraqi regional politics(Lortz 2005:38).

XI. The Peshmarga in the New Republic of Iraq and Kurdish War 1958-1961

The 1958 Revolution, similar to the post-WWI political re-alignment, offered the Kurds a chance to again push for independence or political autonomy through political means. Optimism ruled as many Iraqi Kurds found a voice in the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (KDP). According to the new Iraqi governing body, power in the nation was to be shared among the Sunni, Shia and Kurdish populations (McDowall 2004: 302).After Barzani's return, the Peshmarga and other Barzani followers were allowed back into Iraq. Through a joint Soviet-Iraqi attempt, the Soviet ship Grozia carried nearly 800 returnees from the port of Odessa to Basra port in southern Iraq. Upon their arrival, the former government dissidents were warmly greeted and granted general amnesty (Barzani 2002:187). As he had with Qazi Muhammad in Mahabad in 1946, Mullah Mustafa Barzani placed himself and his Peshmarga under the command of Abdul-Karim Qassim in 1958 (Stansfield 2006:4).Qassim was knowing the Peshmarga's proven ability, employed them to suppress numerous uprisings throughout 1959. In the first of these

skirmishes, the Peshmarga successfully defeated a major demonstration by pan-Arab nationalist officers in Mosul "disillusioned by Qassim's 'betrayal'" and intent on creating a strictly pro-Arab Iraq. Although Kurdish fighters fought "at the behest of Mullah Mustafa Barzani" (McDowall 2004:304). However, Barzani did not personally command any of his Peshmarga at these attacks (Kinnane 1964: 61).

In July 1959, the Peshmarga again came to the assistance of Qassim to defeat a second revolt. Supported by anti-Iraq forces in Turkish and Iranian Kurdistan, Sheikh Rasid rose against the Qassim government, seizing police stations and surrounding pro-government forces in Sidakan. Once more Qassim called upon Barzani and his fighters to quell the uprising. After calling up 1,000 Peshmarga, Barzani was capable to defeat Sheikh Rashid's forces and in two days drive the dissenters into Iran (Barzani 2002:215). For Barzani and his Peshmarga the offensive was worth the effort, asearlier Barzani conflicts with Sheikh Rashid were among the several reasons the Feisal government attacked the Barzanis in 1931-1932(Jwaideh 2006:b24). The cooperation between Peshmarga forces, led by Barzani, and the Qassim government only served to strengthen the ties between the Kurds and the Iraqi Arabs. Among the Kurdish gains during this time were the inclusion of a Kurdish sun dish on the Iraqi flag (Izady 1992:67), placement of Kurds in high government positions, and mention in the provisional constitution of a joint Arab- Kurd "homeland"(Jawad 1990:38). The removal of pro-Arab Colonel Abdul Salam Arif, Qassim's Deputy Premier and Minister of the Interior, was also seen as a step towards Kurdish appeasement, although Arif was also regarded as a threat to Qassim(Lortz 2005:38).

Despite these acts of concession, Kurdish optimism began to wane. Throughout northern Iraq many of the traditional tribal enemies of the Barzanis, including the Harkis, Surchis, Baradustis, Jaf, and Pizhdar tribes, and followers of the late Sheikh Mahmoud, opposed the return of Mullah Mustafa Barzani and the Peshmarga and their growing ties to the Qassim regime. These tribes also began to violently revolt against the new Iraqi government in objection to the 1959 Agrarian Reform Law. Although the tribal leaders tried negotiating with Qassim, their efforts were in vain. Once again, the Peshmarga, supplemented by Iraqi military forces, were ordered to suppress dissention (McDowall 1996: 27). The Peshmarga support for Qassim ceased to be reciprocated however, as Qassim began to grow fearful of Barzani's growing political and military influence. After pardoning Baradost and Pizhdar rebels(McDowall 2004: 307).Qassim began to supply these and other anti-Barzani tribes with weapons and support throughout 1959 and 1960(O'balance 1873:39). Barzani became aware of this attempt to undermine his power after several of his tribesmen intercepted Iraqi logistic trucks on their way to the Zibari tribe. These trucks were stocked with rifles and automatic weapons and included a letter by anIraqi military officer (Schmidt 2008:75). Although Qassim denied supporting anti-Barzani tribes, relations had permanently deteriorated between him and Barzani. As tension continued to grow between Qassim and Kurdish political, tribal, and military leaders throughout 1960, Mustafa Barzani endeavored to garner support for an inevitable conflict(Lortz 2005:38).

During a visit to Moscow on 3 November 1960, for example, he spoke with "high-level" Soviet officials, including Nikita Khrushchev, and asked for Soviet aid. Although military support was not promised, the Soviets pledged to support the Kurdish Democratic Party and continued broadcasting propaganda to the Iranian Kurds(Barzani 2002:231). Barzani left the Soviet Union a "bitter and disillusioned man", unhappy with the meager support(Lortz 2005:38).The Peshmarga returned to action upon Barzani's return to Barzan in 1961. Barzani quickly used his men to take advantage of the tribal disunity in northern Iraq. Although hesitant to attack government troops, Peshmarga forces were ordered to seize strategic passes and bridges and defeat tribes unfriendly to the Barzanis (O'balance 1873:39). By the end of 1961, Barzani was able to control most of Iraqi Kurdistan(McDowall 1996: 27).

The Qassim regime, disappointed with Barzani's growing power, used a strike on Iraqi forces by Sheikh Abbas Muhammad's tribal Arkou fighters to justify air strikes throughout Iraqi Kurdistan, including Barzan (O'balance 1873:48). These strikes only solidified Kurdish resolve, unifying the tribes and bringing Mullah Mustafa Barzani officially into the conflict. According to McDowall, Qassim had "brought together two distinct Kurdish tribal groups, the old reactionary chiefs … and Mullah Mustafa whose agenda was a blend of tribalism and nationalism"(McDowall 2004: 310).

XII. The Role of the Peshmarga in the Kurdish-Iraqi War 1961-1970

As Barzani joined the still-tribal rebellion against the Iraqi government, Mullah Mustafa Barzani began to consolidate his forces and provide a system of organization to supplement his already established Peshmarga. Under Barzani's lead, non-Barzani tribal forces were used as irregulars and instructed to conduct guerrilla attacks on Iraqi military positions(Lortz 2005:39). Barzani's involvement and the recognition of the rebellion also led to the defection of thousands of Iraqisoldiers, including officers (Schmidt 2008:61). These Kurdish soldiers, who comprised as much as one-third of the Iraqi military, increased the professionalism and organization of the Peshmarga(Chapman 2008:56).

By fall 1962, after nearly a year of conflict, Barzani had nearly 15 to 20,000 troops at his command, including the 4 to 5,000 original Peshmarga. Among his other forces was a rotating reserve of 5 to 15,000 soldiers serving in six-month rotations and 10 to 20,000 local reserves serving as home guards or "territorials"(Schmidt 2008:62). Barzani divided the Peshmarga into groups of 10 (dasta), 50 (pal), 150 (sur-pal), 350 (lek), and 1,000 (surlek). With many new recruits and the deaths of several long-time Peshmarga veterans such as Mohammad Amin Mirkhan and Shaikhomer Shandari (Barzani 2002:359), Barzani was forced to make numerous leadership decisions. Appointments were made in regards to rank, with fighters becoming officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates. Among the officers, Barzani appointed Assad Khoshewi commander of the northwest sector, accountable for nearly one-third of the Kurdish force. Other command appointments included tribal leaders Abbas Mamand Agha and Sheikh Hussein Boskani (Barzani 2002:360).

With the purpose of engaging the Iraqi forces, the Peshmargaand the other miscellaneous Kurdish fighters armed themselves with Lee-Enfield bolt-action rifles, old bolt-action German rifles, Czech-made Brno rifles,(Chapman 2008:57)Soviet Seminov semi-automatic rifles, and Soviet Glashinkov machine guns. Numerous arms captured from Iraqi forces were moreover used, including the Degtyarov machine gun (Lortz 2005:40). Other weapons purchased from arms bazaars in the region were smuggled into Iraq by Syrian, Iranian, or Lebanese Kurdish benefactors (O'balance 1873:55). Unfortunately for the Peshmarga, lack of ammunition and defective rounds were a problem for their most often used weapon, the aforementioned Brno (Schmidt 2008:64). Although Chapman claims Kurdish marksmanship was poor overall, Peshmarga veterans are quick to proclaim their marksmanship prowess during battle (Chapman 2008:58).

Logistics were also an obstacle for the Peshmarga despite rules limiting distracting nonessentials from the fighting corps. Although only items necessary for the upkeep of soldiers were allowed to be carried, supplying this material proved to be difficult. As combat increased, the Peshmarga established supply points in caves throughout the region where items such as sugar, cheese, grain, rice, and excess weaponry were often available. Supporting peasantry were furthermore encouraged to set aside 10 percent of their produce for the cause as Peshmarga carried little to no money (Schmidt 2008:64). Outside sources, such as sympathetic Kurds from Iran and Turkey moreover contributed supplies to the revolution(Chapman 2008:58). By the end of the war, Iran supported the Kurdish cause with heavy weaponry and Israel sent numerous Israeli commandos who not only fought alongside the Peshmarga, however also offered "very good advice"– including setting up a communications network and training the Peshmargain sabotage and demolitions (Lortz 2005:41).

The U.S., through its clandestine agencies such as CIA, also allegedly supported the Peshmarga. (McDowall 2004: 325)Despite their ample supply, the Peshmarga faced plentiful challenges moving and carrying items. Although they had unimpeded access to major roads at night and secondary routes during the day (Chapman 2008:59).Tactical mobility dictated the Peshmarga move much of their logistics via man or donkey, neither of which carried mass quantities. Many Peshmarga were forced to maximize the little they had, incorporating homemade bombs and explosives into their arsenals (O'balance 1873:55).Besides weapons and food, the Peshmarga considered captured Iraqi military radios among their most coveted supplies. With numerous former Iraqi soldiers among the ranks, the Peshmarga were able to decipher many Iraqi transmissions and provide key intelligence for Kurdish operations. Operational decisions using this intelligence were made by Peshmarga commanders, including Mustafa Barzani, stationed in highly-mobile, makeshift command centers. Schmidt describes one "headquarters" as "a blanket under a tree above a mountain torrent" with rifles hanging from tree branches and "a canvas bag, apparently containing some papers, hung from another branch"(Schmidt 2008:64).Despite their stolen information and impressive guerrilla tactics, this lack of command and control limited head-on Peshmarga offensives and prohibited Operations consisting of more than one sarpel (150-250 troops)(Chapman 2008:59).

After realizing conflict was inevitable and exhausting all avenues of political reconciliation, the KDP finally joined the revolution in December 1961. The KDP leadership rapidly established a triangular area of command from Raniya in the north, Sulaymaniyah in the southeast and Kirkuk in the southwest. This area was divided into four sectors with separate commanders appointed to each, although Mustafa Barzani was still regarded as the "senior and presiding Kurdish leader"(Kinnane 1964: 69). Among the leaders of the KDP military were party secretary Ibrahim Ahmad, commander of the Malouma Force; Jalal Talabani, commander of the Rizgari Force; Omar Mustafa, commander of the Kawa Force; Ali Askari, commander of the Khabat Force; and Kamal Mufti, commander of the Third and Fourth Forces of Qaradagh (Stansfield 2003: 71).

The KDP forces varied little from the northern Barzani-led Peshmarga. Although even the smallest unit of the new "Kurdish Liberation Army" was assigned a political instructor, a majority of the fighting forces came from regional tribes and not Kurds from urban areas (Kinnane 1964: 69). Like Barzani's forces, these troops were also assisted in organization and tactics by

deserting Iraqi officers(McDowall 2004: 325). Using this support, the KDP was eventually able to create five battalions and a military "academy" led by a former commander of KingFeisal's Royal Guard. Despite mention of the Peshmarga fifteen years earlier, as O'Ballance, and McDowall provedthat the KDP-created force was the first to be labeled "Peshmarga" (O'balance 1873:55;McDowall 2004: 326). Similar to the armed forces of the Mahabad Republic, this Peshmarga force was also willing to face death for the idea of a recognized Kurdistan autonomous status. In the ranks of Talabani and Ahmad the leadership of the Kurdish Liberation Army became known as "sarmerga" "leading death".(Chapman 2008:60).

Initially only 20 Iraqi battalions and six mobile police units opposed the growing Kurdish rebellion. By 1963, nearly 3/4 of the Iraqi army was engaged in combat operations (Lortz 2005:43). Unlike the Peshmarga, these troops were reinforced by heavy weaponry, armor and various types of Soviet-made air support (Schmidt 2008:64). The Iraqis were also supported by the Jash(Chapman 2008:60). As they did in earlier conflicts with the Barzanis, the Iraqi government recruited numerous Kurds to fight for the government. Although many were from tribes staunch in their hatred for the Barzanis, some Jashwere unemployed Kurds seeking payment through any means(McDowall 2004: 312). Many of the tribal Jashwere placed under the command of their respective tribal leadership (O'balance 1873:57) although a select few were assigned to "The Saladin Cavalry" – a new Kurdish mercenary force(Schmidt 2008:71). At its peak, the Iraqi military employed nearly 10,000 Jash. This number decreased however, as the impartial Kurds grew tired of fighting their fellow people (O'balance 1873:57).

With their limited supply and smaller numbers the Peshmarga were forced to use nonconventional tactics such as roadblocks, ambushes, sniper attacks, and other tactics designed to "starve out" the government's soldiers. Unlike earlier Iraqi Kurdistan conflicts, the use of cavalry was limited, if not nonexistent. Peshmarga strategy was primarily infantry based and focused on the need for endurance, speed, movement by night, and deception skills advantageous in the mountainous Kurdish homeland. By 1963, the numerous battles and skirmishes between both the Barzani and KDP-led Peshmarga and the Iraqi military had become a stalemate. The Peshmarga kept control of Iraqi Kurdistan and the Qassim regime refused to grant Kurdish autonomy. Qassim was eventually overthrown by pro-Arab Baathists led by Abdul Salaam Arif. Under Arif, the pattern of Iraqi assaults and Peshmarga guerrilla counter-assaults lasted throughout the decade (McDowall 2004: 313;Lortz 2005:43).

Along with the ability to continue operations for nearly 10 years, the Kurdish-Iraqi War saw Kurdish women assist the Peshmargain ways not seen before. As members of the Kurdistan Women's Federation assisted the war effort through clandestine means (Chapman 2008:63), Margaret George, an Assyrian Kurd, led her own small Peshmarga unit near Akre. A former hospital attendant, George decided to fight after Jash forces attacked her village. After leading her unit for several years and killing a prominent Jash officer, George left to tend to her father. According to Schmidt, she was removed from command after many Peshmarga found her too impetuous to lead (Schmidt 2008:160). After her death, George became a heroine to the Kurds – the "Joan of Arc of Peshmarga".(Lortz 2005:44) Thousands of Peshmarga carried a photo of her in remembrance (Schmidt 2008:160). George remains idolized among Peshmarga, who describe her as "brilliant", "valiant", and a "great guerrilla fighter"(Lortz 2005:44).

The 1960s conflict is one of the most important eras in Peshmarga history, second only to the short-lived Mahabad Army. Kurdish soldiers again proved their skill in battle against an enemy far superior in numbers and equipment. Unlike earlier conflicts however, during the 1960s there was neither a retreat nor surrender. Because of the Peshmarga, negotiation became the only Iraqi means to victory. Although Peshmarga forces saw action in Mahabad, their force structure was unlike that of any earlier Kurdish army. As the conflict progressed from tribal-based revolts to a full-out war, three distinct Kurdish militaries developed. While some tribes maintained their traditional tribal fighting corps, the other entities, the KDP and the Barzanis, featured their own Peshmarga forces. Each of these "militaries" were successful in controlling their own region – the tribes in the northwest, central Iraqi Kurdistan led by Barzani, and the southern forces under the command of the Ahmad-Talabani-led KDP left-wing(Schmidt 2008:160).

Like the military "boundaries" separating these fronts, these three commands were also divided along the spectrum of Kurdish political ideology. Whereas the tribal groups still fought their ongoing battle against government control, the KDP Peshmarga force was the first Kurdish army in Iraq with entirely nationalist objectives. Located in the center both geographically and ideologically was Mustafa Barzani and his Peshmarga, who fought for an independent Kurdistan, albeit one governed by Barzani tribal leadership. The fighting tactics of the Peshmarga were furthermore a mix of old and new styles. Although the use of cavalry vanished into "the romantic past"(McDowall 2004:332).

The Peshmarga employed many of the guerrilla strategies of earlier conflicts. Hiding weapons depots in the mountains, for example, was seen frequently during the 1925 Sheikh Said Revolt. Other traditional strategies included using the mountains for supply points, sniper positions, and staging areas. By applying these proven

courses of action and utilizing modern ideas such as military organization and rank structure, the Peshmarga were able to become a more effective guerrilla force. The growing ability of the Peshmarga was not lost on the Iraqi government. During several rounds of cease-fire negotiations, the Iraqi government frequently called for the disbandment of the Peshmarga earlier to the granting of political autono my(Chapman 2008:70). Barzani believed dismissing the military force was "putting the cart before the horse", knowing the Peshmarga presence was essential to the Kurdish cause and could not be disbanded before the Kurdish people achieved their goals and objectives (Ghareeb 1981: 122).

Beyond their organization, tactics, and importance, the most dramatic evolvement of the Peshmarga during the 1960s was its expansion. No longer was the title of Kurdish soldier confined to the followers of Mustafa Barzani. The decision by the KDP to label their fighters "Peshmarga" not only increased the size of the force, but also instilled a growing level of pride in membership. To be called a Kurdish Peshmarga became a testament of those willing to face death for Kurdistan. Unfortunately, the ideological rift between the Ahmad-Talabani group and Mustafa Barzani would also grow, forcing the Peshmarga to choose what sort of Kurdistan they were willing to die for(Lortz 2005:48).

The Peshmarga and the Second Kurdish-Iraqi War 1974-1975

Although armed conflict was minimal from 1970 to 1974, tension between the Iraqi government and the Kurds continued unabated. Additional Kurdish political demands and an attempt on Mustafa Barzani's life served to drastically increase hostility (McDowall 2004:354). By 1973, Kurdish discouragement was solidified as reports circulated that the Iraqi military received supplies of"poison gas" from the Soviet Union(Chapman 2008:70). The Kurdish leadership again saw the Peshmargaas their only recourse for recognition. Even the Peshmarga were not immune to the developing rift between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish leadership. Shortly after its inception, conflict emerged over the duties and command structure of the Peshmarga border guard. Whereas the Baathist party wanted the force under the command of the national army so as to attack Iran and assist in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Barzani and the KDP insisted the border guard be placed under the orders of the minister of the interior. The Iraqi government also claimed the Kurds granted over 120,000 individuals paperwork identifying them as Peshmarga and exempting them from government conscription. The harshest accusations against the Peshmarga were charges of murder, kidnappings, rape, assault, and robberies similar to those levied against the Hamidiya Knights nearly 70 yearsearlier (Ghareeb 1981: 122).

Barzani, knowing conflict was forthcoming, consolidated the Peshmargaand continued to recruit throughout the early 1970s. By spring 1974, nearly 50-60,000 Peshmarga were enrolled in Barzani's ranks (Lortz 2005:48). International support also continued as Iran and Israel gave supplies and weapons, attempting to weaken the Arab nationalist regime of Ahmad al Bakr (McDowall 2004:354). The United States also assisted the Peshmarga more openly in June 1972, supplying money and weapons through the CIA, countering Iraq's ties with the Soviet Union(Chapman 2008:70). These alliances quickly drew the fury of the Baathist regime (McDowall 2004:354). With his Peshmarga larger and better equipped than ever before, Barzani, on the advice of foreign advisors (possibly Israeli, Iranian, or American), drastically reorganized his force. Earlier guerrilla tactics were abandoned and the Peshmarga were re-assigned into completely conventional units. Believing international military support would continue throughout the conflict, Barzani ordered these units to face the Iraqi enemy head-on (Ghareeb 1981: 162).

The Peshmarga units began offensive operations by seizing the town of Zakho and the surrounding Turkish frontier area after Barzani decided against further diplomacy, rejecting the Iraqi government's proposed Autonomy Law of 1974 (O'balance 1873:95). According to McDowall, Barzani's strategy was two-folds: "to hold the mountainous country along a line from Zakho to Darbandikan" and "to hold the Kirkuk oilfield in artillery range"(McDowall 2004:337). Although the Peshmarga lacked modern heavy weaponry, they were capable to supplement their own weaponry with American-style mortars and 122mm guns and Soviet-made AK-47s and RPG-7s (Chapman 2008:71). The Peshmarga furthermore received support from every aspect of the Kurdish society, as animosity towards the Iraqi government permeated through both urban and tribal Kurds (O'balance 1873:95).

The Iraqi army counterattacked in April 1974. Their strategy was also two-fold, first reinforcing their overwhelmed Iraqi Kurdistan units and second, changing to the offensive, attempting to finally eliminate the Peshmarga threat. As the Iraqis attacked deep into Kurdistan, Barzani's order to abandon guerrilla tactics and confront the Iraqi army head-on resulted in tragedy. Although the Peshmargamay have downed over 100 Iraqi planes and destroyed over 150 tanks, they lacked the firepower of the Iraqis. According to Lortz, the overmatched Peshmargaunits "stood, fought, and were blown to bits"(Lortz 2005:49). Realizing they could no longer control the cities, the remaining Peshmargafled to the mountains (O'balance 1873:95).

From their more accustomed concealed positions, the Peshmarga were capable tode crease their losses and engage the advancing Iraqi forces from hidden sniper positions. These tactics allowed the

Kurdish military to claim a kill ratio of 20 to 30 Iraqi soldiers killed for each Peshmarga deathb (Lortz 2005:50). During the Battle of Qaladize, for example, Peshmarga were able to prevent the Iraqi army from seizing the high ground near Sulaymaniyah by accompanying their mortar attacks with hidden sniper fire. The Peshmarga did not surrender their ground despite taking many casualties due to continuous Iraqi air attacks on their positions. The success of the Battle of Qaladize was one of the few bright spots for the Peshmarga during the war. With their losses mounting, their supply lines captured, and the Iraqis maintaining their positions throughout the winter of 1974, Kurdish hopes for victory were crushed. The final blow to the Peshmarga forces came via the Algiers Accord, signed between Iran and Iraq in March 1975. In an attempt to stop one of the Peshmarga's primary benefactors, Saddam Hussein met with the Iranian Shah during an OPEC summit in Algiers, Algeria (Yildiz 2004:23).

By conceding part of the Shatt al Arab waterway and limiting support for Iranian opposition groups, the Iraqi government received assurance that the border between the two nations would close and security in the area would become tighter, thereby ending Iranian infiltration and Kurdish support (Chapman 2008:72). Once the agreement was announced, Iranian artillery and other firepower quickly marched back into Iranian territory, leaving the already-battered Peshmarga nearly defenseless. With the termination of Iranian support, the allies of Iran furthermore stopped supporting the Kurdish cause. In what many Peshmarga veterans refer to as "Kissinger's Betrayal", the U.S. government ceased providing military and financial support to the Peshmarga (Lortz 2005:50). Despite their pleas, the Kurdish leadership discovered the American objective was simply to weaken Iraq and prevent an attack on Iran not to assist in achieving Kurdish autonomy (Blum 2006: 145).

The Peshmarga fantasies of American tanks and airplanes disappeared as they once again considered themselves "abandoned" by a military superpower. Seeking to gain the upper hand, Iraqi forces attacked Peshmarga positions the day after the Algiers Accord was signed. Several Iraqi divisions advanced on the remnants of the Kurdish Army as Iraqi airplanes continued to bomb select locations, including Mustafa Barzani's Galala headquarters (Lortz 2005:50). Hundreds of Kurds, both Peshmarga and civilians, were killed as Iraqi forces seized previous Peshmarga strongholds at Mount Zozuk, Mount Sertiz, and Mount Hindran. The indiscriminate Iraqi assault, lack of foreign assistance, and dwindling supplies and ammunition caused over 200,000 Kurds to flee to Iran, including 30,000 Peshmarga. Many remaining Peshmarga gave up their weapons and surrendered to the Iraqi forces while others possibly hid their weapons, hoping to continue the fight (Chapman 2008:75).

General, the Kurdish-Iraqi War of 1974-75 nearly destroyed the Peshmarga's fightingability and with it the entire Kurdish cause. Fearing reprisals, the KDP leadership fled to Iran in March 1975; upon their return to Iraq months later they found strict controls on their activities (O'balance 1873:102). Barzani furthermore fled Iran and would not return until after his death in 1979 (Ghareeb 1981: 174). The surviving Peshmarga were either forced underground or ordered to live in settlements where they were incapable to carry their rifles (O'balance 1873:100). Kurdish culture was increasingly marginalized as the uncontested Baathist party tightened its grip on Iraq. Once proud Peshmarga veterans could only watch as thousands of Kurds were relocated, villages were destroyed, and millions were forcefully integrated into Iraqi society. After over 40 years of fighting, most for the cause of Kurdish nationalism, Mustafa Barzani's last military operation was perhaps his greatest failure (Lortz 2005:50).

XIII. Conclusion

This article has endeavored to account the development of the Peshmarga and its role in the Kurdish struggle in Iraq. While supporting the objectives of Kurdish nationalism, the Peshmarga's continuous fights and defiance of central successive governments, despite being regularlyoutstripped or overpowered, have bolstered the Kurdish warrior spirit. To indication the Peshmargain passing, as many authors have done, or to label the Peshmargaas merely "guerrilla troops", is to marginalize the involvement of the organized Kurdish fighting force in twenty century Kurdish military history. For a people who have contingent on their struggling capability for centuries with the purpose of sustaining their cultural existence, it is tough to picture the Kurdish valuesin Iraq without the Peshmarga role.The broken promises of the past have forced the Kurds to look to their own as the most reliable means of protection. As seen in this study, not only have previous internal agreements have not been implemented, nevertheless the Kurds have moreover been "abandoned" by three of the world's premier superpowers: the British in the 1920s, the Soviet Union in the 1940s, and the U.S. in both the 1960s and the 1970s. It is little shock then that after gaining power the Kurds would be hesitant to disband their only factual source of self-protection. To rely on awide-ranging "Iraqi" armed forces that seeks the best concern of the Iraqi state over that of Kurdistan region would be counterproductive to the objectives of Kurdish nationalism political autonomy or independence for Iraqi Kurdistan. Inclusion in an Arab-Kurdish force would be also against the Kurdish expression give a stranger your life's blood,in the end you will regret it. Although earlier attempts were made to merge tribal warriors in an inclusive Kurdish force, the years of Barzani leadership was the turning point in creating a Peshmargaforces. Not an academically learned man,

Barzani learned the benefits of military association from the lessons learned in the early revolutions such as the Sheikh SaidRevolution and the Ararat Revolt, each of which trace their military roots to the Hamidiya Knights. By delivering levels of knowledge andmorals of conduct, he set the foundation for generations of Peshmarga. With a standard rank arrangement in place, Barzani's force developed compatible with other military commands, spreading from the Mahabad Republic to recent Peshmarga. Special Forces operations. As Barzani's military impact advanced, sodid the influence of the Kurdish nationalist movement. Without the triumphs of Barzani's Peshmarga, other Kurdish politicians would not have had the opportunity to impact and influence Iraqi Kurdish direction.

Unfortunately for the Peshmarga and Kurdish political aspirations, the Kurds must be reliant on regional cooperation to maintain any level of affluence or security in the recent geopolitical landscape. Kurdistan in general, especially Iraqi Kurdistan, is surrounded by land and lacks any independent way to export resources. Even with control of oil-rich Kirkuk, the Kurds must depend on pipelines crossing Turkish or Arab Iraqi lands. As long as the present landscape created by the Sykes-Picot Treaty of 1916 and the treaties of WWI positions, the Kurds are at the humanity of their neighbors. Their years of distrust and belief in Kurdistan, nonetheless, have mandated the need for an organized armed force, one willing to face death. As an introductory study on the subject of the Peshmarga, this article has endeavored to show the significance of the Kurdish military force and its relationship to the survival of Kurdish nationalism. It is suggested that study on this subject remain as to better relate to the mindset of the Kurdish nation.The ideal of the Peshmarga as "guardians" of Kurdish nationalism will carry on far beyond the generation of Qazi Muhammad; Mullah Mustafa Barzani and Masud Barzani and Jalal Talabani. As older Peshmargastage away from the battleground and assume political roles, new Peshmarga fill the ranks. Aliketo the long-standing bond the Kurdish people have with their scours, the institution of men and women willing to sacrifice their lives for an independent or political autonomous Kurdistan will keep on.Even Iraqi Kurdish children are considered future Peshmarga and their connection in the causeis observed at positively by their parents.

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Archaeometallurgical Studies Metallic Artifacts from the Middle Bronze age Sites of South – East of Azerbaijan

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Abstract- The article devoted research of metallic artifacts from the Middle Bronze Age sites of South – East of Azerbaijan Republic. In the article present the results of quantitative spectral analysis of metallic artifacts from study region. More part of them found in funerary monuments, dated to the period from the XX-XIX centuries BC. The purpose of the study show which alloys and metals were used in the studies periodfor manufacturing of metallic artifacts in study region. The analyses have shown that copper is the basic materials in all of them. Metallurgical results the results of analysis have shown more of artifacts made of tin bronze, one of them of copper arsenic. In study region discovered earliest artifacts of pure antimony, dated XX-XIX centuries BC. Handle of dagger from the admit burial made of tin – arsenic alloys contain 11.1 % tin and 0.85 % arsenic. It shows, that on the southeastern of Azerbaijan tin were enough and seems bring from the territory of Iran. Known, ancient tin mining are absent on the Caucasus. Nearly ancient tin mining fount on the Iran, used beginning of the III millennium BC.

Keywords: metallic artifacts, analysis, alloys, bronze, antimony, tin deposits, iran.

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I. Introduction

The article devoted Archaeometallurgical investigation of metallic artifacts from the Middle Bronze Age sites of South East Azerbaijan. More part of them is found in funereally monuments, dated to the period from XX-XIV centuries BC. According to the study period of archaeological monuments of study region investigated 40 metallic artifacts. The purpose of the study show which alloys and metals were used in the studies period for manufacturing of metallic artifacts in study region. From where bring tin which there are in composition of alloys of study artifacts? Analytical study was conducted using quantitative spectral analysis, specifically for metallic artifacts of copper based, as elaborated by the I. R. Selimkhanov (Selimkhanov, 1960).Patina covered of surface of artifacts. Sample taken for analysis is metallic powder. Analyses were performed at the Department of Archaeological Technology Institute of Archeology and Ethnography of Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences. Interpretation

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of the results of analyzes to determine the type of the alloy was carried out taking into account the accepted limits of natural impurity metal-0.5% (Kashqai, Selimkhanov, 1973).

II. Metallurgical Investigations of Artifacts

Among the findings of the monuments of the South-East of Azerbaijan attracted attention bronze axes. Known archaeology how the original Talysh axes. So far, according to the study period is known, nine such axes (Fig. 1).One of them was discovered by J. de Morgan during excavations in cemetery near the village of Hovel Lerik region (Fig 1, № 1). Three of them found from the cemeteries of Iranian Talysh (South Azerbaijan)by excavationsat J. de Morgan with his brother Henry de Morgan. One of them from stone box, near the village of Khodja Dawud Kepru, it was found with a bronze sword. Two other bronze axeswas found in burial grounds near the village of Aga Evlyar (Fig. 1, № 2, 3,4).These axes draw attention to their relief floral ornaments on the surface of the butt. Other of the bronze axes the same shape as aforementioned axes. One of them was found in a stone box near the village Askhanakeran, Astara region (Fig. 1, № 5). Others axes (Fig. 1, № 6-9),derived from the treasure near the village Lovayn, Astara region. It was accidentally discovered in the chores. It was found about 50 axes. Unfortunately, many of them lost. *Axes* were buried in the ground for safety reasons, if necessary used as a weapon, as well as tools. That's axes were cast in different molds. They were in good condition. He surface is covered with noble patina that seems to be due to the composition of the metal axes. Seem the axes to have been cast in the two double molds. Moulds could be a stone and clay, made of wax. That axes is a special version of the asymmetric axes, which are characteristic of the Talysh metallurgical hearth. These axes are different symmetry, butt and blade does not extend beyond the vertical parallel lines. Compare Talysh axes with asymmetric axes of the Caucasus and Asia Minor allow allocating Talysh axes the special type, of local product. All of axes dated XVI- XIV centuries BC (Makhmudov, 1973).Results of the analytical study axes are shown in table 1.

Metallurgical classification axes by type of alloys showed the following

1. Tin bronze   Cu - Sn 4 artifacts
2. Arsenic tin alloys Cu - As - Sn 1 artifact
3. Copper   Cu   1 artifact

Analytical study showed that all of the axes on copper basis. Four of investigated axes made of tin bronze, contain0.9, 9.15, 4.6, 5.03 % tin (table 1, № 3-6).One of them made of arsenic tin bronze, contain 7.0 % tin, 0.5 % arsenic (table 1,№ 2). One axe made of copper,(table 1, № 1). But the natural impurities, constitute the 0.375, which made copper impart hardness.

Table 1 : The results of quantitative spectral analysis of axes of Middle Bronze Age monuments of south – east Azerbaijan

№	Object,Weight Gram (G)	Content Of Elements In Weight %											Type of Alloys
		Sn	Pb	Zn	As	Sb	Au	Ag	Ni	Co	Fe	Cu	
1	Axe, 700 g	0/25	0/005	0	0.1	0.02	0	0.018	0.008	0	0/04	base	Cu
2	Axe, 800 g	7/0	0.015	0	0.5	0.015	0	0.019	0.015	0.01	0/1	base	Cu--Sn As
3	Axe, 400 g	0.09	0.03	0	0.25	0.02	0	0.04	0.01	0	0.08	base	Cu-Sn
4	Axe, 780 g	9.15	0.1	0/035	0.3	0.02	0	0.006	0.08	0.03	0.15	base	Cu-Sn
5	Axe, 875 g	4.6	0.03	0	0.3	0	0	0.028	0.002	0	0.1	base	Cu-Sn
6	Axe, 812 g	5/03	0.08	0	0.25	0	0	0.05	0.01	0	0.08	base	Cu-Sn

Note: № 1,3 from the stone box Askhanakeran, Astara region,№ 2, 4 from treasure Lovayn village, Astara region.№ 5,6 from admit burial Alikemektepe, Jalilabad region.

The next study artifacts were found on the hill Alikemektepe, near the village Uctepe from admit burials №79, №80, and also from ground burials of Jalilabad region. The admit burials, dated XX-XIV centuries BC ,ground burials dated XV- XIV centuries BC (Makhmudov, 2008).Admit burial №79 is a round hole with a diameter 2.6 m, and a depth of m,passing into the camera quadrangular. At the bottom of the camera, a depth of 3 m, were the skeleton revealed traces of a young man in a crouched position on the left side, head to the south. Metal inventory is represented by three temple pendants from silver and antimony beads. Antimony beads presented oval and round, small, cast beads.

Analyzed artifacts were satisfactory safety. In surface is covered with a thick layer of oxide, metal barely saved. Pendants are covered with a dark oxide – gray color and beads whitish – gray color. Weights suspensions were repartitions 1.83 - 1.85 grams. Weights round and oval beads 0.42 - 2.31 grams, one of biconical bead 18.3 grams. The sample taken for analysis is a powder metal oxide weight of 20 milligrams. The analysis results are presented in the following table № 2. Analyses showed that the pendants made of silver without artificial admixtures.

It is known that at the beginning of II millennium BC silver was usually already in the South Caucasus. According to the latest archaeological data, the earliest artifacts with high-grade silver, found in burial mounds near the village of Soyugbulag in Agstafa region, dated middle IV millennium BC. That beads and earrings, content silver until 81.9% (Akhundov, Gasanova, 2007).

The oldest silver artifacts discovered in Iran in the settlement of Tepe Sialk it is buttons, dating the beginning of V millennium BC and a ring in Anatolia in Beydzhesultane, dating from the end of V millennium BC (Wertaim,1964).

On the territory of Azerbaijan silver it occurs primarily in polymetallic ores. Silver ore occurrences are known in Nakhchivan Autonomic Republic, in Karabag region and on the southern slope of the Greater Caucasus (Babazadeh, 2005). In the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic silver known in Gyumushlug, Agdara, polymetallic, deposits, which is celebrated in galena (lead mineral).Native silver is noted in the alluvial of the river Tartar, on the territory of the Kelbajar region - Karabag.

In Azerbaijan, the process of extracting silver from lead ores, which is called cupellation, apparently began to practice from the middle of IV millennium BC.

Conclusive evidence is the discovery of the earliest drops of silver in the destroyed furnace dating the middle of the IV millennium BC at the settlement Alkhantepe, Jalilabad region of south east Azerbaijan (Hasanova, 2014).

In this study, specific interests have antimony beads. The analytical study, which showed that in the beginning of the II millennium BC in the South Caucasus, has melt of antimony. The deposits of antimony ores are in Azerbaijan there are in Nakhchivan -Darridag, in Lachin district - Levchay, in Kelbajar district -Zod (Babazadeh, 2005).In Georgia - Racha, Zophid deposits (Tavadze, Sakvarelidze, 1959). It should be noted that antimony ores are typically in association with

arsenic ores such as Darridag field (Babazadeh, 2005). However analyzed artifacts contain no arsenic. The origin of these artifacts should be sought by studying the composition of the aforementioned ore deposits. It is known that when melting the ore arsenic evaporates faster than antimony. Therefore it is easy to imagine antimony ore smelting in which it is rapidly restored and arsenic evaporates at high content stored in the alloy, and at a low content of alloy disappears. That is possible to obtain similar purest antimony. It should be noted that the investigated antimony beads are the earliest antimony artifacts identified in the Caucasus.

It should be noted that most of the antimony deposits of Azerbaijan contain an admixture of arsenic.

But Zod deposits where stibnite accompanies gold. However, analyzes antimony beads showed that gold is absent, and the arsenic content is negligible.

The next study artifacts found from the burial № 80. Author excavation notes that the admit burial was a rectangular pit depth of 2.6 meters (Makhmudov, 2008).In the burial camera, beside another inventory, discovered metallic artifacts, which are different than from the burial № 79.Identified artifacts are presented arms, as well as tools and decorations - it is daggers, axes, arrowheads, spearheads, buttons, awl, hook, ring, knife, beads, badgers, hatchet, bayonet, suspensions, figure of man, rots, boiler, axe (fig.№2).

Table 2 : The results of quantitative spectral analysis of metallic artifacts of Middle Bronze Age monuments of south – east Azerbaijan

№	Object, Weight Gram (G)	Content Of Elements In Weight %											Type Of Alloys
		Sn	Pb	Zn	As	Sb	Au	Ag	Ni	Co	Fe	Cu	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Dagger,81.4 g	9.35	0.55	0	0.71	0	0	0.019	0.004	0	0/12	base	Cu-Sn- As-Pb
2	Dagger,111 g	8.1	0.39	0	0.2	0	0	0.07	0.004	0	0.12	base	Cu-Sn
3	Arrowhead, 218 g.	7.5	0.005	0	0.07	0	0	0.11	0.002	0	0.1	base	Cu-Sn
4	Bayonet head, 16.2 g.	3.5	0.1	0	0.93	0.03	0	0.08	0.11	0.02	0.1	base	Cu-Sn-As
5	Hatchet, 142.5 g.	5.5	0.03	0	1.02	0.02	0	0.02	0.006	0.02	0.06	base	Cu-Sn-As
6	Arrow head, 69.5 g.	8.15	0.1	0	0.15	0	0	0.022	0.01	0.025	0.035	base	Cu-Sn
7	Dagger, 154 g.	6.95	0.02	0	0.04	0.02	0	0.012	0.002	0	0.5	base	Cu-Sn
8	Awl, 5.2 g.	3.05	0.005	0	0.3	0.04	0	0.033	0.024	0	0.1	base	Cu-Sn
9	Suspension, 1.83 g.	0.015	0.05	0	0.3	0.2	0	base	0.01	0	0.07	base	Ag
10	Suspension, 1.85 g.	0.003	0.1	0	0	0	0	base	0.015	0	0.015	base	Ag
11	Badge, 2.5 g.	0.25	0.2	0	0.3	0	0	base	0.02	0	0	base	Cu
12	Button, 1.3 g.	0.3	0.2	0	0.25	0	0	0.03	0.02	0	0	base	Cu
13	Button, 1.7 g.	4.6	0.2	0	0.3	0	0	0.05	0.01	0	0.08	base	Cu-Sn
14	Spear head, 315 g.	6.1	0.03	0	0.2	0	0	0.022	0.01	0	0.1	base	Cu-Sn
15	Hook, 14 g.	0.33	0.02	0	0.25	0	0	0.033	0.8	0	0	base	Cu-Ni
16	Arrow head, 8.3 g.	5.5	0.03	0	2.5	0	0	0.007	0.08	0.005	0.01	base	Cu-Sn-As
17	Arrow head, 8.2 g.	2.7	0.18	0	0.25	0	0	0.05	0.021	0	0.005	base	Cu-Sn
18	Button, 7 g.	3.7	0.03	0	0.3	0	0	0.045	0.002	0	0.05	base	Cu-Sn
19	Button, 1.2 g.	5.05	0.03	0	0.2	0	0	0.13	0.002	0	0.1	Base	Cu-Sn
20	Badge, 3.2 g.	7.3	0.005	0	0.03	0	0	0	0.001	0	0.1	base	Cu-Sn
21	Badge, 2.7 g.	10.13	0.002	0	0.05	0.1	0	0.005	0.002	0	0.1	base	Cu-Sn
22	Bead, 2.31 g.	0.001	0.001	0	0.02	base	0	0.0003	0.005	0	0.07	0.03	Sb

Note: № 1-21 from admit burial № 79, 80, Aliemektepe. № 22-29 from admit burial № 79 Alikemektepe, dated XX-XIX centuries BC. № 30 settlement Misharchay 1, dated XXI-XX centuries BC. № 31-33 from ground burial near the settlement of Uchtepe, dated XV-XIV centuries BC. Author of archaeological excavation F. R. Makhmudov.

Metallurgical classification artifacts by type of alloys showed the following

1. Arsenic copper   Cu-As   1 artifact
2. Arsenic tin bronze   Cu - As - Sn   5 artifacts
3. Tin bronze   Cu - Sn   13 artifacts
4. Arsenic tin lead alloy   Cu - Sn – As-Pb   1 artifact

5. Copper nickel alloy	Cu –Ni	1 artifact
6. Silver	Ag	2 artifacts
7. Copper	Cu	3 artifacts
8. Antimony	Sb	7 artifacts

The results of analytical studies showed in table 2. It should be noted hatchet (table 2, № 5) which in its compositions differs from other axes, in its allay hands 1.2 % of arsenic and 5.5 % of tin.

Author ofexcavations indicates that the shape of that hatchet are known in monuments of the III millenium BC (Makhmudov, 2008). The same can be said.

about the compositions of the alluy, that alluy stated to appear from the middle of theIII millenium BC (Selimkhanov, 1996-1997).In study period such alloy can be explained by melting scrap containing arsenic. In that burial found the awl, which is also known from earlier monuments, content of 3.05 % tin. It is indicates, that the tools in the studied period became stronger. This is also evidenced analytical study of revealed weapons. Analyses showed that all the weapons made of bronze content of 2.7 - 9.35% tin.In the same burial revealed two tetrahedral bayonets. One of them has a stalk with a nozzle and the other without a dedicated cutting.Analytical study of one of these bayonets weighing 16.2 g showed that its composition is a copper-tin-arsenic alloy containing 3.5 % tin, 0.93 % of arsenic, and the low content of natural impurities of lead, antimony, silver, bismuth, nickel, cobalt and iron.In the complexes of metal artifacts also includes two spearheads (fig 2, № 6,7). The testing spears heads were satisfactory preservation, so the sample selected for analysis is a powder oxides and metal shavings.Analysis of the spear head weighing 218 gram, has shown that it is quite durable, made of bronze containing 7.5 % tin.The second spear head weighing 315 gram contain 6.1 % tin, with minor natural impurities of lead, arsenic, silver, bismuth, nickel, iron (table 2,№ 14). In the same burial discovered three daggers.Analytical study showed that all daggers made of bronze content tin in the range 6.95 - 8.1 % (table.2, № 1,2,7).

Among them, it should be noted, blade of dagger weighing 81.4 gram, which made of the multi-component alloy, containing tin increased admixture of lead - 0.55 % and 0.71% arsenic.The remaining elements of the qualitative and quantitative ratio are natural impurities raw copper ores from which melted this alloy.Among the analyzed artifact there are three arrowheads weighing 69.5, 8.3, 8.5 grams.Analytical study shows that they are copper - based, contain an admixture of tin increased 2.7, 5.5, 8.15 %.One of them with small wings contain, arsenic impurity increased - 2.5 % and the remaining elements represent a minor impurity's of natural raw copper ores (table 2, № 16).

Analytical studies have been also decorations presented four badges in weight from 2.5 to 3.2 grams and five buttons, weighing from 0.7 to 1.7 grams.

The badges like tetrahedral star and buttons were hemispherical. It should be noted that the artifacts submitted for analysis, at best, were satisfactory preservation, coated with a thick layer of oxides. Buttons and barges were completely rusted, the metal is not saved.Therefore we investigated three badgers and four buttons, a satisfactory safety.Sample given for analyses is a powder of green oxide.The results showed that the badges and buttons are made of copper-based alloys. From the three, of badges, one was copper, the other two of bronze containing 7.3, 10.13 % of tin.Other intentions impurities absent, there are only minor natural impurities of raw copper ores (table 2, № 11, 20, 21).Among the investigated artifacts of greatest interest is the fishing hook, which resemblesa weight of 14 grams. Despite the fact that it made from a thin metal sheet with a needle tip, it was goodpreservation.The surface is covered with such a layer of patina, metal saved.The sample taken for analysis, are metal filings.Therefore, the analysis had to be flawless. The analysis showed that the alloy material of the hook, is a copper-nickel, content of 0.8% nickel, the other elements are negligible and are natural impurities of copper ores.In the territory of Azerbaijan nickel ore absent.Therefore, all products containing nickel believed imported (Selimkhanov, 1996, 1997).Indeed, in the territory of Caucasus and also in Azerbaijan, industrial nickel deposits are absent.It should be noted that within the territory of Azerbaijan held intermittently ophiolite belt, which passes through the middle of the Small Caucasus - from areas of Lachin and Kelbajar. In the north - westerly direction the belt through Zod pass and Shahdag Ridge goes to the northern shore of thelake of Geoychaand then pass on the territory in Turkey.In the south-east direction ophiolite belt can be traced to the Iran and hidden under the sediments river of Araks.The length of the ophiolite formation on the territory of Azerbaijan more than 180 kilometer, width from 2 to 16 kilometer, sometimes reaches up to 25 kilometer (Abdullayev, Azizbekov, Kashqai,1961).Ophiolite ores on the territory of Azerbaijan content1.5 % nickel(Babazadeh, 2005).

It should be noted that on the territory of Azerbaijan in the settlement Babadervish of Gazakh area, dated middle of the III millennium BC found another fishing hook. In its compositions contains 0.99% - tin, 1.3% arsenic, the other elements are negligible (Narimanov, Selimkhanov, 1965).When comparing the results of analyzes of both hooks it can be seen that the study hook in its composition is very different from the hook of the settlement Babadervish. However, both hooks are made of durable alloy that can withstand fairly

heavy loads.The author of excavation the burial № 80 dated it to a period no later than the first quarter of the II millennium BC (Makhmudov, 2008).

The following artifacts are revealed under investigation from the ground burials near the settlement Uchtepe dated XV - XIV centuries. BC (Makhmudov, 2008).It is dagger weighing 378 grams, knife -51.5 grams, figure of man- 8 grams. Analysis show figure of man, made of arsenic bronze, contain 2.3 % of arsenic. Blade of dagger made of tin bronze, contain 0.5 % of tin. Handle of dagger and knife made of copper tin arsenic alloys, contain 11.1, 2.6 % of tin and 0.85, 0.99 % of arsenic (table 2, № 30-33).

III. Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that the study has shown that most of artifacts were melt from raw materials of local origin.

Classification artifacts showed that in the study period for production artifacts widely used tin bronze.In composition of arsenic tin bronze beginningadd lead.

The development and the extensive system of economic trade and cultural - relationswith Iran of North Caucasus, which passes through the territory of Azerbaijan, has been widely developed in the study period. This is a crucial factor in mass production and widely developed of tin bronze on the territory of Azerbaijan.

From the foregoing, it follows that for the supply of bronze metallurgy of South - Eastof Azerbaijanin study period could be depositsof Iran -Deh Hossain (Helwing, 2009).

In study period on the South East of Azerbaijan also melt silver, antimony, copper – nickel alloy, continued melting arsenic copper, copper, arsenic tin bronze and multi components alloys of copper - tin - arsenic – lead.

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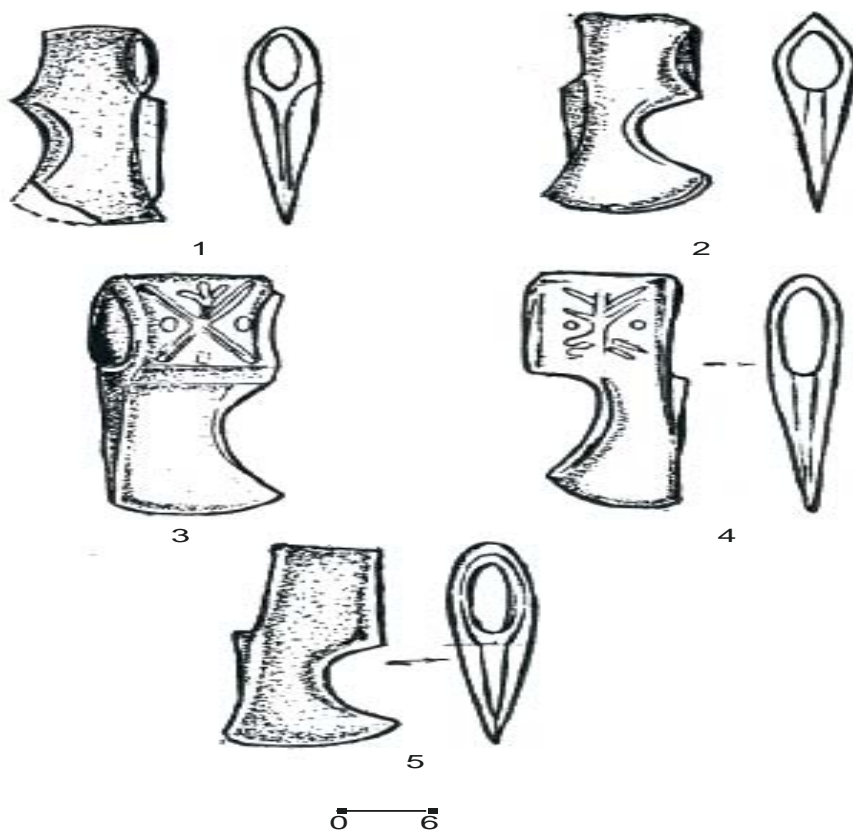12. Wertime T.A. (1964), Man's First Encounters with Metallurgy. Science, vol.146, 1257 - 1267.

Figure 1 : Axes of Talysh
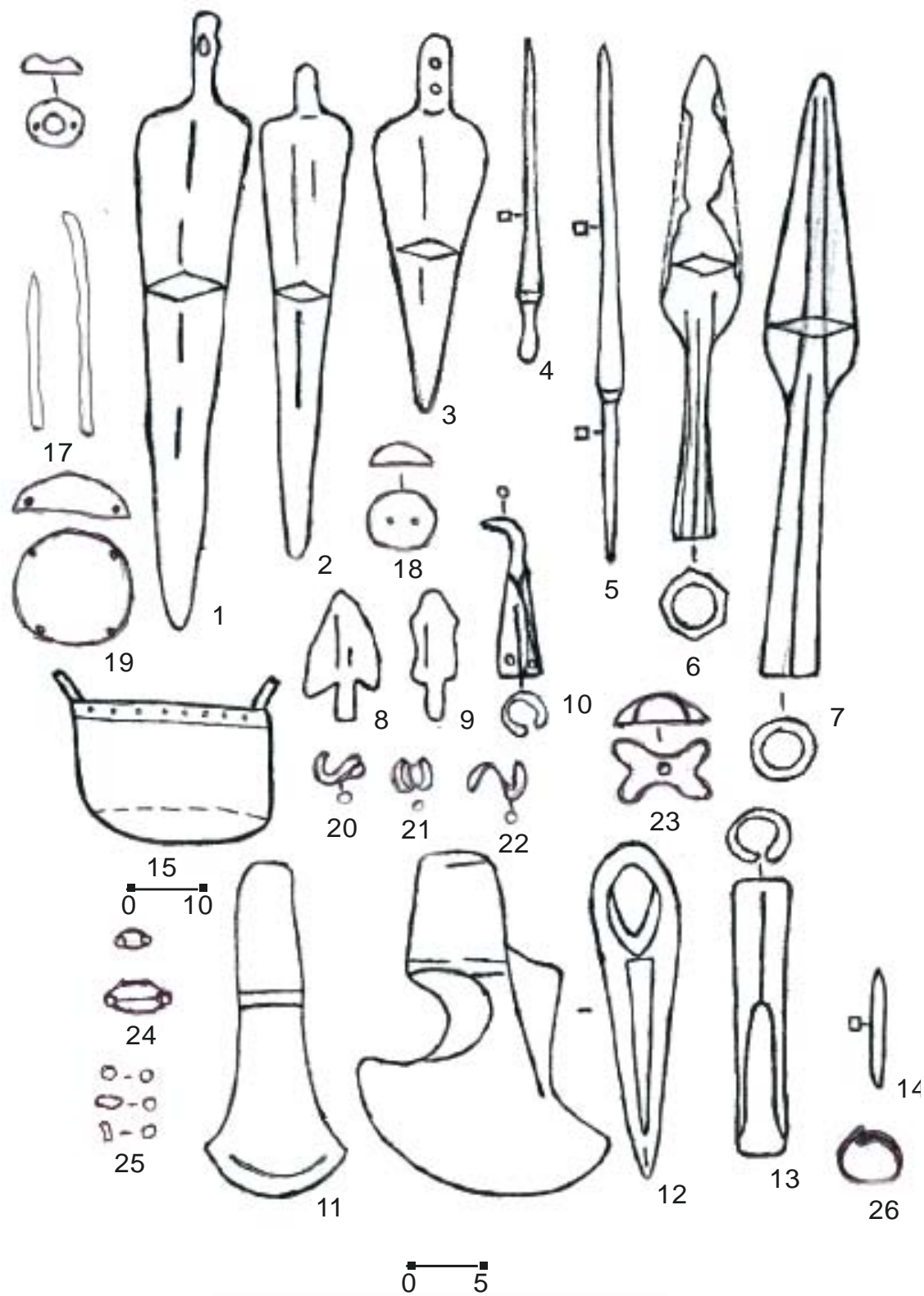
Figure 2 : Metallic artifacts from admit burials of settlement of Alikemektepe

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Yoruba Community in Gusau, North West Nigeria: A Success Story of Cordial Inter Ethnic Relations

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Abstract- Perhaps, the fact that Nigeria was artificially created explains why inter-relations between different ethnic and cultural groups in most of the major cities in the country is characterized by constant discord. In Jos, the capital of Plateau state for example, the relation between the Hausa and Birom has for long been characterized by hostilities. In Kano, Hausa and Igbo relations has most of the time than not been that of suspicion and antagonism. This same story of hostile inter-relation characterized Yoruba-Hausa relations in Lagos and Ibadan. However, the situation in Gusau (our area of study), in the present Zamfara State has been different since the early years of the Yoruba settlement in the town. The indigenous Hausa communities have been co-existing cordially with the Yoruba migrant to the extent of close marital and strong economic inter-dependence.

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YORUBACOMMUNITYINGUSAUNORTHWESTNIGERIZASUCCESSSTORYOFCORDIALINTERETHNICRELATIONS

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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Abstract- Perhaps, the fact that Nigeria was artificially created explains why inter-relations between different ethnic and cultural groups in most of the major cities in the country is characterized by constant discord. In Jos, the capital of Plateau state for example, the relation between the Hausa and Birom has for long been characterized by hostilities. In Kano, Hausa and Igbo relations has most of the time than not been that of suspicion and antagonism. This same story of hostile inter-relation characterized Yoruba-Hausa relations in Lagos and Ibadan. However, the situation in Gusau (our area of study), in the present Zamfara State has been different since the early years of the Yoruba settlement in the town. The indigenous Hausa communities have been co-existing cordially with the Yoruba migrant to the extent of close marital and strong economic inter-dependence. This paper therefore seeks to shed some light on what can appropriately be termed the success story of Yoruba-Hausa relations with some emphasis on some of the factors that have been responsible for the cordial and peaceful co-existence for over a century. In general, the relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba communities in Gusau has been very cordial and amicable. The Hausa community have been very hospitable and accommodating and have not been hostile to migrant communities in Gusau and this attitude has indeed promoted an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence that enabled the migrant communities to settle and engage in different commercial endeavours without any fear or molestations from any quarter. The study discovered that one of the most fundamental reasons why the Yoruba migrant community were able to settle in Gusau in large numbers could be because of the tolerant and accommodating attitude of the indigenes to outsiders. The people of Gusau are noted for their peculiar attitude of loving strangers. It is not surprising that the indigenes are very accommodating. This is because the town itself was founded by strangers and Yoruba have also decided to settle down in the town because, the people have a carefree attitude and are not xenophobic to religious or ethnic chauvinism like in other parts of the country and were therefore able to maintain peace and avoided senseless religious and ethnic uprisings in the area.

I. Introduction

Prior to the advent of the British Colonial rule, what is today Nigeria was a conglomeration of numerous polities that included the Benin Empire, the Lower Niger kingdoms (popularly referred to as the oil River), the Sokoto Caliphate and the Kanem Bornu. Others include the Oyo Empire of the Yoruba and the Arochukwu Empire of the Southern Eastern Region. These territories were colonized by the British in piecemeal; and by 1904 what is today Nigeria consisted of four separate units, the colony of Lagos, the Egba protectorate, the protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria.[1] The process of the incorporation started in May 1906 when the Bights of Benin and Biafra, Egba protectorate and the protectorate of Southern Nigeria were merged with the colony of Lagos to become the Colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria. But the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was kept administratively separate until 1914 when Northern and Southern protectorates were amalgamated and the name Nigeria was artificially created as a single entity.[2]

Commenting on the artificiality of Nigeria, Coleman asserts that:

> …the artificiality of Nigeria's boundaries and the sharp cultural differences among its people point up to the fact that Nigeria is a British creation and the concept of the Nigeria nation is the result of British presence.[3]

Perhaps, the fact that Nigeria was artificially created explains why inter-relations between different ethnic and cultural groups in most of the major cities in the country is characterized by constant discord. In Jos, the capital of Plateau state for example, the relation between the Hausa and Birom has for long been characterized by hostilities. In Kano, Hausa and Igbo relations has most of the time than not been that of suspicion and antagonism. This same story of hostile inter-relation characterized Yoruba-Hausa relations in Lagos and Ibadan.

However, the situation in Gusau (our area of study), in the present Zamfara State is has been different since the early years of the Yoruba settlement in the town. The indigenous Hausa communities have been co-existing cordially with the Yoruba migrant to the extent of close marital and strong economic inter-dependence. This paper therefore seeks to shed some light on what can appropriately be termed the success

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story of Yoruba-Hausa relations with some emphasis on some of the factors that have been responsible for the cordial and peaceful co-existence for over a century.

II. History and the Establishment of Gusau

It is not the intention of this paper to discuss the history of Gusau as this has received attention from other scholars. Suffice to say however that Gusau was a by-product of the Jihad in the 19th century and was founded by Malam Sambo Dan Ashafa in 1811.[4]

At the initial stage of its establishment, the Hausa and Fulani were the dominanat ethnic and cultural groups in the town. However, the situation became transformed from the early 20th century with the British occupation and subsequent extension of the railway; Gusau assumed a new position of importance with the extension of the railway in 1929 that dramatically changed the ethnic composition of the town. The new development led to the influx of many more Nigerians-with the prospects of working on the railway line and European commercial firms that followed the railway. Before the railway line reached Gusau there were only five foreign commercial firms[5] active in the town, but after the completion of the line seventeen[6] commercial firms were operational. As a link between North and South, Gusau during the colonial era was one of the leading centres of distributing hides and skin. Thus, within two decades of the British occupation, Gusau was transformed into a thriving commercial centre. Writing about Gusau in a district report in 1936 an administrative officer, MR. C. W. Cole, pointed out that from a purely business point of view 'Gusau in time of the season is second only to Kano in importance.'[7] In the development of modern industries, the town was one of the pioneer industrial areas of the north. Such changes in the pattern of economic activities changed the nature of ethnic composition. Between 1950 and 1953 the colonial authorities identified thirty principal ethnic nationalities living in the town. Chiefly among whom were Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe and quite a number of other ethnic groups from all parts of Nigeria. All these diverse ethnic groups impacted on the social and economic transformation of the town that became heterogenous, highly urbanized and diverse. The Urhobo for instance are well known as distillers of a native gin call-*ogogoro.* In fact most of these groups seem to be more interested in beer and alcohol business as many of them owned beer parlours and hotels in Gusau and its environs.

Table 1 : Industries Established in Gusau, 1923-1974

Name of Industry	Year of Establishment
British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A)	1923
Zamfara Textile Industries Limited (Z.T.I.L)	1963
Gusau Tanning Company	1967
Gusau Metal Construction Company	1969
Gusau Sweet Factory	1972
Gusau Oil Mill	1974

Source: Fieldwork conducted in Gusau in 1999.

III. The Yoruba Community

Unlike some migrant communities who arrived Gusau after the 2nd World War, the Yoruba settlement in Gusau started in the early days of colonial rule and some of them even worked either in the railway department, the colonial civil service, the imperialist commercial companies and even as cooks/stewards with some of the colonial firms. Increasing economic opportunities in the late 1920s attracted more Yoruba immigrants to Gusau and by the 1930s the number of the Yoruba traders increased because of the intensification of trading activities by the European companies and most of these Yoruba were independent traders whose chief activity was either groundnut buying or running motor transport business during the dry season.

The ethnic distribution in Gusau between1950-1953 gave the total number of Yoruba male adult tax payers as 631 in 1950, 712 in 1951, 668 in 1952 and in 1953 the figure rose to 720. But the Gusau Census Population of 1952 put the entire figure of the Yoruba community at 963.[8]

Thus by the early 1960s a community of Yoruba consisting of traders, workers and artisans had evolved in Gusau. As most of the Yoruba immigrants were traders they settled in Sabon Gari area. The most common items they brought were kola nuts, salt, potassium and fruits which they exchanged for livestock, hides and skin, onions and pepper.[9]

IV. Inter-Community Relations

Since their initial settlement in Gusau during the early colonial era, the Yoruba have been living peacefully with the indigenous communities. The cordial nature of Yoruba and Hausa communities perhaps, is due to the long term economic interrelations. The long settlement of Yoruba and their economic activities has greatly promoted mutual trust that had even become the basis of inter-marital relations. Commercial interaction also led to exchange of ideas socially. The result was that culture became diffused over a particular time.

Economically, the indigenous people produce agricultural commodities that are exchanged with items such as palm oil brought by Yoruba traders. Some Yoruba traders-*alajapa*[10] (commercial artisans or traders) always travel to Gusau to buy some of these commodities in large quantities for sale in Yorubaland. Indeed, the trade has received much attention that even some Yoruba traders through the 'trust system' usually give out money to their Hausa customers who make the necessary arrangement for the purchase of the required consignments. This to a very large extent brought together the Hausa grain producers and the Yoruba grain buyers.[11]

According to an informant[12] some of the Yoruba *alajapa* specializes in the sale of lace materials, cotton and English waxes, chains, bangles, women and children's wears and their major customers she added are the Hausa women. She explained that the Hausa women atimes come with their husbands in the night to make purchases or the materials were taken to them at home and it was through this act of trading that some Yoruba women established contact and friendship with the Hausa women. The Yoruba have been successful in this commercial atmosphere because of their creative innovations in commerce and trade, their religious zeal and the policy of avoiding conflict with their host so as to prevent arousing local antagonisms at the expense of their commercial pursuits. What is also important is the fact that commercial relations between the Yoruba and Hausa was based on mutual trust which was strengthened by the Islamic religion.[13] Some of the Hausa traders are also noted for their honest trading practices because of the dictates of Islamic faith. The advantage the Yoruba trader has over his Igbo trading counterparts can be compared to that which the Lebanese trader has over his European and African competitors.[14] The Yoruba like the Lebanese come from an environment where wealth is used to measure one's prestige and importance in the society; and fearing to return home empty-handed, make them to always accept much lower profit margins or sales than his Igbo counterpart[15], spending little on himself or re-investing every bit of profit he could make.[16]

a)   Relations promoted through apprenticeship

Some of the earliest Yoruba who settled in Gusau possessed certain skills they gradually impacted to some indigenes. Some of the Yoruba artisans found in Gusau are those in tailoring, carpentry, bakery, baking, grinding, motor and machine repairs, shoe making, electrical works, plubming, silver smithing and printing. Through interaction and mutual understanding quite a number of Hausa youths undergo apprenticeship training under Yoruba masters for period ranging from 3-5 years; and as at today large number of Hausa artisans have Yoruba professionals as their masters.[17]

b)   Taxi transport industry

The contributions made by the introduction of the taxi transport industry by the Yoruba in Gusau in 1969 also enabled the first Hausa man[18] in 1980 to learn how to drive; and since then large number of Hausa youths and adults have learnt to operate taxi and other motor vehicles transportation business. The dominance of Yoruba and their cordial relationship with their host explained why a Yoruba man-Alhaji Najeem Usman Yasin was elected the first State Council Chairman of the National Union of Road Transport Workers for Zamfara State in 1996.[19]

c)   Relations promoted through religious activities

The cordial inter-relations between Yoruba and Hausa communities in Gusau have also been the result of Islamic factor and Islamic practices.[20]This became possible because large numbers of Yoruba migrant Muslims who feel more at home and have much better understanding with the host community and other migrant groups such as Igbo who are predominantly Christians. Common Islamic practices such as observing the same Islamic festivals and praying in the same mosques have been important means of social interaction and mutual cooperation between the two groups. The Yoruba have also identified themselves with Hausa/Muslim names and mode of dressing.[21] In the opinion of an informant,[22] an average Yoruba in Gusau has the confidence to settle anywhere within the town since he believes he shares the same religion, name and ways of life with his host. What one can say in this regard is that religion and other cultural factors, as argued by Yandaki[23] remain part of the most important integrating factors influencing communal and inter-ethnic and tribal relations between Hausa and Yoruba communities in Gusau.[24] This became especially so because the religion has taught the follower to consider every adherent of the religion a brother or sister who is also expected to cooperate with one another and perform religious activities together.[25] The Islamic activities that always bring Yoruba and Hausa together include Friday prayer and *tafsir* in the month of *Ramadan*, weddings and naming ceremonies amongst others. It should be noted that the *Ansar-ud-deen* society was granted licence in 1977 to observe Friday congregation prayers in its mosque and this has also added to the existing cordial relationship between the two communities because majority of Muslim faithfuls that attend this Friday prayers are Hausa Muslims. It is also on record that in order to promote the cordial relationship among all the Muslim populace of Gusau irrespective of social and cultural backgrounds the former Sarkin Yarbawa Gusau[26] donated some plots of land to be used as Muslim cemetery in Gusau.

d)   Inter-ethnic Marriages

Another factor of vital importance in the Hausa-Yoruba relations in Gusau is in the area of inter-ethnic

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marriages which has been promoting cordiality. These marriages have to some extent helped to cement the bond of friendship and unity between them. According to Cohen[27] inter-group marriages between the Hausa and Yoruba have been a means of establishing mutual friendship and alliance between them both in groups and at individual levels. Sa'id[28] also added that inter-group marriage has long been an easy means for inter-ethnic contact and relations.

Two Yoruba ladies[29] set the pace with regards to inter-ethnic marriages in Gusau. These marriages initially were talk of the town as it took the parents of these two ladies time before they could bless the union. The marriages could be said to have opened the 'floodgate' to other Yoruba women and even men to marry from the Hausa community. In the course of the field work it was discovered that Hausa and Yoruba inter married considerably and such marriages enable the communities to understand each other more and helped to provide an enabling environment for good relationship. As at the period when the field work was carried out twenty-three Yoruba ladies have gotten married to Hausa men and out of which four originally were Christians who converted to Islam.[30] On the other hand sixteen Yoruba men[31] also married Hausa women. Meanwhile, the idea behind these inter-ethnic marriages according to a source as to have relatives in as many communities as possible in order to enhance peaceful relationship and also ensure a peaceful co-existence.

e) Educational relations

Perhaps what needs not to be underestimated on the religious unity in Gusau is the strong inter-relation between the religious institutions (both Islamic and Christianity) and education. Since the formative years of the settlement of Yoruba community in Gusau, religious organizations have been the main agents of educating the people especially children of the migrant communities. By 1940, two Christian organizations[32] had already built primary schools in Gusau. Since the Missionaries were in the forefront of preparing the minds of Nigerians for cultural imperialism, the colonial state left education in the hands of the missions and the schools they established were aimed at winning converts to Christianity. It was under this atmosphere that the Yoruba Muslims in Gusau established the *Ansar-ud-deen* Primary School in 1968[33] to cater for Yoruba migrants Muslim children even though in later years Christians were also admitted into the School. With the establishment of this school, all Yoruba Muslims whose children were already attending Christian missionary schools were withdrawn and enrolled at the *Ansar-ud-deen* primary school and later the doors of the school was opened to Hausa and other migrant communities in Gusau irrespective of their religious and cultural backgrounds. The school had its first indigenous headmaster[34] in 1973.

f) Political Relations

Another area through which the Yoruba migrant community relates with their host is politics. A Yoruba man-Alhaji G. O. Olanipekun[35] (an indigene of Offa) contested against a Hausa man-Alhaji Bala Waima and was elected on non-party basis to represent Sabon-Gari ward in the Gusau Local Government Council in 1953. Also with the creation in 1954 of the Gusau Town Council vide the Native Authority Law which stipulate among other things that the Council shall be composed of not less than twenty-six members of whom twenty shall be elected members, three Yoruba men representing the Action Group were elected.[36]

One other avenue through which the Yoruba migrant community have identified with their host was during the agitation for and the eventual creation of Zamfara state. The agitation for the state started in 1979 continued until the state was eventually created on October 1st, 1996. The Yoruba migrant community donated the sum of sixty thousand (#60,000.00) to the Movement for the creation of the state. In addition two prominent Yoruba men[37] donated two houses for the take off of the new administration in the state. The Offa Descendants union on the other hand put at the disposal of the Department of Arts and Culture their community hall for use for two years free of charge.

g) The Language factor in Social inter-ethnic relations

It is an historical fact that interaction between cultures can often be rewarding and beneficial to all parties concerned. Immediately after their settlement, Yoruba migrants ceased to be 'foreigners' in their new society. This happened despite the conscious adherence and preservation of their Yoruba language, dress and other norms and values. Through the social institutions they established,[38] the Yoruba community reduced the chances of their children from growing up imbued with aspirations of their host's culture, so that Hausa cultural identities would not be stamped on their minds; but that is not to be. Social interaction with members of the Hausa society impacted on the socio-cultural life of the Yoruba, most especially on those that were born, bred and brought up in Gusau. Most of the Yoruba migrants especially those living in the old city where the host are dominant have become bilingual and this has enabled them to continue to integrate easily since they can communicate with their host effectively. The involvement of the Yoruba migrants in many activities alongside their host in Gusau contributed greatly to quite a number of Yoruba been 'Hausanised' completely. This is in spite of the fact that members of the Yoruba community in Gusau still maintain strong links with home and strong ties among themselves and to some of them 'home' is Gusau. The status of some Yoruba youths ability in speaking Hausa language was enhanced by two developments. Firstly, the acquisition of local language by expatriates has been enshrined in

our constitution as one of the pre-conditions for the grant of formal citizenship for those wishing to naturalize and secondly, the then 6-3-3-4 system of education made Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo to be the three languages to be taught in schools. Many Yoruba choose to speak the Hausa language because it has become to them the language of survival and integration in the community as far as they were concerned.

Our research in the area confirmed that these Yoruba have lost their 'Yorubaness' including the language and family history etc.[39] Some Yoruba youths that were interviewed in the course of this research were interviewed in Hausa rather in their (Yoruba) language. However, quite a number of them still speak the Yoruba albeit with some difficulties. Such type of situation according to Adamu[40] is due to Hausa cultural penetration into different ethnic groups and that as he further argued, Hausa culture continue to captivate the minds of all those who come into contact with it.

V. Conclusion

In general, the relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba communities in Gusau has been very cordial and amicable. The Hausa community have been very hospitable and accommodating and have not been hostile to migrant communities in Gusau and this attitude has indeed promoted an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence that enabled the migrant communities to settle and engage in different commercial endeavours without any fear or molestations from any quarter.

According to an informant,[41] one of the most fundamental reasons why the Yoruba migrant community were able to settle in Gusau in large numbers could be because of the tolerant and accommodating attitude of the indigenes to outsiders. The people of Gusau are noted for their peculiar attitude of loving strangers and no wonder that the town has been described as Gusau *garin Yarbawa.*[42] It is not surprising that the indigenes are very accommodating. This is because the town itself was founded by strangers and Yoruba have also decided to settle down in the town because, the people have a carefree attitude and are not xenophobic to religious or ethnic chauvinism like in other parts of the country and were therefore able to maintain peace and avoided senseless religious and ethnic uprisings in the area.[43]

Endnotes

[1] According to Ijomah the whole area had been referred to as Hausa territories, the Niger Empire, Niger Sudan and the Niger Coast protectorate. See B. I. O. Ijomah, 'Nationalism and Socio-Political Integration: The Nigerian Situation', PhD Thesis, USA, Northwest University, 1972, p.1.

[2] It is worth noting that in January 197, Miss Flora Shaw a correspondent of the London Times who later married Lord Fredrick Lugard (the first Governor-General of Nigeria after amalgamation(was the one who suggested in an article published in the Times the name 'Nigeria' for the whole territory in January 189; and as from 1914 the name was adopted.

[3] J. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, California, University of California Press, 1958, p. 45

[4] A. F. Usman, 'Islam and the Integration of Migrant Communities: The Yoruba Experience in Metropolitan Gusau', in M. T. Usman and M. A. Rufa'I (eds.), A Social and Economic History of Hausaland Since c. 1500A.D., Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, forthcoming

[5] They are: U.A.C, S.C.O.A, C.F.A.O, G. B. Ollivant and C. P. Leventis.

[6] They are: U.A.C, S.C.O.A, C.F.A.O, G. B. Ollivant, C. P. Leventis, H. T. Pearson & Co, London & Kano Trading Co, P. Z. Ltd, A. J. Tangalakis &Co, L. Ambrosini Ltd, Jurgen Colonial Product Ltd, John Holt & Co, G. Gottschalch & Co Ltd, Standard Co of Nigeria, Barclays Bank, Bank of British West Africa and H. B. W. Russell Co Ltd.

[7] WJHCB/Gusau District Report/26, 1936, p.3.

[8] Ibid.

[9] M. Adamu, Adamu,The Hausa Factor in West Africa Histoy, Zaria, A. B.U Press, 1978, p.60. See also Y. A. Lasisi, 'Gusau in the 20th Century: The Case of Hausa and Yoruba Relations', B. A. History Project, University of Sokoto, 1988, p.16

[10] *Alajapa* or better still *Olowo apo* are basically commercial artisans or traders. They usually take to Gusau agricultural products such as banana, oranges, pine-apple, kola-nuts, yams etc. and in return they buy livestock products, hides and skin, onions, beans, ground-nut oil, pepper etc.

[11] Alhaji Abdulfatai Coker Sabongero, business man, oral interview, Sokoto, 1th June, 2000, 51 yrs old.

[12] Hajiya Bintu Salawu, business woman, oral interview, Sabon Gari, Gusau, 1th May, 1999, 58 yrs old.

[13] Sabongero, op.cit.

[14] S. A. Albasu, The Lebanese in Kano, Kano, 1995,

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid. Also Sabongero, op.cit.

[17] J. S. Eades, op.cit. See also J. S. Eades, 'Enterprise in a Migrant Community: A Case Study of Yoruba Migrants in Northern Ghana with special reference to Tamale,; PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1975.

[18] He is Malam Garba Chindo oral interview, Gusau, Transporter,rd April, 1999, 51 years old.

[19] Alhaji Najeem Usman Yasin, Chairman, National Union of Road Transport Workers, Zamfara State, oral interview, Gusau, 28th May, 1999, 44 yrs old. Currently he is the National President of N.U.R.T.W.

[20] A. I. Yandaki, 'Cultural and Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria: Past, Present and Future', in The Farfaru Journal of Multi-Disciplinary Studies, Vol. 4, No. 5, 1995, p. 42

J. N. Paden, Religion and Political Culture in Kano, University of California Press, 19, p.354.

[22] Sabongero, op.cit.

[23] Yandaki, op.cit, p.46

[24] I. O. Albert, 'Urban Migrant Settlement in Nigeria: A Comparison of the Sabon-Gari in Kano and Ibadan: 1893-1991', PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1993. See also I. O. Albert, Inter-Ethnic Relations in a Nigerian City: A Historical Perspectives of the Hausa-Igbo Conflicts in Kano 1913-1991', 1993, mimeo.

[25] A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in an Urban African Community: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns, California, 1969, see also Paden, op.cit

[26] Alh. Semiu Shobanke (due to ill health has relocated to Abeokuta). His first son-Alh. Abdulrazak Shobanke is now the Sarkin Yarbawan Zamfara l.

A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in an Urban African Community: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns, California, 1969, p. 9.

[28] A. D. Said (ed.), Ethnic Relations in Nigeria, Ibadan, 1976, p. 192.

[29] Bintu Shittu (Ogbomosho-Oyo state) and Mutiatu Lawal (a Princess from Ipee, Kwara state)

[30] Names of Yoruba women married to Hausa are as follows Hajiya Dele Ahmed, Sherifat Bello, Simiat Usman, Shakirat Usman, Rafiat Abdulsalam, Fasilat Lawal, Mutiat Lawal, Amina Dan-Iya, Bintu Shittu, Amina Yahaya, Nusirat Suleiman, Fatima Suleiman, Madina Suleiman, Hadiza Suleiman, Fatima Babatunde, Rafatu Babatunde, Hafsat Abdulsalam, Fatima Bello, the four Christians that converted to islam are as follows; Temilade Jejeniwa, Omojade Jejeniwa, Nike Ogundare and Bukola Fagbemi.

[31]Yoruba men who married Hausa ladies are also as follows: Alh. Abdulganiyu Dan-Iya, Alh. Rabiu Omonije, Alh. Bello Alebiosu, Alh. Muibi Abdulsalam, Musbau Abdulazeez, Alh. Abdullahi Ibrahim, Alh. Mohammed Bashir, Ibrahim D. Shobanke, Alh. Kasumu Kelani (Baban Queen), Alh. Bakare Kelani, Aminu Kelani, Muntari Kasumu, Mal. Raji (Baba Sikiru) and Alfa Shafi'i Adeshina.

[32] They are Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M) and Christ Missionary Society (C.M.S). The R.C.M Primary School is now known as Ibrahim Gusau Primary School and is situated along Gusau-Zaria Road near Central Bank Gusau while the C.M.S. named theirs as C.M.S I and II. C.M.S.I is now known as Dangaladima Model Primary School Gusau situate dnear M.T.D. while C.M.S. II is known as Government Day Junior Secondary School Gusau.

[33] Layi Olaleye, (though a Christian, he was the first Headmaster of the School), oral interview, Gusau, 25th March, 1999, 60 yrs old. The School became operational in 1969.

[34] Alhaji Abdullahi Shehu Gusau (first indigenous headmaster of the School), oral interview, Educationist, 15th May, 1999, 58 yrs old.

[35] The two other contestants were Alhaji Bala Waiman Gusau and a Bendelite.

[36] They are B. O. Olusoga, Bayo Lawanson and Alhaji B. O. Olaonipekun. For more information see Gusau Town Council/WJHCB/NAC/27.

[37] They are Alhaji Semiu Shobanke, former Sarkin Yarbawa, Gusau and Alhaji B. O. Olaonipekun.

[38] These are Schools they established-both Islamic and Western type.

[39] Aminu Kelani, oral Interview, civil servant, Gusau, 3rd April, 1999, 4 yrs old.

[40] Adamu op.cit

[41] Sabongero, op. cit.

[42] Alhaji Ismaila Galadima (Sarkin Rafi Galadiman Gusau), oral interview, Gusau, 9th April, 1999, 59 yrs. Old.

[43] Sabongero, op.cit. Also Sanusi Bamidele Bello, football coach, oral interview, Gusau, 26th March, 1999, 52 yrs old.

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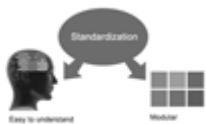
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Note :

"
- In future, if the board feels the necessity to change any board member, the same can be done with the consent of the chairperson along with anyone board member without our approval.

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1. General,

2. Ethical Guidelines,

3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

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26. Go for seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

27. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

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Key points to remember:

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Final Points:

A purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people to interpret your effort selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, each section to start on a new page.

The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record keeping are the only means to make straightforward the progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear

· Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page
- Separating a table/chart or figure - impound each figure/table to a single page
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

In every sections of your document

· Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)

· Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper

· Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)

· Align the primary line of each section

· Present your points in sound order

· Use present tense to report well accepted

· Use past tense to describe specific results

· Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives

· Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

Title Page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short. It should not have non-standard acronyms or abbreviations. It should not exceed two printed lines. It should include the name(s) and address (es) of all authors.

Abstract:

The summary should be two hundred words or less. It should briefly and clearly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript--must have precise statistics. It should not have abnormal acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Shun citing references at this point.

An abstract is a brief distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approach to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for briefness. You can maintain it succinct by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study, with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to maintain the initial two items to no more than one ruling each.

- Reason of the study - theory, overall issue, purpose
- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including definite statistics - if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
- As a outline of job done, it is always written in past tense
- A conceptual should situate on its own, and not submit to any other part of the paper such as a form or table
- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an conceptual must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
- Exact spelling, clearness of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else

Introduction:

The **Introduction** should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable to comprehend and calculate the purpose of your study without having to submit to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give most important references but shun difficult to make a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. In the introduction, describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will have no attention in your result. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here. Following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study
- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Very for a short time explain the tentative propose and how it skilled the declared objectives.

Approach:

- Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done.
- Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point with every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need a least of four paragraphs.

- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
- Shape the theory/purpose specifically - do not take a broad view.
- As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (Methods and Materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A sound written Procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replacement your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt for the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to spare your outcome but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section. When a technique is used that has been well described in another object, mention the specific item describing a way but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to text all particular resources and broad procedures, so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step by step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

- Explain materials individually only if the study is so complex that it saves liberty this way.
- Embrace particular materials, and any tools or provisions that are not frequently found in laboratories.
- Do not take in frequently found.
- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method (not particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology)
- Describe the method entirely
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures
- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

Approach:

- It is embarrassed or not possible to use vigorous voice when documenting methods with no using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result when script up the methods most authors use third person passive voice.
- Use standard style in this and in every other part of the paper - avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings - save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.

Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.

- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
- Despite of position, each figure must be numbered one after the other and complete with subtitle
- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a argument should be. Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly described. Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

Please carefully note down following rules and regulation before submitting your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc. (US):

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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