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## The Kurdish Resurrection Society (1942-1945)

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### Abstract

The Kurdish Resurrection Society (*known as Komeley Jiyaneve Kurd*) was the first political society that was founded after August and September 1941 and following the Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran. This society arose from traditional and modern strata of urban Kurdish petty bourgeois in Mahabad. The present study aims at discussing the following questions applying a descriptive-analytical approach and using the historical resources and studies: 1. What is the role of the new social and historical structure of the Iranian Kurdistan in forming the Kurdish Resurrection Society? 2. How did the nationalism discourses of the modern absolutist Pahlavi state result in evolving the ideology of Kurdish Resurrection Society (KRS)? The evolution of KRS among the traditional and modern strata was the result of the changes and developments occurred in the structure of social forces in Iranian Kurdistan. These changes took place in the aftermath of modernization-related plans of the modern absolutist Pahlavi state in renewing the social structure and cultural assimilation of this era. This policy provoked a new form of collectivism based upon linguistic and ethnic minorities. In other words, while weakening and isolating the forces of the previous order, modernization paved the social and political ways needed for the emergence of new urban Kurdish forces. The Kurdish leaders and elites, affected by the nationalistic discourse of the modern absolutist Pahlavi state, attempted to provide a new definition of their ethnic identity. Thus, the nationalism discourse of the modern absolutist state led to the emergence of a particularistic nationalism discourse of KRS among the Kurds.

**Keywords:** Kurdish resurrection society, Modern absolutist Pahlavi state, Ethnic nationalism, Iranian Kurdistan.

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## **Introduction**

In the years of Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran in the midst of World War II, a society called “Kurdish Resurrection Society” entered the political arena in Iran. This society started its political-cultural activities first in Mahabad and then expanded its scope across Iranian Kurdistan through Kermanshah. Structurally speaking, the evolution of KRS was the outcome of post-war developments (World War I) which changed the class structure in Iranian Kurdistan. This political organization, adopted a cultural-social approach in dealing with the issues of Kurdistan in those years. According to KRS, the tribal organization and culture governing the social life, cultural backwardness and poverty in Iranian Kurdistan (bringing about separation and split) are the most important problems and obstacles of cultural growth and promotion, identity reconstruction, and historical and collective awareness of Kurdish community. Here, tribe heads, tribal landholders, and religious sheikhs are the important agents of reproducing these conditions; they were subject to most criticisms of KRS.

The emergence of capitalism and the evolution of modern absolutist state were two main factors of the abovementioned developments. Weakening and isolating the power and position of traditional leaders and heads, these developments also resulted in urbanization and qualitative as well as quantitative growth of the educated in Iranian Kurdistan. Capitalism and the modern absolutist state brought about the emergence of urban elites that could be classified as petty bourgeois through enjoying modern education and trade/office jobs. The reaction of the urban petty bourgeois to the centralist policies and the process of constructing national integrated Iranian identity which was followed through “dominant discourse of modernist nationalism” by Pahlavi state paved the way for the evolution of nationalism movement discourse in Iranian Kurdistan. In other words, the formal holistic nationalism was a main factor in the emergence of atomistic Kurdish nationalism. Thus, this group, affected by the ethnic nationalistic ideas, founded KRS as the first modern political society in Iranian Kurdistan.

## **Early Developments**

By the German invasion of Poland (1939), flames of war were sparked. “When the war started the German influence was incredible in Iran. The German secret agents were active in Iran, and Shah’s inclination (Reza Khan) was an open secret” (Keddie and Richard, 1990: 175). Two years later in the summer of 1941, Hitler attacked the Soviet Union for accessing the Caucasian oil resources. Iran happened to be at the intersection of international policies; where Iran, owing to its strategic situation, became a passage-way for the Soviet Union and its allies. “When the Turkish straits were blocked, it was impossible for Soviet Russia to be provided with supplies and ammunitions through Murmansk that was accessible for the German air force and sea force bases in Norway. On the other hand, using Vladivostok port was also impossible; the Siberian railway capacity was limited, and using this port was subject to the Japanese indulgence and connivance. Thus, the Iranian passage-way was the only option on the table; safer than the former and shorter than the latter” (Derriennic, 1989: 160). It was this strategic obligation for the allied forces that made the leader of the USA, Soviet Union, and England decide to invade Iran.

Reza Shah’s stepping down from power created new issues in Iran. Issues that have to do with the ever-increasing growth of social-political conflicts and the aggravation of economic as well as financial crises. Domestic trade was in a state of shutdown as a result of the reduction in transporting products and goods in the nationwide railway. The price of the basic goods increased owing to the allied forces’ requirements and hoarding these goods. As a result of the calamitous condition of harvesting and the famine breakout of 1941-1942 Iranian financial and economic systems were afflicted with disturbance and disorder (Keddie and Richard, 1990: 176). In the political arena of the country, the main centers of power, including the parliament, state, foreign powers, court, and political parties were often in conflict with one another

owing to their conflicting interests and severe political conflicts. This led to instability and the crisis of cabinets that continued until the 1940s. Thus, after the first military Pahlavi dictatorship, the repressed dissatisfactions of social forces during 16 years broke the ground for class conflicts, political conflicts, and ethnic competitions.

In the ethnic areas, the quick collapse of the Imperial Army, made the central state encounter one of its most critical issues from the very beginning of the Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran. In the Reza Shah era, dissatisfactions of ethnic and tribal areas were quelled applying the policy of "iron fist". However, as the bases of the central state weakened, all the Iranian military forces broke up; from the Iranian Gendarmerie facing tribal dissatisfactions and complaints to the Iranian army. "As soon as abandoning resistance was announced by the state, thousands of soldiers escaped from the barracks. The soldiers took with themselves the weapons and ammunitions to the farthest areas having been disarmed for many years. The state also sets free the heads of the tribes being either under surveillance or in jail. The exiled heads returned to their own tribes. No wonder the areas not being invaded by the allies were insecure again" (Zowghi, 1993: 75).

There was an area located between Mahabad and Saghez between the British-controlled and the Soviet-controlled regions; though being under Soviet control, it was not under their direct surveillance. The aforementioned area used to be a battlefield for the local forces and those of the Iranian weakened state. The new conditions, however, smoothed the path for political instability within this area. The conditions of this area were reported to the prime minister's office: "Mahabad and Sardasht are of great importance; given their strategic situation, being residence for some Kurdish tribes, and being neighbor to Iraq and its Kurdish part. Thus, its strategic situation is of great importance to protect the security of West Azerbaijan. After the August incident (Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran), one can say the influence of the state diminished, and all affairs were under the surveillance and interference of local Kurdish Influential men and executed by the Khans of those areas" (National Library of Iran, report to the prime minister's office, document No. 2305-109048, 1943/9/29).

"The tribes around Mahabad were all armed by then; every day one of the claimed to be a new Khan; insecurity was widespread throughout the city. Armed thieves robbed houses and shops or took whatever they have by weapon force. My fellow citizens were thinking of holding firearms to protect their lives, properties, and chastity... The armed tribes wanted to satisfy all their wants through using weapon force. Some of whom, though being completely illiterate, were thinking of being a tribe leader or a city governor" (Mahmoudzadeh, 1995: 121-122).

According to another document: "following August incidents of 1941 (Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran) and the entrance of two neighboring forces into Kurdistan, units of the army were destroyed and escaped leaving their weapons behind. Iranian Kurds and tribes, disgusted with the state agents, were waiting for such a day. They were armed with both small and heavy arms and took the soldiers' weapons that were around 12-14 thousands of vz. 24 rifles. They started attacking and plundering all border areas as well as critical points in Kurdistan" (National Library of Iran, report to the prime minister's office by Colonel Yeganeh, undated, document No. 293001828).

Thus, when the central state has no control over the conditions, the urban influential men and tribe leaders of Mahabad "founded an institution under the name of the Urban Disciplinary council to replace Police Headquarters (Shahr bani Office)" at the suggestion of Ghazi Mohammad, a famous influential personality in Mahabad (Fattah Ghazi, 1999: 112). Recognizing the de facto control of the Urban Disciplinary Council, the central state attempted to appoint a local governor; in this way it could recognize some of those leaders (though creating no legal commitment for the state, this could be an indicator of regaining of power). This led to increasing dissatisfaction, since these two overlapping institutions were in

conflict to conduct the affairs. Moreover, appointing a person with a tribal origin as the governor- Ali Agha AliYar, the head of Dehbokri tribe- was not accepted by the urban forces. What's more, "Ali Agha Amir Asaad, though being a governor, had an unlimited authority; he was the referee for all affairs in Mahabad. Since there were no disciplinary and judicial offices, he conducted the affairs as he wished" (Fattah Ghazi, 1999: 114). This resulted in plenty of disorder and turbulence. The citizens believed that these conditions were taken due to inappropriate measures by Ali Agha; he did not care for the Disciplinary Council as well as the influential men that established peace in the region a short time ago. Furthermore, what aggravated the conditions was the request made by the local leaders of Mahabad from the central state "If the central state was willing to bring back the state administration to the region, it must let the Kurds to carry firearms and Kurdish costumes. Owing to the bad record of the tribes, this request had been previously rejected in the era of Reza Shah" (McDowall, 1997: 332-333).

The new conditions finally led to deposing the head of Dehbokri tribe. Having taken some steps to regain its power, the central state appointed a non-local person named 'Sariolghalam' as the new governor of Mahabad. As the first step, the new governor reopened the disbanded Mahabad Police Headquarters to strengthen the authority of the central state. Though Police Headquarters was the only symbol of central state's lost power, it has no power and authority in providing order and security. According to Nader Entesar "owing to these very conditions, some Kurds in Mahabad attempted to establish a political society to control their affairs independently and effectively" (Entesar, 1992: 16). Thus, the fall of the dictatorship regime of Reza Shah Pahlavi and Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran in August 1941 paved the way for public dissatisfactions being the result of minimum political and civil freedoms. While there were armed uprisings against the central state in areas having a tribal structure, the reaction in urban areas was in the form establishing political parties and societies. Thus, in the new sociopolitical arena of Kurdish-inhabited areas of West Azerbaijan and Kurdistan one could see two kinds of political developments: on the one hand there were tribal uprisings against the central state; and on the other hand, some Kurdish intellectuals and nationalists attempted to establish the first political society in Iranian Kurdistan. Their society was based on ethnic nationalism and half-secret political organization.

### **Establishment of the Kurdish Resurrection Society**

In the midst of these developments, some inhabitants of Mahabad, numbered 11, established "Kurdish Resurrection Society" in a garden in the suburbs of Mahabad which was called "Haji Dawood Garden". In this meeting, the participants highlighted the following: the necessity of forming an integrated political organization; familiarizing Kurds with their history and identity; and the necessity to cooperate with the Iraqi-Kurdistan based organizations and particularly "Hiwa Party". On that very day, a man named "Mir Haj" represented the aforementioned party in the meeting (Eagleton, 1982: 65).

The role of Iraqi Kurds in establishing KRS is one of the secrets in the Kurdish Nationalist movement. Although some nationalists claim they have no indebtedness to the Iraqi Kurds, it is obvious that the Iranian Kurds are at least ideologically affected by the nationalist parties and movements of Iraq Kurdistan. This was owing to the role of Iraqi Kurdistan following the destruction of the Kurdish movement in Turkey. Thus, Iraqi Kurdistan turned out to be the heart of Kurdish nationalism. Affected by the Kurdish political parties and societies, Iraqi Kurdistan became the cornerstone for the thriving and growing of Kurdish Nationalist groups.

Thus, the Kurdish nationalism extended from its origin (Turkey) and affected all other Kurdish areas. Having been defeated by the mobilized strong Turkish nationalism in Turkey, it was destined to reside in Sulaymaniyah to continue with its life. Since the Kurdish areas of Iran were neighbors to the Iraqi Kurdistan, the political effects of Kurdish nationalism were quickly observed among the Iranian Kurds. The

Iranian Kurds were previously affected by the Kurdish Nationalist thoughts of the Kurds of Turkey. Referring to the close communications between the Kurds of Iran and Turkey in the midst of World War I, Sharafkandi has pointed out: “an officer, named Nemrud Mustafa Pasha came to the *Mukrian* region of Kurdistan in disguise. He stayed there for some time. He asked those he met to request the freedom of Kurdistan (Sharafkandi, 1997: 59). Under the abovementioned conditions, it is likely that “in July 1942, the heads of the Kurdish tribes in Iranian Kurdistan held some meetings to establish a free Kurdistan under the British mandate. *Mukri* tribe that was the largest tribe of Mahabad sent a proposal to the British ambassador in residing in Saghez. In the proposal they asked for self-government and running the internal affairs of Kurdistan on their own with the British cooperation (Kurdistan and Kurds in the British confidential documents, 4192-0371, September 1919, 1999: 24).

Later on, the impacts of Kurdish nationalism of Turkish Kurds were obvious in the politicization process of Simko Shikak Revolt. With this respect, one can mention the role of Kurdish nationalist figures of Ottoman Turkey such as Sayed Taha Effendi son of Sheikh Abd al-Qadir and grandson of Sheikh Ubeydullah Nahri. “Sayed Taha, an outstanding figure in the movement of Kurds in Turkey, played an important role in directing and leading Simko’s revolt activities. Simko had a close relationship with him and it was under his influence that Simko started thinking of forming the independent Great Kurdistan” (Kardokh, 1993: 92-94).

Sharafkandi one of the first members of KRS describes the effect of Iraqi Kurdistan on the Kurds of Mahabad as such “people like Sedigh Heidari and Saeid Hama Ghala, who were older than us, travelled to Rawandiz. They brought with them some Kurdish books when they returned. They shared those books with us; we started reading in Kurdish, and began to talk on the freedom of Kurdistan and our dreams to set it free” (Sharafkandi, 1997: 54). However, broaching and extending subjects like the freedom of Kurdistan, Kurdish nationalism, and the hope of releasing Kurds and Kurdistan were much indebted to the Nationalist Kurds of Iraq who extend these subjects to Iranian Kurdistan and especially Mahabad and its neighboring areas. The First Pahlavi State advertised the idea of nationalism to legitimize itself, and developed this approach through denying other ethnic identities. The formation of such a state made the Kurdish ethnic identity turn into a nationalist one. This background made the Kurdish nationalists – being petty bourgeois and third class citizens – establish the first political party in Iranian Kurdistan (Mahabad) having a half-secret organizational structure, with a national-religious identity, and based on Kurdish nationalism ideology. Some reports and writings indicate that KRS originated from another party called “Kurdistan Liberal Party” (KLP). KLP was a secret organization that started its activities in the Mukrian region (around Mahabad) and continued its activities until 1943. Apparently, the original idea of establishing KLP is accredited to someone called “*Mollay-e Dawoodi*”. He organized the participants, numbered 12, as “Kurdish Resurrection”. Then, a person named Aziz Zandi became the member of this party. Having been appointed as the secretary general, he organized it within a new structure being called “Kurdish Liberal Party”. It seems like that Iranian intelligence authorities managed to make Aziz Zandi cooperate with them. Thus, the police got access to the list of members who were arrested, imprisoned, and exiled. After this incident, Aziz Zandi was suspected by other members and was later dismissed from the party. Then, Hussein Forouhar became the leader of KLP until the incidents of August 1941 (Sajjadi, 1996: 182).

There is little information concerning the formation, organizational structure, and ideological thoughts of this party. What is obvious is that “this party had a fully secret organization which was run by Aziz Zandi, Abdul Rahman Zabihi, Hussein Forouhar, and Dawoodi. Aziz Zandi, the party’s leader, was German graduate, and was called “German Aziz” (Lazariov, 2010: 370). Within 28 articles, this party elaborated its viewpoints in cultural, political, social, and economic subjects to vindicate the rights of Kurds and other Iranian ethnic minorities (The documents of Iranian Political Parties, Document No. 109042-2145, 1997:

29-30). Reflecting upon this party's 28-article code of conduct, one can easily see that KLP was more preoccupied with adopting an approach based on social reforms than proposing nationalist thoughts. Little is known about the writers of this code of conduct and the political school affecting it. It seems like that this party was affected by ideas of social democracy; socially speaking, it highlights the abolition of unjust laws, proposes agricultural as well as workers' societies and cooperatives, and offers the establishment of quality schools for the nation regardless of being poor or wealthy, Kurd or non-Kurd. It also highlights advertising and propagating the principles of democracy and freedom through party activities and strengthening public, individual, and social freedoms (The documents of Iranian Political Parties, Document No. 109042-2145, 1997: 29-30).

Aziz Zandi's suspicious background and lack of social position among the Kurdish influential men resulted in the dissolution of KLP. In the new conditions emerged in Kurdistan following the Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran and the increasing activities of nationalist movements of Iraqi Kurds in Iran, especially those of Hiwa party, the path was smoothed for establishing a new party. Thus, the Kurdish Resurrection Society entered the political arena of developments in Kurdistan in the early 1940s with the purpose of proposing and seeking the ethnic demands of Iranian Kurds.

When KRS was established, once more Iraqi Kurds showed their influential role in forming the political party. With this respect, Kennan who had a close tie with Iraqi Kurds has written "in the fall of 1942 KRS was established. At first, a group of urban middle-class Kurds formed this party. This party's instructors and teachers were some Iraqi Kurdistan nationalists. They organized the party in secret areas of the organization" (Kennan, 1997: 119).

On the day of establishing KRS, a Kurdish officer called "Captain Mir Haj" attended the KRS founders' cell. According to Sharafkandi, Mir Haj was sent by "Hiwa Party". The founders of KRS established it with his guidance; they wrote the affidavit. Having made some minor changes to the platform of "Hiwa Party", they provided KRS platform (Sharafkandi, 1997: 60). Roosevelt, being one of the observers of these developments, commented on the role and effect of "Hiwa Party" in forming KRS: "In September 1942, some citizens of Mahabad met an Iraqi colonel called Mir Haj. Mir Haj represented a Kurdish Nationalist Organization called Hiwa (which means hope) which was just established in Iraq. After this meeting, the Iranian Kurds decided to found their own nationalist party, and it led to establishment of Kurdish Resurrection Society" (Roosevelt, 1995: 315).

Ideologically speaking, "Hiwa party" was affected by two main parties of that time: bourgeois rightists and Marxist leftists. Despite their ideological turbulence, both agreed to convene on Kurdish nationalism. With respect to social class, Hiwa was formed by the urban groups, including the intellectuals, college students, students, workers (Kirkuk Oil Company and railway), officers and rural peasants. The presence of some Kurdish nationalist organizations such as *Darkar* (Carpenter) and *Brayati* (Brotherhood) brought about nationalist interests and inclinations (Kutschera, 1994: 170). The name of Hiwa was chosen in the honor of a party with the same name that was established by the Kurds in Turkey with the purpose of Independent Kurdistan. Hiwa had two main wings: the first group were the rightists who were in the majority and believed in advocating Britain to achieve autonomy; the second group was the leftists who were in minority and believed in socialist revolutions (Kurdistan and Kurds in the British confidential documents, 22078 - 0371, No. 185, July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1941, 1999: 129). The final goal followed by Hiwa was forming the Great Kurdistan composed of the four separated parts of Kurdistan. This party had to attempt to form the country of Kurdistan as a new independent country for the Kurds (Shahveis, 2001: 12).

The evidence indicates that before forming KRS, *Tude Party of Iran* (Party of the Masses of Iran, an Iranian communist party) was trying to propagate its own activities. According to one of the sources, "After the establishment of *Tude Party of Iran*, the writing and reports released by this party brought about great

ideological developments in Kurdish areas. Some Kurds and Armenians attempted to establish one of its branches in Mukrian. However, nobody welcomed this party in Kurdish regions. Another party called "Freedom Party" was established with leftist a platform that did not last long (Sheikh al-Islam Mukri, 2008: 45). This might make the Kurdish nationalists familiar with party structure, but it did not affect the ideological inclination of KRS; international thoughts were propagated that did not conform to the goals followed by Kurdish nationalists. Having failed in penetrating KRS, *Tude Party of Iran* attempted to create split within the party that led to its disagreement and confrontation with KRS. It seems like that Soviet Union agents were behind all these developments. In the report made by the governor of Mahabad on this very issue, it is reported that "Recently an incident occurred. I personally believe it is quite helpful; it splits some adventurer of *Komala Party*. They try to form a new organization. They have revolted openly against Ghazi and *Komala*. This incident is of great importance, since the guests have been suspicious of Ghazi and *Komala*. That's why they have started founding *Tude Party* organization (Archive Administration, museum documents, Center for Presidential Documents, document no. 1/2, 1945/8/23).

In the writings of Soviet Union consul general in Rezaiyeh, the abovementioned guests were identified as Hashemov, the Soviet Union consul general in Rezaiyeh and Refigh Sharifov. They travelled to Mahabad to establish the council of Soviet cultural relation in August 1945 (The Developments of Eastern Kurdistan in Soviet Documents, (1945-1947), 1945/5/1, 2007: 22). Thus, KRS started with secret platform and activities. Granting membership was limited and educated urban Kurds were highly influential in it. The first meeting was held on September 16<sup>th</sup> at 1942. The founders of the party attended this very meeting. In this meeting the importance of party structure and organization was highlighted. Having discussed the current conditions of Kurdistan, they decided to select the members of the central committee. According to Eagleton "the second meeting was held in April 1943 in Khoda Parast Mount near Mahabad. In that meeting, the members of the KRS central committee were selected by the participants" (Eagleton, 1982: 69). In order to avoid any individual dictatorship within the party, the participants decided to transfer leadership power. Thus, the committee had no permanent chairman. In the first election for electing the party's secretary general, Abdul Rahman Zabihi was appointed as the secretary general. He was from a petty bourgeois family, and was one of the modern urban nationalists. Having been elected, Zabihi dispatched some delegations to the north (not being accessed by Soviet) and south (Sanandaj) to strengthen the influence of Mahabad in those areas (McDowall, 1997: 237). In this meeting they decided on the principles and conditions for granting new membership. Before granting new membership, the person needed to perform his ablution. Then, he needed to administer the swearing ceremony seven times in front of three KRS members. Having sworn to the Quran, they were then committed to do the following: 1. They mustn't betray the Kurdish nation; 2. They must fight for the autonomy of Kurdistan; 3. They mustn't reveal the secret of the Soviet, either written or verbal, or any other form; 4. They must continue to be a KRS member throughout their lifetime; 5. They must consider all Kurdish men as their brothers and all Kurdish women as their sisters; 6. They are not allowed to be a member of any other party or society without permission (Eagleton, 1982: 67-68). Swearing ceremony was administered with Holy Quran which was placed on a red velvet cloth depicting Salah ad-Din Ayyubi, a famous Islamic commander, and the crusade conqueror. There was a flag of Kurdistan under the cloth (Fattah Ghazi, 1999: 129).

With respect to structure and organization, KRS was composed of two main offices: the central and the local. Each of them had their own local administration and high advisory council that shared their viewpoints with the members of the central committee by forming a central board while the representatives wanted to make decisions. Organizationally speaking, each of these units had their own chairman, assistant, advisory council secretary, and financial official. All affairs were administered based on advice. Any interference in conducting affairs was resolved by the advisory council. Each year, the local

administrations held meetings to mark the founding day of KRS and their representatives attended the high advisory council of the central committee. The subjects of these meetings were mainly concerned with fights and measures taken in the previous year and providing ideas for strategies, plans, and activities of the year to come (Madani, 2001: 198-199). According to Gawhari, KRS organized two congresses none of which were held at definite predetermined dates. Instead, they were held based on the conditions. The first congress was held on August 17<sup>th</sup> 1943 and the second in January and February of 1945 (Govhari, 2004: 42).

This structure continued to exist until 1946. From 1946 on, the form of the society changed and turned to a public party. The KRS central committee was in Mahabad and it was composed of 10-11 main members, and 5 members serving as reserves. Mahabad, Bukan, Oshnavieh, Urmia, Sardasht, Saghez, Sanandaj, Tehran, Tabriz, Kermanshah, Erbil, Sulaymaniyah had a local office with five units. Each of the units had 55 members, and they added up to 275 members. By adding the number of local offices, the total number of units reached 300 (Govhari, 2004: 41). KRS principles were as follows: 1. The society must be led by the heads and distinguished persons of the dynasties and tribes and they must be secret; 2. The councils of the society that had 600-1000 members needed to have a committee, and if they are more than 1000 they must have two committees; 3. If the number of a council does not reach 600, no committee is established. The committee chairman needed to be a distinguished person of his own tribe, and must have his own assistant and secretary; 4. The council must be established based on the local principles and they must be led by the central leaders of KRS; 5. The society has its secret name that must be recorded in its correspondence (Eastern Kurdistan at the time of World War II (according to the archival documents of the Soviet Union), Report of Soviet Consul in Maku, 2008: 132).

The structure of KRS was based upon strict cover-up and discipline; each new member did not know more than five or six persons. These five to six persons established a secret group. Thus, only a few individuals, who were the members of the central committee, were aware of the Society's growth and development. The basis for granting membership was "being a Kurd"; Shiite Kurds, Yarsan Kurds, Assyrian Kurds, and Christian Kurds could be granted KRS membership (Eagleton, 1982: 67). What is worth mentioning is that four groups could be members of KRS, but they were not allowed to be appointed as leaders, since their respect in public could possibly result in a dictatorship. These four groups were as follows: Agha (Feudal landowners), Sheikh, Mulla, and Sayyid (Samadi, 1981: 13). KRS was founded based on four principles: Islam, Kurdish nation, civilization, and peace. All KRS laws and regulations adjusted to Islamic laws, and then they came into force. A verse of the Holy Quran was written above "*Nishtman*" (homeland) as the official emblem of KRS (Nishtman Magazine, volume 1, issue 5, January and February 1943). Thus "KRS was an organization that was established to achieve freedom and independence, applying the Islamic laws where private ownership and capitalism are respected (Fattah Ghazi, 1999: 129). Ideologically speaking, the formation of KRS was based upon resurrecting the civil society in Kurdistan after the fall of Reza Shah and collapse of the absolute state in August 1941. Writing in Kurdish, that was the dominant writing system for the intellectuals, was the main indicator of this resurrection. Kurdish language became the dominant political-cultural discourse among a small circle of intellectuals; those whose presence in the political arena indicated the development of commerce, secular education, and modern official procedures in Iranian Kurdistan" (Nabaz, 2010: 20). In this respect, KRS attempted to focus upon setting forth social and economic subjects related to the class structure of the Kurdish community, regardless of social classification; KRS had nothing to do with the strong traditional classes of the Kurdish community. These subjects were frequently discussed in *Nishtman* magazine; it discussed issues like injustice, inequality between the wealthy and the poor and it tried to contribute the poverty and ignorance of the masses to the wealth accumulation of the landowners and merchants. These issues, associated with poems on October Revolution, praising Lenin, and progresses made in the Soviet Union, made everyone



believe he communist and atheist charges against KRS (*Nishtman Magazine*, volume 1, issue 2 and 6, January and February 1943). However, it must be noted that *Nishtman* discourse continued to be secular; the KRS religious approach had a public function; since KRS's Islamic credentials were mainly used for neutralizing the increasing charges of communism and atheism. The aforementioned charges were mainly made by the traditional classes of the Kurdish community, especially by the landowners, merchants and clerics, those whose position were about to be unsteady by the KRS popular nationalist discourse (Nabaz, 2010: 21). The first issue of *Nishtman* in an article titled "Our Goal" that invites the Kurdish community to create a civil society, it is written that "Many people maintain that Kurds must be freed using arms. However, they are wrong, and they have lost the right direction. The only way for the Kurds to win freedom is the road of civilization; this right path leads to freedom and deliverance" (*Nishtman*, volume 1, issue 1, July 1943). According to Samadi "The founders of KRS know from experience and historical facts that armed combats have yielded nothing but adversity for the Kurds. Reaching this solution was owing to referring to history; it did not arise from cowardliness. Thus, KRS was based upon elevating the cultural level of the Kurdish community befitting for freedom and prepared enough to demand its rights" (Samadi, 1998: 12). In this respect, KRS proposed the following socioeconomic reforms for the Kurdish community: land reforms through confiscating all state lands, endowed lands, and feudal lands, and dividing them among the toilers, farmers, stockbreeders, and returning all farmers' lands previously confiscated illegally by the state organs and feudal landowners; attempts to make trade and industrial progress in Kurdish areas; recognizing the rights of toilers, farmers, stockbreeders, and tradesmen; fighting against feudal landowners and the dominance of the tribes and central state; making attempts to develop and improve the educational system as well as health services; making attempts to create a radical democratization in the Kurdish community (The Developments of Eastern Kurdistan in Soviet (according on the documents of the Soviet Union), report to the central committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party on the developments of Kurdistan and KRS, 12 October, 1945, 2007: 140).

It was quite evident that adopting such an approach was destined to face numerous obstacles; since the "civil society" discourse presented by KRS challenged the superiority and dominance of traditional forces of power in the Kurdish community. Within this discourse, there was no room for enforcing power by tribe heads and feudal landowners, who were previously the main sources of military power in the Kurdish community. In fact, when the civil forces established domination, there was no room for power enforcement and conflict escalation by the Kurdish tribes; the weakening of the traditional sources of power paved the way for democratizing the Kurdish community by the civil forces. According to Ghasemloo, the main reason for the animosity of tribe heads and landowners towards KRS was "Since KRS stood against all long-standing traditions and customs. The leadership of the movement was taken over by those not belonging to none of the previous movements; they were not from the traditional sources of power like Sheikhs, Agahs, and tribe heads. That's why the stood against KRS" (Ghasemloo, 1988: 28).

Therefore, the traditional classes of the Kurdish community avoided following KRS from the very beginning; not only because it was led by forces other than themselves, but also because they thought of their entering KRS as a main source of shame, since most of the members were of lower social class than they were. However, the main opposition was over controlling power. Since, on the one hand, KRS demanded change by announcing its strategy, and it had already challenged the traditional power of these forces, and on the other hand, KRS goals would result in their loss of economic as well as political sources of power. In this regard, the tribe heads and landowners attempted to weaken the increasing power of KRS through various allegations such as being communist and atheist. This made the central committee of KRS respond officially in a statement published by themselves (*Nishtman* magazine, volume 1, issues 3 and 4, November and January 1943). Since the Kurdish community was extremely sensitive to religious matters, making such allegations had significant effects on weakening the position of KRS. Being

aware of such effects, KRS members focused their propagandas on “Aghas” and “tribe heads”. Thus, KRS attacked its enemies as such “O Kurdistan, most of the outstanding men have kept you in captivity and hardship. Your commanders, who assume to be the wisest creatures on earth, have put the chain of adversity around your head. Had the fierce animals known the language of your commanders and outstanding men, they would have told them: O Kurdish commanders and outstanding men, you are traitors. You are the main reason behind the adversity of this nation. Your life is a main source of shame and disgrace, and full of crime and treason” (*Nishtman*, volume 1, issue 5, February 1943).

The reaction of KRS against the measures taken by the opposition was radicalizing their platform and activities. Thus, the strategy of political-civil fights turned to direct confrontation with the opposition. Of those measures taken by KRS, one can refer to: shooting and releasing a state agent from Mahabad; setting a library on fire belonging to a person called “Isazadeh” who annoyed people in the time of Reza Shah and were engaged in spying for the government; disturbing a meeting of some wealthy families of Mahabad who had gathered to oppose KRS by forming a party in Seyyed Nezam Mosque. These measures when followed by the development and growth of KRS in Kurdish areas and especially Ghazi Mohammad’ membership in KRS, being the most powerful and influential figure in Mahabad, gave KRS the upper hand and superiority in the aforementioned confrontation. Since then “outstanding men and Aghas, who did not disdain following Ghazi Mohammad, came to help us, and they were granted membership. Ghazi Mohammad, whose house was visited by Russian guests, managed to improve KRS ties with the Russians. Thereafter, we could conduct our activities more publicly” (Sharafkandi, 1997: 68-69). Having more confidence, KRS attempted to take measures to strengthen its political power. At this time, and according to the documents at hand, there was a sort of chaos and disorder in supplying basic goods such as wheat, lump sugar, and sugar in Mahabad (National Library of Iran, a report of the Mahabad Governorate to Ministry of the Interior, July 6, 1945, document No. 1510-15-16007).

For initiating an investigation on the situation Khalil Fahimi, Mohammad Sa’ed’s cabinet delegate, arrived in Mahabad. Moreover, “Fahimi met the tribe heads where they demanded the increase in the price of tobacco and decrease in the price of lump sugar, sugar, tea. They also asked for financial support” (Eastern Kurdistan at the time of World War II (according to the archival documents of the Soviet Union), Report of Soviet Consul in Tabriz, 2008: 117). When Fahimi returned to Tehran, the government sent the needed goods to Mahabad. Through sending the needed goods, the government seemed to attract the attention of tribe heads and create a split between them and the urban non-tribal forces. For this very reason, some part of the goods was distributed among the tribes advocating the government. This brought about widespread dissatisfaction in the public; the Iranian stated finally decided to entrust this responsibility to the Mahabad Finance Department. Hussein Forouhar, a clerk in Mahabad Finance Department (the first member and the founder of KRS) was responsible for distributing the goods. According to Soviet Union documents, Forouhar gave some of the basic goods to tribe heads through taking bribe. Then Mahabad governor, attempted to investigate on the matter. Forouhar used this opportunity. Being supported by Aziz Khan Kermanj and “Bagzadeh” tribe in Mahabad, he arranged a big meeting, and agitated people to end the central state in Mahabad (Eastern Kurdistan at the time of World War (according to the archival documents of the Soviet Union) Report of Soviet Union Communist Party on the developments of Kurdistan and KRS, 12 October 1945, 2008: 143). The Prime Minister Office has reported the event as such “according to the reports released on the recent developments of Mahabad and attacking Mahabad Police Headquarters and killing the policemen there, two of the clerks named Forouhar and Shivaiei had the main role; they did so to obliterate the documents of their embezzlement and bribery” (National Library of Iran, report on Mahabad Police Headquarters, document No. 239/28/239-240, May 15, 1945). The aftermath of this event was a people’s attack on Mahabad Police Headquarters. Following this event, Mahabad’s governor fled the city.

Thus, KRS took advantage of the dissatisfaction with the disorganized economic conditions as well as the protests against the distribution method of the basic goods, and led these activities towards a political movement. In fact, KRS strengthened its position as the main political power through taking advantage of this opportunity in Mahabad. Thereafter, the power and growth of KRS in Kurdish areas reached such a point that most of the tribe heads and masses sought membership of the KRS (Eagleton, 1982: 71). Ghazi Mohammad had not joined KRS by then. Ghazi Mohammad's membership in KRS had been postponed for a long time for various reasons: some members were worried about monopolizing power by him; some were concerned about the ideological changes that were likely to happen after his membership; there were still some others who were worried about the structural development of KRS (from a middle-class democratic party to an aristocratic one) (McDowall, 1997: 239). Ghazi Mohammad was doubtful about joining KRS; he was not well aware of KRS activities and goals. Finally, three factors dispelled all his doubts about joining KRS: first, the incident of attacking Mahabad Police Headquarters and people's attack in his absence; second, the strengthened KRS had control over the conditions; and third, the arrival of Barzani forces in Mahabad and their battle against the Iraqi army (Fattah Ghazi, 1999: 132). It seems like that Ghazi Mohammad attempted to ensure the security of the region after the power void created following the incident of police headquarters and the consequent events. Applying the power of KRS was something inevitable. Moreover, the national-religious nature of KRS was exactly the same as Ghazi Mohammad sought to achieve. Ghazi Mohammad's membership in KRS turned the fear of KRS founders into reality; he dominated the whole organization soon, and this influenced the future policies of KRS. However, this "elevated the position of KRS among the masses. After Ghazi Mohammad's membership, KRS publicized its activities to a greater extent" (Fattah Ghazi, 1999: 133). His membership in KRS made the tribe heads, as well as outstanding classes, feel no disgrace in following KRS.

### **Raising of the Kurdish Resurrection Society**

According to McDowall, the cooperation of traditional heads of the Kurdish community was owing to three main reasons. First, KRS had turned out to be the symbol of independence against the central state. Second, the tribe heads were greatly scared of the local military forces organized by Ghazi Mohammad. Finally, yet importantly, some of the tribe heads were afraid of the economic sanctions that were about to be imposed, and thus they preferred to cooperate with KRS (McDowall, 1997: 239). When the KRS activities were publicized, its organizational structure became public; secret activities turned into public open political ones. In this phase, KRS central committee decided to establish political ties with influential Kurdish parties and personalities in Turkey, Iraq, and Syria to pave the way for realizing the dream of "the United Kurdistan". In this period, owing to the defeat of the Kurdish movement in Turkey in "Dersim Rebellion" (1937) that had weakened the Syrian Kurds as well, "Hiwa Party" (based in Iraq) was the only political party that was still active. Thus, in March 1944, KRS dispatched Mohammad Amin Sharafi, one of the central committee members, to Kirkuk to discuss the common goals and issues of interest for both parties and especially the future of Kurdistan. This meeting was held and arranged to align KRS plans and activities with those of Hiwa and discuss the practical methods of cooperation. Moreover, they discussed organizing a conference with the participation of representatives from KRS, Hiwa, and other influential and outstanding personalities from Turkey and Syria so that they will discuss the practical methods for establishing bilateral ties and extending the geographical scope of the movement led by KRS. Eagleton refers to the trips made by Ismael Haghi Shahweis and Osman Danesh to Mahabad to highlight the common issues of interest for both parties (Eagleton, 1982: 72). Therefore, Mahabad turned out to be the heart of trips made by different representatives of Kurdish political parties of Turkey, Syria, and Iraq; they shared their organizational and military experiences with the newly-established party (KRS). These meetings and talks finally led to concluding a common agreement to "establish extensive political ties" in

July 1944 which was called “Three Borders Agreement” (Nishtman, volume 1, issues 7, 8, 9, March, April, and May 1943). Each party sent its representatives: Ghasem Ghaderi, Abdul Rahman Zabihi, and Abdul Rahman Sharafkandi represented KRS; Sheikh Abdullah Zinouei, Seyyed Aziz Shamzini, and Saeid Kani Marani represented Hiwa; Ghazi Mulla Wahab represented Kurds of Turkey. They met on Mount Dalampar on the border of Iran, Turkey, and Iraq. According to Sharafkandi KRS and Hiwa agreed to closely cooperate on 12 issues and share information and experiences (Sharafkandi, 1997: 64). In Dalampar meeting they agreed on a “map” that defined the geographical borders of “the United Kurdistan”. “This very map was in fact sent by the Beirut Kurdish Society that was led by “Badr Khan” family in that time” (Eagleton, 1982: 73). According to the aforementioned map, the borders of “the United Kurdistan” starts from the southern coasts of the black sea. Having included Kurdish areas of Iran and Turkey and some parts of Arab Iraq as well as Tigris and Euphrates, it ends in Persian Gulf (National Library of Iran, document No. 240 – 307/10/24, May 2, 1945).

Planning and drawing such a map was the first step toward announcing a new geographical-political unit; Kurdistan. It seemed that the main goal behind such a plan was taking advantage of the new international conditions created after the end of World War II and announcing a Kurdish State within the borders of that Map. Apparently, it was in this Dalampar meeting that a three-color flag was considered as the national flag; it was a horizontal tricolor of red, white, and green (from top to bottom) with sun disk as the national emblem in the center surrounded by two ears of wheat on both sides, and there was a pencil (symbolizing wisdom) on top of sun (symbolizing freedom) (Chaliand, 1998: 216). Following this meeting, all Iraqi Kurdish parties merged to establish a single front in an organization that was called “Kurdish Freedom”. “After April 1944, Mahabad KRS joined them. These series of activities were done with one single goal; the main goal behind the activities done by the Kurdish nationalists and the parties was publicizing the Kurdish national movement in the international news, so that all the nations know about this newly-established movement” (Eagleton, 1982: 75). KRS leaders were well aware of the fact that advancing their plans was impossible without attracting main powers’ attention, especially the Soviet Union and Great Britain to the problem of the Kurds. However, they were careful about the fact that these ties would not result in dependence on these two powers. According to Modarresi (one of the founders of KRS) “KRS believed that the Kurds must not make themselves dependent on any power; since by doing, they would be troubled by the others, and they would be crushed like wheat in the millstones. Providing that they write on one of the powers in their magazines and newspapers, it would do them a lot of good, they had better write on other parties as well; so that they are not accused of being dependent on any of the powers involved (Samadi, 1998: 127).

Saeid Homayoun, a KRS member, has also pointed out that “Having no supporter, the Kurds tried to attract to draw the attention of superpowers like England and the Soviet Union to Kurdish problem. We contacted England Consul in Tabriz, but we failed to communicate. Then we turned toward the Russians. They treated us very coldly, and announced that they were ready to support us just orally to guarantee their interests and express their opposition to America and England” (Rowanga magazine, 2002: 40). The British inattention to KRS requests was owing to its foreign policy in the period of World War II and after the Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran that was based upon “helping the Allied Powers in general, and sending military equipment to the Soviet Union in specific” (Zowghi, 1993: 100). Doing so called for security and lack of any tension and disorder in different areas of Iran. Besides, “the Soviet policy in Iran remained to be vague and secret. This policy was formally based upon not interfering with the domestic affairs of Iran. Soviet forces were staying in Iran merely in order to send military equipment and ammunition to Russia. According to the Trilateral Agreement, they were committed to respecting Iran’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence. In accordance with the commitments and political-economic approach of the Soviet Union in Iran, discovering their inclination and political demands is hard. It seems

like that did not have any long-term plans to stay in Iran, and they just follow a definite short-term policy” (Zowghi, 1993: 153).

Thus, the Russian’s foreign policy toward the Kurdish problem and KRS was subject to the conditions arisen; the Russian rulers adopted different and even contradictory policies toward the Kurds. It seems like that the Russians first established close ties with the Kurds to provide security for the supply lines and roads that were located on the main road of Baghdad, Khaenghein, Kermanshah, Hamadan, and Tehran towards the Soviet Union; some part north-western and western roads were controlled by KRS. After the World War II, the Soviet Union was willing that Kurds would tend towards them rather than Tehran; it was seeking to strengthen its position in western Azerbaijan (McDowall, 1997: 231). Moreover, KRS needed to be approved and recognized by the Soviet Union “since, willingly or not, everyone asserted the authority of the Russian in the region. They had the whole area under their control, and they were popular with the people as well” (Fattah Ghazi, 1999: 127). Therefore, as analyzed by KRS leaders “KRS leaders had to follow the policies of one of the powerful states for free Kurdistan. According to them, the Soviet Union was the ideal state to be followed” (Madani, 2001: 210).

Thus, 25 KRS members convened at “Sarem Castle” near Mahabad to decide on KRS approach towards American, British, and Russian states. They also discussed the KRS plans with respect to those of the Soviet Communist Party. In discussing the plans of both parties, they had some issues in common. For this very reason, they announced that they needed to attract the Soviet Union towards KRS, and establish close ties with the Soviet Union (Madani, 2001: 229). However, the Russians’ replies were ambiguous, and this might be owing to “the adverse and undesirable results which had been yielded to them in establishing ties with the Turks, Iranians, and Arabs” (Cottam, 1992: 115). This ambiguous reply made the Kurds, desperate yet hopeful about the future, turn towards the Soviet Union, though they had previously sought help from the three superpowers (Roosevelt, 1997: 180).

While the American and British authorities welcomed KRS leaders coldly, they came to a common view on the three superpowers; the conditions were favorable for establishing close ties with the Russians. From this time onwards, the Russians extended their influence on KRS, and since “the Soviet Union was willing to establish control over KRS independent views; they need to be confirmed and backed up by Ghazi Mohammad” (McDowall, 1997: 240). According to the Russians, Ghazi Mohammad’s membership in KRS made the Kurds to be part of the Russians’ foreign policy. The Russians see the Kurds in the same line as the nationalist anti-class movement of Azerbaijan (Eagleton, 1982: 85). Since, according to the Russians “Ghazi Mohammad was a leftist, and was highly respected by the Kurdish people” (Cottam, 1992: 79). Following KRS and Ghazi Mohammad’s request to appoint a plenipotentiary representative of the Soviet Union, they appointed a representative. He was supposed to supervise the developments of Kurdistan and KRS, guide this newly established party, and establish a center for KRS meetings which led to the “Soviet Cultural Relations Council” (Eastern Kurdistan at the time of World War II (according to the archival documents of Soviet Union), Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Federal Russia, 2008: 159). However, in the report released by the Ministry of the Interior Affairs, the afore-mentioned council is referred to as “Iran-Soviet Union Cultural Relations Council” (Archive Administration, Report of Maragheh Governor to the Ministry of Interior Affairs, April 25, 1945, document No. 17).

It seems like that the Russians attempted to reinforce their propagating headquarter in the Kurdish areas. What is worth noting is that on the opening day of Soviet Cultural Relations Council presided by Soviet consul and the council’s chairman, “Homeland’s Mother” play was performed in Kurdish; it contained a nationalistic message. The aforementioned play (Homeland’s Mother) was about a mother chained and taken captive by three soldiers from Iran, Iraq, and Turkey; she is then released following the nation’s uprising. Eagleton, being one of the most reliable sources on the developments of this period, has written, “This play was originally performed with this plot. It was followed by the Russians’ protest in the Kurdish

areas controlled by them. Then, the negative role of the three Iranian, Iraqi, and Turkish soldiers was given to a person in German uniform; the mother was finally released by the Russians” (Eagleton, 1982: 79). According to the report released by the Ministry of the Interior Affairs, “A play has been performed in Mahabad. It has been performed in public. In this play, “homeland’s mother” has been attacked by three soldiers from Iran, Turkey, and Iraq. She is then released by another soldier, which is asserted to be a Russian” (National Library of Iran, telegraph sent from Mahabad to the Ministry of the Interior Affairs, April 15, 1945, document No. 2305 – 109048). According to Hemin, this play was performed for 3-4 months in Mahabad other cities of Mukrian region; this play was both a political propaganda and it was financially beneficial as well. KRS was able to buy a manual publishing machine with the money collected (Sheikh al-Islami, 2008: 49). It was obvious that KRS attempted to revive, develop, and deepen nationalistic thinking among the Kurds. One can say, that this play was the ultimate manifestation of the Kurdish nationalist movement started from the First Pahlavi era. As it is pointed out by Roosevelt, the effects of this play were to such an extent that “old enemies, while crying, embraced each other and swore to take the revenge of Kurdistan” (Roosevelt, 1997: 181). Although the Russians opposed the original theme of this play (this indicates the conflicts between KRS and Soviet Union that made the Russians more suspicious of KRS), it was a main source of their popularity propagated through the Russians’ role in supporting and releasing the Homeland’s mother. In the report released by Brigadier General Moghtader (War deputy minister), it has been referred to the Soviet consul speech in Urmia, where he has stated “We will give the Kurds independence, and no state can oppose us in doing so” (National Library of Iran, War deputy minister confidential report to the prime minister, April 30, 1945, document No. 2305 – 109048). This is in conflict with what is inferred from the Soviet documents where Hashemov (Soviet consul in Urmia) states, “I rejected Ghazi Mohammad’s request for giving a speech in this ceremony. I made it clear to them that we are not willing to give any remarks on what you have proposed. All nations have the right of self-determination. They are legible to extend their cultural relations, and the main goal behind our presence in Mahabad was to establish the Soviet Cultural Relations Council. I felt like that Ghazi Mohammad was not convinced with what I said” (Eastern Kurdistan at the time of World War II (according to the archival documents of Soviet Union), Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Federal Russia, Intelligence section on Iran, 2008: 160).

From 1945 and as the World War ended, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union was redefined based upon the old expansionist imperialism; taking this approach, the Russians attempted to expand their control in Eastern Europe either by annexing lands or by imposing communist governments controlled by them. Along the southern borders, they attempted to follow the same policy about both Turkey and Iran (Derriennic, 1989: 209). The means of exercising such a policy were establishing a branch of Tude party among the Kurds, “However, they declined to do so, since they were well aware of this fact that Tude party won’t be able to compete with KRS that was a religious party and agreed with capitalism, religion, and ownership. Thus, it was better to agree with this party (KRS), and then mislead them towards communism” (Fattah Ghazi, 1999: 130). While the Russians failed to establish Tude party in Kurdistan, they attempted to control and take advantage of the only party among the Kurds. This depended on making changes in KRS and turning it to a party with a new structure and ideology; since the national-religious ideology of the party had nothing to do with the Marxism ideology which highlighted class conflict. Moreover, KRS policies were not in line with the strategic aims of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. Besides, taking a Marxism-Leninism approach, proposing a national problem was in fact seen as a capitalist liberalism project to avoid the coalition of progressive international forces against capitalism. Thus, following their control policy in the western and north-western Iran, the Russians invited Ghazi Mohammad and other tribe heads to Baku for a meeting to talk about issues of interest in September 1945. Ibrahim Zand, Iranian War Minister, reported, “the subject of this trip was negotiating on the independence of Kurdistan or Azerbaijan” (Archive Administration, museum documents, Center for

Presidential Documents, Report from War Minister to the prime minister, September 17, 1945, document No. 22, with the file number 2d/23819-46365).

These developments will have a leading role in the future of KRS. Since "Having returned from Baku, Ghazi Mohammad and his entourage announced that the Russians has demanded changes in the structure and aims of KRS; since KRS fights for the freedom in four parts of Kurdistan (Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria), and this will displease and offend both the British and the Turks. KRS needed to be changed from KRS to Democratic Party of Kurdistan. It had to replace independence with autonomy within the borders of Iran (Sharafkandi, 1997: 72). On this Baku trip, Baghirov (the president of Soviet Azerbaijan) stressed that the Kurds must not haste in achieving their aims; they must be part of the Azerbaijan movement until an autonomous Kurdish government is formed. Having promised to support the Kurds, he asked for fundamental changes in the political structure of KRS. He stated, "KRS originates from Iraq and was founded by the support and control of British Intelligence service, and was nothing but the cat's paw of the British Imperialism" (Roosevelt, 1997: 184). According to Modarresi, one of the KRS founders, as early as 1945, the Russians had previously attempted to make changes in the organization and nature of KRS, "They attempted to make the KRS founders and experienced members leave the party, and make them stay away from political developments. They tried to replace weak-minded individuals, so that they will serve the Soviet plans and policies... For example, for excluding me from the central committee members, they appointed me as the manager of Kurdistan publication. Although it was an important position, they aimed to exclude me from the high-ranking central committee decision makers, and make me ignorant of the developments of the central committee. Thus, the Russians, especially Jafar Baghirov and his subordinates continued to say that KRS has experienced fundamental changes, has turned to be public, and has changed its name (Samadi, 1981: 17). According to them, "the British has managed to contaminate KRS. The British have also managed to turn KRS to a pro-Britain party. Thus, we must dissolve KRS" (Mustafa Barzani in some Soviet documents (1945-1958), 2002: 125).

During this period the Soviet policy towards the Kurds was based upon two main approaches: first, the Russians need to lead the Kurdish Movement towards Azerbaijan, so that Azerbaijan would be a region within their control. In this regard, they tried to affect the party's decisions towards their own interest by penetrating in the KRS political structure. Second, when they failed to do the former and as the new post-World War conditions arose, the Russians attempted to dissolve KRS and create a new part "Democratic Party of Kurdistan". By doing so, the Russians would be able to know the new leadership, members, and aims of the new party, and they would also manage to control KRS independence views. The Soviets also intended to make the Kurdistan Democratic Party similar to the Azerbaijan Democratic Party that was founded like Democratic Centralism Parties (like the Soviet Union); they would be able to supervise the developments within the party. Although the Russians' pressure and insistence affected the dissolution of KRS, they were not able to define the policies and future platforms of the Kurdistan Democratic Party; KDP was essentially different from the Azerbaijan Democratic Party and arose from different conditions. Of the internal factors affecting these developments one can refer to the split created among the KRS leaders over issues such as inclination towards one of the two superpowers of the region and this divided the party into two groups; pro-Britain/Soviet advocates and those who advocated adopting an independent policy towards these forces. Besides, the measures taken by the Iranian government to create disagreement and split between the leaders of KRS in order to dissolve the party from inside was another factor for the fall of KRS. "Iranian authorities attempted to dissolve KRS from inside. They tried to create split and disagreement within the party through buying some Kurdish tribe heads; they managed to do so in some cases. They managed to create split and disagreement between Rashid Beig and Tamar Khan Hanareh, between Gharani Agha Mamesh and Ghazi Mohammad, and... (Eastern Kurdistan at the time of World War II (according to the archival documents of Soviet Union), Archive of Ministry of Foreign

Affairs of Federal Russia, Intelligence section on Iran, report released by Soviet Consul in Urmia, 1945, 2008: 136).

In these conditions, while “Abdul Rahman Zabihi, KRS first man, was arrested with two others by the Iranian police forces in Urmia” (Eastern Kurdistan in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs documents (Kurdish translations of 130 documents) 2005: 151). “KRS was then dissolved after reaching a special agreement, and its members were granted membership in the newly-established party, i.e., Kurdistan Democratic Party on December 12<sup>th</sup> 1945 (Eastern Kurdistan at the time of World War II (according to the archive documents of Soviet Union), Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Federal Russia, Intelligence section on Iran, report released by Soviet Consul in Urmia, 1945, 2008: 137).

## **Conclusion**

Iran entered twentieth century while it was moving from a pre-capitalist economy towards the global capitalist market, production growth, and monetary economy. This brought about economic growth and social changes; as a result, classes changed and new social classes appeared in Kurdish community. According to this hypothesis, KRS evolution is seen as the emergence of an ethnic nationalist movement among the Kurds. It is viewed as a new phenomenon resulting from political, economic, cultural, and social changes and developments in the First Pahlavi Iran. On the one hand, “Kurds’ reaction against the centralist policies of the government and the cultural process of constructing an integrated Iranian identity followed by the Pahlavi government had paved the way for discursal and extra-discursal of a new nationalist movement” (Bloorian, 2003). On the other hand, Reza Shah’s policies in developing political centralism and modernization in Iran and its following consequences such as improving education, communication, transportation, mandatory settlement of the tribes, had smoothed the path for new developments in Kurdistan. Of those developments, one can refer to the following: urbanization growth, education progress (both quantitatively and qualitatively), and the emergence of urban petite bourgeois in the Kurdish community. Moreover, opposing the tribes had paved the way for the transition of political power from traditional leaders to the new urban nationalist petite bourgeois leaders; this was the most important step in proposing and propagating nationalism by the urban petite bourgeois in Kurdistan.

A group attempted to establish KRS to evolve the “ethnic nationalism movement”. The dissolution of KRS indicated the changes in the power balance from Kurdish petite bourgeois class to classes of higher social ranks. In fact, urban nationalists, who were highly important in KRS organizational structure, had been replaced by tribe heads, landowners, and land businessmen of Kurdistan Democratic Party.

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