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The Republic of Kurdistan, 1946



Hawar Khalil Taher Nerwi

The Republic of Kurdistan, 1946

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in 1970**

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Preface

During my studies of the Middle East and then of international relations, my primary interest was the Middle East relations with Europe. But as my study of the Middle East continued, I quickly noticed that my interest was mainly in the broader study of international relations. So, after completing my Master's in Islam in the Modern World, I decided to do another Master's courses study focussing on international relations. It was an interesting and worthwhile choice for without following of the international relations Master courses, it would have been difficult to understand the plethora of complex issues pertaining to Iran in 1940s. The courses on international relations improved my knowledge about the international context and enabled me to make this context the basis of my analysis of into Kurdish issues with respect to international relations.

The rise and fall of the Republic of Kurdistan is the theme of this dissertation. To analyze the Republic of Kurdistan, four aspects regarding it must be considered within this dissertation, namely: 1- ethnicity. 2- autonomy. 3- the Iranian central government, the Autonomous Government of Azerbaijan and the role of neighbouring countries, Turkey and Iraq. 4- the Great Powers in Iran. This thesis has paid careful attention to these factors, with particular focus on the existence of the Great Powers in Iran, which is not only an important element in the rise and fall of the Republic of Kurdistan, but also insofar as it relates to the origins of the Cold War in the Middle East. As a part of the introduction (chapter I), various Kurdish elements were studied, and the internal factors of the Republic of Kurdistan were expanded upon in chapter IV. For the research of this significant topic within Kurdish history, I did everything in my power to be impartial. Indeed, I regard it to be essential to this research. Furthermore, the critical expressions within the dissertation should be seen in a positive light as constructive criticism for improving our knowledge on the question of Kurdish nationalism for generations to come.

The strength of this dissertation depends on its primary source materials, such as a: the Iranian archives, the parliament records during 1944-1946, and the National Archives of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union archives. Kurdish materials, such as the newspaper *Kurdistan* in 1946, are another significant primary source behind this research, without which this study would have been incomplete. An analysis of the autonomous Kurdish government in Iraqi Kurdistan from 1991 onward also makes this study unique. During this period, a revival of Kurdish literature took place and many books and documents in different subject areas were published and disseminated.

In the period of the study of this dissertation, many scholars and friends provided support through various ways. I would like to thank everyone, especially my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Touraj Atabaki, for his encouragement, suggestions and critical arguments. And of course, I want to thank my co-promoter, Prof. Dr. Hamit Bozarlan. I am very grateful to Gerdun Brosk and Jan Reinhart for their willingness to edit my work. Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to thank my wife, Janan, and our three children, Hoshwan, Hojin and Kiyaksar, for their patience and support.

Hawar Khalil Taher Nerwi

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List of Abbreviations

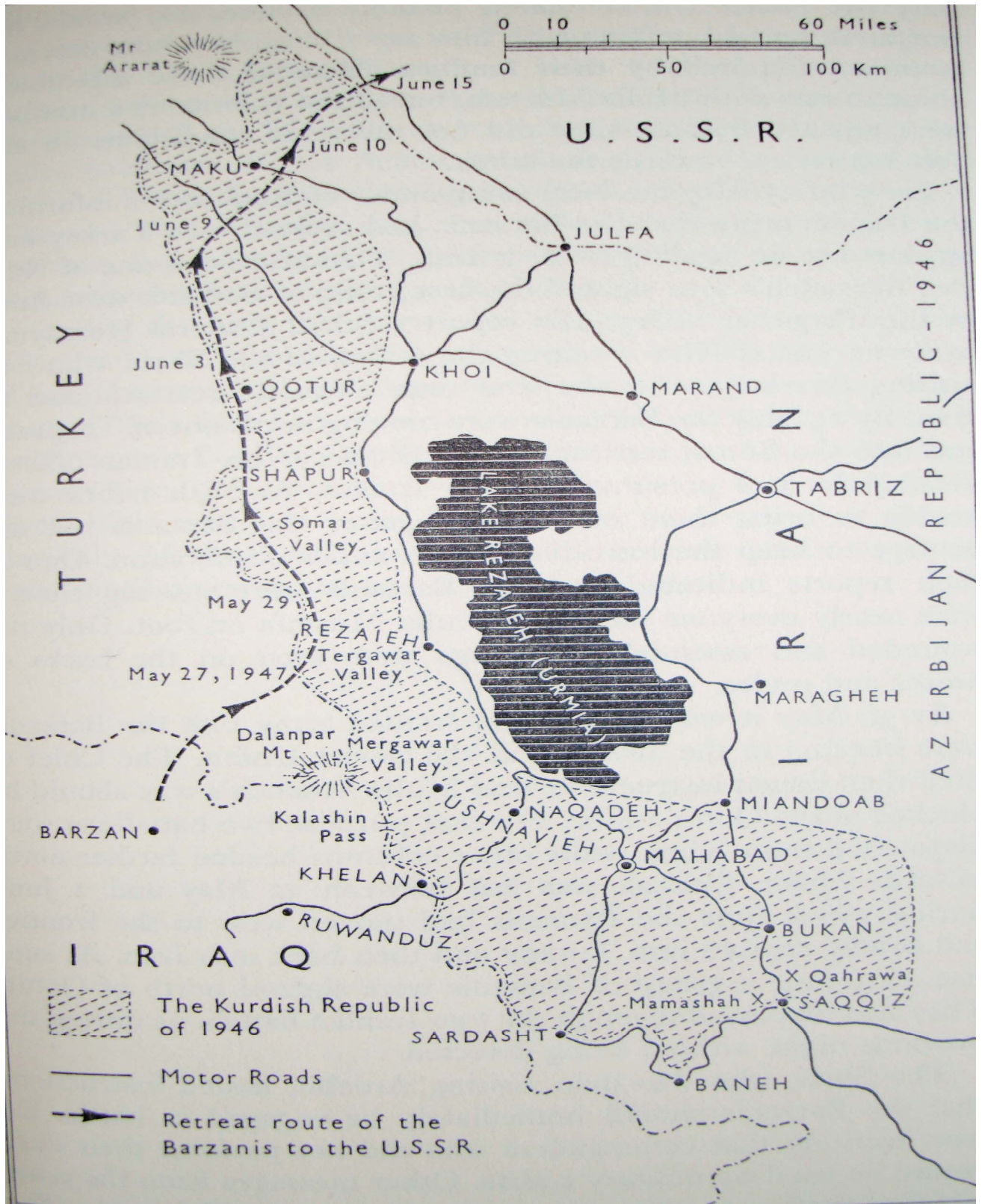
ADP	Azerbaijan Democratic Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DP	Democrat Party
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council of the UN
IGO	International Governmental Organization
INGO	Inter-Non-Governmental Organization
IPC	Iraqi Petroleum Company
IR	International Relations
JK	Society of the Revival of Kurdistan
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party
KDPI	Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti (Soviet security and intelligence service)
KTC	<i>Kürdistan Teali Cemiyeti</i> (Society for the Advancement of Kurdistan)
KYO	Kurdish Youth Organization
NA	National Army
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PGC	Persian Gulf Command
PNAK	Presidential National Assembly of Kurdistan
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America

Transliteration

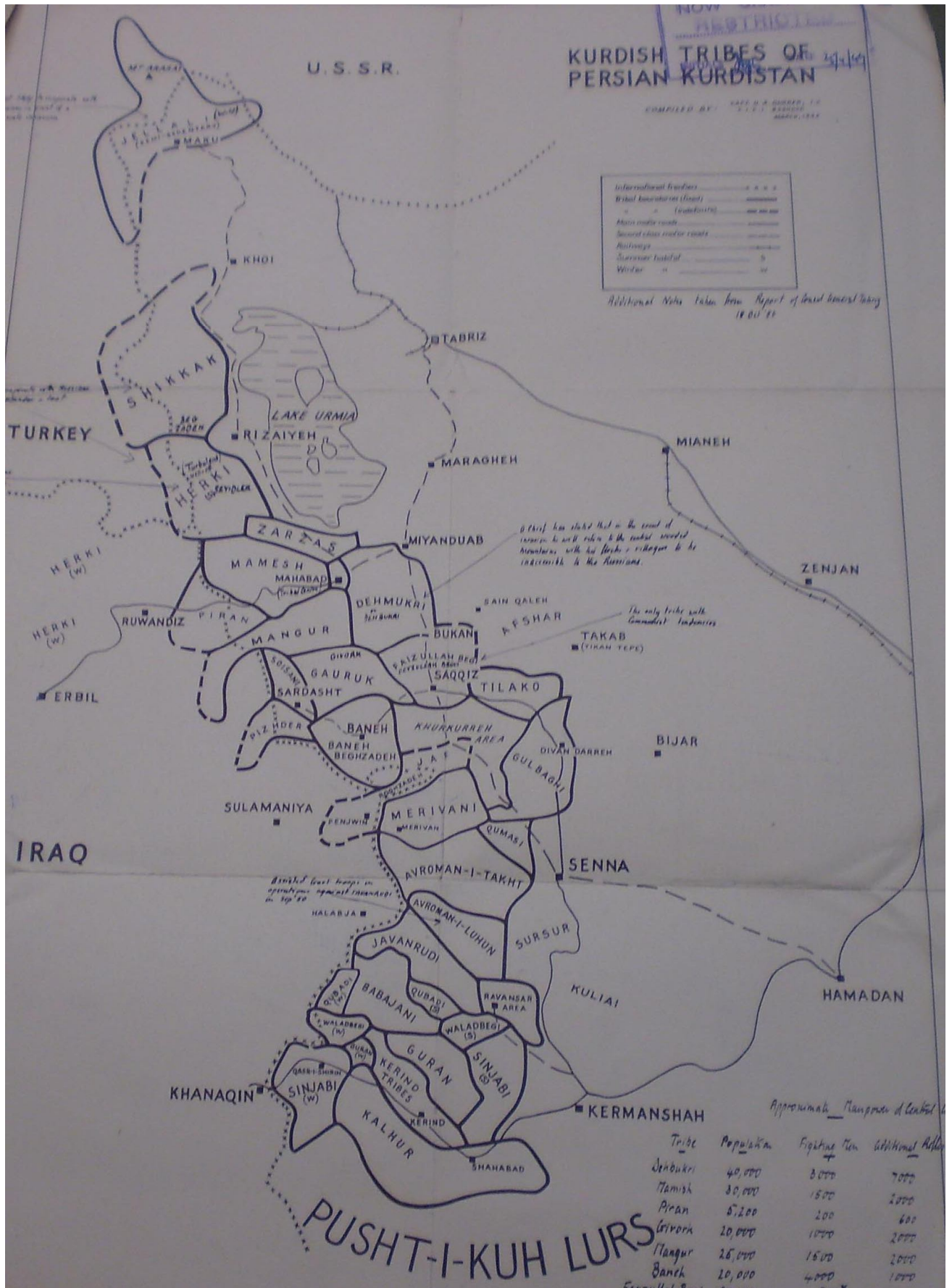
English translation of Persian and Kurdish texts is provided without transcription of the original text whenever possible. Anglicized names have not been transliterated. For example, the name of president of the Republic of Kurdistan has been written as Ghazi Mohammad instead of its Romanized Kurdish transliteration *Qazi Mohammed*. For transliterating of some Persian and Kurdish letters I have opted for a simplified transliteration based on the transliteration used at the Library of Congress, such as *ayn* and *alif* rendered as [‘] and [’]. For the names of well-known figures and locations common English spelling are used.



Map 1: The Great Kurdistan claimed by Kurdish nationalists. William Eagleton, *The Republic of Kurdistan of 1946* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).



Map 2: The boundaries of the Republic of Kurdistan, Sites of Battles, and the route of the Barzanis retreating to the Soviet Union. Eagleton 1963.



Map 3: Kurdish Tribes of Persian Kurdistan, British War Office 2613/45, 26 March 1945.

Abstract

The invasion of Iran by the Great powers (the Soviet Union and the Great Britain) in 1941 not only changed the political setting of the Iranian government but also led to the exile of Reza Shah, the leader of the Iranian autocratic regime. Although the presence of the Great Powers gave more power to the Iranian parliament -- mainly for political and economic benefit of the Powers -- it also split Iranian society into various adversarial factions, such as pro-Soviet, pro-British, and pro-American groups. Furthermore, during this period, the very idea of Iran's territorial unity was called into question. In the period from 1941 to 1946, some ethnic groups prepared to establish their own governments, which led to the break up of relationships between the Iranian central government and the representatives of ethnic groups in their respective provinces, including the region of the Kurds and Azeris.

In 1942, *Komalay Jiyanway Kurdistan* (The Society for the Revival of Kurdistan) or *Jiyani Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Life), commonly referred to as the JK Party, assumed the mantle of the nationalist Kurdish political party. By 1945 it evolved into the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). The formation and subsequent activities of these two Kurdish political parties played a principal role in the establishment of a brief Kurdish polity in Iran.

The political struggle, especially between 1945 and 1946, that led to the establishment of a Kurdish government was made possible in part by one of the Great Powers then active in Iran. The Soviet Union, for political and economic purposes of its own, at varying capacities encouraged and supported the two breakaway provincial governments of the Kurds and Azeris. During the same period, Anglo-American policy favoured the Iranian central government. The conflicting interests and subsequently diverging policies of the Great Powers contributed significantly to what many authors refer to as the 'Iranian Crisis'. This crisis led to the breakdown of relations between the Iranian central government and its peripheral powers, Azerbaijan and Kurdistan.

Besides the presence and policies of Great Powers in Iran, the unfolding of the Iranian Crisis and the formation of two Kurdish political parties, there were a number of other factors that influenced the events leading to the establishment of the Kurdish government. Among these were the emergence of nation-states in the Middle East following the First World War, the after-effects of Reza Shah's autocratic regime, and the establishment of the Azeri autonomous government. This dissertation takes a close look at the developments leading to the formation and the overthrow of the Kurdish government of 1946, which at times called itself the Republic of Kurdistan.