



Kurdish Nationalism and the State: The case of Kurdish State in the Mahabad Republic

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Abstract

As a historical fact, in the political systems of the 20 century, the actors in the international community always have been the states. The fact is so powerful that one cannot walk out of the world of nation-states. But in the meantime, the states as the representation of nations brought out war, peace, and by the name of nations have consolidated domination and authority of a class or an ideology. On the one hand, state as a utopia, is the driving force behind the emancipation of none-state nations, and on the other hand, the state represents a kind of domination and totalitarianism. For the Kurds, of course, the state also existed as a desire and utopia in the ideology of Kurdish nationalism. And this desire has adopted by different rhetorics and articulated by very different ideologies. In this term, for the Kurds, state as a manifestation of domination and totalitarianism in the form of ruling states, as well as emancipatory ideology has shown her Janus's face. Despite the fact that the concept of Kurdish nationalism was still a controversial and hence, other concepts used in Kurdish nationalism can also be contested and discussed, considering all these problems, this essay attempts to analyze the relationship between nationalism and state in the rhetoric of Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad. In doing

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so, by considering two important newspaper published in the dawn of attendance theory and practice in Rojhelat (East Kurdistan), this essay tries to analyze the links between nationalism and the state.

Keywords

State, Nationalism, Kurd, Ideology, Domination

Introduction

Despite very different theoretical roots of nationalism, it seems that this ideology is tightly intertwined with other concepts such as state, identity, and nation-ness in our everyday discourse as well as in the academic studies. But it should be considered that concomitance of the nation with the state as most important consequences of The First World War especially in the Middle East, is a modern phenomenon. Although its roots in Europe can be traced to the treaty of Westphalia wherein territorial sovereignty and sovereign equality of States were recognized by the international community. Hence, a brief glance to the modern history of nation-states and ideology of nationalism in Europe since the early nineteenth century and middle east since the early twentieth century, it clear that there is an important connection between state and rise of nationalism.

Despite many definitions and typologies of nationalism, it can be considered as a political form. It is important to note this point that most general studies of nationalism by neglecting this focal point, In many cases, do not mention to the explicit political meaning of this and preferring varieties of culturally theorizing. Nevertheless, saying that nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind (Kohn 1958, 10) does not reduce it's politically.

Nevertheless, should be noted that nationalism has been never a unified school of thought. Without excelling one on another, among distinct approaches to this ideology, research can be

difficult. But it seems that adopting a modernistic approach to nationalism makes it possible to explain the later events with more precision in the developments related to awareness and imagination of the nation. From this perspective, nationalism is the highest order of identity as related to by the individual wherein they imagine themselves to be part of a greater whole, specifically the nation. Kohn notes that nationalities come into existence only when certain objective bonds delimit a social group. (Ibid., 13) These objective bonds are shared things, saying, doings, and experiences. These things are the tangible manifestation of a deeper level of consciousness. Furthermore, these characteristics are such things as, common descent, language, territory, political entity, customs and traditions, and religion. (Ibid., 15)

Yet, the most important factor is the decision to form the nation, this is to say that while each characteristic lends nationness, it is the decision to become the nation whereby the imagined becomes the community. According to Anderson, a nation ultimately exists in the minds of its citizens, who may never meet, but live and die as one nation. (Anderson 2006, 6-7) This view of nationalism encompasses the belief among a people that they are distinct from another nation because of particular attributes. In this regard, put another way, the political boundaries are drawn in accordance to those who consider themselves as a singular national unit. What in modern times, with the use of pre-modern elements such as language, culture, religion, memory, and customs, is reproduced through modern technological means and affects consciousness. Gellner in this regard asserts that a nation exists when two men, share the same culture, where culture, in turn, means a system of ideas and signs and association and ways of behaving and communicating...and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation (Gellner 1983, 7).

This is describing the equation laid out by Hobsbawm whereby the nation = state = people (Hobsbawm 1990, 19). This equation finds its roots in both the American and French bill of rights, though it is more implicit in the French model. The French Declaration of Rights of 1795 states that each people is independent and sovereign, whatever the number of individuals who compose it and the extent of territory it occupies. This sovereignty is inalienable (Ibid., 19).

Based on the principles that nations should have a state of their own; this ideology underlay the unification of states such as Germany and Italy, as well as a range of other nationalist and patriotic movements. The goal has been the establishment of sovereign nation states. The nation must be as independent as possible. This usually requires at least the attention of political sovereignty (Breuille 1993, 2). So that sanction and legitimize the existence of nation-state is an important purport of this ideology. But since nationalism is a Holistic ideology, touching to popular sovereignty, it shall to invests final authority in an imagined community, allow territory's inhabitants imagined as a collective body, rather than institutionally defined flesh and blood majority (Yack 2001). In the ideology of nationalism, creating this imagined community and collective body is so important that elites of the nation, using history, geography, language, race, memory, and common culture have tried to create it.

Emphasizing that Kurdish nationalism first and foremost can be understood as an intellectual phenomenon, and has served to creation of collective imaging of Kurdish nation and creating a requirement for the state, in this paper I will examine the relationships of this collective image with the creation of the state in Kurdish nationalism, in two newspapers of *Nishtiman* and *Kurdistan*. In this article, emphasizing on the political form of nationalism, have focused on the awareness and imagination of nationalism, and I have sought to prove that nationalism is a

necessary condition for state development. Without a genuinely inclusive nationalism or national identity, the nation-state is either unrealized or failing. To start, I will focus on the emergence and objective contexts of the first signs of nationalist consciousness. Then, and I will proceed with details, try to show how the idea of the nation in two important newspaper of the beginning of 1940, *Nishtiman* and *Kurdistan* were constructed, how the nation is produced and reproduced, and through it, nationalism. One of the political or philosophical questions that are raised by relating these two processes is the question of the necessity of the link between them: could you have the state without having the nation?

Prelude to Kurdish Modern Nationalism

Despite the fact that adopting a modern approach to the nationalism can led to ignorance of a part of pre-modern realities associated to appearance of Kurdish nationalism, but as an inevitable issue the roots of Kurdish nationalism can be traced to the arrival of the modernity and modernism to the Ottoman Empire, the transformation of tribal structures, the mode of production, and the ultimate, confrontation of Kurdish intellectuals with Turkish intellectuals. What can be mentioned explicitly from this glance, is that even before the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, many Kurdish intellectuals had started to think about their Kurdishness. But an overview of the published works of that era, and Intellectuals who involved in Kurdish identity building shows that awareness of Kurdishness until the establishment of the modern Republic of Turkey had been transforming into nationalism.

This transforming, according to the words of Vali, can be explained as follows: Kurdish national identity has borne the mark of this political and cultural diversity of the “other;” it has been deeply fragmented since its inception. (Vali 1998) These

efforts can be seen in the form of periodicals such as *Kurdistan* and *Roji Kurd* and *Jin*, emphasizing on Kurdishness as a new national identity that, at the same time, their Kurdish awareness was fluctuating between Islam and Turkishness. Perhaps this may be considered as a basic step in the establishment of the ideology of Kurdish nationalism, which has close ties with knowing Kurdish Other. In this new ideology, representing Kurd as a new body, like all other identities, Kurdish intellectuals, have played the vital role.

In modern time, the beginning of Kurdish question in the framework of Territorial Frontiers of Iran can be traced to Shaikh Ubeydullah's rebellion. Although this uprising was against the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century, because it affected parts of Kurdistan in Iran, planted the seeds of modern nationalism soil in Kurdish Iran (Vali 2011, 1). The scope of this uprising can be viewed from the geographic scale as well as its contributors. Territories of northwest of Uremia's lake to near Bonab in East Azerbaijan and tribes such as Mamash and Mangour were among Contributors. In this times, Kurdish social life was dominated by primordial relations, loyalties and values characteristic of the tribal landowning class, as far as, or the Kurdistan community lacked the urban in the sense of its modern meaning or urban was too small and city dwellers dependent upon agrarian production and the landowning class. Despite the fact that in the nineteenth century Iran was gradually entering the process of capitalism, but in the early twentieth century, it succeeded in establishing a modern national state. The reign of Reza Shah and the establishment of a centralized national state was rooted in the aspirations of intellectuals and statesmen who were dreaming of it before the Constitutional Revolution in 1905. Essentially, the new regime which comes to power in 1921, was military in character and due to the wake of its modern institutions, only as a result of monotheistic measures

could unite the dispersed Iranian communities and ethnic groups under the authority of the national government. At this time, according to Stephanie Cronin: various Kurdish tribes and their leaders... were on the threshold of developing an ethnic, regional pan-Kurdish and quasi-national identity. (Cronin, 2007, p. 22) By leadership of Ismail Agha Simko, in such context, the Kurds' confrontation with the Iranian national state appeared. In this regard, Gareth Stansfield by referring to Farideh Koohi-Kamali, concludes that:

The emergence of Kurdish nationalist agendas could be correlated closely with the actions of the dominant nation, [led by Reza Shah]... and Kurdish aspirations for independence, economic progress, and cultural expression began to develop as a consequence of the political and economic processes of changing the lifestyle of tribes and nomads implemented by the central government of Reza Shah (Stansfield 2014, 68).

But all the time the Kurdish uprising led by Simko continued, the wishes of the Kurds in the form of a nationalist ideology lacked the explicit desire for the foundation of the nation-state and the acquisition of national sovereignty. Maybe among the remaining few pages of *Roji Kurd* by the editorial of *Torjanizade*, can find materials in this regard, but his uprising, among scholars and Kurdish nationalists, still is controversial. But the conclusion by Farideh can be accepted that Simko relished power, authority, control, and glory. However, he expressed his demands in the language of nationalism for that was the language which many ethnic groups were using at the time, and the Great Powers and the newly established international bodies understood the language. (Ibid., 88) The efforts of this period due to lack of broad participation of the elites, the tribal structure of the

participants, and the lack of expansion of capitalist relations failed.

The dawn of the ideology of Kurdish nationalism in The Rojhalat

In aftermath of Simko's death in 1930, influenced by new societal powers, especially emerging new and small-scale petty-bourgeoisie in Kurdistan, and reactions against Reza Shah's policies of centralization and the promotion of a strategy of dominant nation-ness, with the leadership of intellectuals, Kurdish nationalism entered a new stage. In this time Komalay Azadixwazi Kurdistan (Society for the Liberation of Kurdistan) led by Aziz Zandi, which was a semi-clandestine organization, founded in 1938 in East Kurdistan in Mukriyan region. Although it is difficult to talk about the effects of this party, starting off the party's activities indicates a significant shift in political activities in this era. In words of Cronin:

By the 1940s, however, a national movement had begun to develop in Kurdistan, a movement based not on the tribal Aghas but on modern social forces and, in part at least, prompted by the aggressive Persification policies of the Reza Shah period. This movement emerged in Mahabad, the principal town of the region, was urban in its origin and composition and led by a Kurdish intelligentsia and middle class (Cronin 2007, 197).

The transitional stage era between tribalism and national consciousness, which is clearly identifiable in new activities in Mahabad and the formation of Komalay JK (Komalay Jiyaway Kurdistan), remarks Kurdish agenda for nationalistic aspirations. Formation of Komalay JK come from of several factors: Weakening of central power, relationships between Bashur and East of Kurdistan, and especially, effects of Basur on the Eastern

of Kurdistan. In his memorials, Mohamad Amin Seraji, one of the Kurdish politicians and leaders of KDPI argues that: Reviving Kurdishness and formation of Komalay JK, must be related to the intellectual movement in Iraqi Kurdistan and the relationships between the Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan. Published works of Iraqi Kurdistan, Darker magazine entered Iran's Kurdistan... memories have been transmitted there...Mala Ghader Modaresi, one of the participators in the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad, remembers in that time that was not a long time since the Sheikh Ubaydollah's uprising, people did not forget about the uprising and it still had an impact on them. (Haji aghaie 2015, 315) it seems that from this point onwards, the formation of Komalay JK on 16 August 1942, Kurdish modern nationalism as an ideology continues its presence on the political scene. But to analyze this paradigm shift in Kurdish political thought, it seems that we need to examine Nishtiman texts.

Nishtiman and ideology of nationalism

The first issue of the Nishtiman (Motherland) that reflected the thoughts of JK, was published in July 1943. On the front page of its first issue, was written this sentences: Biji Serok u Kurd u Kurdistan u Hiwa. From the second of Nishtiman, this sentence which refers to the party of Hiwa and its chairman, Rafigh Helmi, was removed. Without any mention to expanding aspects of Nishtiman, as the official journal of Komalay JK, in this section due to the importance of this modern text, analyzing the relationship between Kurdish nationalism and state, in the papers of this official organ is necessary. The first issue of Nishtiman was published in July 1943 by Abdurrahman Zabihi, and last issue (10) with the cooperation of Sheikh Latif and Zabihi was published in Sitak, near the Sulaymaniye. The first issue of Nishtiman starts with our goal. Stansfield argues that: If the title of Komalay JK was not an obvious enough indicator of Kurdish

nationalist thought, then the declaration in the first issue of the aim of Komalay JK being the creation of a greater Kurdistan left no room for doubt. (Stansfield, 2014, p. 71) In this declaration entitled our goal, Komalay JK states that:

Unlike any problems and difficulties such as internal hostility, hypocrisy, money worship and xenophile which has become an obstacle to Kurdish victory, With all its strength and ability, Komalay JK tries to open the chain and the word of captivity from the neck of the Kurdish nation, and would established in this ripped Kurdistan a great and unified Kurdistan so that every Kurdish living in liberation (Nisthiman 4).

Nishtiman by advocating a nationalist strategy which is totally civil-political, seeks to find the cause of misery and backwardness and by rejecting any militarism, our goal argued that the only way to achieve liberation is through civilization; this leads directly to the paradise of freedom and liberation. (Ibid.)

In this regard, Vali believes that: This radical break with the classical Kurdish military-political method hitherto prevalent in all parts of Kurdistan is highly significant. It demonstrates not only the Komala's view of the futility of military action against numerically, logistically and technologically superior forces in a landlocked terrain but also its radical assessment of the social structure, political organization and ideological orientation of military power in Kurdistan (vali 2011, 22-23). Due to no paying attention to political realities in one hand and, no image to create an institution for political sovereignty in other, this political program can also be considered as a form of political dreams.

Apart from this nationalistic rhetoric, invoking social and economic issues associated with the class structure of Kurdish society was the other part of the ideological rhetoric of Komalay JK. In this regard, Nishtiman addresses the heads of tribes and

Kurdish Aghas, and their hypocrisy and money-worship make the cause of the present situation. Therefore, it can be said that: if the opposition to tribal leaders and Aghas, is in favor the National Unity and Solidarity, another side of this rhetoric has tried to represent social and political problems. But not using people's word is remarkable. In the second issue of *Nishtiman*, this term, in reference to the domestic oppositions, has been used once; and in the wrappers, it is stated that we are not communists, and even if we are communists, people cannot protest (*Nishtiman* 39).

Looking at the whole, *Nishtiman* was able to articulate nationalism on the axis of the three elements of the internal enemy, the external enemy and the desire for liberation - independence. This newly born nationalism, though with general indications, seeks to rebuild the soil as one of the elements of this new nationalism, but in its political vocabulary did not have an image of the state. Komalay JK in his short life and *Nishtiman* with 9 issues-that published in eastern of Kurdistan, simultaneously enabled to the creation of two discourses in nationalism for the first time. First, a discourse that, based on national elements, sought to unite and gain independence, regardless of the concept of state and sovereignty and the second discourse focusing on socio-economic problems of Kurdistan, sought to create a socialist discourse.

Its references to the Soviet battle with The German army, (*Nishtiman* 24), articles titled "We and the people."(*Nishtiman* 38), Great October Revolution (*Nishtiman* 56) and (*Nishtiman* 94), publishing a photo by Lenin (*Nishtiman* 137) although references to the introduction of the socialistic discourse to the Kurdish nationalism, but its ideological discourse remained nationalized. Despite the fact that the ideology of JK could not provide an image of the future political situation of Kurdistan, or be going beyond the will of independence in the motto, but it

provided the necessary, but not enough, grounds for the legitimacy of the Kurdish political nationalism. Concepts like independence, Kurdish political identity and using history as a ground for nationalism were elements that Nishtiman added to the Kurdish political vocabulary.

Looking on the past, the entry of Soviet forces into Iran and the vacuum of power in Iran led to the new social forces, as a result of the progress of history and previous experiences of historical memory, reacted to the central government. Mahabad, in the early 1940s, enjoyed the freedoms that would allow its intellectual groupings and nascent political organizations to explore notions of nationalism that would facilitate broader and more coherent Kurdish nationalist thinking (Stansfield 2014, 70). In the same vein, it can be said that the coincidence of foreign interference in the territorial borders of Iran with increasing of petty-bourgeois awareness led to the fundamental transformation of Kurdish political practice which revealed itself in the establishment of political parties.

Nevertheless, the birth of Komalay JK represents a deep turning point in Kurdish society and the discourse of Kurdish nationalism. But this shift should not be considered as a complete turning and beyond from all previous structures. According to Vali the predominance of lineage and primordial loyalties in the social structure and political organization of Kurdish movements had proved detrimental to the development of national consciousness and modern nationalist political practice in Kurdistan. The painful realization of this structural feature of Kurdish society and politics was clearly reflected in the constitution and the political structure of the Komala (Vali 2011, 23).

For this reason, abolishing and transformation of Komalay JK within the Democratic Party KDPI on 15 August 1945, should not be considered as a normal event. Amir Hassanpour believes that

the dissolutions of Komalay JK within the Democratic Party and the establishment of KDPI led to a historic reconciliation between feudalism (Darabagayati) and (Kurdayeti) Kurdish nationalism (Karimi, 27). Ghasemlou considers this transformation as an indication of the gaps in Kurdish society and the nationalistic discourse of Komalay JK, especially manifested this points in the failure of the weak bourgeoisie and the dissolution of the existing situation in Kurdish society. (Ghasemlou 44) The fate of the Komalay JK was a telling example of the perils of modern nationalism in traditional/pre-capitalist social formations. The organization laid the ideological ground for a modern nationalist political process, but could not survive the pressures brought to bear by the political and institutional imperatives of this process (Vali 2011, 47).

State and Kurds: rhetorical analysis of the Kurdistan newspaper

The desire for independence among the Kurds was not something that would remain hidden. Ann Lambton wrote of her visit to Kurdistan in 1944 the few Kurds I talked to ... all spoke of Kurdish independence with enthusiasm (McDowall 2005, 239). In the same period John Cook, the British Consul in Kermanshah, in a report describes that: Among all the tribes [in Kurdistan], there is indescribable bitterness against the Persian officials, particularly the military and police and a firm determination at whatever the cost, death or banishment, not to have them back in the tribal areas under the same conditions as before. (Koochi-Kamali 2003, 96) Performance of Nishtiman in April 1945 showed the peak of these emotions in the political public sphere in Mahabd.

The desire for independence and the establishment of the state is one of the most explicit measures undertaken during the period of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad. This practice

embodied the demands of a part of the elites of that period and the rational outcome of the demands that which write-in Nishtiman. But pointing out the differences in language Nishtiman and Kurdistan is important. The Kurdistan, as the official organ of the Kurdish government in Mahabad, has a longer lifespan than Nishtiman. And unlike the Nishtiman, it has been more plural in Kurdistan in its first issue, like Nishtiman, starts with our goal and argues that:

At a time when all the nations of the world, besides their liberation and their homeland, have no other goal, and they are trying to achieve these goals at night and day, what do we do and what is the goal? Further, pointing to the misery and dispersion of the Kurds due to the hypocrisy of the enemies, he added that, since September 1941, we had abandoned the bondage yoke and now we are no longer talking about the tribes and clans, but now we announce with unity that we are Kurd and consider all citizens equal... all of the try to the nation. (Kurdistan January 1946)

One can say that the only significant concept in this text is the concept of *citizenship*. This concept, for the first time in political literature, can reflect the transformation of the intellectual foundations of that era that, the disappearance of differences between Peasant (vassal) and Aghas, equality between all Kurds, and representation of the transition from pre-modern principles to the definition of the modern concept of the Kurdishness.

As a result of plural voices of Kurdistan, and religious differences, Kurdishness definition in that newspapers imagination has been contradictory. According to the Kurdistan: The time passed which by the name of Shi'a or Sunni or Bakhtiari and Lor and Kalhour and Mamash, implanted seeds of hypocrisy among Kurds. Because of 9 million Kurds in Iran, turkey, Arabic

Iraq, and Syria, and each in their own land, with a sound and a spirit want their rights (Kurdistan 5, 20).

This definition about Kurdishness represents the gaps and Obstacles to nation-ness. The gap between Sunni and Shiite Kurds, the gap between modern and pre-modern time and geographical distribution of Kurds among four countries. But a large part of the texts published in this newspaper shows that Kurdishness is a matter of race and, given this, identity is not questionable. In this regard, reliance on history is of great importance and as a project, such discussions are followed by the newspaper's No. 7 issue. Final goals of this hidden discourse in clearly reveal. We need to be informed of the end and outcomes of the state of Meds so we can establish the link between the Kurdish ancestors to now (Kurdistan 13, 54).

In this regard, notions of shared history are often promoted to legitimize nation-states. To this end, Kurdistan Stressing that history is not a product of the past but a response to requirements of the present. In doing so by adopting this discourse, Kurdistan tries to highlight politics as the basis of history and from this angle legitimize the demands of today. While history is a subject for analysis, it has entered into the linguistic and political game and is becoming a continuous process of life. This way of legitimizing depicted the main lines of the call for independence or autonomy in Kurdistan and Kurdish nationalism. But it seems that has been one of the most complex and difficult issues of nationalism. To the extent that even the accurate examination of the texts produced cannot lead to solving this complexity. It seems that this difficulty, while also one of the complexities of Kurdish nationalism, is also due to the multi-viscidness and heterogeneous of this newspaper.

In an interview published in the first issue of Kurdistan, Qazi Muhammad, in answer to the question of Kurdish demands whether autonomy or independence, he argues that: no, it's not

true, we request Iran's state to enforce the constitution (Kurdistan 1 p: 4) and continues: the Kurdish people in Iran have liberation to the administration and management of his internal affairs and live freely in the borders of Iran, can study in Kurdish language, according to the constitution, guaranteeing establishment of *Anjomanhaye-Eyalati ve Welayati*, local residents will be appointed to government officials in the region and reconciliation between peasants and Aghas possible. (Kurdistan 2, 6) in other question about the unity of Kurds in other parts of Kurdistan, Qazi Mohammad answers that, no, in no way (Ibid.). While reflecting the official stance of the state, the interview reveals dichotomy of Kurdish nationalisms discourse in that time, and even today, too.

At the same time, in a decision on January 22 that nationalist sentiment in Mahabad had reached new highs and remarkable day that proclaim the founding of the Republic of Kurdistan, the Central Committee of the KDPI Party requested that the following six conditions be fulfilled: The regions where the Kurds now live in, reach to full independence, national parliamentary elections to be held, Kurdish government and ministries to be established, national Army to be established, establishing trade and economic relations with neighboring states and Strengthening Relationships with Azaria's be done. (Kurdistan 8, 31) All of these six articles, which include the conditions for the establishment of an independent state, are said to have been mentioned several days ago by the Kurdish leaderships about the rejection of the state establishment.

This contradiction in the articulation of the issue of independence and the establishment of the state can be explained in words of Sheikh Ezadin as follows: The interval between the conversion of Komalay JK to KDPI and the establishment of the Republic was close to three months... That's why there is a kind of turmoil in the Mahabad Republic.

Thoughts like independence with the flag, the national army and the ministry, the official language in schools and schools and offices, on the one hand, can be seen; and in other, the form of the government, especially in the late stages of its life, goes to autonomy. In the literature of some party's officials, the word autonomy can be seen (Karimi, 356).

As an important result which today also represent itself in the nationalist political discourse of Kurdish political parties, is the contradiction and fluctuating between the demand for independence, the establishment of the state and autonomy. This turmoil in the Kurdistan newspaper's rhetoric can be explained from another view. In confronting with Kurdish people, by focusing on state and Kurdish demands for the state (Kurdistan 37, 151), this nationalistic rhetoric in order to become more legitimate, trying to gain popularity at the domestic level. But in external level, refusing accept issues of independence and establishment of a Kurdish state. This contradiction also can be explained by trying to removing all of the signs that imply on Komalay JK. Republic in the discourse of Kurdish nationalism representing by Kurdistan was the route through which Komalay JK and its founders enter national history and acquire a political identity. They have no history or identity prior to the formation of the Republic (Vali 2011, 85). In this regard, Ghasemlou emphasizes on lack of objective contexts and economic, social and cultural conditions for the establishment of Republic (Ghasemlou p: 111) Perhaps this duality of political demand, from this period, that has embodied in the Kurdish nationalism, reflected in the political rhetoric of Kurdish nationalism in Iran.

Conclusion

For the Kurds in Iran and other parts, after over seventy years of experience of Kurdistan Republic in Mahabad, the myth of Mahabad understandably became a powerful motif in the

narrative of the Kurdish nationalism. According to Vali: To the Kurds... the collapse of the Republic offers more than just a historical lesson. For them it is not only an event that has taken place in the past but also one that is living in the present, animating not only memories but also the discourses and practices that shape the present. Through this event, they think about their past, encounter their present and imagine their future (Vali 2011, 113).

But, apart from memorial functions of this historical event and the external factors affecting the collapse of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabd, it is also important to emphasize the dimensions of nation-building and its relationships with the state. According to Ghasemlou, it is a fact that the objective, economic and social and cultural conditions for the establishment of the Republic were not available. Even its subjective contexts include a political power that enables the establishment of the statist organization, had not been fully established (Ghasemlou, 115). The scope of these critiques can be extended to the non-theorizing of the ideology of nationalism and its close ties with state-making. In practical terms, however, mountainous regions, low population density, lack of development... can be mentioned, but in the subjective dimension, it can be argued that by drawing the trajectory of events shows that: by diminishing the power of the central government the desire for independence has become more intense; On the contrary, by increasing power of the central government, this demand has been eliminated. In both cases, ironically, the state and the desire to the establishment of a state in its modern sense, with concepts such as independence and autonomy, has been covered.

With tolerance, maybe now it is possible to show the historical trajectory of the Republic in Kurdish nationalistic rhetoric, wherein with fear and humbly expresses his political demands

even in political terms. Maybe that's why the answer to the questions such could Kurds have the state without having the nation, is still difficult.

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