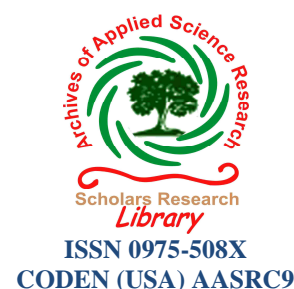




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Investigation of Factors Affecting Sectarianism in Pahlavi Period (Case Study Baluch Tribe)

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ABSTRACT

One phenomenon that has been discussed in the modern history of our country is the issue of sectarianism that is often viewed as a political movement. In this paper, based on four factors semi-modern state, local elites and intellectuals, ideological and separatists issues, and the international system, we investigated the to the phenomenon of politicization of Baluch tribe in Iran. Using the analytical method, collecting library documents, and interviewing with experts, this study investigated the political dimensions of sectarianism. Consequently, this paper reveals that the functions and pseudo-modern policies of Pahlavi, political and ideological movements, intellectuals and interference by foreign countries both inside and outside the boundaries of Iran played role in the spread of the phenomenon of sectarianism as political issue.

Keywords: Government, ethnicity, local elites, Sistan and Baluchestan

INTRODUCTION

The issue of sectarianism and ethnic conflict has attracted the mind of many social science researchers from the seventies of the twentieth century so far. Internal armed conflict between the central government and minority groups, and the growth of separatist movements in different parts of the world led that sectarianism to be an inevitable issue. These issues have led that political life in a country to be affected in various ways, by various methods, and under the specific social breakdown of a society. If this issue is not be managed and controlled wisely, it can threaten the national security and territorial integrity of people.

Especially when it is used as lever of pressure and a tool in the hands of international actors against political units and linguistic, religious and racial varieties, it becomes more serious. The aim of this paper is to answer the question that what factors have caused the emergence of political crises in Baluchestan province. In response to the question that what factors played role in emergence of Baluch ethnicity, we track the variables by an analytical approach to developments in contemporary history. It seems that four factors were involved in politicization of local interests and the emergence of sectarian tendencies. These factors include semi-modern government policies, movements and political and the ideological developments, political Intellectuals and stimulation and interventions of foreign forces. In this paper, we investigate each one of them.

Ethnicity as multifaceted concept

Ethnicity is relatively an unclear concept in the social sciences in which we must avoid from hasty generalizations, firm boundaries, and without thinking rejections. Ethnicity cannot be defined separated from outside of its borders, homogeneous, uniform, non-state communities, and in constant conflict with government[1] The origin of term ethnicity backs to the Greek word of commonly used to describe Eteno-Etnicus that was commonly used to describe non-natives in the sense of non- Greeks and later non-Christian as well as non-Jewish and lower-class people. Sociologically, it was used by Riesman in 195[2]. In his book titled as Economy and Society, Max Weber defined ethnical groups as human groups that have shared mental belief about tribe due to physical similarities, customs or due to share in colonial stroke or both of them. Blood relations are not important at all in this regard. Therefore, what is critical here is the presence of ethnicity on foundation of beliefs of special group of people-if they have no shared beliefs, ethnical group is not shaped. Second, the source of a belief is absolute, belief in a common tribe.Finally, although the belief in common descent seems to be fiction, it is affected and enhanced by physical and cultural similarities and common memories [2]

Political views on Sectarianism

Issues related to the nature of ethnicity and nationalism can be found in the two schools of instrumentalism and archaism. Proponents of archaism school have two basic claims: First, nation and nationalism are old phenomena and second they are natural and universal. Connor is of the most prominent advocates of archaism, emphasizing on political aspects of ethnicity as natural phenomenon of human life and rejects the concept of the nation-government concept and he thinks that nation is linked with ethnicity (Real national identity is a kinship identity).The main weakness of archaisms is that they are not able to answer the question of why such an identity is manifested differently in a single group in special time. The instrumentalists believe that nations are imaginative communities served to meet the psychological and economic needs in the modern and particular conditions of non-religious capitalists [3]. Marxists explain their ethnicity based on economic factors. Hechter's rational choice theory considers the ethnic groups as self-actors used to maximize individual interests of from individual differences, physical and cultural differences in order to determine the their individual and social scopes and groups[2]Elite theory analyzed by Cohen and Anthony Smith states that ethnicity is the result of strong interactions between different cultural groups and it is not the result of tendency to separatism, but it is result of strong conflict among groups to gain a new strategic positions within new government structure, including employment, taxation, education, political positions, etc[2].Accordingly, to explain and justify the reasons of politicization of ethnicity, we cannot focus on single variable, but a combination of these variables create ethnic crisis. Accordingly, we investigated the model of modern government, political elites and political-ideological movements, and the international system within a general theoretical framework and the reasons for politicization Baluch tribe in Iran.

Ethnicities in Iran

The life of various ethnicities, including Persians, Turks, Kurds, Baluchs, Turkmens, Arabs and lords within a single political geography represents ethnic and cultural mosaic of Iranian civilization. All Iranian ethnic groups have reached an ethnic awareness, more or less. On the one hand, it should be accepted that ethnic minority in Iran is not regarded in Iran and they have equal rights more or less: they demand preservation of their own culture and characteristics [4].Organization and social mobilization within each of these ethnic groups to activating the social gaps since past year is considered as traumatic factors within Iranian society and it is considered in sociology of Iran and it has been affected the, more or less, the political environment of country with fluctuations, depending on different time situation. When central government was in weak position, the ethnic tendencies have been highlighted [5].

Baluchistan and Baluch ethnicity

Henry Pilling, English traveler and historian, believes that Lands of Baluch tribe were located in north of Iran and east of Caspian. He argues that these groups of people come Kerman after that they were defeated due to attacks of Yellow-skinned Chinese people. Then, after 700 years, they migrated to[6]. Baluchistan has been divided among Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. Majority of Baluch people are living in Baluchistan province of Pakistan, Sistan and Baluchistan province of Iran, and Nimroz and Kandahar provinces of Afghanistan.additionally, they are living in Arabic countries especially Oman, UAE, and Southwest of Punjab. Some of them have migrated to Gorgan and Turkmenistan and living there, looking for business [7]. Baluch people are Muslim, mostly Sunni Hanafi. Baluchistan is divided into two parts of northern Baluchistan and southern Baluchistan or Makoran [8] Semi-feudal structure in southern commander structure have affected t the socio-political relations and economic relations with other independent tribes in the region on the one hand and other neighboring tribes on other. It means that fighting

spirit in northern tribes and central parts of Baluchistan is higher compared with southern tribes because southern tribes were dependent on agriculture, while northern tribes were dependent on livestock and looting due to lack of water. With the advent of the modern government, clan and commander structure changed fundamentally in Baluchistan [7]. In this regard, Varjavand writes that apart from actions of Reza Shah and their effects on the Baluch insecurity, geographical situation of Sistan and Baluchistan province was the most important internal factor in this regard. Due to water shortages, determining winter and summer points was very difficult for tribes and majority of people believe the main motivation of the Baluch people to create tribe was mainly looting and dividing the booties rather than cooperation and solidarity "[9].

Semi-modern government of Pahlavi and Baluch tribe

In developing countries, the problem is not necessarily the number of tribes or ethnicities but the haste and little opportunity that these countries have to adapt themselves with national government structure [1]. Building government in Iran started by Reza Shah in between years of 1931-1915, then it contacted with power of clergymen and by claims of different ethnic religious groups. Modern government building requires legal and consistent management and it cannot tolerate the groups that have independent authority in the field of using coercion instrument, such as clergymen having armed supporters or nomadic tribes [10]. Accordingly, the most important feature of the Pahlavi government, which wanted to modernize Iran, was to create a powerful, centralized and modernized government. Such power must necessarily use maximum accumulated political power and its tools [11]. Urban and civilized areas that were under Reza Shah can be seen across the country, but their concentrated areas were in Kurdistan, Kermanshah, Ilam, Khuzestan, Sistan and Baluchistan, West Azerbaijan, the eastern part of Mazandaran, Lorestan, Kohgiluyeh and Boyer Ahmad [12]. Bureaucratic authoritarian government of Reza Shah broke the power of the nomadic tribes in three ways. These three methods included disarmament, to accommodate nomads and recruitment, using the military. The three methods were applied and military laws were established in nomadic areas and they were under regular plunder and injustice. The chiefs and leaders of nomads who opposed the authoritarian of government's program they were suppressed in the most brutal way [13]. It extended the unsatisfied elites such as those belonging to linguistic and ethnic groups. Accordingly, ethnic mobilization was partly due to government policies against tribal groups. Tribal elites used linguistic and religious differences to gain political support and economic profits in combat against authoritarian centralist government [3]. One of the goals of Reza Shah was eliminating the power of tribal lords and decentralized forces. For this purpose, modern army could suppress the military heads in most areas where ethnic groups were living such as Baluchistan, and only after entering of allies in 1933-1949, tribal groups were armed and they captured temporary power and migration begins again [14]. In fact, Reza Shah's government can be equivalent to the absolute government in Europe, while these governments had more power and energy and capitalism was dynamic in these countries and there was no need for this type violence. While the Government of Iran was disable that it must build itself, then it must fulfill the functions of absolute government functions, but it was not very successful in this regard [15]. Baluchistan in the Reza Shah's government was under the control of big tribe of Baluchistan, Baranzai tribe led by Mohammad Khan friend. Military force was consisting of five thousand riflemen of tribes who were protecting his castle. Unlike Qajar Shahs, Reza Shah was not satisfied with nominal allegiance of these heads and taxes paid by them. What he wanted was destruction of their authority, and direct and continuous administrative and military presence of government in the region [16]. Therefore, Reza Shah rejected the proposal of Mohammad Khan's friend to pay taxes to government in exchange for giving the Mahlibeh governance. On other hand, the friend of Mohammad Khan rejected the invitation of Reza Shah to Tehran (Interview with General Jahanbani). After some months, he planned to escape in which he killed the guardian of government. As result, he was captured and executed in 1920 [14]. Despite disbarment of Baluch tribes' leaders, their power was not completely abolished. Sectarian remained as major social structure in Baluchistan and leaders of tribes could maintain their economic and social power. After Reza Shah, tribes were revived partly, so that Lambton wrote that tribesman gave one or two goats or sheep per hundred goats or sheep to Lord so that their power to be kept [17]. By giving power to lords, Mohammad Reza Shah helped to life of tribes and the tribal structure was reconstructed in Baluchistan. Moderated policy of new government and division of power with leaders of tribes that was responsible to establish order and public security reduced the internal conflicts and riots in somewhat [18]. However, he paved again the way for tribal insecurities in 1952 by land reforms. By occurrence of Islamic Revolution in 1968, the most important shock was imposed on heads and leaders of Baluch and their power finished. That is why most political parties in Baluchistan in the initial years of Islamic Revolution belonged to these leaders, or they supported the most political parties [3].

Local elites and ethnic identity

Nomads or tribesmen are communities that are self-sufficient economically, socially introverted and isolated socially, and autonomous politically, that shaped the major social and political formation of country before government-nation establishment [13]. Tribal leaders are connectors of relationship with government officials so that recruitment and taxation were done under their supervision. The major functions of the tribal or nomad chiefs and leaders included establishment of security within tribe, protection against the aliens and taxation [6]. Traditional Iranian government was authoritarian but its authority was not exclusive in Iranian society, especially in remote areas of the center and a traditional political participation in the political community can be seen. Elites of tribes have complete obedience of king, while they had of broad authority they not only were involved in administration of areas controlled by them they also participated in central policies. The new government reconstructed itself in terms of military, economic, and administrative aspects, but the participation problem remained unsolved [3]

1. Ethnic elites and heads, local government units, resorted to ethnic sentiments. An ethnic group can be regarded as social class, as social classes reach collective self-consciousness and act based on collective interests under certain conditions to achieve collective goals.

2. This group of people included educated urban elites, who played the most important role in the emergence of local movements in Kurdistan, Baluchistan and Azerbaijan. These elites were often children or close relatives tribal or nomad chiefs and heads. Some of them had graduated from the Western country Universities and they were aware of free new revolutionary thoughts [3].

Concerning the most important point about the role of Baluch political elite, it should be firstly noted that the process of formation of new graduated urban group in middle-class urban population of Baluchistan was lower than other regions of the country. Second, the leadership of the political movement in Baluchistan remained in the control of traditional elites of Baluch community. That is why tribal leaders and chiefs consider themselves as representatives of Baluch people and they claim that Baluch people are different from others as all ethical movements, relying on old interests and factors such as language [19]. Other factors increased the growth and awareness of elite in Baluchistan included the establishment of two institutions of higher learning, the Teacher Education University of Zahedan in 1972, and University of Sistan and Baluchestan in 1973. These elites played the major role in strengthening of intellectual and ethnic foundations [20]. Therefore, it can be said that as ethnic and non-ethnic elites had extensive activities in shaping the ethnic identity and mobilization of minorities, ethical nationalism is considered as top-down guided movement [3].

International politics and Baluch tribe

Many ethnic movements in the third world by foreign intervention and help them grow and develop. Some governments to protect the rights of minorities and the misuse of emotion ethnic, cultural and religious background or ethnicity extreme centrifugal tendencies reinforced in Third World countries have created multi-national. Middle East is permeable region that has always been under the international influence and interventions. There is no doubt that transnational forces played role in fueling ethnic divisions and conflicts and formation of tribal movements in Iran [22]. By expanding imperialist competition between Britain and Russia in the Ottoman Empire and Iran, two European powers encouraged the tribal chiefs to riot and separatism in areas that were under the influence and governance of their rivals [6]. In fact, England supported of tribal groups southwestern of Iran to protect oil [3]. In 1009 AH / 1600 AD, the British company of East India could expand its political, social, and economic influence in India, by command of Elizabeth King of England to meet the needs and interests of their shareholders until end of the 18th century [23]. Therefore, English as its rival, Russia, was looking for a way to consolidate its control over India [24]. One of the factors that provoked ethnic divisions and conflicts in Baluchistan was England that aimed to dominate India in which Baluchistan was vital gate. For this purpose, they obtained the allowance of telegraph from Reza Shah. By their presence in this region and finding information about behavior and customs of Baluch tribe, it began to stimulate and to expand its influence among tribal chiefs to consolidate its position in the region. In addition, it supported each of these tribal chiefs and leaders and armed them and promised them their own and their descendent governance will survive if they follow England. This caused that friend of Mohammad Khan claims independence in the region, while it failed [7].

Factors affecting the identity of the Baluch tribe

Factors affecting the identity of the Baluch tribe	Internal	External
Semi-modern government	differentiation of traditional context with the new policy, the opposition of tribal chiefs and lords with semi-modern government	the suppression of tribal chiefs and land reforms
Elite and intellectuals	Lords and native groups in the province, urban educated people, the creation of teacher training university	Non-native intellectuals such as MEK and secessionist groups
External and international factors	Cooperation and willingness of the elites and tribal chiefs with opposition groups abroad, relationship of elites and intellectuals with elites of Pakistan	The interference of the UK in order to maintain economic and security and commercial interests spreading terrorist groups in countries that Iran had shared border with them
The ideological and separatist groups.	Arab nationalism, the ideology of the Leftists	Komala movement, Azerbaijan and Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, ethnic nationalism

Conclusion: Looking to the Future

Ethnic problem in Iran cannot be ignored or forgot, but we can take advantage of it by comprehensive and accurate planning for benefit country. As it was specified in this paper, the nomads settling plans for modernization led into riots of tribes and nomads in Baluchistan, since the traditional structure of society and the presence of Lords who had power and authority for several years old stimulated the tribes and tribal chiefs or lords protests. On other hand, the presence of local elites that are affected by internal factors and external factors provoke protests. Foreigner forces tried to provoke and expand the tribal struggles and conflicts in this region in line with their own interests and opposition with ruling regime, especially the Islamic Revolution. Investigation of these factors is kind of warning to government or Islamic system so that it gives importance to role of tribes in solving the local and national problems. In addition, it can prevent from creation of insecurity in the region by creating local jobs and local products, and support from local products. Encouraging heads and chiefs of tribes to create integrity and political support of these heads or chiefs can strengthen the defensive and security foundation. It will lead into convergence of different tribes that have common living and roots in historical eras. The successful development and modernization plans in accordance with the province's social structure to eliminate the deprivation and fair distribution of wealth can preserve the integrity of the political system and national unity. Finally, the strategy of improving of foreign relations, especially in countries prone to terrorist and extremist groups can prevent from ethnic divisions and conflicts in Iran.

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