Chapter VI

SPATIAL PROBLEMS AND QUESTION OF INTEGRATION

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The core-periphery interaction pattern has never confined to a net model and therefore the basic issue always battered the nation. Essentially there was never an effective communication system, connecting the basic segments of the regional structure, which both physically and socio-economically never supported an interaction which could culminate in an orderly system. A spurious system could develop, concealing the reality of the situation, at any given time. These basic issues and inherent environmental framework could be seen within the framework of various concepts of political geography. More specifically at this stage one can refer to the unified theory proposed by S.B. Jones. 1 This could help in developing an explanatory system to understand the level of spatio-political homogeniety in the regional structure of Iran as well as the processes of nation building.

6.1 Problems of Nation Building:

The concept of nation is essentially a spatial concept which needs a clear cut analysis of history, language, religion, ethnic groups and common political aspirations, etc. Analysis of Iran as a nation-state shows many stresses and strains in the process of nation-building. It has always remained in great pressure of historical disintegrating processes and conflicts, both in early ethnic environment and the colonial power of nineteenth century.

The geographical factors in the history of Iran played a vital role and has helped in the analysis of nation building of Iran. The territorial evolution of Iran as a nation state passed through many stresses and strains on the spatio-temporal framework. This has been influenced by the locational factors which has imparted certain politico-strategic characteristics which from time to time tended to strengthen as well as weaken the power base of the nation-state. The changes in the extension of Iranian territory were based on power politics as well as diplomatic endeavours. The expansion of geographical area of Iran ceased after the Archamanian era, and unfortunately, it never reached that extent. Gradually with the decreasing power and strength of the centre, the vast territory changed into a small unit of Iran in the twentieth century. Emperors were unable to take quick military action on unruly
chieftains who time and again declared their sovereignty over the area. The lack of unity and coherence between the capital and the peripheries and physical separation proved fatal to the kings of both Safavid and Qajar dynasties (see Chapter II).

Inspite of all the above mentioned weaknesses of the nation, it continued to function in the early period. But at a later time the lack of cohesion, divided loyalty and the problem of succession to the throne continued to haunt the Iranian polity. This weakness was fully capitalised by the British and the Russians. Thus resulting in the capturing of half the Iranian territory. The emergence of Pahlavi dynasty in Iran is marked by the emergence of a static political boundary. (see Chapter II). However the very geographical facts of dichotomy between the settled and the semisettled elements of the population in Iran, the lack of social cohesion and the divisive tendencies within the ethnically diverse Iran continued and bothered the decision makers frequently.

On the other hand the periphery which has ethnically diverse groups witnessed frequent transfer to different powers (see Chapter II). This resulted into severe spatial problems of Iran. They occur again and again and the typical example is that of the Kords and Kordestans, which continues
as a volatile region. Likewise there are spatial problems in the Baluch dominated eastern Iran as well as the Arabs in the oil rich Khuzestan.

6.1.1 Tribal and Regional Loyalties:

After analysing the forces of history and tribal-regional loyalties in the nation building process one has to understand and distinguish the behaviour of ethnic groups towards nation building like, Kord, Azerbayciani, Lurs, Bakhtiyari, Qashquais, Baluchis, Turkoman etc.

The tribes are to be found on the periphery with different groups occupying different regions of Iran. (Iran may be seen as a two overlapping concentric circles). The area covered by small circle (fig. 3.6) being inhabited by Persian speaking Iranian and the longer outer area is composed by minorities of diverse language and culture. The minority around the outer edge have more dominant tribal characteristics except for the Azeri Turks. Among mountain tribes of Iran the most important are the Kords, the Lurs, the Bakhtiyars and the Qashquais. They inhabit the great mountain ranges of north-western, western and south-western Iran. See Ecumene 3.2 of Chapter III. A brief sketch of each follows:

3. Y. Ramazani, Iran, New York, 1972
The land of Kord is Kordestan covering Iranian, Turkish and Iraqi territories. In early days, the Kords used to move freely from one territory to another to avoid paying taxes or when the pastorages proved insufficient or when tribal animosity made it necessary to migrate. There used to be endless border disputes between the Turkish and Iranian governments. In fact only the tribes of Iran have given up nomadism due to the imposition of sedentary life upon them by the monarchy. The Kord have had a separatist movement only recently in the Mahabad republic under Mullah Mustafa Barazan. The Kord like the Lurs are discontented with the old Iranian stocks, ruling the country. Their language is related to Persian with an inevitable mixture of Turkish and Arabic elements. They are of Sunni origin. 4 A detailed analysis about Kords and Kordish autonomy is placed 6.2 of this chapter.

The Lurs are seen in the province of Lorestan. The Bakhtiyaris are generally considered a branch of Lur family under the name, "Great Lurs." 5 The Lurs occupy the central and the southern part of Zagros chain. The Lurs are counted among the adherents of shiite Islam. Their religious cult

5. J. Upton, The History of Modern Iran: An Interpretation, Harvard, 1960, p. 120.
consists of the worship of Pirs. They speak Luri language which is a mixture of Persian, Turkish and Arabic. 6

The Bakhtiyaris' country is more fertile than that of the Lurs. This is due to the fact that their country extends further south and that it gets the water of the upper Karun and its tributaries. The organisation of Bakhtiyaris must have taken place about the seventeenth century while the confederation of the Khamesh was created by the Qavan family. In the middle of 19th century the merchants of Shiraz used to protect their caravan to balance the neighbouring power of Qashquais. They remained essentially pastoral in character but at the same time as a result of the periodic expulsion of their surplus members, other settlements were found in the nomadic territory in the form of meagre hamlets which remained strictly subordinate to the tribal leaders. The tribes practised moderate agricultural farming. 7

The Qashquais are presumably of Turkish origin. Their summer quarter extended over the highland between Shiraz and Esfahan, which are the immediate neighbours of the Bakhtiyaris. In winter they migrate across the mountain


7. L. Binder, Iran: A Political Development in Changing Society, Oxford, 1969, p. 120.
ranges to the hills and lowlands - north-west of Shiraz. This ethnic group consists of Turkish speaking people. 8

The origin and racial character of the Baluchis still an anthropological knot. 9 Presumably, they are of Arab origin. The Arzians came to Baluchestan after the conquest of Iran in 614 A.D. They set up dynasties on the west of the Persian Gulf and settled as merchants on the coastal areas even before the coming of Islam. Presently, the Baluchis are settled in the Sistan region (see Fig. 6.1) between Khorassan and Baluchestan. They are mostly Sunnis and speak a regional language called Baluchi which is of Persian origin.

The Turkomans are seen even in the Baluchi tribal organisation. The home of the Turkomans in Iran is in the steppe, east of the Caspian Sea and on the bank of Gorgan river. But they are also to be found in the mountains and the hills of north-eastern Khorassan over the entire high plateau as far south as Tubat-i-Haidari and extending as far as Sistan. They are of Mongol origin and belongs to the Sunni Islam. 10

9. Ibid., p. 211.
MINORITY RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF IRAN, 1976 (IN PERCENTAGE)

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Fig: 61
Besides the above mentioned tribes there are other numerous but smaller tribes too, but they have not played any significant role in the process of national building or integration. These major tribes have been very significant spatial problem frequently escaping the national compulsion of living together as an unified nationality.

6.1.2 Religion Pluralities:

The state religion of Iran, "Shiism" propounded by Shah Abbas the great king of Safavid dynasty has not only helped in the process of nation building but has united the people of Iran under a common religion and helped in the national integration process. The all Iranians were united under the banner of Shiism. Even the different tribal ethnic groups came under the Shiism leaving the age old barriers. The figure shows that though there are religious minorities like Kalimi, Zoroastrian, Christian (Arman) Christian (Assari) but their percentage is quite low! They constitute only 1.2% of the total population (table 6.1) This very clearly shows that though there is religious plurality in Iran but owing to their low percentage the minorities are unable to play the role of pressure group in different plan implementation. The minority religious groups of Iran have never been a threat to the country throughout history whereas the ethnic groups always threatened the sovereignty of the country. The country can be called an
Islamic one due to the presence of about 98.6% of Muslims (Shia and Sunni) (see table 6.1). But we analyse the existence of these two religious sects then a clear cut polarisation of groups is seen in space. The peripheral areas are occupied by Sunni dominated ethnic groups i.e., Kurds in the north and north-west, Arabs Baluchis on the extreme east and Turkomans in the extreme north-east. Whereas the centre and the surrounding areas has been occupied by a Shiia majority. This clearly shows that emergence of core areas dominated by the Shiia majority and the periphery dominated by the Sunni (see fig. 6.1).

6.1.3 Ethnic and Linguistic Diversities:

The language which is spoken in Iran is basically Persian, which is of course the national language of Iran. But in the farflung mountain regions people speak different dialects. If one analyses the origin of those dialects it will be found that they have an element of Persian in them. So Persian became the mother of all dialects spoken by the people. The Persian literature has an age old history of 2500 years. It is an old language enriched by the great poets, writers and philosophers. The world renowned Persian poets Oman Khyyam, Firdausi, Dewan enriched the literature of Persian. This language not only had a grip on the Iranian soil but also it expanded to as far east
upto India. During the Moghul period the court language of the Kings was Persian. It is a well developed language no lesser in many respects than English which is spoken by the majority of the world population. 11

The locational characteristics of Iran noted in the first chapter and the land and sea contrast with the neighbouring regions help us in understanding the nature of these ethnic links. The Zagros and the Alburz acted as a formidable barrier in the past cutting it off from the rest of west Asia on the west, north-west and south-east. On the south the expansion of the sea has promoted a certain degree of isolation. These physical factors of location, accessibility by land and sea and the routes of migration into Iran have played a key role in defining the complexions of its ethnic link. The anthropologists view is that the emergence of the Indo-Iranian Aryans, Sematics and Mongoloids did not take place in Iran. The racial groups have come from outside. These immigrating streams of people coming from different ancient cores of human migration have found the numerous passes in the Zagros as the most favoured entry point to Iran. Obviously the mountain slopes and valleys provided the grazing grounds for the herds and goats

and resulted in the formation of settlements on the foothills. This emergence of enclaves have nurtured the most primitive form of culture and have generally discouraged cultural change as the contacts with the outside world have always been very limited. The Indo-Aryan ethnic group is seen in almost all parts of Iran, the Sematics in South-west Iran and Mongoloids on Khorassan region. Rationally they have never been a problem for nation building but during the historical phases they were a great threat to the central authority. On the macro level the language, race and religion have played a unifying role in building the nation but at the micro level they are divisive.¹²

The policies leading to socio-economic development being initiated since the coming of Petro-dollars and have given due consideration to the problems of tribal areas. Efforts have been made to correct the age old mistakes of Safavid and Qajar kings and later Pahlvis. It is further hoped that future planning for the social and economic upliftment of the tribal areas and those occupied by religious minorities helps in their development without destroying the good qualities of their culture and without forcing them to loose their cultural identity.

The ethnic composition of Iran is always a threat to the country because the periphery of Iran (see fig. 6.1) is occupied by Kurds, Lurs, Bakhtiyaris, Qashquais, Baluchis and Turkomans in a sizeable number. People of these regions are not only culturally and ethnically different from central Iran but they also possess much more loyalty to their chieftain. Many a time these tribes have raised arms against the centre. Their ethnic as well as religious differences pose severe problems to the horizontal integration process and nation building. Iran stands divided both vertically and horizontally and has many problems of a regional nature. There are further accentuated as a result of uneven urban development and industrialisation. The question of having and not having this various services and facilities (see Chapter IV) further widened the regional gaps and consequently the nation building process lingered. The rural people are deprived of the minimum required infra-structural facilities (see Chapter IV). The political power of Iran has always been in the hands of urban elites and feudal landlords. There is a continued struggle between the settled and the nomads, villagers and the urban dwellers and between traditionalism and secularism in Iran.

The ethnically mixed zone or religiously distinctive border areas have posed serious threats for the domestic milieu. The recent unrest in Kurdistan area, the local
overtone in the region of Azerbaycan and the regional pulls and stresses in Turkoman dominated areas further weakens or hinders the nation building process. They owe their existence to the spatio-temporal processes and their spatial manifestation throughout the long history of the country.

Besides this ethnic ambivalence (situation) along the border of Iran, the geographical and socio-economic-political core (around which the nation have emerged) of the nation state could not remain stationary, that have further complicated and affected the question of nation building in Iran. The interaction pattern has never confirmed to the set model and therefore the basic issues have always emerged some times in the form of border problems and some times in ideological differences.

The problems of nation building could be solved if a proper administrative, socio-economic and political machinery is developed. One cannot ignore the spatial distinctiveness specially on the border. For a better adjustment and understanding, a new system has to be evolved which could look after the problems of nation building. There has to be some constitutional provisions and a desire to develop a rational understanding and approach, otherwise these age old problems would remain and obstruct the way to nation building and unity.
SPACE LOCATION OF KORDESTAN
1981

NAME OF STATES
I AGRI
II ALSULEMANIA
III ALTAMEEN
IV ARBIL
V BILTIS
VI BINGOL
VII DHOK
VIII DIVAR BAKR
IX HAKKARI
X KERMANSHAHAN
XI KORDESTAN

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1. RAiLiWAY ROUTES
2. ALL WEATHER ROADS
3. DEMARCATED BOUNDARY

Fig. 6.2
Inspite of a reckoning crisis and conflicting situation, Iran as a nation state has survived during the history of 2500 years because of its adoption of Shiism and emergence of Farsi as a most popular single language spoken by two-third of its population.\textsuperscript{13}

One can trace the origin of such nation during Archaemenian period. There has been some exception in this historical continuity but the blame for this disintegration should be going more to the external forces than to the domestic or internal setup of the country, but one cannot deny the fact that the problem of nation building existed in many parts of the world and those problems are basically due to geographical diversity, socio-economic and cultural disparity.

Taking stock of nation and anti-nation building forces one can say that nation building forces had apprehend in the historical framework. Therefore Iran is a nation state survived with greater and greater strength in time and space.

6.2 Kordestan Question:

Kordestan is an area occupied by the ethnic group called Kord, perhaps purely caucasian in nature and derived from the Indo-European Aryan-speaking Iranian invaders of the second millennium B.C. This ethnic group occupied space

\textsuperscript{13} H. Herbert etc., Iran, Century Survey Series, Human relation area files, New Haven, 1957, p. 39.
area in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. It is a very difficult task to have a clearcut geographical demarcation line of this homogeneous ethnic group. There is no dearth of evidence, both archaeological and historical, to demarcate an area homogenously occupied by the Kords. The record clearly shows the early empire of Mesopotamia used to refer to the mountain tribes with names resembling 'Kord'.

14. A British scholar, Sir Henry Rowlinson, for the first time identified a certain inscription regarding Kurti (kurti or Kurtie) and identified in detail an area occupied by them, which stretched from east of the Lake Van to the plain of ancient Assyria in the south. The folk tales of 24 B.C. about the kingdom of Gutium which coincides with the present boundary of Kordestan.

15. In the middle of the seventh century A.D., Kords accepted Islam whereas the Iranians took time to accept it. The Kords are firm believers of the Sunni sect.

16. However around Amadia and Arbil, in the hills of northern Iraq and Rowanduz, there are Kords believing in Shiism. Kords living in eastern Turkey are mostly Sunnis.


The last great king Saljukid (A.D. 1200) was the first king to create a Kord province with its capital called Bahar to the north east of Hamadan. It is situated between Azerbaycan and Lorestan and comprises of the four regions viz., Hamadan, Dinawar, Kermanshah and Semna to the east of Zagros and west of the Shahrazar and Khuftiyah on the Zab.\textsuperscript{18} The Turkish traveller Bula (celebi 1482) in his Siyashat-name (IV, 74-5) puts the number of Wilayets at nine which formed the then Kordestan. These were Erzurum, Van, Hukkavi, Diyarbekr, Dzazira, Amaulia, Mawil, Shahrazar, and Ardalan.\textsuperscript{19} Kordestan as an unified area broke up into Hamadan and Lojdestan, due to the rivalries between the Shah of Iran and the Ottoman Sultans in the 17th century A.D.\textsuperscript{20}

6.2.1 Area Extent of Kordestan and Spatial Problems:

The historical and political extent of Kordestan does not coincide with the ethnic region. In Turkey the Kordish area falls amidst the left bank of Euphrates river, forming the western boundary from Urfa province to Mount Ararat up to the north province of Kar.

The Kords inhabit the north-west of Iran extending from the provinces of western Azerbaycan to the east of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} The Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 444.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Ibid, p. 44
\item \textsuperscript{20} Ibid, p. 46.
\end{itemize}
of Lake Orumiyeh (Rezaiyeh) whose capital is Sanandaz and part of the province of Kermanshah and Kaer-i-Shirin Kords are seen in the isolated pockets of Khorassan, Budjnurd, Fars and Kerman. In Syria the Kordish area extends up to the upper plain of Khabar river.

As such Kordestan never remained a unified territory throughout the history. The fate of its territory was decided by the ruling monarchs of Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. In 1639, Kordestan was divided by Iran and Turkey as a result of an agreement between Shah Abbas and Ottoman Sultan Murad IV. This treaty created a war like situation between Iran and Turkey. As a result of the Safavid's denial of the Kordish chieftain's offer, Sultan Salim (Ottoman king) took advantage of the situation and instigated the Sunni Kords against the safavids, north-west of lake Ummia.

To gain control over the Kords, the imperialist power i.e. (Britain and France) divided this ethnic zone and

21. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, op. cit., p.439. The Kords live in Tabriz and on the outskirts of Tehran, (Brogach Reise II, 496) are not mentioned as they are isolated in occurrence. Much further to the east and outside Iran an important Kordish tribe is found in Baluchistan.

22. A.R. Chasemlou,
distributed it among Iraq, Syria and Turkey. The British "red" zone included mainly parts of Mesopotamia (Iraq) extending from Khanekin in the north and southward beyond Kuwait. The "blue" French zone comprising of present day Syria and Lebanon and south-eastern part of Turkey.

Moreover these powers wanted to create an autonomous Kordestan but dropped the idea soon after securing the oil concession. The final demarcation of Turkish-Iraq boundary took place in 1926.23 Mosul, a famous oil field was separated from the Turkish Kordestan and given to Iraq. In Iraq, the Kurds occupy the north and north-east of the country in the provinces of Dihok (recently detached from the province of Mawsil) in Nabiys the districts of Zakhe, Mazari-Djer, Amadia and Akra. The Kordish areas in the province of Leirkak, Arbil, Diyala, Nahiya, Khanekin and Mandali, are adjacent to the Kordish areas of Iran, essentially to the west of Zagros. In Syria the Kord Dagh area is prominently Kordish in nature.

The limits of the Kordish settlements in the north is the lake Seroun (USSR) and in the east lake Orumiyeh. The Zagros mountain puts a certain limit to the Kordish settlements in the eastern side. In south-west, the boundary of the historical kingdom of Gutium can be taken as a limit together with the other prominent natural barriers, in the form of river Diyala and the long hill named the Jabalhamin.

23. Ibid, p. 263.
Kordestan (map 6.2) extends from 32°20' north to 39°50' north longitudinally and 39°42' to 48°43' east longitudinally with its present geographical area covering 288,413.5 sq. kms. and a total population of 9.4 million (1976). It cuts across Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. 24

According to the defined criteria there are nine eastern provinces of Turkey which constitute the Kurdish area viz., (1) Agri, (2) Van, (3) Mus, (4) Bingol, (5) Bitlis, (6) Dayarbakir, (7) Siirt, (8) Mardin, (9) Hakkari; four northern provinces of Iraq - (1) Dinek, (2) Asbit, (3) Al-Sulaimaniya, and (4) Kirkuk; and three western provinces of Iran i.e., (1) West-Azerbaycan, (2) Kordestan, (3) Kermanshah (see map 6.2). However the Kurds of Syria are an unnoticed minority and it is difficult to get further information about them.

The Kurds of Iran numbered about 4.5 million occupying an area of 135,540 sq. kms. in the three states of Iran


Demarcation of Kordestan boundary adjusted with the provincial boundaries using simple criterion i.e., (a) If more than fifty per cent population of province is Kurdish, then that province is included in Kordestan (b) If more than fifty per cent area of the province having historical evidence of Kurdish territory with a considerable per cent of Kurdish population is included in the Kurdish area. Applying this criteria some areas essentially Kordestan are being detached and some non-Kordish area are being attached to the present study area. However, this does not distort the characteristics of Kurdish region.
according to census and having a population density of
13 persons per sq. kms. This area is situated north west
and west bordering Turkey and Iraq.

This region is a complex physiographic region with
deep gorges, steep slopes in association with the harsh
climate (see Chapter III). Primary activities dominate the
economic fabric of the region, where permanent as well as
shifting cultivation are practised (see Chapter IV).
Minerals are few and limited (see Chapter IV). Agriculture
dominates the occupational structure of Iran's Kordestan
88.31% for example, W. Azerbaycejan 90.95% and Kermanshahan
80.64% (see table 4.2). Only a small percentage of workers
are engaged in industry, water and electricity, trade,
transport, services and remaining activities (see table 4.2).
The ratio of rural-urban population of this area is also
quite high (72:28), whereas the national average is 56:44.
The small and large industrial establishment represent
4.3% and 1.6% respectively. The communication system is
also very sparsely distributed (see fig. 4.7) as compared to
the adjacent states. The five core areas of Iran (see Chapter
IV) not come under this region. Kordestan might be acting
as a hinger land to the core areas. These above discussed
economic indicators clearly show that the Kordestan has
never been an effective economic region of Iran.
Socially, Kordestan has a developed tradition and culture which differs from rest of Iran. The Kurds are primarily Sunni and speak Kordish dialects called Kurmarju\textsuperscript{25} whereas in Iran Shiism is the nation religion and Persian is the speaking language. Had historical process worked little bit differently then Kordestan could have seen a different country. The tribal feeling is very strong among them. The root of the Kordish question in Iran is of the religious hatred between Sunnis and Shias. In the absence of any effective central power, the chieftains acquired despotic independence.\textsuperscript{26} The Qajar kings have pursued the policy of breaking up the cohesion and ruling families of the dangerous tribe and reasserting the authority of Tehran. They still practise sedentary and pastoral life style. Many of them are engaged in farming and tilling the ground on the plains and hill slopes. A large number of Kurds keeps herds and sheep, goats and cattle from which they make excellent cheese and butter. They migrate throughout the year, along the Zagros foothills in search of grazing grasses for the domestic animals.

The Kurds have a unique character which has kept them away from the mainstream. In the first quarter of the 20th century the Kordish became conscious of their autonomy and independence which resulted in violence and the breaking
away of their link from the centre. Though this incident was short lived but it played a significant role in understanding the hidden insecurity among them. A powerful Simço movement started after the first world war, between 1920 and 1925. In 1920 Ismail Agha with strong shikak tribes of Kord (operating in the region just to the east of the lake Urmiah) declared independence and revolted against the central authority. Although he had some initial success against the Cossack forces and the grandemorie but failed later on and as a result of that Simço successfully escaped to Turkey. But in 1926 he instigated another revolt which crushed by the imperial army of Iran. In this revolt he first fled to Iraq and then to Turkey. Yet another insurrection was instigated among the Iranian Kords in 1930 in which Simço took an active part. This time the Iranian army with the help of Turkish army crushed the revolt completely. Later on Ismail Simço was assassinated on 1st January 1930.

Just after the second world war the central authority became weak and a power vaccum was created in Iran. Seeing this opportunity, the Kordish people formed a Kordish democratic party of Iran and with the help of USSR they formed an independent Kordestan at Mahabad on 22nd January 1946. Later in the same year the Russian army left Iran.

and the Kordesh republic was overthrown by the Shah's army on 16th December 1946. This movement was crushed harshly and the government declared that, there was no Kordesh problem. 28

In mid 1978 a Marxist named Dr. Abdul Rahmeh Ghassemib became the President of the Kordestan Democratic Party of Iran. Kordesh 'Pesh Meges' 29 attacked the armies and the police posts in Kordestan and seized Mehabad, when the central authority became weak. Kordesh leaders were called by the prime minister Bazargan to negotiate with the authorities. A public conference was called by the Kordish leader where they reaffirmed their demand that Kordish be made an official language and a Parliament be established in Kordish area. Khomeini accused the Kords and called on the army to crush their rebellion. Some 200 died in fighting, which convinced the authority that it was dangerous to lose the grip on Kords. So, Ayatollah Taleghani was sent by Khomeini, who granted limited autonomy to Kords. 30

An agreement was reached and Kordish language was introduced in Kordesh areas of Iran. Dr. Abdul Rahmeh Ghassemib was

29. Kordesh for Partisan (Literal meaning "facing death").
made a member of the new constitution committee. But later on the Pesh menas activity became intensified which resulted in the withdrawal of Dr. Bazargan's promises and the autonomy concession was taken back. In 1979, the Kords boycotted Khomeini's referendum on the creation of an Islamic state. This resulted in a communal violence in Azerbayejan province between the Kords and the Azers which took hundreds of lives and rendered thousands of people homeless.

On 19th August 1979, Khomeini repeatedly denounced the Kords as communist backed enemies of the revolution and banned the KDPI and described Sheikh Hosseini and Dr. Ghassamb as "traitors". The same year a delegation of Kords went to discuss the Kordish peace plan with the central government but were rejected by Khomeini. However, Khomeini appointed his envoy to crush the Kords rather than to negotiate with the rebels. The military repression against the Kords continued, being specially concentrated in the Saggar and Sanandaz areas.

The genesis of the revolt by the Kords was due to the age old economic and social exploitation by the feudal landlord, the Khans and Iranian monarch. This was, however, wrongly quoted as revolt by the ruling class. The ruling class suppressed the basic demand of the people. The whole area is very backward and has a primitive mode of production i.e., hunting, herd keeping, and primitive agricultural
practises. The climate is not suitable for agriculture. Crops are affected by insects, pests and dryness, if not grown in times. Soil erosion is a serious threat and causes reduction in cultivation. Kordestan has an immense problem of linkage which probably is the main barrier for its under-development. The vast area of Kordestan is far from the railway route and the roads are not pliable in all weathers. Due to the problem of linkages, industries are not much developed (see Chapter IV). Kordestan acts as the hinterland of the developed core regions of Iran (see Chapter IV).

The whole area is neglected and suppressed. The people of Kordestan raised in revolt with a desire to establish an independent territorial complex which would look after the basic needs of the people. Geography, closely supported by the history and ethnicity provided a typical platform for raising violent and discontent regional over-tones, capable of creating chaos and final disintegration. The Kurds are culturally oppressed and deprived of their rights and are being denied the use of their own language, in schools. Cultural oppression has been followed by the economic oppression. The development in the Kurds area is far behind that at the national level.31 The Kurd problem has persisted since long and

31. B.M. Northwick, Comparative Politics of the Middle East: An Introduction, New Delhi, p. 234.
would continue to do so, as there is distinctiveness which ought to be recognised, failing which, this problem would linger on.

Like wise, there are distinct spatial problems confronting the Iranian nation. These spatial problems have posed severe threat to the centre. The problems ranging from independence or autonomy to simple preservation of minority identity compel to develop a proper regional and national concern to solve these problems. Such problems are not unique to the polity of Iran but they have survived for a major period of their history and several times posed a severe threat of complete breaking point. One would like to emphasize here that, these spatial problems of Iran need further understanding which could be only possible if adequate information based on its history, geography and politics is available.

The process of disunity and diintegration as a result of these problems always loomed large of this nation. The broken isolated relief with practically no chance of adequate external linkages has greatly helped in arriving to such a situation. Identification of ethnic distinctiveness is a must in the total format of a nation where such characteristics should be accorded reasonable appreciation. However, it is difficult to prescribe any plan of action
but it is logical that economic disparities among the regions and regional human identities should be effaced, although the problem transcends itself from the colonial post.

6.3 **Unified Field Concept and Iran**

S.B. Jones concept of the unified field theory is primarily based on the laws and processes governing the physical unity and its application in the field of political geography where the political system is being explained with the help of a circular system connecting, idea-Decision-Movement-Field and Area. This chain can be a lake or basin. The political idea in this sequence means more than just the state idea. It means any political idea. This idea follows a necessary pre-requisite to action which is followed by decision. This political decision involves movement in one way or another. This decision creates new kind of movement changed or restricted. Sometime the decision creates new kind of movement to replace or to control the old. This movement needs circulation field to operate. This field generally exists in time and space and this helps in better understanding of maturity of ideas formulated by the Government. Whether that one is for the welfare of the people and state as a whole. This unified field theory not only confined to better understanding of mere political idea of decision-movement-field-political
area but also helps in understanding the impact of history, politics and economies in formulating the idea and its impact. This theory provides a path between geography and political study. The theory is based on scientific understanding because it follows: (a) A compact description, (b) A clue to explanation (c) A tool for better work. Here one has examined the idea of Monarch and its impact on the chain system and its outcome in space.

These five components of unified field theory cannot be easily identified in case of Iran because of its long complicated history. Iran is not like Namibia, Israel, Bangladesh and Pakistan which confirmed to the set pattern as explained by Jones. Since the study focuses basically on the recent historical development, one can take Iran under the Pahlavi period of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who was the second monarch ascending the throne after the abdication of Reza Shah, with the help of British diplomacy. Mohammed Reza Shah's idea about nation, economic planning and political ideas have been examined in the light of the unified field theory. It further helps in the net outcome resulting into the final ouster of Shah and coming of the fundamentalist regime of Khomeini.

6.3.1 Idea: The king (Mohammed Reza) was very clear in his perception and idea about Iran. The king began by breaking all the existing democratic institutions that were
left by his father. The democratic contents of the Majlis was eroded making that institution into a mere rubber stamp. He suppressed the executive, judiciary and legislature of Iran. All the power was accumulated in his hand. He became all powerful with puppet ministers all around. Laws were made according to the will of the king. The fundamental rights of the people were taken away. The press was heavily suppressed and the political parties were banned except the Mardom, Noyon, Milian and Rastakhis. These parties were installed by the king. In order to get an assessment of the people the king constituted a well knit intelligence system called “Savak”.  

The idea behind the repression of all the democratic rights of the people and keeping watch dog net-work clearly shows the despotism and anarchist tendency of the king. He become a dictatorial monarch with centralised administrative system. He was the supreme head of the army, the navy and the airforce. So in a nutshell, one can say that he not only broke all the democratic norms of the country but also became an all mighty and powerful monarch with a centralised administrative system.

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32. A. Sedehi, *Constitution and Constitutionalism in Iran*, Michigan, 1967, p. 120.

When this was the condition inside the state, the king pursued a polarised policy outside the country. He went in for many pacts with USA and its allied countries. The military and economic ties were established on different bilateral issues. Iran became the member of the CENTO, America became the source of Shah's political and economic aspirations. Iran became the watch dog of America in the Persian Gulf and the entire west Asia.\textsuperscript{34} The king thought that he was the leader of whole of west Asia and could dictate his terms to the West Asian countries. Due to the strong military force equipped with sophisticated weapons, the king felt too secure and thought that he was able to crush any kind of threat to him internally as well as externally.

With the petro-dollars, the king helped in the emergence of urban centre and allied industries (see Chapter IV). The liberalisation process started in Iran. The king tried to set the model prevailing in the western country. Phonographic books, night clubs, gambling and other western cultures were introduced for the enjoyment by the Iranians (see Chapter VI). He visualized a trans-monetary economy of Keynes.

On the whole the king's idea of socio-economic condition of Iran was based on western thoughts and style. We shall see how it was reflected in the decision making process.

6.3.2 Decision: The idea which was formulated by the king took the form of decision after 1941. The king launched many types of socio-economic and political drives. He laid down five pillars of his philosophy of social justice: food, clothing, housing, medicine, and education. At the same time the king came out with a 12 point programme of the White Revolution (early 60's) to fight with thousands of families of landlords, clergymen and tribal chiefs. He took nationalisation action even to the primary sector of economy, i.e., the forests and minerals.

After taking the economic decisions, the king took some major decisions in political fields. He divided Majlis and formed a bicameral parliament with a titular prime minister as its head. He set up municipalities. He also went for a referendum for those 12 point programmes.


In the social sphere the king tried to subdue the role of the clergy and the supremacy of mosque. Even the criminals were not allowed to get asylum inside the mosques. The western culture with westernised style was imposed by the king. The incoming of petro-dollars helped the king to follow his decision. Industries were located at Esfahan, Tehran, Tabriz, Mashhad, Shiraz, Ahwaz and Rasht. Due to the rapid industrialisation, a number of urban centres emerged as its concomitant (see Chapter IV). The rural-urban migration pattern of the country got intensified and the urban centres swelled both in numbers and units and resulted into over crowding, lack of housing, water electricity etc. The country's total economic development and socio-political awareness was confined to the urban areas. Due to the introduction of petro-dollars economy and western culture, a highly sophisticated westernised elite emerged.  

The king denied the fundamental rights to the people. The absolutism was the main drive in the decision. Though a so called democracy prevailed the king censored the press and curtailed the political ideological debate among the

people. Even the parties were banned. The Fedaii Guerrillas, Tudeh Party and the Mujahedin had to go underground. The fundamental rights of people were taken away.

6.3.3 Movement: The movement as a result of his decision disturbed the spatio-temporal frame and gave rise to many stresses and strains. The socio-politico-economic forces became so rebelliously open threatening the super structure of Shah.

The idea-decision model followed by the king was a peculiar model. It could not have moved further without military and anti-democratic activities. When the decisions curtailed the democratic rights of people, disparity grew high and people started protesting. The clergy took the lead. Because their spiritual law (Islamic) was being distorted. So many mullah were purged, Khomeini had to quit Qom and get asylum in Nazaf (Iraq). Not only did the clergy revolt but the different political parties too revolted against it. The Tudeh, The Mujahedin, The Fedaii Guerrillas, National Front etc.

The coming of Savak police really terrorised the people. The police force used to work on the western model (USA). They were much more powerful than many secret service agencies of the world—it could be compared with the
KGB, CIA etc. The Savakis were not only the watch dog of political parties of Iran but they used to mark the day to-day life and activities or ordinary man. They picked up civilians and bribed them to work as their agents. The poor and simple people became spy to their own family and own institution (see Chapter V). Each one suspected the other. Due to this secret net work there was total chaos in the country. Parties were divided into small petty groups.

The White Revolution resulted differently. Instead of landlord loosing the lands, the small farmers started loosing their lands. The socio-economic content of the 12 point programme evaporated. Education to all and change of dresses in the schools were in dol drams because of the absence of infrastructure facilities in the villages.39

The economic decisions were also faulty in character. The establishment of different industries were done on a random model, ignoring all the tenets of industrial locational decision modes. The economic upliftment and the utilisation of petro-dollars also did not follow any model like, those propounded by Ricardo, Smith or Rostow, Myrdal or any types

of socialist model. But it was a peculiar kind model of
demand supply which resulted in inflation. The 1968 budget
placed by the Shah was a deficit budget which resulted in
many demonstrations and was solely responsible for the
upsurge among the people. Though the king used to say that
the "vision is of trans-monetary economy" model of
Keynesian. 40

The social movement kicked off the very idea of the
king. His very announcement encouraging females to shed
their purdah created an adverse opinion among the nomads
and villagers. They openly criticised the Shah blaming him
for diluting the practices the religious people. He was
branded as anti-Islamic and as the agent of the USA. The
two broad consensus opinion among the people regarding him
as pro-American and anti-Islamic united the whole population
of Iran under the uncompromising Ayatollah Khomeini, who
later saw the ouster of the Shah.

6.3.4 Field: The politically induced policy created
the field (Iran) which existed both in time and space.
Many treaties and pacts helped the field to be unstable,
although they were meant for its stability. The borders of
Iran could never remain silent or stable. There have been

40. Karanjia, op. cit., p. 120.
disturbing distant rumblings on the borders which have always posed serious problem to the national stability. A glance through any standard historical atlas of Iran (however there are not many atlases of this type) would bring an inevitable conclusion that the political map of Iran has never remained the same. It had large scale transfers of territories (see Chapter II). The Iranian borders have common problems vis-a-vis her neighbours like Afghanistan, Pakistan, USSR and Iraq and need separate treatment to understand the impact of circulation. The crux of these problems of Iran lies in the maladjustments imposed during the formation process of Iranian boundaries.

The struggle for survival with the international events and the international development was due to the decision, lack of social cohesion, and the divisive force within the Iranian society. Iran has never been able to establish itself as a stable state. The stresses and strains have always been dominant factor in Iranian politics. Iranian field never remained stable and had passed through severe turbulent situations capable of disintegrating the whole nation into several pieces, spatially located on the borders. The peripheral provinces with linguistic chauvinism, religious sentiments and cultural skenessness posed a serious threat to the unity and integrity of the country. The lack of national cohesion and partly because of the central government's
negligence to their needs, the regional problems flared up just after the Second World War when the foreign troops, British, American and Russian, were retreating from the Iranian territory.41

Along with the historical process and forces the geography plays an important role in its polity. Iran's rugged and inaccessible terrain, uncompromising weather and the diverse ethnicity seems to be responsible for the traumatic experience of the fall of monarchy. Some time the inaccessible areas revolted against the centre and declared themselves independent. The communication gap is one of the important weakness of formulated of ideas by the monarch.

The question of assimilation and integration, of the spatially different characteristics was rather a serious issue and it could not be solved by Mohammad Reza due to his faulty administration and economic policy. One cannot ignore the spatial distinctiveness on the border for a better adjustment and a new system which has to evolve. There has to be some constitutional provisions and the desire to develop a national understanding and approach otherwise these age old problems could remain and thus obstruct the way to national integration and unity.

6.3.5 Political Area: The king's idea was to establish a monarchal autocratic state, which really evolved in space and time. The spatio-temporal analysis of chain system produced many stresses and strains on the monarchic system. Though Iran was an independent state but the impact of the USA influenced the legislative system headed by the king. The economy, politics and the foreign policy of Iran was governed by the USA. Due to those faulty ideas the monarch had to quit Iran twice, giving way to the establishment of the Islamic republic of Iran under the leader Ayatollah Khomeini.

So in a nutshell one can conclude that the idea formulated by the king was a faulty one. His economic, social political model can be said to be on the lines of the western model, which is not acceptable as well as sustainable for Iran. At the same time the 'field' created for the propagation of these ideas were not adequate. The disparities and differences acted sharply against the system.

Though Jones' unified theory partially helps to understand some of the realities of Iran. The spatio-temporal framework of its various problems cannot fit to this theory. However, it helps in understanding the various processes responsible for the instability of the nation.
One should resist any hasty conclusion about the suitability of this concept to explain the spatio-temporal frame of Iran. It may require more empirical evidences and concrete case studies to prove its applicability in the case of Iran.