CHAPTER V

CULTURAL – HISTORICAL STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENTS IN ECO REGION

5.1. Introduction

Historical development of religious changes in ECO region is one of the principle and significant developments which is directly relevant to backwardness in different areas especially in terms of culture in countries of this region.

Unlike some other religions, there are no certain and fundamental plans or scheduled stations in Islam that could guarantee a series of regulations, principles and constitutions in order to elaborate the type of government, form of organization, executive system, priorities and responsibilities of people towards each other.

Neither is there any established ideology that explains what kind of government or ruling system a country needs from among its members and according to its potentials and national necessities in order to establish order and safety, secure borders, fulfill public needs, distribute national income and also establish productive relations.

There are no determined principles that could imply the type of legislating system. For example what form it should have; whether the parliament must be permanent or interim. What are its duties to reform and change old rules and establish new rules according to the requisites and necessities of the time? But what and how are these regulations and rules? How are they to be executed in different sections? Who must be their executers and legislators?

Simply we can put it this way that principles and fundamental conventions require that by following them, people bring a government or a cabinet to power without conflict. In societies that governors rule people aggressively, they attribute their government to divinity to justify their method. It is crystal clear that there are no established principles, conventions and rudiments so that according to them, social reformers in every age could object to unlawful systems of governments.
Section one

5.2. Development of Religion and Its Influences in ECO Region

Religious development during its historical course through creating direct and indirect obstacles influence social, economic and political changes of contemporary ECO region in two different ways that are mentioned below:

5.2.1. Ideological Aspect: during the centuries while the West was awaking from the deep heavy sleep of the Middle Ages Renaissance along with industrial revolution laid the basis for formation of modern Western society, there was no record of these kinds of changes in the studied area. Of course, it was not the only region which remained -even in the present age unfamiliar with sciences and their significance. But what makes the case of this region strange and surprising is the fact that unlike many other regions, it has itself been a major source and claimant in most branches of development. This region which was once part of the Islamic Empire in a certain period could train hundreds of scholars, scientists, physicians, mathematicians, chemists, geographers, astronomers, historians and philosophers, etc. Muslims could introduce themselves to the world during the two centuries after Islam. But due to reasons that will be mentioned, these developments slowed down and kept decreasing till the 20th century.¹

At its peak the Islamic caliphate center had become the center of trade. Caliphates of Bani Abbas brought development to Islamic center through relying on Non-Arab Muslims and bringing these nations to the center of power. Center of Islamic caliphate during the 9th century AD, not only had placed different nations inside it such as Iranians, Arabs, Syrians and Turks, but more importantly scientists and ideologists from different parts of Islamic Empire had gathered there. Some of these scholars were Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, etc. The Golden Ages of Islam was formed in such an environment. Although it must be admitted that this process had defects which were instrumental in the decline of these Golden Ages.

Defects of this period and process could be listed as follows:

- Scientific development that appeared in this period was not a natural, self-sufficient process, but it was a phenomenon which had entered from outside into Islamic Empire. What had formed the structure of Islamic science had been derived from other civilizations. These sciences were not subjects that were indigenous to Muslim community, but they entered Islamic society through sudden changes (conquest of lands by people that owned these sciences).

- Second outstanding feature is that it was government which brought scientific importance and supported it. The defect of such a phenomena is that whenever government decides it withholds support and prevents their development.

- The third feature goes back to imitative nature of the phenomena which became common. These sciences and developments were translations and imitations of previous sources. The danger that lies in translated science is that it brings some kind of imitation with itself. Researchers mostly focus on translation and understanding the author’s ideas rather than evaluating and criticizing the work. In translation and imitation there is hardly any thinking and research but there is mostly acceptance of the author’s views. Whereas science will develop only when previous and current knowledge and ideas are subjected to enquiry and questioning.

- The fourth feature that must be mentioned is a phenomenon known as brain drain today. As nowadays there are better opportunities to carry out research and scientific studies in the West, some scholars and researchers of the world set off for those countries. The Islamic Empire of the 9th and 10th centuries almost faced such a situation. In fact many of the scientists, who had come to Baghdad in the Golden Ages, had come from other regions to the center of Islamic Empire. Since the government did not try to interfere with, research and examine personal ideas of the scientists, Non-Muslim scientists could safely carry out their professions in center of the world of Islam. The government also did not insist or impose special beliefs on them. What intensified the subject much more was oppression and activities that the

1 Safa, Zabihollah. History of Reasoned Knowledge in Islamic Civilization till Late 5th Century, Tehran, 1992, p. 34.

Church had started from long ago against beliefs and activities of these scientists. This pressure gradually started since the 3rd century after the Empires of Rome and Byzantium embraced Christianity. Such pressure definitely caused difficulties for scientists which led to their emigration to other regions. Eventually, some of these scientists emigrated to the East? But at the time of decline in the world of Islam this process was reversed.

The last point that must be considered about the Golden Ages of Islam and is also remarkably important is the question that why the caliphates of the world of Islam supported scientific activities and paid much attention to the development of science and philosophy in certain periods but in other periods they ignored or neglected them.

It can be deduced that when a society is challenged by political conflicts, war, drought, and economic and social difficulties, logically there would be little chance of scientific studies in such a society. On the contrary, if there is a degree of political stability, social security, and economic welfare in a society, possibility of carrying out and blossoming of scientific and cultural activities would increase many times.

It must not be forgotten that oppression and prevention of developing free ideas and generally free ideological and communicative activities appears when the governing system is not sure about its power and is afraid of opposing ideologies. When the government has power it is not afraid of contrary and opposing ideas and does not need to restrict exchange of ideas and thoughts or cultural interrelations with the world outside its territories. In other words, a powerful society would not be afraid of philosophers, physicians Christian or Jew, Aristotle’s ideas, Greek logic, etc. It is needless to say that in such a society rationalistic movements will develop.

Of course, Islamic caliphates had another reason for supporting rational groups. Because in a certain period they thought that they could use their ideologies against radical and opposing movements, although this feature did not endure much and as soon as the opposing forces disappeared, supporting these groups also stopped. The climax of decline was the coming to power of Abbasid caliphate, Motavakel. From then on, all rationalistic movements were condemned. Non-Muslim scientists were insulted, even scientists of other Islamic groups could not carry out activities
freely. From the viewpoint of traditionalists and conservative scholars, many issues and deductions that originated from the philosophy or based on it, in any form, were severely attacked. Regardless of quality and quantity of details and controversies and also defects mentioned by traditionalists against rationalists, results of this change were very deep and extensive. As a result these intrusions and damages caused a lot of harm to rationalistic movements, although the severity of this damage was not the same in all territories of the Islamic world. The eastern part of the Islamic territories received this damage later, but when it received the damage, because of specific conditions of the region its effects were much more severe and intense.¹

But there were two elements that made the eastern part of the world of Islam follow the center. The first was that in any case Islam was part of Islamic Empire and could not have followed an independent path separate from the path of others.

The second element was that because of the advent of tribes and nations from central Asia to Iran, since the 11th century, their full obedience to the centre of caliphate the path to development of rationalistic and deductive ideology and thoughts was totally banned.

Full obedience of tribal chiefs to Baghdad, center of Islamic government practically meant that dominant ideology of Baghdad would soon be transferred to Iran as well. It actually happened, the first huge waves of anti-rationalism reached Iran as the first kingdom of nomads (Qaznavids) entered Iran. Uultan Mahmud Qaznavi was very biased towards Hanafi religion and dealt with the followers of other religions and philosophical schools severely. He even killed many people because of having different beliefs. Chasing and killing people because of having other religious and philosophical beliefs started from his time. He also burned lots of libraries containing books on principles of other religions.

This kind of ideology i.e. supporting a certain type of ideology soon became popular among other kingdoms. Fighting against rationalism experienced fundamental changes as Turkmens came to power. Turkmen tribes as Seljukid dynasty could establish the greatest territory in the world of Islam. Political architect and perhaps the

greatest vizier and political authority who served under this dynasty could lead an ideology which sustained his name as reminder of severe traditionalism. It was such a policy which inevitably followed anti-rationalism, massacres of Shiites, Ismailites, philosophers and principally every movement which was against the current ideology of the kingdom.¹

Cooperation and coordination of Khwaje Nezam-ul-Mulk, powerful vizier of Seljukids with military forces of this dynasty rapidly changed the ideological, cultural and social conditions of Iran and Middle Asia from the 11th century onwards.

Not only did the extent of opposition against science and cultural diversity decrease, but it also widely and deeply became a formal ideology and policy as natural sciences, knowledge and also cultural sciences lost their values and even Muslims were prevented from learning and acquiring them.

It does not need extraordinary thinking and imagination to guess what outcomes might follow by putting out the light of science and fighting against science and different cultures in a society.

One of these outcomes and perhaps one of the most harmful one could be ignorance of sciences and knowledge of other nations as well as enmity with them. This enmity and ignorance of the world outside is apparent today in different forms. Unfamiliarity with languages and cultures of neighboring nations is another result of it.

Ultimately it must be mentioned that putting out the light of science and anti-rationalism are in direct relations with the phenomenon of backwardness. It is not needed to explain much that if scientific development and ideological activities are stopped or even slowed down in a society, it will experience economic, social, political and cultural paralysis and ultimately be in a backward and undeveloped state. It is a disaster that hit the present ECO region and left it in backwardness despite its high cultural, economic and geographical potentials.

5.2.2. Practical Aspect: What is the apparent condition of Islam in ECO region? It must be stated that Islam is multilateral. Today we can not only talk about organizations of formal Islam. New political and religious institutions rapidly entered this realm. Also considerable establishment of traditional and rural semi-Islamic forms could be perceived.

Giving racial identity to Islam which is the result of Turkic and Tajik attributes has intensified the problem. In ECO region, contemporary Islam cannot be considered as a united indivisible phenomenon. But they are like tributaries which struggle to join the same river which seems unreachable.

In the early years of appearance of Islam, Islamic principles and rules were strictly followed and practiced. News was revealed to all through different people who used to travel within the Islamic territories. Prophet and his successors in the early periods did their best to unite government and people and court of judgments and to establish social equality and encouraged people towards humanity. There was not much conflict between Muslims among different groups and nations.

But gradually as Muslims got farther from the time of Prophet, this process was forgotten. When Bani Omayeh’s dynasty dominated the government, they considered their ignorance and nomadic barbarity superior to others. They considered other Muslims as their servants and slaves who had to serve them. Spirituality of Islam was neglected and its holy customs were changed. First signs of destroying Islamic values appeared through different and unequal distribution of properties and wealth of plundered nations and through categorizing tribes and races.1

Although Islamic values were highly developed in social justice and were unrivaled in relation to political and juridical equality, it soon lost its practicality as aristocrats of Qureish and new rulers came to power.

Successors of Bani Omayeh i.e. caliphates of Bani Abbas also utilized the power of Islamic Empire mostly in order to hunting human beings and turning them to slaves and gaining booty instead of spreading Islam. The news about conquests of

Arabs was pleasing for Iranian rulers and Turks who had settled in deserts beyond Transoxiana and led hard lives. Everyone who had the ability gave up his hereditary life style and occupation and joined the Islamic army and accepted its religion which they understood as plundering.

It was these very behaviors and cruelties of governments and elements of Bani Omayeh and Bani Abbas which broke up Islam into hundreds of brutal, hypocrite and opposing groups.

Islam which had come to save mankind from social and ideological disunity and for the creation of unity among people after being changed by caliphates of Bani Omayeh and Bani Abbas and the aristocrats and brutal feudals itself became a reason for war and great bloodshed and anti-value and anti-culture. It advanced so much on the enmity of Shiites and Sunnis that it is said that if someone from either side kills one of the opposite side it would equal the killing of 70 pagans. If it was not for hostility between Muslim groups whose branches are over 100 now, the world of Islam would have been a united and powerful world which could have been a good example for other nations. But unfortunately the life of a Shiite in a Christian, Hindu, Jewish or Buddhist society is much more comfortable than it is in a Sunni society and vice versa.

One of the destructive policies of caliphates was to create conflicts between Sultans and local rulers of Iran and Middle Asia. In the conflict between these rulers, caliphates provoked one side to war against the other or secretly influenced one side for or against the other. Or they did not interfere and waited until through war and enmity these rulers’ powers were exhausted and consumed. Of course, this lack of interference was when conflicts did not need an external element; otherwise, caliphates raised conflicts personally and added fuel to the fire of devastating wars. Wars of Samanids with movements of Tabarestan and Alavid people, Qaznavids with Samanids and Khwarazm Shahis, Seljukis with Qaznavids and other local wars all were through conspiracy and evil treachery in the center of Islamic caliphate.

In addition to provoking and encouraging wars between kingdoms and local rulers, the caliphate center also encouraged religious sects and created conflicts and added fuel to the fire of conflicts among them.
There were many religious sects which amplified this divisive situation. Religious sects of Shafeiyeh, Hanafieh, Hanbaliyeh, Najariyeh, Zaeriyeh, Shoudiyeh, Asna Ashary Shiite, Ismailiyeh, Ghaliyeh, Qarameteh, Khwarej, Ashab Hadis, Kotazeleh, Keramiyeh, Sufiyeh, Jahmiyeh, Ghadariyeh, etc. were parts of this vast division. Religious prejudices and disputes between these groups always led to events such as war, conflict, massacre and plunder.

One of the important centers of religious conflict during the time of Sultan Mahmud Qaznavi was Nishabour where a brutal conflict broke out between Shiite and Keramiyeh sects and also between Faqihs and Sufis which led to threatening and murder. In Sistan there were intensive conflicts between Hanafiyyeh and Shafeiyeh. In Sarakhs similar conflicts were current, in Herat between Amaliyeh and Keramiyeh, in Marv and other places including Balkh and Bikhara such prejudices were apparent. Houses of the opponents were burnt and the owners were massacred and their properties were plundered. These conflicts and unrests were so painful that sometimes non-believers pitied and came to the help of Muslims out of pity.

5.2.3. The role of eastern governments in Islamic Caliphate

Different unrests of the central governing system, empowerment of local rulers and bringing down of caliphates by them, selfish strategies of Turk Emirs and disputes between sects and verbal religions all paved the way for the emergence of political changes, ideological conflicts and economic instability in the east of the world of Islam i.e. Iran and Turkistan plateau. As Iranian and Turk Emirs were empowered, new changes appeared in the realm of the world of Islam. From this time on, conquerors and emirs from Non-Arab world entered the realm of power. It was an element which, in addition to religious elements, led to the appearance of tribal, ethnic, regional and racial prejudiced conflicts in of the world of Islam.1

This was also, in part, one of the most devastating elements which destroyed unity and concord of the world of Islam, an element whose influence is still intensively effective.

1 Ensafpour. Structure of government in Iran , from Islam till Mogul Invasion, p. 570.
One of these dynasties was Dilamyan. They were the first dynasty who, unlike previous groups, could dominate most of the eastern territories in the world of Islam. They supervised the caliphate center as well as the affairs of the caliph, although the caliph was Sunni and they were Shiite.

From then on the caliph had to obey a dynasty which did not regard him as a religious head. Empowerment of Shiite emirs and their dominance over the caliphate center brought considerable freedom for Shiites in the world of Islam. The direct result of dominance of rulers with different religious inclinations was that in every period, followers of the same kingdom tried to remove or take revenge on the opponent groups.  

Another dynasty which must be mentioned is Sasanids. They came to power after the decline of Taheris and Safaris. Samanids were descendents of Saman Zoroastrian Moghs in Balkh region but followed Sunni religion. From this viewpoint they supported the caliphate ruling system. Presence of this dynasty in the eastern borders of the world of Islam which is today Middle Asia was very important. Their empowerment and consequently the state of general stability in their northern borders let Mujahids on the borders deal with their preaching in a better mode. Therefore, Sunni Islam could penetrate in the region and become the dominant religion of Turks. Turks who had settled in the border lands next to Samanids were mostly Shemen worshippers and a few of them were Christian, therefore, being not reliant on a global religion, embraced Islam peacefully and without much challenge. Undoubtedly Samanids’ support of religious preachers was an important feature in the progress of this religion in the region. It was impossible to achieve such a progress without this support. Samanids are important in this aspect that they preached and encouraged conversion to the sect of Sunnis.

The World of Islam owes them conversion of Turks to Islam which later became the religion of all Turk tribes. In the meantime, due to great interest of Samanids in Sunni religion, this religion became popular among Turks and later it led to the increasing dominance of this religion in the world of Islam.

Much interest of Samanids in the Turks had also other deadly effects for the region and for the world of Islam, because gradually Turks could enter the ruling system of Samanids and ultimately they could dominate over Samanids and cause their decline.

The dynasty that was formed by Turks was Qaznavid and the leading figure of this dynasty was Mahmud Qaznavi. Through the dominance of Turks, Islam was no longer in control of Arabs or Tajiks who had become Arab; rather it started developing as a worldwide religion.

There was one issue which always affected the kingdoms and affairs related to them according to which all governments either Turk or Tajik had to be legitimized by the caliph. This had made the rulers obey the caliph so that they could get their legitimacy. Caliph also in order to control them and collect taxes used the policy of encouraging conflicts among them to prevent concentration of power in of a single ruler. Therefore, we see that the caliph used to appoint two or three rulers for one region at the same time and created rivalry between them. This was the reason of conflict and dissension between ethnic, racial and religious groups and created differences between these groups.

Rulers and tribes also in order to keep their dominance and influence over other rivals tried to achieve their goals through allegiance with others and with neighboring groups. Although in some cases these allies were not Muslims.

This change of policies was so much that even in some cases rulers pretended they had changed their religion and accepted the religion of their supporting group.

The situation in Qaznavid period was not different. In this period especially at the time of Mahmud Qaznavi on the one hand they invaded India on the pretext of Islamic Jihad and spreading Islam and plundered there, on the other hand they were trying to bring down the Shiite Ale Bouyeh kingdom in Iran. Treachery against the center of caliphate was also always effective.
Another dynasty which came to power after Qaznavids and which had much more influential effects on conflicts and controversies was that of Seljuks. They also like Qaznavids were prejudiced Sunnis who could bring down the remains of Ale Bouyeh dynasty. Seljuks also could dominate the center of Islamic caliphate and influence the court of caliphate.

The Seljuk kingdom is in many aspects important in the history of Islam, with regard to religious sects and religious conflicts.

The first one is that because of amenity with Ismailia Shiites, they were defeated after bitter conflicts and were not allowed come to power again. That is why this Islamic sect was placed in class three or four in the following periods and could not play an important role in the future of the world of Islam.

The second element was that through bringing down Ismailia, they paved the way for Twelve Imam Shiites who had more moderate policies in comparison to their enemies. it had profound influence in the future of the world of Islam.

Another issue which has much importance is the religious policy of the Seljuk period was that Khwaje Nezam-ul-Mulk, vizier and political and religious architect of Seljuk kingdom could establish military classes and train and educate a number of literate Sunnis. He could first, develop scientific and research areas of this sect compared to other sects and secondly, this kingdom had many of the trained members to administer different parts of their territory in the empire.

The outcome of these movements was that in the whole of the eastern part of the world of Islam during the Seljuk period almost one religious policy was followed which was specially hostile to other religious sects which in turn deepened hostility among Islamic groups and sects.

But another dynasty which was also important and had a great deal of influence on the formation of religious problems was the Mogul dynasty. The first important thing about it was that before coming to power of the Moguls all the kingdoms that could establish governments in Iran and the present Middle Asia had
become Muslims. Their religious leaning was dependent on being neighbors of Muslim settled areas previously or on serving in the court of Muslim rulers. Of course it must be mentioned that always it was Sunni sect which was dominant. Religious policy of these rulers and their influences were clear almost from the very beginning. And that was supporting one tendency and oppressing others.

But the situation was totally different with the Moguls, unlike other tribes and kingdoms of this region, the Moguls had spent their stages of development and progression in an environment different from Islamic realm and they did not have much familiarity with Islam and Islamic rules before embracing Islam.¹

Therefore, when they embraced Islam they did not have much prejudice on any particular sect or religious group. Additionally, they had a set of rules and a book called Yasa which in their beliefs they regarded as holy. Unlike others, they were not initially interested in Islam and its rules and in caliphs. Consequently they did not depend on and did not need the support of a certain group or sect and owed allegiance to no one. Because of these fluctuations, flow of religious affairs in this period has specific importance.

In the Moguls’ view Genghis was prophet and Yasa was the holy book. They directed all their efforts towards spreading Shemen religion.²

The Moguls destroyed everything on their way to invading Islamic lands and massacred people. Their military power was mainly based on their physical power and fighting skills. They rapidly conquered many lands, and territories which they had never imagined. But they had a fundamental problem that is they were culturally lower than those they conquered. Therefore, they faced administration problems when they encountered such vast lands. That is why they gradually started getting Non-Moguls and defeated people to manage official affairs. This again set the fire of conflict alight among Muslims. From that time on, again treachery and deception against each other started and increased so much that Sunnis believe that the decline

² Bayani, Shirin. Religion and government in Iran s mogul period, university perss, Tehran, pp. 3.7
of the caliphate and the murder of Muslim caliph was provoked and executed by the Shiite vizier of Moguls.\footnote{Ibn Khaldoun. Introduction of Ibn Khaldoun, Trans. Parvin Gonabadi, Organization of Book Translation and Distribution, Tehran, 1967, p. 537.} The decline and murder of caliph had many effects on the world of Islam. It was one of the most important reasons for the spread of Shiism after the decline of Abbasid Caliphate in the mid-seventh century and a little after in its final years and also in the early eighth century; because after the decline of the center of caliphate religious freedom became common. As the caliphate declined the symbol of Sunni Islam disappeared suddenly and religious conflicts initially faded away in relation to both Shiites and Sunnis.

But gradually and in course of time Moguls became familiar with Islamic culture and some Mogul Ilkhans embraced Islam. They had to choose between the two religious sects of Sunni and Shiite, of course some of them remained atheist and some others converted to Christianity.

But the important change had happened and Sunnis who had lost center of caliphate had to try to attract the Mogul rulers. Therefore, competition of Islamic groups in order to attract and absorb the rulers started at a level vaster than its previous form, a competition which was not only for victory but also for destruction of others. It was an element which increased conflict and dissension between Muslim groups.

On the other side, this dissension and enmity in the religious realm entered the ideology of Mogul rulers because these rulers tried to move along with the people in their territories. Influence of this rivalry on rulers meant that from that time on, dissension and hostility entered the realm of territories in addition to the realm of ideologies which was one of the most devastating elements which prevented the spread of the world of Islam and its unity.

From that time on, through division of eastern parts of the world of Islam among Mogul Ilkhans with different religious and ideological beliefs, the fire of war
and hostility between regions was set on flames. This enmity and conflict reached its climax when Shiite Safavid kingdom came on power.

As it was mentioned after the decline of Baghdad, the center of Islamic caliphate, Shiite sect found relative freedom. The support of some Mogul Ilkhans made them expand and spread. Since that time i.e. invasion of Moguls until formation Safavid kingdom several Shiite kingdoms appeared in the region which all helped society of Shiites bloom and spread.

5.2.4. The role of Safavid government

But it must not be forgotten that the climax of religious changes in the east of the world of Islam was the formation of Safavid Shiite kingdom. The period of formation of this government was a significant point in Iran and in the world of Islam because it influenced the issues of the time and those of the following periods, short-term and long-term which changed the face of the region in the following periods in terms of culture, politics, economy, etc. Here we will study this influence in national and regional aspect.

National Aspect

After the emergence of Islam and the decline of Iran until formation of Safavid dynasty in the 16th century, all rulers and governments who ruled over the Iranian plateau either had no Iranian origin like Qaznavids, Seljukis and Moguls, etc. or were appointed by the caliphs of Baghdad and paid allegiance to them and in addition, 90% of them were Sunni. Some part of the people’s fight against the invasion of Arabs and Turks who were Sunnis, appeared in the form of leaning towards Shiism and finally after a hard struggle during the time of Safavids, the Iranians could form a national government which had religious relations with the world of Sunnis but did not follow their tenets or obey them. The Announcement of Shiism as the national religion was a fulfillment of the Iranians’ desire a thousand years. The Iranians found a new identity through this event, an identity which they honor and cherish.

On the other hand they were going through their long-term hostilities with Sunnis. Iran now had a territory which was different from the other parts of the world of Islam. It faced the world of Sunnis and other Muslims both in the east of their
领土 - 现代的中亚和西部的领土是中东。

伊朗人，他们认为所有的痛苦都是由于以前政府的性质，现在与土耳其王国和逊尼派有着特殊的敌意，这种敌意甚至在现在仍存在。

从那时起，伊朗人遵循什叶派传统和宗教习俗，政府甚至支持什叶派团体和邻国的少数群体，这引发了对伊朗政策的敌意。

- **区域方面**

几乎与什叶派萨法维王朝在伊朗的形成同时，东部和西部有两大强国，即乌兹别克斯坦和奥斯曼帝国。这三个强大的国家使中东的世界格局发生了变化。因为这三个政府有着宗教分歧，导致了两个逊尼派国家和萨法维什叶派政府之间的血腥战争。这三个国家遭受了无法弥补的损失，使得乌兹别克王国无法在东面生存。从那时起，中亚的土耳其人无法入侵伊朗或其他地区，改变其文化和经济条件。

从那时起和在萨法维王朝成立后，阿姆河成为了伊朗和中亚的边界。这条河的南部不仅是一个政治边界，也是一个宗教边界。美索不达米亚和大部分中东伊朗仍然逊尼派，大部分今天所知的阿富汗和塔吉克斯坦仍然逊尼派，伊朗成为什叶派。虽然在接下来的几个世纪中没有其他障碍可以阻止伊朗文化的传播，但这种宗教差异成为了障碍。伊朗在印度由当地人民建立的文化完全独立于伊朗高原的文化，没有直接的关系。

虽然，旧
Iranian samples were influential and effective in these areas but live exchange along with sustainable development had been stopped anyway.

This barrier was the main reason for the apparent decline of Persian language in Middle Asia and from then on, the Turkish language become dominant as the language of Sunnis in eastern part and Central Asia except in Tajikistan. This change of language and dwindling of relations with Iran caused hostility in the region and a gradual decrease in the degree of culture deprived it from attaining excellent levels it could have had in future.

After that in Iranian regions religious situation was almost sustainable. Even Nader Shah who was influenced by the conditions of east and west tried to propose changes in the religious conditions of Iran by introducing a Shiite religion called Jafary to the four religions of Sunnis and thus tired to remove religious conflicts between Shiites and Sunnis but he could not succeed. Political elements also had some role in his failure because he wanted to lead the world of Islam against the Ottoman Sultans and Mogul Empire of India. Of course this effort was also fruitless because Shiite religion had strongly been established as the formal religion of Iran.1

After that gradually different cultural-religious organizations were formed in Iran and the organization of Marjaa which is one of the principles of Shiite ideology was reinforced. Shiite clergymen and Shiite scientific centers were no longer afraid of the activities of Sunni groups. Since then, Shiite Iran itself became a major center in the world of Islam.

Gradually radical tendencies entered Shiite ideology and started brutal conflicts with Sunnis in ideological and practical realms. Religious schools were empowered, hundreds of students were trained. Libraries were developed and Shiite customs were followed freely and more intensively.

Shiite clergymen called themselves spiritual leaders in the world of Shiite and even in the world of Islam. In this way they interfered in the affairs of other places.

1 Arberi. history of Islam, p. 567.
But in the Middle Asia the situation was different. After the 16th century and defeat of Azbekreh in battle with Safavids, this region became alienated. Governments which came to power in this region did not have any importance and were not more powerful than a local government. Since the new age history of Middle Asia became a foreign history this lack of expansive relations with other areas led to backwardness and primitiveness of people’s beliefs in these areas.

5.2.5. Two elements of conflicts in Muslim group

Along with division of Islam, other elements appeared which were derived from it. These elements also had a lot of influence in the formation of controversies between religious groups. Two elements which had much influence in increasing conflicts and the effects of which have sustained even until today are mentioned below:

5.2.5.1. Fake Hadith

One of the ways to identify criminal ways in juristic issues is that they investigate who gets benefits from the death of the murdered. Although Hadith counterfeit seems to be different from criminal and juristic issues, yet counterfeiting Hadith leads to benefit, retaining position, and stability of governments, increase of followers and oppression of enemies.

Therefore in order to find the reasons of Hadith counterfeit as a crime we should first see who benefits from it. Another important scientific principle which can reveal the nature of Hadith counterfeit is that in every issue that leads to benefit of government and dominance of the rich for maintenance certain issues such as fraud, lie and treachery are expected from it as results of counterfeit.

While studying the history of Islam, we see that hundreds of religious sects were present in many nations in this religion. Each one of them had tens and in some cases hundreds of thousands of Hadith for their own good and against all other sects. There were no scientific and scholastic criteria to prove correctness of any of them. If two scholars would come and discuss to prove the correctness of their Hadith, they would not come to an agreement even if they sat for a hundred years, because hierarchal origin of their Hadith did not reach down to the authentic root. The reason
for hostility and conflicts of those many groups apparently was that when one pious side firmly believed in truth of their Hadiths why not the other side should have had the same firm belief as the first side did.

But the reason for the existence of so many sects must be looked for in their economic roots and among the owners of social benefits who were dependent on either of the sects. Considering the efforts of chiefs of each one of those sects to keep their positions and expand their territories who made the fruitful and beneficial Hadith? Obviously, the very people who had economic and social benefits in the counterfeit were the main sources.

Briefly, Bani Omayeh dynasty for 100 years and Bani Abbas dynasty for 500 years counterfeited Hadith. In the meantime Barmakis as well as Shoubis made hundreds of thousands of Hadiths for the good of Iranians and against Arabs and Turks, even Bani Abbas against Bani Omayeh and later against Turks; in short, every sect counterfeited so many Hadiths for their own benefit that later many of those Hadiths were announced unauthentic.

5.2.5.2. Sect Customs

Along with division of the world of Islam into branches and formation of different sects here and there in Islamic territories, different principles and features which originally belonged to local cultures of those groups entered Islam and gradually became part of the religious principles in those regions.

Sects also in order to keep their separate identities separated themselves from others, and even to influence other sects, tried to keep and reinforce these customs. Furthermore, these customs found such identities that practicing them was almost equal to enmity and hostility among other sects; since they gradually forgot the religious aspect of those customs and emphasized the competitive aspect of them at the time of performing those customs everywhere in Islamic territories it became a time of conflicts between different groups; some cases are mentioned here:

» Managheb Khwani (Reading Epithets)

One of the popular customs among Shiites in the 11th and 12th centuries was Manghabat Khwani which was publically performed in locations where Shiites
were active. This Manghabat Khwani could be compared to Madihe Saraee which is very popular in Iran nowadays. It was a popular custom on some occasions for some people to start walking on streets complimenting an Imam or a religious leader and cursing his enemies. Sunni’s reaction in these cases was that they sang the virtues of the religious elders in their ceremonies and they cursed their opponents and enemies.¹

➢ Ashoura Ceremonies

Ashoura is one of the customs which has a long tradition among Shiites. The first formal mourning was performed at the shrine of Imam Hussein by Tawabin. Before they were going they to war with the Damascene army in the early 7th century, they came to Karbala and wept and mourned on Imam Hussein’s shrine for some time and left. Later on, mourning ceremonies which were performed in the form of reading poems were developed by other Imams. Gradually along with the formation of formal traditions, Shiites announced Ashoura as the formal mourning day. Like the previous case, opposition groups began to announce this day as a joyful, happy, a day of celebration, often this day ended with fighting between religious groups.²

➢ Eid Ghadir

Of all events, the most important one is, Eid Ghadir’s celebrated as commeration for choosing Imam Ali as the successor of the Prophet by the Prophet. This Eid is one of the greatest Eids among Shiites and Shiites celebrate it with joy happiness and hold parties.

Since Sunnis who believe that the prophet has not named his successor and this successor has been chosen by the elders of the community they began to take action against Shiites. As Eid Ghodir is for Shiites, Yobrn a Quaar is for Sunnis. They say that the Prophet and Abu Baker were hiding in a cave to stay safe from enemies during the migration and that Abu Baker has more rights to be the successor because he accompanied the Prophet on the trip.³

The Second caliph of Sonni is Omar, who was not held in high regard by Shiite, because his power could influence the issue of succession after the Prophet, and he did not recognize Imam Ali’s succession.

The Second, attack on Iran and the fall of Sassanid kingdom were his work. These factors led Omar finally to be killed by one of the Iranians. For years Iranians and Shiites were celebrating the day of killing of Omar. Also a few days before that day, they make a figure of Omar in cloth and they set it on fire on that occasion. This occasion was always resented by Sunnis and it was a factor leading to discord and enemity between the two groups of Sunni and Shiite.

Section two
5.3. Radical Nationalism and its Influence
5.3.1. Definition of nationalism

Nationalism refers to a socio-political movement which tries to practically meet national perspectives and interests of a country through influencing the political basics of the country. This movement establishes plans by focusing on interests of community as the pivotal point of all internal and external policies. Therefore, nationalism is a concept that represents ideals and perspectives of a country.

In definition of nationalism, some emphasize on government as a national organization and define it this way: nationalism is an ideology that regards the national government as the highest form of political organization and that people’s fighting for their country against foreign dominances is in line with defending such the nation. Increase of believing in nation made the principle of authority as a national concept.

More than anything else, nationalism is a cultural and ideological phenomenon and usually prior to formation of political-nationalist movements, cultural, literary and ideological movements increase in order to give rise to nationalism and to national values. In the discussion of nationalism nation becomes the center of attention and political nationalism which is discussed by most national parties seeks to find the
basic principles such as national authority, national government, etc.; therefore, we must say that nationalism offers three demands.¹

A. Nation exists with specific and clear characteristics.
B. Interests and values of this nation are prior to all other values and interests.
C. The nation must have independence. This independence usually requires political authority.

The main background of nationalism usually gets formed in society and in history; and its major element is nation and in its ideology, it recognizes the existence of the majority as of greater importance than the individual.

The concept of nation in nationalistic discussions has always been a major concept. National authority, national supremacy, conscience and national sensibility have always been of utmost importance.

5.3.2. Theoretical discussions of nationalism

According to Leon Lindberg, integration is a process during which nations mainly set aside ambitions, desires and the power of independent authority and in return, try to transfer decision-making duties to new centers of power such as regional unions.²

Integration is a process which is in relation with many variances. There must be processes that in a political, geographical and economic field, prerequisites are provided for integration and reciprocal cooperation. Some of these variants are as following:

- Similarity of general and main values
- Style and pattern of social life
- Official and political ability and capacities
- Economic development
- Interrelated social relationships
- A large number of enlightened citizens in political, economic and scientific fields.

• Greater involvement in Social movements.
• Relationships, discussions and interchanges in different fields.

These indicators will be formed in the fields in which background of economic, political, cultural and security fundamentals have been developed. It means societies that in their political fields, there is room for active interchange and in which the civil society that provides such process and such interchanges has itself remarkable developments.

David Mitrany believes that integration brings the prerequisites of regional development through creating a motivating system in the domain of welfare interests between countries of an area in which the members gradually get familiar with positive outcomes of integration in fields such as production, service, communication, etc.¹

But Hass discusses integration at a supra-natural level and regards it as a process through which political and spiritual leaders of member countries in a union become convinced and encouraged to concentrate their faith, expectations and political activities on new centers. These new centers and their organizations have juridical authority

Francis Fokoyama, the Japanese-born American theorist believes that a harmonious and united society is made by common values and not by complicated means and equipments nor by the ability of applying advanced technology.

Considering these definitions and theories, the general implication of this chapter could be stated in this way: pure identities are superstitious concepts which have mostly been expressed by modern ideologies that deal with issues through general perspectives. Radical emphasis on these identities which are consequences of purifying ethnic, national and religious identities, etc. is very harmful to the target society and also to the other neighbors. Nationalisms of the modern age have been

concerned with pointing out part of people’s multilateral identities and have denied mosaic-like feature of social identities.

We witnessed different forms of identity-making ideologies in the 20th century. Socialism tried to bring meaning and form to behaviors and political lives of the people under its authority through determining new frameworks for self-understanding and identification. Facism also was after establishing certain identities, self-understandings and specific social behaviors. Religious radical ideologies have also tried to form people of their own doctrines. It was under these ideologies that self-understandings, ethnic, national, religious and language-related identities have been intensified. Formation of any identity, however, means formation of limits and borders. Identity is considered like a house with closed doors in which strangers are not allowed to enter.

Ideologies are after pure human beings –pure Zionist, pure Iranian, pure Muslim, pure Turkmen, pure Turk etc. In other words, identity-makings and exclusions from identities are products of dialogue-centered structures of power which every time brings forth a different dimension of the complicated prism of identity against other dimensions. From this perspective, 20th century is considered as the century of ideologies and the age of strong identity-makings as well as strong enmities.

Modern ideologies, like religions of old times, have been molding people through drawing certain identity-making and identity-excluding lines. Natural, geographic, religious, cultural and national differences will be ideological when they are applied for making friends and enemies. Social identities are not tangible issues but they are produced in the process of the society’s development and once they are produced, unlike the expectation of dialogue-based structure of power, they are not uniform. In short, there is a determinant relationship between ideology and formation of identity. Different ideologies as thinking systems, from modernism to traditionalism, nationalism, socialism, radicalism, etc. contrary to historical dialectic

logic, are for the establishment of an identity which is without conflict well-knit and pure.

Conditions which lead to the production of ideology have fundamental roles in the production of identity. The recent enthusiasm towards necessity of identity-determination is itself a red alert which threatens the previously formed identities. Generally, in the conditions of threat, emergency and crisis, the process of identity making gets intensified. Against the equalizing dialogue of humanity, different identity-making dialogues come to exist.¹

As we know and also as was mentioned earlier, nation is the appearance of national will, consisting of all categories including strong groups, etc. therefore, all varieties of different groups must be preserved, otherwise, there will be hindrance in the process of regionalism which demands unifying of the policies. On the other hand, by resorting to different means, governments struggle to preserve varieties that form their identities. Because in the presence of globalizing force which is assimilating and strong, there are national dominances which do not want to lose their uniqueness. Therefore, in order to make the culture of each member country flourish, unions must try to develop these heritages.

The Phenomenon of globalization has come in the way for the growth of nationalism. That is why most of these identities have risen against globalization. Reaction against globalization has different reasons. On the one hand, in order to maintain the independence of organizations and institutes there are communication systems in public. On the other hand, global network has broken down frontiers of time and place resulting in individual and society losing their basis.

Other examples of the reaction against globalization can be seen at a lesser level inside some countries. Everywhere the government imposes a specific ideology or religion as a principle on all categories of society by force. Identity and resistance appears in the groups which do not follow the imposed ideology or religion. Members of these groups try to detach themselves from regional institutes. They also doubt and

reject their historical common background with others even if it is very important and a long-established relationship; in this way they create a separate identity for themselves. Of course, it must be considered that regionalization and globalization intensify reciprocal dependence of the government and undermine national authority. Perhaps it is needless to say that anti-alien nationalism especially at the regional and ethnic level creates a misguided pride in which it is believed that every tribe and every nation is capable of doing everything and can play a role in the region alone and by itself.

Many examples of anti-alien nationalism can be found in different countries and also in the ECO countries.

Naturally we are not going to consider nationalism as responsible for all failures that have different economic and social reasons as well; but we must say that those groups of ethnic elites that regard localized ideology above regionalized ideology are not aware of the dangers of such priorities specifically in the ECO region. This form of separatist ideology dominates individualism in the mind and spirit of individuals and paves the way for imaginary hostilities and prejudiced prejudgments so much so that there remains no space for humanitarian trends and members of one ethnic group consider another ethnic group and its members as their enemies. The ultimate result of localization is disregarding common features, common interests and also common destinies. Insistence of some local scholars and elites on exaggerated or wholly fabricated differences will definitely lead to hatered. Even if at the beginning the claimants deny it, it would have no other outcome except separatism secessionism, conflicts and anxieties.1

5.3.3. Introduction of Tribes Settled in Region

According to geographical division of different tribes, Touran could be divided into two parts. One part in the north which mainly consists of Kirgiz nomads except for a few Russians living in castles and the other part in the south in which some inhabitants are citizens and some others who are partly citizens and partly nomads. In relation to the origin of Kirgiz people, their real name is not clearly known. The group of nomads who are living from Ural and Caspian Sea till Altava

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Mountain Chain all call themselves Kazakh. This term is originally Turkish and its meaning is “homeless wanderer”. The tribes that call themselves Kirgiz are different from Kazakhs and the two are distinguished. Kirgiz tribes are settled near Lake Isisk Ghol and in the further regions in the southern parts behind Tian Shan and near Kashghar, in front of the smooth mountains of Pamir. Russians have named the early nomads Kirgiz Kazakh and Kirgiz Kapakh, later they have omitted the terms Kazakh and Kapakh and named them only Kirgiz; but the real Kirgizes are called Karawkiz which means “black Kirgiz”.

➢ **Koramas**

They are another tribe that is a mixture of natives with Kirgizes who are settled in the valleys of the Cherchik, Angeran and Kajigen Rivers. Because these Kirgizes could not afford to move around in the desert because of poverty, they settled themselves outside “Gourah” and after intermingling with the locals, they formed the special tribe of Koramas.

➢ **Turkmens**

They are settled in a vast desert that is situated in the north from Balkh to the Caspian Sea and most of its lands are barren; in the northern side their movements are confined to Ghishlahg, Khive and Zarafshan and in the south up to Herat and Aster Abad.

Turkmens are divided into 9 tribes and each tribe is divided into some branches and each branch into several smaller categories. Most of these tribes and their subcategories are usually at war against each other.

➢ **Uzbeks**

They are settled on the banks of the Sihoun River and a section of them in cities. Some of these citizens migrate to villages in winter and other parts of desert-settlers are mainly settled between Zar Afshan and Jeihoun Rivers. All Uzbeks are divided into 32 tribes. They also have conflicts and are engaged in war against each other.

➢ **Arabs**

Members of this tribe are offspring of Islamic forces who in the early periods of Islam came to these areas. They are not very large in numbers and are mostly nomads.

➢ **Jews**

This tribe and its members are mainly in big cities and they often have a specific area in the city which is separated from other areas. Their salaries are lower in
comparison to others; therefore, there are few job opportunities for them. They are usually engaged in Haraam (forbidden in Islam) business and because they are under pressure, oppression and cruelty, they are not very obedient to the governments.

- **Hindus**
  The situation of Hindus is also like that of Jews and they also suffer from cruelty and violence from the locals. The inhabitants of Turkistan do not take account of their positions and presence but because they are naturally hard-working and skilled people, they are engaged in exchange business. There are other tribes in Central Asia as well but because their situations and positions have not been clearly established yet, nothing can be said about them.¹

- **Tajiks**
  Tajiks in Central Asia are the only Arian tribes who have been living in this region from ancient times. Other tribes like Turkmen, Uzbek, Kirgiz, Kazakh, etc. have entered and settled in this area in different periods.²

Of course, most people who are living in Iran, Afghanistan and parts of Pakistan are Tajiks. And Turkish people are from Turk tribes who are from the race of tribes in Central Asia i.e. a branch of Kirgiz.

Such a region with so many tribal and cultural variety in which tribes are often in conflicts with each other has the potential for both development as well as backwardness in all aspects.

As it was mentioned in the introduction about nationalism, this question is presented that is nationalism regarded as a modern and new phenomenon or as a traditional and ancient one and also what is the situation of ECO countries in this regard?

It must be said in reply that among the countries, there must have been divisions and also background and that the structure as well as formation of different

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nations must be studied. It seems that nationalism could not have existed before the formation of nations. As a result, any country which has reached the stage of nation-making earlier could have had the foundations for national movements.

5.3.4. Outstanding Points of Nationalism in ECO Region

It must not be forgotten that nationalism as a phenomenon and as a movement is almost recent and is the result of changes in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. European nationalism is considered to be from two sources. One is what is called political or civil nationalism and has got cultural and historical background. The other one is called tribal nationalism. Nationalism as a political concept was first stated in France in the years before the French Revolution as a replacement for absolute power of monarchy and the concept of divine kingdom. Nationalism of French revolution had its roots in political and civil principles whereas German nationalism was based on tribalism. This type of nationalism is more a sort of sentimental and emotional feeling than of a political issue.

The experience of nationalism in European countries spread to other regions as well. In the countries in which people did not have historical experience about nationalism or about living in the framework of national governments, it was more apparent especially in the Asian regions. The situation of countries and regions especially in ECO was no exception in this regard. People of this region were either under the dominance of foreigners or their regions in those days were economically and politically so unimportant that they did not attract the attention of any power. As an example, some parts of present ECO was under the authority of different Khan-settled systems which were always fighting against each other. Another part which included countries like Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan was under the dominance of great powers of those times.

Two major historical points are significant in the history of ECO. The first important point was at the beginning of the 20th century. This period is very important because after the end of WWI, nationalist ideologies spread to the east from the west. On the other hand, war weakened European powers; and it was an opportunity for nations of the region for achieving their identities. In the three countries of Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan, at this time nationalist ideologies were dominant. In Iran by
the coming to power of Reza Khan, in Afghanistan Amanollah Khan came to power and in Turkey, by the advent of Ata Turk, nationalist ideologies reached their peak.

The second significant point was formed by dissolution of Soviet Union in the last decade of the 20th century. After this in the region of our study, 6 republics were formed and entered the international fields as new nation-governments. Since this time and formation of these new countries, the issue of political identity and nationalism has always been subject to discussion as a serious problem and this is because in the history and historical background of these people national identity and nationalism had not existed, but on the contrary, historical background of these people signifies vast mixture and coming together of different tribes such as Tajik, Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uighur, etc. Political loyalty in these regions is first to religion and then to region and locality. With this background during the 70 years of Russian dominance over people of this region, a great sense of citizenship was infused in these people and they were given common language and identity. Now after the dissolution of Soviet Union, the sense of belonging to that identity has vanished.1 After this and following their independence, leaders of Central Asia recently discovered the concept of nationalism but this nationalism is very immature unauthentic, as well as problematic.

From a social and cultural perspective, common aspects in ECO are visible and apparent. Except some parts of Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan, other countries are generally in the domain of great Islamic civilization, although they have differences about interpreting Islam.

They have many similarities in ethnic issues, language, script and history. Generally, in relation to language and writing, countries of ECO region could be divided into two groups. The first group is made up of Turkey, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan who have Turkish language and European (Latin) script. The second group consists of Iran, Tajikistan and Afghanistan who have Farsi language and Arabic Alphabet. Pakistan is although out of these two groups, but because of having connections with Persian language and also relationship with Pashtun population, feels more close to the second group.

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Although these similarities increase social unity and result in reinforcement of regionalization, yet there are also some elements which restrict cultural and national integration among these countries.¹

5.3.5. Extreme nationalism thoughts in ECO region

➢ Pan-Turkism

Pan-Turkism is a movement which started 100 years ago with the aim of forming a country called Great Touran for Turkish speaking tribes. Pan-Turkism is similar to Pan-Germanism, which proposes superiority of Germans based on their race, Pan-Arabism based on superiority of Arabs and Pan-Iranism based on racial unity of Iranians.

The idea of Pan-Turkism refers to uniting all the lands in which all inhabitants share the same original language i.e. the Altaee Language. This theory was first stated by an Orientalist Hungarian Jew called Arminius Vambery in 1860s. Vambery had been counselor in the court of the Ottoman Empire but secretly he was working for Lord Palmerstone and the office of British Foreign Affairs. Britain was about to create a line of Altaee speakers in the south of Russia so that this line could be an obstacle for Russian penetration in the British colonies in other parts of Asia. Later, other individuals followed Vambery’s mission including the French Jewish writer, Leon Kahone who tried to form and propagate Pan-Turkism. Later, the English writer, Arthur David in his book tried to give the Turks a sense of racial superiority and a sense of racism. This ideal was formed by the young Turks in the early years of the 20th century in the Ottoman Empire.

Pan-Turkism is like sensibility of other national groups, except for the fact that it is trying to achieve a kind of political system so that instead of only a pure national group it embraces the whole population of Turkish people. Therefore, Turkish nationalism is a supra-national movement which is trying to establish a political unit based on cultural relationships of Turkish people.²

¹ Mostaghimi, Bahran, and, Hamid Reza, Ghavam Maleki A Measurement on Possibility of Formation of Regional Organization in ECO, Central Eurasian studies, Center of international academic studies, faculty of law and political sciences, Tehran, Vol. 1, No. 3, Summer and full 2009, pp. 12. 142.
Although enthusiasm for this movement has decreased, yet this movement has been living on in the course of history. Specifically, most support for this movement was during and after the decline of the empires which were in the territories of Turkish people and more dramatically it was during the Ottoman Empire’s decline and dissolution of Russia.

Another individual who was an eager defender of Turkish nationalism was Ismail Bei Gasperinsky who wanted unity of Russian Turks. He established *Tarjoman* Magazine (or newspaper) which was in simplified Ottoman Turkish. Gasperinsky predicted that by the invention of a language which is easy to handle by a “Besfari sailor” as well as by a “Kashghari caravan leader”, unity of Turkish people would be a reality.

At the end of the 19th century, propagation of the common Turkish language was supported by the reformist movement; nevertheless, this support was not uniform and there were obvious oppositions by certain strong ethnic groups such as Kazakhs who preferred to develop a separate Kazakhi language.

In the course of the Soviet dissolution, Turkish ideals politically came to force again and there was a new hope among the Turks. Although in the region of Central Asia, specific political movements such as the Kazakh party, “Alash” and the Uzbek party, “Birlik” were for the formation of greater unity among Turks, other Turkish speaking groups such as Turkmens and Kirgizes opposed this idea. They were afraid that this issue might lead to the dominance of larger national groups.¹

**Iranian Nationalism**

The issue of Iranian identity and Iranian nationalism has nowadays turned into a one of the major issues in political and cultural studies of Iran and the region. Several elements could be mentioned as the accelerating elements in Iranian nationalism. These phenomena have been influential in the realm of research institutes and of regional as well as central institutes of the country.

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¹ Olga. The conflict in central Asia and South Caucasus, the cultural studies and international research institute, pp. 287. 290.
The end of WWI and dissolution of Russia on the one hand and the accelerating process of globalization on the other are among the most important worldwide events which interest researches related to nationality and ethnic issues in this region. 

At the regional level also, the emergence of Central Asian countries and Caucasia became sensitive of political, national growth.¹

On the other hand along with global and regional events, the event after the advent of Islamic Revolution and extremist religious policies Iranian identity was influenced by religious aspects. This was another element which attracted attention to nationalism and to Iranian identity.

Also from a historical perspective, Sasanid kings with the help of Zoroastrian Morids formed a united government with a united political and religious system. They achieved this through uniting different Iranian tribes with common culture, religion and language who had settled in the Iranian plateau over a thousand years ago.

With the aim of unifying Iran politically and for encouraging national pride to defend the country against alien invaders, they invented the myth of creation of the first man and the first king and also mythical dynasties. They created an outstanding identity through this.

In this mythical vision of creation, the fundamental and existent element is the land of Iran, Iranshahr and Farshahi (glory of kingdom) in Iran.

These mythical and national visions about time and place which have their roots in Avestan ideologies mostly spread in areas which were in the borderlands vulnerable to invading forces. This became a reason for reinforcement of national pride among Iranians. But by the advent of Islam and decline of Sasanid kingdom,

this national pride declined and this country for 9 centuries, that is until the establishment of Safavid kingdom was deprived of political and ethnic unity.¹

During the time of Safavids, again after the Arab invasion, the concept of Iran found political and religious recognition. Safavid kings separated themselves from other Muslim-settled regions by choosing Shiite religion, although it must be mentioned that religion is basically against nationalism, but in the case of Iran it became a means for formation of nationalism.²

Therefore, a form of nationalism appeared in Iran which both in terms of nationalism and in relation to religion was regarded as superior to other regions. This nationalism at last functioned in a way that the Iranian society and its neighbors stood confronting each other.

➢ Afghanistan-Pakistan

These two countries are mainly important as exporters of chaos and insecurity in the ECO region rather than being countries after racial superiority or just after nationalism. The only problem is that of Pashtun ethnic groups which are considered as belonging to parts of Pakistan soil and it has always been a subject of conflicts between the two countries.

➢ Middle Asia

Despite economic and political challenges facing the new independent countries of Soviet Union, there are some people living in Central Asia and Caucasus who also are for development and revival of their identity and national sensibilities. Therefore, people of the region, after independence, are looking for a substitute for the totally invalidated political, economical and social ideology of socialism. They are for replacing it with a modern ideology that can help them to define their national identity.

Although the region of Central Asia has a rich history, these countries did not have an independent identity. Before the dominance of Russia, these people were usually known tribes, ethnic groups and in some cases by religion. The formation of

five republics in Central Asia and three republics in Caucasus has made the issue of nationalism and identity more complex in the area.

Political borders especially in Central Asia have not been settled on the basis of ethnic features and historical background of people. On the contrary, leaders of Russia have separated people of the region from each other and have placed them inside artificial borders and inside political and official units. The result of this engineering in nationality was a dangerous compound of different nationalities and ethnic groups inside different countries.

By a single glance at these republics one can realize that the presence of different nationalities in other republics and the artificiality of marking the borders in the region are obviously suggestive of the possibility of crisis, based on tribalism and nationalism which could easily put security and peace of the region in danger. After dissolution of the Soviet Union, the new and extremist nationalists were after their political, social and cultural developments. For example, in Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan, the demand of nationalists for settling the question of national language led to tensions and crisis inside the country as well as in the region.

On the other hand, the conflicts about policies related to language and selection of national symbols have led to increase of tensions in multinational countries of Central Asia and have threatened security of the region.¹

In relation to the ethnic dissatisfactions, following the policies of making government-nations by the dominant regimes has become a cause for tension in all the governments of central Asia and Caucasia.

The supporting basis of Central Asian and South Caucasian regimes had been among ethnic groups who had the same names with these governments. Since the time of independence every one of them have been seeking for policies to establish dominance of their own strong ethnic group over structures of power so that in this way they could stabilize their dominant position. In short, according to Rogers Brubaker, governments of Central Asia and Caucasia are nationalizing countries

because they follow policies which aim at integration and marginalization or driving out of non-dominant ethnic groups.¹

Two governments in ECO region that are in such a situation are mentioned below:

➢ **Tajikistan**

Tajikistan has a population of about 6 million people and consists of 14 different ethnic groups. Tajiks by their 62% majority form the biggest ethnic group in Tajikistan. Tajiks have been living in this land earlier than the second millennium BC and are considered as the main inhabitants of this country. Racially they are Arian and in terms of their culture and language they are considered as relatives of Iranians. Uzbek ethnic group forms almost 24% of the population in Tajikistan. Uzbeks follow their own culture and have their own history. Some of them show tendencies towards policies of Uzbekistan and, Uzbekistan also supports them. Therefore, Uzbeks live in their own special societies and regions and do not mix with the Tajik groups. Conflicts between these two populations about compilation of important policies of the country have always been problematic.

The reason is that after independence, the regional and ethnic leaders of this country, under the influence of the new situation, replaced international slogans with national slogans. These leaders who were inheritors of the previous system seized the whole power and did not let other powerful tribes maneuver and followed their own nationalistic policies which led to creation of conflicts with neighboring countries and with other ethnic groups.²

➢ **Kazakhstan**

Kazakhstan is an example of nation-making countries and a follower of extremist nationalism in ECO region. Mentioning Kazakhstan does not mean that nationalistic policies of this country are more intense than they are in other countries of the region. In this country also, ethnic dissonances are. Naturally as a result of following extremist policies, most of these tribes which are considered as minorities have been dissatisfied.

The constitution of Kazakhstan has stated selected Kazakhi as the official language and Russian as the formal language of Kazakhstan. Although meaning of

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¹ Olga. The conflict faults in central Asia and South Caucasus, the cultural studies and international research institute, pp. 240-241.

these terms and their functions are unclear and not definite. But other rules make government officials exclusively use Kazakhi language.\textsuperscript{1} Placing of Kazakhi language in such a dominant position and creation of official and non-official obstacles for employment of officials with the precondition of fluency in Kazakhi language is an example of a discriminative system which clearly supports Kazakh ethnic group against other groups.

Such prioritizing and discriminations have resulted in the fact that official bureaucracy has come almost completely under the control of Kazakhs.

Such a pattern would have vast and serious outcomes because there is little experience of a neutral official bureaucracy in Kazakhstan and in whole ECO region. In fact, a kind of supporting expectation according to ethnic criteria has been developed by government officials. Therefore, laws such as the one about Kazakhi language have had great influence on employment and future prospects of non-Kazakh ethnic groups. It also leads to separation and alienation of non-Kazakh groups from the official system of the government. Additionally, increase of ethnic discriminations at high levels of dictatorial regime in this country makes non-Kazakhs face a lot of difficulties in expressing their dissatisfaction and solving their problems. Therefore, policies in relation to languages are examples of ethnic reformation. Other activities include support of Kazakh ethnic group in police and security systems and many local decision-makings which are influential in daily lives of people.\textsuperscript{2}

5.4. Conclusion

Natural process of expanding religion in some regions with different culture, race and geography is the result of religious influence and other social structures on these elements. Although existence of different nations in one region could be a positive element in process of convergence and also in common policies, principally existence of common nations with different religions and cultures in ECO region could add up to attractions of cooperation in different fields including tourism; but these conditions and increase of nationalism in the region and also religious prejudice other sects, which is part of the policies taken by governments and nations of the


\textsuperscript{2} Olga. The conflict faults in central Asia and South Caucasus, the cultural studies and international research institute, pp. 246. 247.
region, has become the active and potential cannon of conflict and divergence in the region.

The role of religion and nationalism in regions with these features is bilateral. If these features pass their natural and logical processes and right ethnic customs of any region are absorbed, then we would see nations with a same religion but with different characteristics would produce a beautiful image that itself could be a powerful element for visiting purposes and tourist attraction.

But if religion and national principles cannot pass their natural processes and be influenced by personal and ethic desires and prejudices, it would itself be an element for separation and conflict, an element which is in full opposition to development of a region.

Unfortunately both Islam and national values in the east of the world of Islam i.e., Iranian plateau and old Turkistan was situated between different groups and nations and personal hostilities under her influence of tribal and ethnic prejudices and historical hostilities. Formation of these radical ideologies in ECO nowadays has become an element that even some countries consider scientific and religious honors, which are common heritage of nations, as their own and in this way try to eliminate common points of nations in the region.¹

All these features have led governments and nations of the region to be after creation of conflict and challenge instead of dealing with and reinforcing common points. This has almost resulted in weakness of relations between governments and nations of the region including tourism.