CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL – HISTORICAL STRUCTURE
OF GOVERNMENTS IN ECO REGION

4.1. Introduction

The Subject of discussion in this chapter is related to and based on “structure”. The Structure of an institution defines its characteristics. Of the various structures discussion: such as political structure, social structure and economic structure etc. The structure of government (ruling system) is given greater focus.

The structure of government (ruling system) is derived from social system. Since every society or nation in every historical period has its own characteristics of social system, consequently, the government also contains the same characteristics.

In fact, all superstructure phenomena like visual and mental attitudes and material and non-material affairs originate from socio-cultural infrastructure; and the superstructure together with the infrastructure make up the “structure”. The structure of government in this chapter also shows the effects and reactions of infrastructure and production system on elements, principles, relations and methods of governmental institutions and organizations.

Subjects of discussion in this chapter generally are those related to sustainable attitudes and fixed historical, social, political, economic and cultural values which have always existed and influenced changes and future processes of a society.

First, we need to study the origin of government in the world so that we could discuss the above aspects. There are different opinions among scholars of politics and law about the origin of government and different theories have been presented. The major theories are as follows:

4.2. Formation of Government

4.2.1. The Natural or Instinctive Theory

This theory was first presented by Greek philosophers. Aristotle believed that social life is not only necessary in the life of mankind but of some other creatures like bees, that was also created to follow some social form and that naturally they have to
live in a community. In Aristotle’s view, the ability of speech has been given to man so that he could acquire his social needs in his life. It led to the formation of family and at last the society of families which were formed with objectives higher than provision of daily needs. Therefore, the first society i.e. village was formed. By the coming together of some villages that developed enough to fulfill all or most of peoples needs, a government was formed. The main reason for the formation of government was provision of basic needs. Therefore, if the primitive forms of society are natural, government which is a combination of these forms is consequently natural.\textsuperscript{1} The fact that government is formed by nature and is prior to society members is because when man lives alone, he is not self sufficient and is unable to live by him. So in order to live on, he needs to form a government.

In this society, everyone has rights of security, property, etc. which must be respected. The government’s duty is to protect and safeguard these rights against any abuse. Government’s duty is limited to these cases and if a political system exceeds these limits and interferes with affairs which are not related to it, it violates specific rights of society members.

Therefore, all human societies need government in order to meet their objectives.

4.2.2. Theory of Divinity

Followers of this theory believe that formation of government is through wisdom and will of God and that leaders are selected by God and rule over people by the will of God and that they are representatives of God. This theory was common mostly in old societies. In those days, commanders were considered divine people and were counted among Gods. After the advent of Messiah this theory developed and was reinforced by Christian priests. Priests believed that they should rule over people and that after prophets it is priests who should control the affairs of society.

According to some other scholars, since existence and survival of man is related to social life and this kind of life is not possible without interrelations among people\textsuperscript{2} and since interrelations need law and justice and since law could not be made personal because everybody would consider his advantage as just and his

\textsuperscript{2} Zadeh, Chasem, Fundamental Rights, Ebnesina, Tehran, 1961, p. 15.
disadvantage as unjust. A legislator is needed and this legislator must be a person who can draw people towards law and establishing justice. God chooses such a man and this man is a prophet who comes from God.¹

This theory which was accepted not only in the past and middle ages, but also in Renaissance, was discarded in the seventeenth and specially the eighteenth century. But some philosophers came to believe in it later.

4.2.3. Theory of Social Convention

This theory was first presented by the Dutch jurist, Hugo Crusius, and then “Heiz”, “Locke” and “Cant” elaborated it. According to these scholars, primitive human beings naturally lived without societies. In those periods all human beings had total freedom and obeyed no one, but in order to provide their initial needs they had to fight against nature and since it was naturally impossible, therefore they made agreements and conventions, and formed government. Also people of such societies needed peace and tranquility; therefore, the leader must have had full power in all aspects. The leader used his power and authority and united people’s will so that he could establish peace and security in the society.²

This theory is not supported much nowadays. Because those who were selected as leaders gained full power after a while and were driven towards autocracy. This, in turn, caused rebellion and brought about a dictatorial government like that of Napoleon’s.

4.2.4. Theory of Evolution

Another theory which was stated about the origin of government is the theory of evolution. According to the followers of this theory, government has been formed as a result of development and evolution of family and as the family is considered basis of mankind, it is also considered as foundation of government. Followers of this theory believe that at first, family has been formed through union of man and woman. The Father ran family affairs as head of the family and dominated over the others. Then through union of some families and some tribes, one of the elders gained the

authority over others. Through union of some tribes and in order for cooperation and running the affairs, an organization called government came to be established which was ruled by one person. Followers of Theory of Evolution claim that the initial family developed gradually. As the family grew larger, tribes were formed. Gradually through changes and historical evolution tribes were replaced by a government.¹

4.2.5. Theory of Dominance

This theory once had numerous followers in the world and gained publicity but lost its previous significance after a while, although still many followers defend it. Ibn Khaldon, the famous Islamic historian and researcher in the 14th century AD believed that social organizations and government have been formed by the influence of nomadic tribes. Because of their specific life style, nomadic people attacked farmers and fought with them. War needed a commander and this commander became a leader. By defeating farmers these tribes formed brutal governments. Through relying on the power of government, cities developed and civilization bloomed. Distribution of duties and power in cities creates rich and poor classes. Gradually, intention to war and warfare faded in the ruling class and this society itself became prey to new powers and this continued frequently.²

Franz Oppenheimer and Ludwig Gumploviez are among western sociologists who believe in this theory.

Some scholars believe that government was formed because powerful members of society dominated the weak members; and in primitive life of human beings those who were physically and in some cases spiritually more powerful, have dominated the weaker members and have made them obey their rules. Gradually weaker people have come under their rule and since the upper class had defended their rights against invaders, the lower class formally accepted their dominance. As a result of following these orders and rules, government had been formed.

4.2.6. Economic Theory

The most famous follower of this theory is Engels, the famous German writer. According to Engels, government was not necessary for existence and survival of

¹ Zadeh. Fundamental Rights, p. 23.
human beings, but it has been formed because of difference in people’s economic situation. Engels believes that the rich wanted to protect their property against the poor by establishing government and providing materialistic power. Therefore, if the present economic difference was removed and human beings economically were equal, the present organization of government would come down naturally and unions would replace them.

But according to most scholars the reasons for creation of governments all over the world and in different historical periods were not the same and therefore, looking for a common origin for formation of all governments is useless. According to these scholars, government was not only created by evolution of family and dominance of powerful tribes over weak tribes, but elements like necessity of fighting against public dangers, geographical situations, racial unity, religious beliefs, economic interests and many of other elements were influential in formation of government. Because we sometimes see governments that had been formed by lots of different elements and these elements are influential in specific times and specific places.\(^1\) Several forms of governments which had been created in the world from long ago are mentioned below:

4.3. Forms of Government

4.3.1. Monarchy

At the head of a monarchic kingdom government is a king whose specialties are indifference to public needs and life-long kingdom which is mostly hereditary in his family. Monarchic government could be limited or unlimited which would respectively be restricted or absolute. In the unlimited form, the king has domination over all three authorities (legislator, executive and judiciary) i.e. the whole governmental powers and all officials and executives who fulfill their duties in his name and under his authority. In limited kingdom, the powers of the king are restricted limited by other powers.\(^2\) Although the king is still the only head, he cannot have absolute control over all affairs.

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4.3.2. Feudal Government

It is the rule of noblemen who have certain territories of their own in different parts of the country and principally rule independently despite having very little relationship with central government.

4.3.3. Aristocratic Government

In the true sense of government, it is control of affairs by the best citizens who have the highest respect and are most righteous. Practically, most aristocratic governments are based on hereditary or richness or on both of them.

4.3.4. Government of Influential People:

It is a government of people who do not claim to have titled names but they have the authority through money or power. Dominance of a small group in which, regardless of the majority of people, government refers to a minority which utilizes the power of the government for their personal interests and suppress discontent of the majority.\(^1\)

4.3.5. Republic

Republic is in two forms: Immediate Republic and Mediated Republic. In the first form the dominant power is directly in the control of the people. People according to the law, get together in public places and establish the rules and select ministers and other officials.\(^2\)

4.3.6. Government of Elites

This term indirectly refers to election and it can be said that the group of elites is a group of selected elites who specifically are suitable for governing different classes of society. This term came into vogue, after World War I. Mussolini and his colleagues regarded themselves as a group of elites who had the exclusive ability and talent to rule over Italy.

\(^1\) Taheri. Local Governments and Lack of Concentration, p. 67.
\(^2\) Zadeh. Fundamental Rights, p. 123.
4.4. Profile Government in ECO region

Now in order to understand political structure of countries in ECO region we first need to study the natural geography of the region. As it was mentioned before, 90% of this area consists of Iranian plateau and Old Turkistan. This geographical area has such distinctive features that we can say the governments that appeared here are products of the geographical and conditions and racial composition.

While studying, the historical and political texts about Asia, we come across terms like “Eastern autarchy” or “Asian autarchy” or Asian way of “production”\(^1\). These terms became popular through trade journeys to west and familiarity with its political societies. In the 16\(^{th}\) and 17\(^{th}\) centuries when through trade and industrial revolution Europe introduced its influence and trade to the world, some precise western tourists and researchers made a significant intellectual discovery which was equal to great geographical discoveries of that time. After careful reflection on Asian civilizations they found that the significant point about these civilizations was a combination of the organizational features which did not exist in Greece nor in Rome and neither in Europe during its Middle and Modern Ages. They eventually presented their conceptive understanding of this discovery as Eastern or Asian Society.

The most outstanding common feature of these societies was autocratic power of their political leaders. Of course, tyrant powers in Europe were not unknown either, but autarchy of these areas was different from that of other areas such as the West. Eastern autarchy was old and permanent. It had roots everywhere. It was believed that Eastern society and autarchy were interwoven with each other and were united. In other societies autarchy was dictated by power and sword, therefore it did not last long while it had been legitimized in the East. Its legitimacy also was influenced by environmental conditions as it has been mentioned.\(^2\)

In fact water was one of the significant elements which influenced structure of governments and since in most studied areas water and irrigation system and water preservation was one of the most important if not the most important factor of life,

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\(^1\) Verdasbi, Abazar. Weakness in the evolution of Feudal society, chapar perss, Tehran, 1977, pp.10,11.

legitimacy of government also was tied to provision and preservation of irrigation system because without water, agriculture and consequently survival was impossible.¹

By studying these societies more closely their agricultural problems and irrigation system came under consideration. This issue i.e. agricultural production and necessity of providing irrigation system was determined as the reason of autarchy. Eastern governments used to construct and maintain huge systems of irrigation. Therefore the most strategic means of production belonged to government. So they found a power higher than those of other governments in the area and became superior societies.

Eastern people especially people of Iranian plateau and Turkistan regard autocratic governments legitimate because of the issue relating to the supply of water, therefore, eastern autarchy is sustainable and influence of this kind of government is also long lasting.

The question is that was water so much influential in people’s destiny and form of government? In order to understand the subject i.e. influence and role of water problem in economic and political life of society and the changes it brought about in political organizations of the East, we have to study some parts of history of these areas which is related to the history of water and its related issues.

The first thing that is inferred from this study is that when there was a powerful dominant government in the region irrigation projects came to be constructed and repaired and improved. Consequently, agricultural production increased and when the government was weak in a region, irrigation activities decreased and that brought about drought and poverty. So, construction of irrigation projects gave the central government much power and this was called Eastern autarchy.²

These governments used to rejuvenate agricultural lands after destruction by floods or when they were turned to deserts by droughts; they organized agricultural production and increased it through controlling the supply of water by wells, canals, dams and canalization of marshes. This was the most significant reason for the dominance of powerful eastern governments.

Iranian tribes entered Middle East and Iranian plateau in the second millennium BC and intermingled with the local civilizations. Before their entry, agriculture had developed and consequently irrigation system and its organization had been established and Sumer and Aked civilizations in the west of Iranian plateau, and Bakhtaris in the Northwest had established major civilizations. Ancient studies also mention the existence of irrigation organizations in the 4th and 3rd millenniums BC, organizations that directed their activities to improve agriculture, control, supply and the distribution of irrigation. Barthold believes that Hekhamaneshi government took the responsibility of constructing dams creating and irrigation organizations and in return received special taxes from people. In fact the king was head of all water chiefs and this represents the relation between autocratic government and water.

This was the way governments exploited the masses and the central government became the biggest direct exploiter of the masses. Therefore, in these areas the government was principally made up of the governing class which fulfilled the ruling duties and prevented the development of a ruling class independent of the government.\(^1\)

In this way we understand the precise preoccupation with irrigation organizations and agriculture of the ruling class and we can see the necessity of concentration on these that created the autocratic governments of the East. The Eastern people know very well that a powerful central government means better irrigation on the one hand and security on the other.

Perhaps it is a major reason for the continuance of autarchy, lack of development in the East, and survival of Asian Feudalism. Following the specialties and historical features of the Iranian plateau and Turkistan, we present irrigation as an

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\(^1\) Nafeesi Saeed. Social History of Iran from Decline of Sasanis till Decline of Umavis, Tehran University Press, Tehran, 1963, p. 35.
important factor in shaping the history of this area, a factor that rationalized eastern autarchy and specialized flow of historical events in ECO region.

Another factor that causes a particular type of governments’ conduct in ECO region is the presence of different nations in region. The social reason for of this factor was the tribal and nomadic life style. As it was mentioned earlier, due to intensive shortage of water it was not possible for the entire population to engage in agriculture and settle permanently. Therefore, some part of population had to migrate from one area to another looking for natural resources.

The main structure of this style consisted of life with immigration and constant moving from one place to another. Briefly, we can say that because of the needs of tribes for constant migration their life style was very simple and primitive. Socially, they did not need schools, communication, houses, corporations, offices, factories, etc. on the other hand that, their life-style included invasions and plundering of other tribes and residential areas. The whole history of ECO countries is full of these events. Tribes came to power one after another and were brought down after a while by other tribes. Therefore, dominance of one tribe over other tribes in ECO had made the region face a permanent separation, a separation that prevented formation of principles of aristocracy in these countries. If this aristocracy had been formed, it would have changed many of the historical and cultural issues of the region.

Here, we point out such important and basic factors which originated from natural and tribal conditions of a region. Factors that had influenced most of history, political, economic and social conditions of ECO region and this influence resulted in the formation of members of the present ECO society.

4.4.1. Political Centrality

One of the signs for centrality of power in a government is that governors or chiefs of every part of the country were selected and dismissed by the center. Every governor everywhere runs the affairs of his region under the supervision of the center’s agent or supervisor. He also starts and announces projects or issues orders in the name of the king or caliphate of the time. He used and circulated the coins of the center in trading; these coins bore the portrait of the king or the name of caliphate. He had to be accountable to the center for economic affairs and the amount of taxes and
other governmental incomes and had to send the revenue and taxes there. He also had to spend the rest of these incomes in his region under supervision of the center’s agent. He was not independent in governmental and political affairs either and was accountable to the center. But if there was not centrality, he ran his governorship or wielded his power everywhere and he was almost independent and he just sent some taxes and gifts to the center and fulfilled some expectations of the center but he was not accountable to the center and followed his own policy and affairs, minted coins in his own name, controlled the affairs and issued orders in his own name. He was independent in running the issues related to the army and the country and assigned and dismissed judges, tax agents, chiefs and agents of his territory personally.

The amount and extent of obedience and relation of these local governments with central power was in accordance with their power. Especially when the center was weak no local government regarded it as official.

Nevertheless, none of these two forms centrality and localization of power had major effects on social and judiciary conditions of the ordinary people among the lower classes that were dependent on farming. We can say that only the level of income rose to some extent for some special class of people including some merchants and artists.

The reason for ineffectiveness of both factors – localization and centrality of power- on social and economic conditions of people was that every governor or chief who was head of one region, on behalf of a central or a local power, tried to run the affairs of his territory as it was requested by the government and did not disobey the government. Despite this obedience to the government, these governors were the full power holders in their regions and treated people as they wanted and the judge, tax collector and mayor were either appointed by him or shared the same interests with him. The governor also had control over benefits and losses, conditions of middle class people and even over the local rich people.

In short, every governor and representative in every aspect and everywhere was a center in the center and a circle in the circle of power that violated the real sense of centrality in their territory. In the whole country, feudal individuals had control over jobs, lives, property and other affairs of ordinary people in their territory and these affairs were in the hands of ordinary people in name only.
On appointing governors and mayors and other military and political officials and on collecting taxes which all were put at auction among volunteers or officials and chiefs, everybody who promised to pay more money or property or in other words more bribery, could more easily buy lives and properties of people in cities and villages and could dominate them with more authority.

Therefore, every governor or official who came to power in one region, like feudal owners of people, counted himself as lord and owner of people and treated them as he wanted and charged taxes as he wished. These governors were not accountable to any court and knew no rules and exploited people according to their own benefits.

On the other hand, every slave and peasant knew his own lord and no one else. The rich people and land owners all regarded the regional governor as their true owner and authority. Because it was the governor who could take taxes from them whenever he wished or offer rebates on their taxes or on the contrary could confiscate their property in case of objection, disobedience, etc. or in case of resistance could even behead them.

With this explanation, it is clear that in the provinces and regions and generally everywhere other than the center there was no centrality in justice to fulfill civil and social rights of people and every official oppressed and overweighed people and society as much as he had paid for in the auction.

Other than the regions dominated by governments -both local and central- where there was no centrality to secure rights of people, in distant areas, on roads, the country and in small social units like villages mostly governments had no dominance and thieves and plunderers attacked these areas.

In this way every man who had the ability of free thinking and was physically powerful enough and did not want to be oppressed and dominated by feudal lords and officials and wanted freedom from their brutality joined a group of plunderers as soon as he could acquire a horse and a weapon and lived an adventurous life by attacking caravans and houses of the rich.
The rich and feudal people who themselves had put people in despair and distress were not safe from the plundering of these groups. Although caravans were protected by armed forces, these groups used to attack and plunder them.

Mainly pride and sense of dominance that originated from feudalism and land owning and whenever they held governorship they caused personal dominances and formation of groups which eventually led to violation of centrality and its power.\(^1\)

### 4.4.2. Tribal Dependences and Social Instability

As it was mentioned, one of the first reasons of forming a government was defending economic interests of family and keeping the family sustainable. Family was also the first and the most powerful unit of government. Government which was represented by the king consisted of union of major chiefs from great families of tribes and nomads. In such conditions and such a system it was natural that when a tribe came to power and its head achieved the highest position, all other tribes obeyed him and that one person took the whole power exclusively. This one man along with keeping the whole power for himself, gave different shares of government and its interests to members of his own tribe and since no one was more trustworthy than one’s brothers and other close relatives in system of power, he gave them the most sensitive and important positions.\(^2\)

By studying the history of ECO region we find that most of the governments in this area were made up by chiefs of tribes and nomads. Because of the geographical conditions these tribes were invading and emigrating from one region to another. This system of life naturally prevents development and social evolution. Because the tribal system does not need complicated and advanced structures and organizations. Its needs are few and limited.

Another factor that prevented development of tribal societies was the lack of a long-term government in societies that rely on tribes. If we study the mechanism of a

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\(^2\) Ibid, p. 279.
tribe’s reaching to power we see that it is not complicated. Attaining power for one tribe was at first by relying on its military power. As long as this military superiority existed the dominant tribe held the power in its hand. But as soon as the signs of weakness appeared in its military power, the rival tribes started military activities against it. Since military success of a tribe depended to a large extent on personal talent of the tribal-chief or other elders of the tribe, when the tribal-chief became old or died suddenly a wave of rivalry swept in and out of the court in order to succeed to the throne.¹

Since the time these conflicts started till the time when the same tribe with a new chief or another tribe came to power, violence, chaos and insecurity prevailed in that region for years or sometimes decades. During the years of unrest and lack of a central power, these regions which nowadays mostly are in ECO region entered a period which was called the feudal system. A period in which at every corner of territory a tribe or a group came to power and ruled in that region until people like Sultan Mahmud Qaznavi, Timor the Lame or a dynasty like Safavid appeared and came to power and started a new powerful dynasty. We can say that at the time of Safavids’ coming to power in the 16th century almost 20 different powers were fighting to capture the central power in Iran.

It is hardly necessary to explain that if we count political stability, power concentration along with consistency and centrality of capital as needs of social evolution and sustainable development, what we see in the ECO region especially after the 11th century is quite the opposite.

4.4.3. Legitimacy and Political and Social Base of Government

Another long-term change that happened because of dominance of tribes over the studied region was full obedience of people to governments. Of course, before this issue there was obedience to the government, but the presence of tribes in the centre

of power made it more inclusive. At least one reason of this inclusiveness is social background of tribalism.

In patriarchal social system of tribe, obeying the chief and elder of the tribe was absolute. As the tribes came to power and dominated the present ECO region, this absolute obedience to tribal elder also pervaded government of the region. Members of tribes regarded the government heads that were in power as they regarded a tribal-chief. In their view, governors, kings and sultans who ruled in different regions were originally heads and chiefs of their tribes. Also kings who were chiefs of tribes were influenced by social behaviors of this system. They expected absolute obedience from the people.¹

In the eyes of tribal-chiefs, governmental system in their ruling territory did not have major differences with those of the tribe. Only its dimensions had increased a great deal and the tent of the tribal-chief was replaced by a palace. Therefore, the only change in their eyes was the size of their ruling tribe which had become larger. If the rule of the tribe had lasted long enough to make developments in the dominant political system, naturally the form of government would have found chances to change. But the main problem was that governments which relied on tribes usually did not last long to experience gradual changes. Before the ending of some decades, a different tribe would dominate the existing tribe and seize power. Therefore, the tribal system in its primitive form was existing in governments and was passed on from one group to another.

4.4.4. Divinity of Government

Another factor that entered the ruling system of countries in today’s ECO region was the belief in the divinity of kingdom. It was not unfamiliar to Iranians. This phenomenon had become an inseparable part in the foundation of Iranian beliefs on government since ancient times and before the invasion of tribes and introduction of Islam to Iranian plateau.

The change that the coming of tribes caused in this case was that it mingled this philosophy with Islamic political views. In fact the only change on this belief after the coming of Islam was that it was placed in a religious frame. The practical result of this mingling was that not only a circle of divinity surrounded the government and the king, but also obeying the government and its head i.e. the king, governor and emir became a religious necessity and a religious duty.

Apart from the belief of Iranians in the divinity of kingdom, another issue that confirmed the subject was that after the coming of Islam and formation of government, a sense of symbiosis developed between the Islamic caliphate and local powers. This symbiosis and cooperation made the caliphate approve of local powers in different parts of Islamic territory in which ECO was one of them and on the other side, local powers consented to be under the rule of the caliphate.

In other words, the caliphate in Baghdad was the owner of religion and religious power and tribal-chiefs were owners of kingdoms and earthly power. As the owner or chief of religion, the caliphate legitimized tribal-chiefs and in return they paid him taxes and empowered him materialistically. Therefore, tribe-chiefs were apparently representatives of the religious leader. This process appeared in the early centuries of the advent of Islam.

Naturally, it was the only organization which was both holy and legitimate and was worthy of being obeyed because of security and economic reasons and no one could dare to disobey its orders. Additionally, such a government gave itself the right to interfere with property matters and the destiny of people.

Therefore, when this authority gave a person, a commander, a chief or an elder some territory or some region, not only did it do anything wrong, but also acted in the framework of rules and accepted customs. If it confiscated someone’s property or imprisoned a person, a merchant or an elder or if it beheaded them or disregarded the rights of opponents or dissenters, that was not against accepted customs and current traditions. By abusing this religious feature, they entered heresies in religion and suppressed their opponents by this strategy. In short, a compound of military and
economic power, mutual relationship with the formal center of power and eventually the political philosophy of common religion laid the foundation for legitimacy of tribal-chiefs who came to power in the Iranian plateau and the Middle East.

All these elements increased absolute concentration of power in the hands of government and brought about absolute dominance of tribes.

4.4.5. Lack of Social Security and Personal Rights

Another basic aspect of power concentration in one person’s hands and in one autocratic government was lack of personal and social security which had turned into a major socio-political problem in ECO region. This phenomenon itself was the cause of formation and foundation of many of the political, social and economic features of the region. Among these features most important one was its influence on the running of the government.

Tribal-chiefs and nomad commanders who came to power in the region did not have any experience in ruling a country neither were they experienced in administrative affairs nor in economic affairs. All their skills were directed towards war and military activities and distribution of war booty among warriors. They had to depute administrative affairs of the country to others. We must consider that in order to solve this problem they needed to choose experienced viziers. Naturally the vizier in these systems had a key role because he had to manage all the affairs of the country which was not free of danger. By studying the lives of the viziers who served governments in the countries of this region we have an interesting situation. Despite the importance of their position, these viziers had the lowest job security as well as social security, because even committing a small mistake or by gossips of others, the kings took away their glory, dignity, property and their power, immediately; even in many cases they lost their lives. Of the six viziers who served Qaznavis, four viziers were killed and their properties were confiscated, the fifth one was imprisoned and his property was confiscated as well and the sixth ran away.

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When Sultan Masoud Qaznavi, successor of Sultan Mahmud came to power after his father’s death, he dismissed all officials and administrators of his father’s time and confiscated properties of some of them. This was only an example; in other countries the situation was not any different.

Certainly, the most important and the main concern of a vizier in such a situation must have been safeguarding his own position, because if he did not do so, not only would he have lost his position but also his life and property could have been in danger. Therefore, a lot of energy and efforts of viziers were spent in warding off opponents and undoing their tricks.

Affairs of the country and people were naturally second priorities. Instability of governmental positions also made lots of officials and viziers take advantage of their positions while they were in power and make fortunes for themselves. They also used to pay generous gifts and treasures in order to undo and defeat efforts of their opponents.

When instability and personal insecurity for the most powerful position holder of the government was such, it is needless to speak of the situation at other public levels of society. For example, merchants and the rich could hardly say “no” to loan requests and even bribe requests of influential politicians who were in the governments, although the possibility of repayment of these loans was very slim. Negative results of social insecurity for government officials were in two forms. The first one was corruption among them. Viziers and officials knew well about the instability of their positions and also knew that if they had encountered problems with government, they could not rely on any authority to defend themselves. Therefore these positions were great opportunities for many of them to make large fortunes instead of planning reformations and laying foundations of development for society.

Another form of social insecurity showed itself in this form when a lot of knowledgeable and honest people refused accepting governmental positions, because they had independent opinions and held on to their opinions which made them unsuitable in governmental system as the rulers wanted their orders to be followed
without questions and discussions.¹ This situation was not acceptable to their thoughts and principles; as a result, qualification of people was not regarded or taken into consideration in assigning important positions. Even if some part of society could provide life security to some extent by spending money, ordinary people were absolutely defenseless against the government.

4.4.6. The Situation of Property and Capitalism

The case of property and capitalism was another element which experienced a lot of changes because of the form of government in the region. These changes can be discussed under two major aspects, the first aspect is that, dominance of government on lands or land owning increased and as a result, power of government increased. The second aspect of change was decrease in validity of organization or the principle of ownership.

Among different elements which prevented the principle of ownership from being formalized, two elements seem to play more important roles. The first one was the lands being transferred from hand to hand and confiscation of properties by the new rulers. The second was excess confiscation of lands by government.²

By dominance of this process in the region, the system of land transfer became a popular system in land owning. Lands that were seized by government were transferred to people who were chosen by the government so that they could use the incomes. These new owners paid some part of the income as taxes or debts to government and kept the rest for themselves. They were not considered as permanent owners of the lands and government transferred the lands to new owners after their deaths.

So much is certain that the right of ownership on property and land was not considered as formal by rulers and it seems that government did not have a major role in land seizure and confiscation of property and transferring it to others.

These elements altogether prevented formation of capitals in the region and no one could think of long-term investment in the region, because the temporary owner

was only thinking of the maximum benefit during the time he owned the land. This phenomenon in which rulers and local governors looked at the lands under their dominance as alien lands and had no intention of development other than gaining incomes from them became one of the outstanding features in ECO region. A lot of tourists who visited Iran in the 19th century were witnesses to it. They often mentioned that Qajar rulers considered their country not as a home but as an alien land which was there only to be exploited.

As it was mentioned, the influence of geographical and humanistic conditions and also origin and destination of government made the above factors which together had destructive effects on the development and progress of the studied region. As it was mentioned, these governments had all forms of natural, provisional, autocratic and dictatorial backgrounds, so they were influenced by all of them.

Therefore, we are facing a system which under the influence of natural conditions has gained an autocratic nature and tribally is related to a special tribe and group. It counts itself religiously holy, so it lets itself interfere with all spiritual and mental affairs of its people. In terms of legitimacy, it does not enjoy the peoples confidence or respect and this becomes a big obstacle for massive and long-term plans. People and the rich do not trust such governments and do not make investments in fundamental and basic sectors.

Therefore, the influence of the above factors in today’s society of ECO shows itself in the form of some basic problems. Such governments usually have the following features.

- **Little ability of government to use dominance**: since such governments have low levels of legitimacy and society also has tribal structures, government’s ability in exercising its dominance on all sectors is minimal and it cannot have long-term plans.

- **Lack of faith and dependence on government**: instead of reliance on government, people are mostly reliant on family, tribe, racial or a religious group. As a result, government does not seem to be the right source as agency to make long-term plans. Therefore, in a government dominated by a group, rights can be divided among members of a tribe, members who share similar
racial identity or a special religion. Of course, this is along with identifying non-members of the group as opponents who must be kept apart or sidelined.¹

- **Political violence**: political competition in these societies has inappropriate structure and is not according to rules and in its extreme form it could lead to violence. This could lead to rebellion, rebellious attempts, and tribal conflicts. We must pay attention that violence in these societies has been accepted.

- **Low levels of legitimacy and governmental dominance**: it is because of lack of agreement on principle concepts to rule a society and that is because of opposition in interests of people and groups in those societies. Continuation of differences between those who believe in exclusive values and those who want progress towards pluralism has caused disagreement and eventually has created serious problems. As an alternative in countries that have racial conflicts, government eventually comes under dominance of a racial group and as a result, level of legitimacy and authority goes down.²

- **Rejection of government’s ownership in many social areas**: because of government’s monopolistic policy in these societies (religious, racial economic or political exclusive) discontent groups do not take the government and its plans very seriously. As a result, such societies face disorder and collapse.

- **Formation of organizations in the region**: today governments of ECO do not have good scores in areas of researches with new criteria about organization making and massive policies. Due to sudden independence of some of them after dissolution of Soviet Union, these countries do not have structure of government, bureaucratic elements and political as well as governing experiences; in order to have an influential government. In these countries, even few mechanisms of removing discontent and racial ambition have disappeared or become localized. None of these countries have succeeded in getting along with other groups by coalition or by dividing power.

The type of government in these countries is becoming like a kingdom and this means that they often have the same authorities in power. Members of

government have kept their full authority and have proved that they would do anything to maintain the current situation.

- **Kingdom-like regimes**: the ideology of kingdom-like regimes has specific relation with some countries who are members of ECO. This similarity becomes clearer if we take a brief look at features of these regimes. Personal dominance, a system of fear, gifts and corruption, dictatorship, suppression of weak organizations and powerful leaders at different levels is apparent in most of these regimes. Undoubtedly, kingdom-like regimes, similar to other dominant regimes, are likely to have ties with mafia organizations. This kind of mafia also helps the king and his family by providing non-official power of suppression, eliminating rivals and opponents of the regime.

They also provide the elites with the chance to make personal fortunes. By the use of corruption, Mafia organizations would be looking for support and knowledge to practically undo means of social control. On the other hand, they have a great deal of interest in the weakness of government and at least they prefer that the government allows their operations. In fact there is cooperation between interests of king and his followers on the one side, and mafia organizations on the other side. None of them want a political process with features like legitimacy and widespread accountability that considers public interests higher than personal interests. In fact the king and governor and their followers fight with that kind of mafia operations which are not in their control or do not help them through bribery and corruption.

Governments also try to stabilize interests that they gain through relations with organized mafia and other illegal groups. When mafia, organized smuggling and other profitable illegal operations exist in cooperation with political elites, then guaranteed interests will have a significant role in limiting apparent democracy in administration of the country.

### 4.4.7. Problems of Nations and Ethnic Groups

Members of ECO are facing different powerful systems which have brought problems on the way of their developments. Each one of these countries has
complicated powerful organizations which suppress centers of political power and decision-making in different forms and cause instability in these countries.

Considerable presence of Kurds in Turkey and conflicts between them and Turkish government on sharing power and resources have led to suppression of Kurds by Turkish government and to destruction of Kurd-settled villages and even pursuing them in neighboring countries.¹ This has become one of the most serious problems of nations among members of ECO. On the other hand, different forms of pressure on Kurd people by Turkish government have consequently made European Union bring pressure on Turkish government which has been trying to join this union for many years. Pakistan government also has serious problems on ethnic issues. Presence of Pashtu people in this country has brought ethnic tensions. They claim formation of Pashtunistan and regional independence. Baluch leaders also have such claims in the region.

Conflicts of these groups and activities of other powerful movements in Pakistan have led to serious threats to stability and political-economic and cultural development in this country.

Iran also had potentials for ethnic tensions which have always been abused by profit seeking internal and external elements. Ethnic unrest in Khuzistan, Baluchistan, Turkmen Sahra and Azerbaijan are examples of unrest that led to abuse by different groups at different times and led to distortion of leaders’ ideas and massive policies for execution of public and fundamental plans in these regions. After dissolution of Soviet Union and independence of Republic of Azerbaijan in Northern borders of Iran, another area for ethnic tensions was created. Independence of Republic of Azerbaijan caused a lot of propaganda against Iran. Since this region historically has been part of Iran and people have racial, linguistic and religious relations on both sides of the border, extremist groups revealed their western attitudes and brought up the idea of unity for Northern and Southern Azerbaijan. This region according to Golestan (1813) and Turkmen Chai Treaties (1828) was given to Russia. Today by

distortion of realities and provocation by interfering nations, these groups intend to weaken the position of Iran in the region.  

Afghanistan with its tribal structure of population has one of the most difficult situations in ECO region. Pashtu, Hazareh, Uzbek and Tajik tribes who live in different parts of Afghanistan used to always have bloody conflicts that endangered security not only in Afghanistan, but also in the surrounding region.

Undoubtedly, attaining economic, cultural and political development would not be possible without security, and difficult political security conditions of Afghanistan have made the situation very difficult for development so that even efforts of UN and regional mediations have not been able to settle civil conflicts in this country. Therefore, permanent war and its sustainability and fruitless regional and international efforts to end bloody conflicts in this region, have made reformation and economic-political development a far-fetched goal. At last in this country a group like Taliban with external support could overcome other groups temporarily and brought new difficulties in the process of political unity and economic development.

The majority of population in the Republic of Azerbaijan which is situated in Caucasia is Azeri people. They form almost 82% percent of the country population. Armenians and Russians are almost 5% each, and Lazgies are about 2.4% in this country. This country still has major difficulties in issues related to nationality.

War in independent region of Qarabagh which brought a wide region, almost a quarter of this republic, under the rule of Armenians turned to one of the biggest political and security problems in Caucasia region. Qarabagh has been homeland to Armenians and Azeri people, but in the Great Revolution of 1917, after formation of republics as members of Soviet Union in Caucasia, it was placed inside the borders of Armenia as one part of Azerbaijan in 1921.

In this way, Qarabagh with a compound of population which was mostly Armenians was left inside the borders of Armenia as part of Azerbaijan and this led to unrest in the region. This became more serious after the dissolution of Soviet Union.

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1 Koolaee. ECO and regional convergence, the center of science research and middle Asia strategic studies, p. 177.
and raised massive global efforts to end the problem. Duration of this crisis has made it an international concern and not a regional problem anymore.¹

Qarabagh War and continuation of problems between Armenians and Azeri people have caused serious economic and political problems for political leaders of Azerbaijan. In fact, this war and changes in battlefields with Armenians caused political reformations in government of Azerbaijan.

The Republic of Kazakhstan among the members of ECO has a specific composition of population. The dominant population in this country which is Kazakh is in fact a minority in relation to the whole population. Almost 44% of population is made up of them. In fact life-related affairs and main economic activities of Kazakhstan are in hands of Non-Kazakhs. It shares borders with Russia in northern and eastern parts. The Russian population living in Kazakhstan has vast plans for their goals in Kazakhstan. That is why the process of nation making in Kazakhstan and efforts to reform Kazakh identity has brought about many problems to the country.² These conditions have brought signs of ethnic tendencies which are the basis of many difficulties for the country.

As an example, the problem of language in Kazakhstan is more serious than it is in any other country. Dominance of Russian language in this country has brought lots of difficulties. Kazakh nationalists want revival of their language and culture while they form only 40% of the country. This issue also has made the situation of development and political stability more complicated in this country.

In the Republic of Kirgiz also national and ethnic relations and issues have brought about problems. There are more than 20 different tribes in this country who are active in development and education of their own cultural-national principles. This could have negative effects in process of development and political stability in this country.

¹ Ibid, p. 179.
As it was mentioned, Uzbeks of Tajikistan form almost 20% of this population in this country and this has led Uzbekistan to play an influential role in the civil war of Tajikistan. Of course, this interference in turn has caused the emergence of political conflicts in Uzbekistan. Tajikistan is a neighbor of Turks in northern, eastern and western borders, while the situation is different in southern borders.

In the south of Tajikistan i.e. Afghanistan Tajik people and Uzbeks are settled in northern areas of this country. Considering the racial mixture in these two countries after dissolution of Soviet Union and independence of Tajikistan, the situation has been created for development of ties between them which was in a situation of political instability. Considering the ethnic discontent among Pashtus and Non-Pashtus in Afghanistan, Tajik people could help each other on both sides of the borders. Tajik people are basically Sunni Muslims and there are few Ismailia Shiites among them.

Intensive penetration of Iranian culture and civilization among Tajik people is a deep and vast issue. This ethnic mixture in Tajikistan has significant effects on penetration of neighboring countries and makes it sensitive about any kind of cultural relationship with other countries.

These conditions are present in other countries which are members of ECO. In those countries also these conflicts bring political-economic instability and eventually lead to non-development in different areas including in tourism.

4.4.8. Lack of Pluralism

Political pluralism is considered as a significant element in the possibility of creating coordination in the region. According to some theorists of development, economic development is a prerequisite of political development and political development has been known as a reinforcement of values of democratic traditions, equipping masses of people and their participation in political-social affairs.

In discussion of lack of development, the concept of political culture also has been considered. In this way, political culture is a series of traditions, beliefs and elements which give meaning to political system and cause a specific political behavior. Based on this, political culture could be divided into three types: rare, consequent and cooperative.
In the first type, a person is rarely connected to political affairs and is unaware of them. In the consequential form, people have passive and obedient relations, and in the cooperative culture people have positive and active attitudes towards most aspects of political system of parties and elections. Undoubtedly, political culture and a culture that can precede development of a country is itself influenced by historical, geographical, economic and social conditions as well as by political traditions and different customs in different societies.¹

Development of pluralism in societies of countries which are members of ECO has serious limitations. Among these countries which have democratic systems, Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan have compiled their constitution upon Islam and have called themselves Islamic Republic. Some others have secular and non-religious systems.

Ranges of activities in parties and political groups and unions among members of ECO have differences as well. In Afghanistan where political armed groups have engaged in fight for power, political categorizations have been based on ethnic, tribal and religious elements.² Formation and confirmation of central power in this country faced severe problems. Dominance of Taliban over other groups also made the situation more complicated. As it was mentioned, Afghanistan has a tribal social structure which is far from the concept of pluralism.

In Iran under the dominance of Islamic system in which the ideology of supreme leadership has been confirmed, there are no visible activities of parties and political organizations and groups.

In Azerbaijan and the remaining republics from the dissolution of Soviet Union in Middle Asia there are also similar conditions.³ In these republics political culture has not changed either, and concentrative and dominative tendencies are still

² Koolaee. ECO and regional convergence, the center of science research and middle Asia strategic studies, p. 187.
³ Olkat,Martaberil. political in Central Asia after the collapse of Empire,Trans,Elahe Koolaee, Central Asia and Caucasian Studies quarterly, No.2,Fall,1993,p.49.
apparent at different levels. In this way as it was mentioned, different member countries of ECO suffer from lack of pluralism.$^1$

4.4.9. Weakness of Bureaucracy

Administrative system is an outline of the whole society which is in close relationship with cultural, political, ideological and economic structures. In this way, administrative system and its quality depends on the society and the environment of administrative system. There is a close relationship between development and growth of administrative, economic and social system.

In the process of political renewal and economic growth and development, administrative system plays a significant role which itself necessitates change and conversion of administrative system. Basically, political systems face specific forms of requests which are representatives of desires at different levels and the capability of each system to fulfill these desires is different. Potential capability to deal with new forms of requests is possible in conditions where system has passed political renewal. Some features of this renewal are as follows:

- High level of variety in roles and political organizations
- Increase of activities in administrative and central-political organizations and developing them in all areas and parts of society
- Tendency for distribution of potential power in wider groups and eventually distributing it among all citizens
- High level of traditional legitimacy among elites and increasing ideological and organizational responsibility of leaders
- Existence of operational independence among non-governmental organizations.$^2$

While distribution of power is among elements of renewal, administrative centrality is against it. Administrative centrality reduces innovation, removes participation, spoils human resources and generally removes accountability; it creates major obstacles towards rapid economic, political and social developments. One of the important issues in organizational concentration is individualism in political

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$^2$ Ghavam, Political Development and Administrative Reformation, p. 89.
system. It means that individual wisdom is higher than plural wisdom and actually the individual is the main decision maker. Bureaucratic systems have basic roles in formation of framework for variable systems. Therefore, in ECO countries operational weakness of bureaucracy is an element that delays the process of economic and political development.

Principally in ECO countries which are considered as developing countries of the world the process of political socialization is facing considerable difficulties.

Political socialization is the process of permanent learning in which people along with familiarity with political system through gaining information and experiences understand their duties, rights and roles in the society. Family, educational institutions, parties and unions have decisive roles in this case. There are serious weaknesses and shortcomings in this field in ECO countries.

However, bureaucracy system in all countries of ECO is dealing with problems of being underdeveloped which itself has turned out to be a great obstacle in the path of development and relations between these countries.

Now we will deal with effects of these elements and perspective of stability and development in ECO region. There are different factors nowadays which do not let these countries move towards sustainable development and tourism. These elements in fact are outlines of the mentioned factors which have roots in political structure of ECO governments.

Among the most important ones of these elements which has direct effects on development of infrastructures such as tourism, the following ones could be mentioned: increasing mafia and corruptive activities, smuggling of drugs, organized crimes, economy of shadow, corruption, bribe taking, bribe seeking, etc.

These activities play a vital role in the success or failure of activities towards democracy and free markets of developing economic and cultural infrastructures. Generally the effects of these elements are considered to be negative which not only make the process of development complicated and prevent it, but also by increasing instability, they create new insecurities in society. However, it must be mentioned that
In short-term, these elements would prepare some means of economic development for some people. But this does not mean that they should forget and neglect negative short-term outcomes or more serious long-term outcomes. In the long-term perspective, these elements intensively increase instability. These kinds of activities prevent infrastructures of development, legitimate activities and development of society in all aspects.

In short, it is important to understand that the quality of a country’s management and political structure in ECO region is such that even citizens resort to crime and political violence or religious extremism and disobedience as means of resistance against political cruelty and economic deprivation.

With this short introduction, components and factors of anti-development which have roots in political structure will be understood better.

**4.4.10. Organized Mafia**

UN had problems about organizing a convention on organized mafia because of a definition of the term. At last this convention was presented in Palermo in December 2000.

This convention defines an organized mafia group in this way: “an organized group of three persons or more in a period of time who have activities with the aim of committing one or some crimes or serious violence in order to achieve economic benefits or other material interests directly or indirectly”.

Therefore, we can consider organized mafia as continuation of trade and property collection through criminal means. Organized mafia is very greedy and destructive, and this has major negative outcomes for development in the region. In fact the most considerable feature of organized mafia in ECO governments is the amount of dominance and their exclusive status in economic life.

Organized mafia has penetrated political and economic areas at different levels and it has control or influence over a great deal of economic activities. In other words,
it does not only deal with goods and illegal services, but it is counted as one of the most dangerous forces that influences active political, economic, social and cultural life in ECO region.

Organized mafia weakens dominance of law, challenges exclusive use of violence by government, has gradual destructive effect on governmental organizations, removes lawful and legitimate economic activities and fights against foreign investment. As an example, organized mafia had a powerful base in Uzbekistan in early 90s. It was full of illegal levy and prostitution. Activities like penetration in banking system, utilizing corrupted bank executives and fake letters of credit for vast economic frauds were among their other activities.¹

In Kirgizstan the situation was no better. The presence of mafia behind crimes like car theft, women traffic, drug traffic and money laundering was tangible.

Nowadays the presence of lots of illegal ports in the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea which bring to the country huge amounts of goods without customs taxes are another form of this mafia that could destroy infrastructures of development in the country.

In brief, although organized mafia is of different kinds, it principally is an influential player in economic and political life of ECO region and prevents development of this region.

4.4.11. Economy of Shadow

Another obstacle on the path of development is economy of shadow. It includes not only illegal and black markets but also informal economy which provides living situations for ordinary citizens. Clearing transactions, unannounced second jobs and economic activities which are not controlled by government and are not announced in government statistics are among activities which create economy of shadow. Sometimes these activities are called grey market in comparison to black market.

¹ Olga, Eliker. The conflict faults in central Asia and South Caucasus, the cultural studies and international research institute, Moaser Abrar press, Tehran, 2003, pp. 143-144.
In most western countries economy of shadow consists of a small part of the whole economic activities. For example, in advanced economies like those of US and West Europe economy of shadow hardly forms 10% to 15% of economic activities. On the contrary, in many developing countries and in governments of ECO region, economy of shadow plays a greater role and contributes to considerable part of the whole economic activities. For example in Tajikistan and Kirgizstan, unofficial economic activities were almost equal to official economy. It must be remembered that economy of shadow is out of the tax system; therefore, it deprives the society of urgent and absolute vital income,\(^1\) an income that could be used for providing opportunities for development in society. In addition to this, economy of shadow is like a slippery steep path towards illegal economy and black market for people and groups that participate in unofficial economy. Certainly these people are considered as potential targets for forming mafia groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Ratio size for economy of shadow to official gross internal product (percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirgizstan</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Olga. The conflict faults in central Asia and South Caucasus, the cultural studies and international research institute, p. 145.

4.4.12. Corruption and Rent Seeking

Economists use the term “Rent seeking” for non-productive activities which aim at making personal property. Economic corruption goes under this title. Corruption which is generally accepted as using an official position to gain personal benefits is common in governments of ECO region.

\(^1\) Ibid, p. 143.
Generally, corruption is related to those parts of government in which governmental supervision over economic activities is considered very high and the government exercises exclusive and strict control on political and economic lives. Accordingly, government does not have effective supervision over use of governmental position for gaining personal benefits. Generally, corruption happens when there is exclusiveness and compromise without accountability. Governments of ECO region generally have these conditions.

Categorizing mentioned in corruption identification index makes these conditions vice versa. Corruption identification index was published by a non-governmental organization in Berlin called “Transparency International”. This categorizing includes almost 90% to 100% of the country. It shows countries with least corruption and moves towards countries with most corruption. In this categorizing, countries of ECO region are usually at the bottom of the list. Corrupt government members in these countries deprive the country from any kind of benefit by imposing strict control on all governmental processes.

Rent seeking is harmful because it gives power to leaders rather than the government. Practically, bribe seeking places personal interests above public interests. It makes the power of corrupted elites more sustainable and helps them maintain the current leadership with all its privileges and preconditions. Negative outcomes of bribe seeking as a kind of corruption are as follows:

Diminishing ability of forming the government, increasing and widening the gap between people and elites, disbelief of people to the government, economy of free market and seclusion of active political and economic leaders.

Another harmful result of rent seeking as a type of corruption is prevention of external investment. Because of inability of local forces in economic provision of new plans, external investment is essential for success of transfer economy.

By considering all these negative effects, long-term effect of corruption and bribe seeking is creating deep political and economic instability and prevents the formation of basic structures of development.
4.4.13. Turning of Expenses and Interests to Mafia

Becoming mafia could be considered as a means of living for people who are living in ineffective societies with unprofitable economies. When legal economy cannot be profitable for some reason and cannot produce income and provide job opportunities, economy of shadow finds a chance to bloom. In fact, organized mafia, drug traffic, corruption and activities of economy of shadow could be identified as signs of fundamental problems in political rule and economic management.

Becoming mafia has harmful effects on influential economic performance, unity and legitimacy of government and its organizations, public trust and belief in the process of transfer and investment, and also on the issue of stability in the society. Mafia capitalism prevents development of legitimate capitalism and legal and legitimate job producers face basic problems in competing with it.¹

Therefore, drug traffic and organized mafia create destructive effects by intensifying economic competition, investment in different sectors, smothering legitimate job producers and discouraging foreign investors.

In brief, illegal capital either competes with legal capital or wipes it out from the scene. In the final analysis, drug traffic and organized mafia are sources of illegitimate wealth and power which provide important means of supporting terrorist groups economically. They could also add fuel to the fire of conflicts between sects and opponent groups which are competing in markets and profitable processes.

4.5. Conclusion

Structural challenges that ECO countries are dealing with, prevent appearance of absolutely independent and stable governments. These countries have to follow conflicts on redistribution of political power and control of economic resources in an environment where ethnic tensions and other social and cultural gaps are present with policies which are inherited from a long history.

¹ Ibid, p. 149.
Weakness of these countries brings about increase of illegal groups in the field of internal policy. In turn, it produces threats for stability and security of territories in these counties. Most of these countries, because of political instability or inability of their bureaucratic system, do not have the potential for planning and performing reformative and agreed plans between members.

Perhaps the most important factor that threatens long-term security, stability and development of ECO countries is lack of basic arrangements for resolving problems and unachievable economic, ethnic or political desires.

It is not surprising that organized mafia, corruption and alienation of people from governments creates a combination which can easily lead to violence and instability which are obstacles for developing tourism.

None of these countries have succeeded in creating coalition or participation in power between main groups of elites or between opponent parties, although some of these countries have identified initial mechanisms for power transfer. Presence of discontent and presence of totalitarian regimes do not attract a bright future to attain stability.

ECO region is known for numerous ethnic, linguistic, cultural, tribal and religious differences. Inappropriate historical borders have brutally divided these racial groups to different countries and have placed discontent groups in these divisions. This brings possibility of forming separatist and liberal groups. Additionally, continuation of racial policies based on national priorities that had brought short-term stability in many of these countries, in the long run puts the stability in danger by creating ethnic, tribal, political and economic discontent.

Therefore, if appropriate historical background and consequently appropriate political structure are necessities of development in a region or society, then ECO region has fundamental problems regarding these issues.