

A comparative study of the causes of ethnic unrest in Iran after the war

Amir ali Madadi

M.F of Political Science

amirali_1361518@yahoo.com

Asghar Zareei

Ph.D of International Relations

Abstract: After the war imposed by stimulating internal and external factors and shortcomings in some areas of the country that led to the development of ideas of ethnic unrest in the Islamic Republic of Iran was confronted with challenges. In the present study, the first main question was “what is the most important reason for occurrence of ethnic unrests after the Imposed War” and the sub-question was “what is the similarity and difference between factors of ethnic unrests occurrence after the Imposed War”. The main hypothesis was “It seems that the reasons of occurrence of ethnic unrests after the Imposed War were not the same in various areas and did not follow a special pattern” and the sub-hypothesis was “the similarities between factors of ethnic unrests occurrence after the Imposed War are more dominant than their differences”. Then the unrests, reasons and fields for occurrence of ethnic crises of Arab People, caricature and Abdollah Ocalan arrest were explained and analyzed and by comparing, the formation fields of such crises were specified that factors including “sense of relative deprivation”, “suitable geographical situation”, “rational choice” and “social inequity construction” were among the mutual factors for occurrence of ethnic crises in the three mentioned crises and factors such as “ethnic elites” and “role of superpowers and big powers” were effective on occurrence of crises of Arab People and caricature and factors such as “reduction of power of central government” and “transition in domestic area and or in international construction” did not affect occurrence of these unrests.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Unrest, Riot, Commotion

Introduction

Most scientists of scope of ethnic issues agree that throughout the history, “Idea of ethnic and racial superiority” has been one of the critical factors in political, social and cultural relations of nations, races and people. In chapter seven of the book “new approaches of sociology”, “Sherman” and “Wood” explain the literal meaning of these two expressions “Idea of ethnic and racial superiority” as: social and political ideas and ethnic and racial superiority ideas are among old and common ideas. Some authors even considered racial differences as the root of class differences. Imaging inequality of races and ethnic superiority over another race has had important political consequences and has brought major conflicts. In case of lack of appropriate structures and institutes for handling countries based on a kind of ethical and federal pluralism, plot and encouragement-orientation feelings based on racial and language

differences can be a factor of analyzing many countries existing in the world.

After victory of Islamic Revolution, Open hostility of the West against Iran was divulged and diversity of races and languages became a tool for segregation and threat against the Islamic system. Enemies against Iran are trying to ruin and decompose the Islamic system by stimulating ethnicities; otherwise, they are neither sympathetic nor eager to observe the progress and promotion of culture, rights and welfare of ethnicities. Phenomenon of political sectarianism orientation and components suffering from it is a potential factor that cannot be eliminated by relocation of powers and appearance of new autonomies and policies; rather, beneficiary countries will graft from this potential factor for implementing internal and external policies. After victory of Islamic Revolution and collapse of Soviet and announce of independence of new republics, developments in Turkey, intensification of activities of Arabic

countries in Persian Gulf area, political equations and balance of power within the world and the sensitive region of the Middle East and south of Caucasus were eliminated and a new form of global system was appeared. A vast volume of activities of the above countries are performed with complex tricks and are under the defense of the minorities and ethnicities rights to intensify ethnicity issues and their claims and all of which are done to pressurize Iran to accept the new order of global village.

1. Terminology

1.1. Ethnicity

Ethnicity term refers to a group that is distinct from other social groups who have unity and cohesion due to their basic characteristics such as language, customs and historical heritage. Ethnicity has both subjective and objective components including mental awareness and interest of identity, belongings, mutual benefits and interests and clear cultural sharing in language, history background and common religion and land. Greenwood believes that ethnicity is part of culture of a group of people that represents the origin and characteristics of that group; thus, it makes that group be separated from other existing groups in the great political units. Some know it as indicators such as “ethnic self-awareness”, “native language”, “ancestral land” or birthplace, “cultural-psychological characteristics” and “life style” (Ramezanzadeh, 1997, p.25).

1.2. Riot: disturbing discipline by others for practical implementation in an illegal way (Bolton, commotion control, epaulet faculty, p.1).

1.3. Commotion: it means lack of calmness within the society that is formed by rebellion and demonstration (Bolton, commotion control, epaulet faculty, p.1).

1.4. Crisis: whenever it is designed in the way of goals achievement, an unpredicted state occurs that affects our others expectations and desires, a crisis has happened (Kazemi, 1986, p.14).

1.5. Ethnic crisis: it is accompanied with elements of the population having the same language, race and identification, whether organized or unorganized, via

support of internal or external leaders who attempt to disturb the public discipline and is usually along with violence (Maqsoudi, 2001, p.22).

2. Theories of ethnic crises

2.1. Political approaches resulting from ethnic crises

A. Ethnic conflict from the viewpoint of political science

Weakening the government-nation pattern (Tishkove, 1996, p.156) and (Rupesinghe, 1996, p.18), power reduction of central government (Posen, 1993, p.104), democracy (Qavam, 1997, p.295), ethnic nationalism (Lomarshan, 1993, p.31), establishment of citizenship system (Hitroad, 1970, p.10), ethnic dominance and society polarization (Auvinen, 1997, p.178), lack of establishment of civil society (Akhavan Kazemi, 1998, pp. 41-42).

B. Appearance of ethnic crisis from the viewpoint of international relationships: international level (Ahmadi, Amir, 1995, p.43), regional level (Stovnin, 1997, pp. 24-25).

C. Political geography and ethnic crisis (Heydari, 1993, p.42).

2.2. Social approaches resulting from ethnic crises

Some social approaches of ethnic crises include:

A. Sociology and ethnic quarrels (appearance of social-ethnic quarrels, presence of ethnic sub-cultures) (master degree thesis, Khandaq Abadi, 1993, p.42), (Wood, 1990, pp. 169-171) and (master degree thesis, Aminpour, 1997, pp. 159-160).

B. Political sociology and ethnic quarrels (social and protest movements and sub-cultures in the outlook of power achievement, Maqsoudi, 2001, p.96), Idea of ethnic and racial superiority (Taheri, 1991, p.32).

2.3. Economic approaches resulting from ethnic crises

A. Political economy and ethnic conflicts: theory of rational choice (Banton, 1970, pp. 476-483), theory of internal colonization (Maqsoudi, 2001, pp. 130-133), around-center theory (global system)

(Covalfski, 1994, p.46), theory of regional in-harmony and inequity (Salimifar, 1997, p.172).

B. Ethnic conflicts and development: traditional theories about ethnic identification and development (Azkia, 1986, pp. 7-8), new theories about identification and development (Ramezanzadeh, 1997, p.233), stage theories (Maqsoudi, 1995, p.82), ultra modernist period theories (Kazemi, 1991, p.334).

2.4. Relational-cultural approaches resulting from ethnic crises

Mental and relational-cultural approaches of ethnic crises include: reduction of ethnic conflicts from the prospect of relational-cultural development (Hormoz, 1995, p.14), ethnic tensions in the process of development the level of relational-cultural exchanges and relationships (Seyyed Imami, 1997, pp. 253-254), and different relational-cultural

theories about ethnic conflicts (Michnik, 1991, p.758).

2.5. Fields for occurrence of ethnic crises from the psychological perspective

Generally, the key for understanding every kind of quarrel and violence in psychology science is understanding the concept of “aggression”. Ethnic conflicts is also a kind of social aggression existing in the global level that is done by ethnic groups (Doerty & Faltsgraph, 1993, p.436). Failure (Eronson, 1996, p.165), prejudice and fixed ideas (Snyder, 1993, p.79), other social psychological opinions (fifth-multiple opinions including “social learning and “arming” (Berqotese, 1993, p.445), “breaking out” (Azimi, 1978, p.204), “cognitive inconsistency and dissimilarity (Karimi, 1997, p.321), “inverse imaginations” (Doerty & Faltsgraph, 1993, pp. 442-443).

3. Theories of ethnic crises and the theoretical model of the research

The theoretical model of the research is a combination of psychological, political, economic and social approaches which are addressed below:

3.1. Psychological fields of ethnic crises

In analyzing the fields of ethnic crises occurrence in Iran, after the Imposed war, from the psychological viewpoint, two factors play a central role more than other factors: first center is the sense of the relative deprivation which brings dissatisfaction and sense of cheating for ethnicities and internalizes them. A sense that is sometimes aroused by reality and sometimes by imagination. This sense arouses ethnic

bulks as a deprived set under oppression to eliminate deprivation. Ethnic differences considers them as dominant races based on deprivation, invites them to the field, gives them gun in order to remove founders of this unequal state and overcome the this deprivation. The second factor for occurrence of ethnic conflicts from the psychological viewpoint is elites of the ethnicity (Maqsoudi, 2001, p.285).

A: Role of sense of relative deprivation

Ethnic crises have a direct relationship with sense of relative deprivation and in Iran, this rule also excludes such crises (Call Wort, 2006, p.174). “worldwide of relative deprivation”, “intensity and “, “deprivation” and “failure” have a continuous and

related relationship with occurrence of violence and volume of quarrel (Gar, Robert, 1998, pp.55-56). How much more the ethnicities suffer from deprivation and imagine that it is intensive and whenever they face failure in fulfilling their demands and value tendencies, spirit of animosity will be more intensive.

At the extend of Islamic Revolution and during the years after victory of Revolution, Kurdistan city and other Kurdish provinces were not the most deprived regions in terms of social-economic. Provinces such as Sistine Baluchistan, Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmed were more deprived than Kurdistan and provinces such as Hormozgan, Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari, Lorestan and Bushehr suffered from the same state. Now, why the most intensive crises have occurred in Kurdistan and other deprived provinces (except Sistan Baluchistan) have not suffered from ethnic crises. It can be concluded that ethnic conflicts and rebellion are not began necessarily by deprived ethnicities since deprived ethnicities are so busy with their daily life and securing daily necessities that have no time to endanger their life and family. On the other hand, expressing dissatisfaction is started when a movement is appeared for improvement daily life of individuals. This life condition improvement allows comparison among ethnicities. That is why "sense of relative deprivation" regains its place and role in various areas such as economic, social, political and cultural for expressing dis-happiness and occurrence of violence. Despite number of rebellions and nobilities of Kurds at the level of the region, none of the protests were successful. Lack of presence of Kurd elites in the political power leverage, little investment in the industrial sections, amendments of Kurdian regions such as Mahabad, Sanandaj and Saqqez compared to Isfahan, Tabriz and so on, imposed limitations for using ethnic language, native cover and performance of cultural activities beside the role of Iranian and non-Iranian Kurd groups, individuals, parties in expansion of sense of deprivation, generalization and increase of deprivation at the level of Kurdish regions created conditions that caused the most intensive ethnic unrests from Kurd groups during the years after Islamic Revolution and exigent war (master degree thesis, Mohammadi, 1994, pp.220-221).

Due to the superior role and place of Azerbaijan in the Constitutional Revolution, the inability of the governments after the revolution in meeting desires of constitutionalist Revolutionaries like rejection of foreign domination, development and freedom, all of them cause irritation of Azerbaijani people sooner than other regions of the country. In the mid of 1940s, sense of deprivation like a winning weapon was in the hands of Azeri Communist forces led by "Seyyed Jafar Pishevari". Democratic Party caused a profound ethnic crisis at the level of the region during Reza Shah via design, visualization and magnification of a vast range of imposed and created deprivations in the areas of political, social, economic and cultural. Sense of personal deprivation of "Pishevari" also played an important role in ethnic - identity claims. A sense of relative deprivation in the next step of serious occurrence in Azerbaijan manifested after the Islamic Revolution. MPRP leaders by addressing the role of "Ayatollah Shariatmadari" in the process of anti-authoritarian struggles and also valuable role of people of Tabriz during the Revolution in the uprising of February, 29, 1977 that disturbed the imaginary security and peace of Shah and leaders of the regime announced that the dignity, position and opinions of religious leaders of Azerbaijan who are the speaker and manifestation of the will of Azerbaijani people has not attracted the attention of Revolution leaders whether in the political power leverage or in the way of holding the referendum, establishing the assembly as well as in the editing the Constitution law. The MPRP became successful to attract the support of various classes of Azerbaijani people and provoked urban riots of December and November in 1979 by extending a cheating sense of Revolution (Maqsoudi, 2001, pp.389-392). During the recent years, Nationalists across the Aras River also by using advertising tools have had an additional effort for expanding separation literature and deprivation of Azeri of Iran with the aim of unity of Azeri regions under the leadership of the leaders of Baku; by a permanent redesign of cultural-political deprivations of Iranian Azeri people in the mass media and through cultural and political organizations of extreme Nationalists outside the country as well as proposing the claim that Iranian Azeri people have a low status compared to the proportion of hundreds of thousands population of Armenians, they tried hard

to create crisis in the Azeri regions which was not supported seriously by Iranian Azeri people. Turkey also attempted to expand deprivation among Iranian Turks by visualizing and taking advantage of the dramatic effects of radio and television networks and channels.

Subject of sense of deprivation is different in Arabs of Khuzestan since Khuzestan province enjoyed a special condition during Pahlavi regime due to the oil wells, large ports for exporting oil and goods and presence of foreign oil experts. By large volumes of domestic and foreign investment, recreational facilities and helping increase other indicators of social-economic development like level of literacy, access to doctors, hospital beds, cultural centers libraries and electricity, "MohammadReza Shah" regime made Khuzestan a rich province than other provinces. Murmur of separating Khuzestan by extremist Arab Nationalists, northern Saudi Arabia and joining it to the Arabic region was to some extent proposed and although since the Baath Party in Iraq was appeared it prospered, according to the past regime policies, it never found an opportunity to happen. After Islamic Revolution, due to the expel of foreign oil experts, decrease of oil exports and closure of a number of recreation centers, volume of current incoming money of this province decreased a lot and it caused reduced economic prosperity of the region and once at the beginning of the war and its conversion to a campaign of war, economic turmoil intensified. By victory of Islamic Revolution, Iraqi Baath government and most Arabic states of the Persian Gulf started an un-announced war with the aim of creating riot in the sought areas of Iran especially among Khuzestan Arabs who formed about two percent of the Iran population. Indeed, contrast with exportation of Revolution was begun through taking advantage of the dramatic effects of regional radio and TV broadcasts in Arabic. Such programs were broadcasted among Khuzestan Arabs and this claim was proposed that Khuzestan is a part of Arabic region and suffers from a doubled oppression and should enjoys a better condition. Due to the employment of some Arabs of Khuzestan in the sough neighbor of Persian Gulf countries and reflection of the better economic state of such countries among their friends, relatives and other people of that city, a condition was created that

Khuzestan Arabs see their state in wane compared to their past state and economic state of other countries and feel a sense of deprivation (Maqsoudi, 2001, pp.390-394).

B. Role of elites of ethnicities

New approaches insist on objectives and personal interests of leaders in ethnic nationalism design. Effort of these elites is that transfer their sense humility and self-wretched to parties and answer it by reparative reactions in harsh form and ways (Parsa, 1987, pp.237-238).

Investigating the role of elites of ethnicities after Islamic Revolution and the war is begun by searching the role of the two major religious-political leaders of Kurds against the government named "Abdol Rahman Qasemlou" and "Sheykh Ezoldin Hosseini". Possible roles by the two leaders are considered democratic ideals and in the demand for autonomy as a minimum demand and creation of Greater Kurdistan as a maximum demand. Radical orientations of "Ezoldin Hosseini" to deny the accusations of being SAVAK, preserve to be Friday Imam, be political and religious leaders of the Kurdish people, close cooperation with Iraq during the war from Democratic Party and deal with the Iraqi Kurdish groups are tool use of Kurds during such years.

Azerbaijan events during the later years after the Islamic Revolution and imposed war is focused on three major streams that are the MPRP and Ayatollah Shariatmadari stream, the extremist nationalists of the Aras River stream and finally Pan Turkist Turkish intervention in Azerbaijan. When opinions of Ayatollah Shariatmadari about manner of holding the referendum of Islamic Republic system, combination and number of Assembly representatives of constitution law and so on was not secured, he thought that his position to compete with the leaders, especially "Imam Khomeini" had been lost and tried to protect his past power and obtain a proportion of political power by taking advantage of his role and position and called Azerbaijani people, especially the people of Tabriz to the combat the system that was not successful. Although Extremists Nationalists of the Aras River think about adhesion of Azeri regions of Iran to Azerbaijan Republic, they more think about

tool use of tensions created in the Azeri regions for identity, out of massive political, economic, social, cultural crises and relieve of transition pressures in the Azerbaijan Republic. Turkey, in north-western Iran with a joint border length 488 km as a member of the eastern wing of NATO and in order to align with the West also thinks about Iran's national interests. After the collapse of Soviet, the Pan Turkist of the right-hand of Turkey as the most extreme wing in the secular system have followed applying linguistic ties to make national integration of Iran vulnerable.

About Khuzestan Arabs, except "Ayatollah Shabir Khani" as a religious person who asked limited demands during the first years of Revolution, due to the fact that Khuzestan was one of the major scenes of the imposed war of Iraq against Iran and his life was not enough to pursue claims, his role in the region did not seem to have remained and did not become prominent. Other active political groups in the region like "Arab nationalist movement", "Arab League of Khuzestan", "Front desk of Khuzestan", "Devotees of People" and "Socialists Workers Party (SWP)" were not successful due to the lack of leadership and proposed their claims from self-autonomy to separatism in various ways and from nonviolent to violent via getting financial and military assistances from Arabic countries of Persian Gulf especially Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Indeed, opposition groups under the effect of Arabic government started an unwanted war against Islamic Republic System and rather than offering an ideal image of their aims and intends, remained a tool role of Arabs of the region and themselves (Maqsoudi, 2001, pp.399-394).

3.2. Political fields of ethnic crises

Political fields of ethnic crises in Iran after Islamic Revolution and the Imposed War are very various and each filed plays a role in occurrence of ethnic unrests. However, four of them including decrease of the power of central government, transition role in the domestic area or international system and suitable geographical position and the role of superpowers have a basic role in occurrence of ethnic unrests.

A. Decrease of the power of central government

After Islamic Revolution until the stabilization of the government by "Engineer Mir Hossein Mousavi" (1978-1983), by elimination of the legitimacy of the old system (Pahlavi regime), many social-political forces that were under pressure, boycott, humiliation and suppress for half a century became free and were seeking their postponed and forgotten claims at once perfectly. Government of "engineer Bazargan" and the next governments until the stabilization of the government by "Engineer Mousavi" handled the power in an unstable and tense condition and were removed from the political scene before cabinet stabilization during the Revolution events by different ways. In such situations, hardship of ethnic unrests in the most parts of the country's borders was a great problem to appear serious dangers for Sovereignty and territorial integrity (Maqsoudi, 2001, pp.402-406).

B. Transition role in the domestic area or international system

Transition in multi-ethnic societies or construction of international system causes occurrence of ethnic unrests due to the following reasons:

First: due to the procedure of de-legitimization of the old system. This de-legitimization during the transitional period from new players and even sometimes from some old players is proposed and accelerated and help create legitimation vacuum. Second: changing nature and development of societies in transition provide a more appropriate field and condition for occurrence of various crises. Third: peak of the crisis of legitimacy, influence, contribution and distribution is manifest in the transition period since the foundations of the system legitimacy becomes multiple.

After victory of the Islamic Revolution, leaders of divergent and inconsistent flows in Kurdistan, Azerbaijan and Khuzestan take advantage of this opportunity and provoked ethnic unrests (Maqsoudi, 2001, pp.406-411).

C. Suitable geographical position

Geographical position as a stable geographical factor along with extent of soil and topographic condition in relation to ethnic crises plays a creation, deterrence,

persuasion and restriction role. Suitable geographical position increases the opportunity of ethnic-identity demands for ethnicities. From the view of ethnicities, this suitable position is aroused by three characteristics including: 1. Establishment on the edge of the borders. 2. Presence of a population of the blood and cultural descent across the border. 3. Suitable topographic position. Each of the ethnic unrests after the Imposed War have been located in regions which benefited to some extent from three-multiple geographical conditions. However, among them, geographical condition of Kurdish regions provides more facilities for inconsistent Kurdish groups (Maqsoudi, 2001, pp.411-418).

D. Role of superpowers and great powers

Grandiosity of the role of superpowers and great powers of the world prevented us from the real role of such forces in occurrence of ethnic unrests. In different historical periods, dissatisfied ethnicities factor inside countries have been considered as appropriate weapons for alien powers. If required, alien countries weaken and analyze their enemies by making unrests among rival ethnicities groups. After Islamic Revolution, due to the nature of Islamic Republic and opposition with the type of international system including Communist East and Capitalist West, the most vulnerability was from ethnical areas of Iran's borders and ethnicity act by America, former Soviet Union and neighboring and regional powers was used as an instrument of pressure for adjusting inflexible positions of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Maqsoudi, 2001, pp.418-425).

3.3. Economic fields of ethnic crises

Violence, riot, unrest, war, revolution are to a large extent related to the economic fields. Ethnic conflict among social issues has attracted special considerations in the area of political economy and among which four major theories including rational choice, internal colonialism, center-periphery or global system and development regional Inharmonic and inequity are of importance. In ethnic unrest of Arabic, Azeri and Kurdish areas, rational choice theory is more observed since a sufficient condition is related to the calculation of profit or loss, and in this regard, in addition to the awareness of one's

identity, awareness of likely profits and losses is necessary for public announce of ethnic identity and participation in mass movements of people. Victory of Islamic Revolution in February 1978 was good news for ethnic groups to propose identity claims. Opponent Kurdish groups like Kurdistan Democratic Party and Komala throughout their political life could never have a power like their power during the first years after Revolution and could have been at the top of arms, people and overseas helps power. Rational choice with its multiple directions is not only limited to ethnic groups, but also it includes rival groups and governments. By holding Mahabad meetings, Democratic Party intended to teach authorities irrationality of any campaign against Kurds. Simultaneous action of all ethnic groups of edge of the country's borders after the Islamic Revolution was proposal of ethnic-identity demands which in fact, it is like the influx of a large number of buyers to a store to purchase a specific with an appropriate price or because it is rare and its likely expensiveness and it is limited to the future. Activities of ethnics after the Islamic Revolution are reason of kind of arithmetic choice (Maqsoudi, 2001, pp.427-423).

3.4. Social fields of ethnic crises

Making social inequality of ethnic groups is limited to the different status of ethnic groups towards each other, structural deprivations in the economy, political and social area, establishment of groom system on the sidelines of legal and illegal racing, presence of unbalanced mechanisms in different sections of the society based on justification of dominant social groups and culture, rigidity of the social construction in the enjoyment of scarce resources like wealth, power and social status, lack of a peaceful settlement of the ducts and channels for social and ethnic disputes as well as disorder in the process of acculturation that has helped increase of process of social and ethnic differentiation and occurrence of problems during the establishment of cohesion and in its combination with pervasive sense of deprivation and public dissatisfaction has led to the polarization of ethnic groups and in terms of ethnical common values and norms with ethnical ideology causes organizing of ethnic groups for changing in the social spheres. Manner of changing in social spheres through applying peaceful or un-

peaceful ethnical tools can cause layers of tension and crisis in the ethnical interrelationships and or the central government and ethnicities that by occurrence of accelerating events, mobility of ethnic groups for eliminating construction of social inequality becomes irreversible. Islamic Revolution in February 1978 steps in to the political life like an accelerating factor in the process of intensification of ethnical demands and claims with the promise of equity of individuals and filling the vacuums resulted from inequality degree. Mass volume and un-expected demands from different parts of the country and suspicion of the authorities about these large volume of demands, in the first stage of establishment of this new system and disability of the system in answering demands rapidly as well as a mutual suspicion among ethnic groups intensified ethnic conflicts and crises. Ethnic groups provoked concerns of non-Shia, non-Persian ethnic-religious groups of borders of the country about the erosion of social place by proposing disagreements and their positions about the new system, in terms of manner of holding referendum about changing the system, combination and number of representatives of the Assembly of Experts, criticizing about some principles such as recognition of Shiism as the official religion of the country, a Shia president and article 110 and dominance of supreme leader, lack of prediction of rights of the majorities and ethnicities in the text of constitution law and so on and caused some unrest through mobilizing and organizing ethnic groups based on an identity distinct from the original construct of the society (Maqsoudi, 20001, pp.433-436).

4. Ethnic crises and theoretical model of the research

4.1. Crisis of Arab People

In April 20, 2005, a letter attributed to “Hojjat Al-Islam Abtahi”, legal and parliamentary deputy of the president during the president ship of Mr. Khatami was distributed in some areas of Ahwaz city through which necessity of changing combination of Arabs population of Khuzestan province was emphasized. In this letter which addressed the president and its copy was also sent to the Ministries of Information, Interior, Housing and Urban Development and Culture and Islamic Guidance, complete eradication

of language, signs, symbols and demography of Arab ethnic of Khuzestan was emphasized (www.alquds.com, 24 November, 2008, p.4). immediately after distribution of this letter, “Hojjat Al-Islam Mousavi” sent a letter addressing the Governor-general, asked him as the representative of senior government of Khuzestan province be accountable and prevent and deal with the perpetrators of this plot. Three days after a meaningful silence of senior authorities of Khuzestan, Mr. Mousavi wrote a warming letter addressing the president and through which emphasized the need to deal with the perpetrators of this plot as soon as possible and asked the president to deal with disputers of this letter at the level of Khuzestan. In 25th of April, the mobility of the group named “Democratic of Arab People” had become close to its peak and no certain mobility on behalf of the relevant agencies was done in dealing with perpetrators of this plot. The interesting point was limit of innovative field and action of the sympathetic people who due to the silence, passivity and sometimes accompanied by some officials of the separatist and extremist elements intended to answer and elucidate a plot that it was supported by TV channels named "Al-Jazeera" and "Al Arabiya", radio programs named “tomorrow”, “B.B.C”, “Israel” and “Voice of America”, web sites named "Elaph" and "Alahvaz" and Arabic newspapers of Persian Gulf region like “Al-Sharq”, “Al-Diar”, “Al-Safir” and “Al-Zaman” as well as parties and groups like "Arab Democratic People's Front".

Ahwaz unrests started in evening of Friday dated 26th of April at 2:30 o'clock with a letter attributed to "Abtahi" by members of "democratic Arab People" in the Shilang Abad area of Ahwaz. Subsequently, Al Jazeera channel with full media coverage presented this crisis more deeply and in an interview with one of the representatives of the sixth Assembly of Ahwaz who is among the main leaders of the event "Al -Wefaq Committees" emphasized parts of speech of this person who emphasized excitement of Khuzestan Arabs and uprising for securing their claims and announced these days as the best possible time and this interview was broadcasted cautiously. Days of 27th and 28th of April was the peak of mass activity of "Al-Jazeera" and "Al Arabiya" channels as well as there were some websites and political parties

that attempted to bring Arab-spoken individuals who defended for Iran and ideals of Islamic Revolution during the years of Sacred Defense with 15 thousand martyrs to the scene by forged news, histrionics and rumors spread. In 26th of April, by revealing the nature of militants who destroyed and looted public properties with the slogan of supporting people and under the pretext of rights of Arab people, they furthered their political and band aims as well as by a wide presence of Basij and people forces and enlightened messages of Friday Imam of Ahwaz and representatives of Ahwaz province, Ahwaz city reached a relative calm. 2th of May on Friday, a large march was held to display national unity and solidarity and announce antipathy of separatists and insurgents with the presence of various ethnicities of Khuzestan including Arabs, Fars, Lor and tribal of the region.

A. Predisposing factors for unrest in Khuzestan

These factors are classified into two internal and external parts.

1. Internal factors

In the internal part, it seems that it has played the major role in appearance of this event. Wrong criteria in the appointment of officials, forgotten promises of government officials, sever deprivation and poverty in some regions of Khuzestan especially regions where Arabs live, multi-party political movements, activated contrabands of weapons and ammunition in the region, distribution of money and weapon among residents of some areas by parties related to outside the country, ethnic-orientation meetings and distribution of targeted film and CDs for creating riot in Khuzestan can be addressed that some of its parts are as follows:

A. During the presidential election in 19997, Khuzestan province was the third province that its population voted Mr. Khatami (93%). They were promised that region security would be provided; however, in the government of reforms these promises were not fulfilled (www.sobhesadeq.ir, November 19, 2005, p.2).

B. appointment of insufficient and non-native managers that only had been selected based on party

and band Criteria was one of the fields for occurrence of these Conflicts and insecurities.

C. At the end of the year 2004, one day, three ethnic meetings were hold in Ahwaz city and afterwards, the two presidential candidates with their ethnic-orientation slogans entered Khuzestan province.

D. The stream of weapon smuggling to Khuzestan after the fall of the Baath Party and establishment of British forces in Basra and Shalamchek border was severely increased in March, 2004 and April, 2005.

E. Increase of suspected political traffics of some extremists movements in the days before the start of the conflict in Khuzestan and their meetings with some officials were noteworthy since based on evidence, members of the two extremist parties separated the country's border provinces among members of the party in 2th of June in order to utilize ethnic issues on the eve of presidential election so that by creating an atmosphere of discontent and tension could introduce their candidate as a saving angel who would have the ability to answer all of their claims (www.sobhesadeq.ir, November 19, 2005, p.3).

2. External factors

In connection with foreign media, some parts of media and supporting movements of external forces existing in the region can be addressed which are as follows: A. by transferring share of Qatar's Al-Jazeera channel to an American company, B. in months before occurrence of crisis, a large amount of money and weapons were distributed by the Front of Democratic of Arabs People among some of the main elements of the recent riots, C. setting up "Jaish Mohammad and Mehdi" by "Hazem Shaalan," Iraqi Minister of Defense whose forces conducted a wide activity at the marginal edges and suburbs of Khuzestan (www.sobhesadeq.ir, November 19, 2005, p.5), D. "Al-Jazeera" channel played a vital role in provoking sectarianism and creating commotions in the province of Khuzestan. On 16th January, 2004, reporter of this channel declared: life level of Arab and Fras ethnics is different in this region. Majority of Arab residents of this region face various problems such as unemployment, addiction to drugs and so on.

This channel quoting from the young of Ahwaz claimed that Persians sucks Arabs.

B. An investigation of factors of Arab ethnic crises occurrence

A sense of relative deprivation, ethnic elites, suitable geographical position, the role of superpower and great powers, rational choice, social inequality construction among factors of ethnic crises occurrence in unrest of Arab people will be considered.

1. A sense of relative deprivation
2. Ethnic elites
3. Suitable geographical position
4. Role of superpower and great powers
5. Rational choice
6. Social inequality construction

C. Conclusion

Based on conducted studies and investigations, occurrence of ethnic dissatisfaction in Khuzestan province can be resulted from social inequality construction that is in a multi-ethnic society, if an ethnic group enjoys less social dignity, power, wealth or social opportunities will suffer from relative deprivation or sense of deprivation. If there is no required channels for solving social disputes resulted from differentiation, the field for formation of a kind of extreme sectarianism will be provided. Crisis of Arab People was a multiple click for officials and managers whose focus was limited to party, band and tribal interests.

4.2. Caricature crisis

Offensive caricature and joke contained in Iran press that was due to the Stupidity, ignorance or mischief of its designer and enjoyed a kind of harmony between the designer of the caricature and activators of sectarianism.

A. Reason of caricature crisis occurrence

About reason of this happening, the following effective factors (regardless of the derogatory nature of the published caricature) on incidence and persistence of the crisis can be mentioned. 1. Inflammation atmosphere governing student and

university centers of East-Azerbaijan province and Tehran 2. Open hostility and mischief of operators of the Azeri satellite channel named “Gunaz.T.V” and its remarkable success in attracting people and calling for protest 3. Printing, publishing and reproduction of the Call of AzerAbadegan journal twice a day dated on 2006.2.31 which in the half of its front page it was written in a big headline: “Down with the Persian chauvinism, haray haray, I’m a Turkish” 4. Lack of an appropriate and timely reaction of the managers of the center, province and representative of people in the Islamic Council Assembly toward the matter and disability and lack of decision and policy at the relevant time by unsuccessful informing and surprising 5. Wrong action of Mr. Memarzadeh, Governor of Eastern Azerbaijan in condemning the offence of Iran newspaper towards Azeri people 6. Lack of ability to control the primary core of gathering because of crowds of people at the site and a vast number of people 7. Creation of a sufficient opportunity for ethnic groups and activists to organize and affect people and Medias 8. Weakness of correct informing and presence of vacuum of information among people and occurrence of a field for exaggeration, longbow and psychological warfare for enemy Medias 9. Lack of readiness of authorities to face the vast amount and variety of protesters and created claims.

B. An investigation of factors of caricature ethnic crisis occurrence

Factors of “sense of relative deprivation”, “ethnic elites”, “suitable geographical situation”, “role of superpowers and big powers”, “rational choice” and “social inequity construction” are factors of caricature ethnic crisis occurrence that will be considered.

1. Sense of relative deprivation: due to the wide participation of people from border areas of Tabriz city in forming and expanding caricature crisis, it can be said that sense of relative deprivation as one of the factors of ethnic crisis occurrence played a basic role in expansion of caricature crisis.
2. Ethnic elites: elites and important elements of Azeri ethnic attempted to provoke Azeri people in recent years and various situations such as anniversary of birthday of Khoramdin, Babak, anniversary of

Khojali massacre, day of native language respect and so on by taking advantage of different opportunities.

3. Suitable geographical situation: by looking at the state of Eastern Azerbaijan, it can be found that this province is first located on the border with Azerbaijan and Nakhchivan and then distance hinders rapid and low-cost access of the central government force to these regions. Secondly, presence of a Azeri population with similar custom, language, culture and race across the border provides a suitable support for people of the both sides of borders and benefiting from cross-border facilities and sheltering each other if required will be provided.
4. Role of superpowers and big powers: when the caricature was published in Iran newspaper, America, Turkey and Azerbaijan Republic started provoking Azeri-speaking people. Wide advertisements of “Gunaz.T,V” channel approves it.
5. Rational choice: Azeri people and at the head of them, people of Tabriz city who had an important role in the victory of Constitutional Revolution and Islamic Revolution of Iran, after many years with emotional and historical theories reached the belief that the system does not pay attention to them compared to cities such as Mashhad, Isfahan, Shiraz and so on. Thus, the caricature printed into the newspaper was a spark for occurrence of protests of Azeri people against discrimination.
6. Social inequity construction: social inequity construction and failure to meet the growing expectations of Azeri people and so on were another factor that caused caricature crisis.

C. Conclusion

Spark of unrest was “Mana” caricature. In fact, the caricature was an excuse for protesting against discrimination and issues that had been covered during these days. The discussion was about discrimination or deprivation of Azeri regions compared to the state of other minority provinces. The second choice is related to the permanent humiliation that is because of the language weakness of Azeri people. Here, the state of the minorities becomes inverse and unlike other minorities like Kurdish whose Persian accents does not cause fun but also has a source of grace or eloquence. The majority of Azeri people face language weakness

whether in form of dialect or in language structure and its skills.

4.3. Ocalan crisis

After arresting “Ocalan” and transferring him to Turkey, an inflammation emerged in Europe and other countries. Mass media such Iran’s radio and television and the press considered reflection of this matter at a wide level and showed face of Ocalan as a captive hero and mentioned the role of intelligence and security organizations of countries such as Turkey, America, Israel and so on in his arrest which caused an increase in popularity and innocence of “Ocalan”. This issue became more popular in the Kurdish areas of Iran and in this regard, West Azerbaijan and Kurdistan people due to their emotions and a little Kurdish ethnic feeling and some opposing movements mainly with sever tendencies of Kurdish nationalist, group and concealed individuals and so on started protesting. Immediately after announcing the news of “Abdollah Ocalan” arrest, licensed and unlicensed spontaneous gatherings formed in Kurdish areas and in these gatherings, the crowd chanted slogans against Turkey, America, Israel and officials of the regime. Among public characteristics of such gatherings, presence of the youth and teenagers, overcoming the emotions and excitement of the crowd, chanting against the regime, regime officials and damaging governmental offices and centers can be addressed (Hamshahri newspaper, 1998, number 1771, p.10).

A. Roots of crisis

1. Kurdish people in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria feel alienated and wanted or unwanted are not compatible with the states.
2. Kurds have always felt humility and this humility is different in various countries.
3. After Islamic Revolution, the regime can never make the Kurds be in line with the system wholeheartedly.
4. Subject of “Ocalan” was only an excuse for expressing violence and incompatibility of Kurds.
5. Radio and Television played an important role in expansion of movements in Kurdish cities in a way that by showing the tragic state of Abdollah Ocalan during his arrest and showing demonstrations and protests in Europe provoked the Kurds of Iran.
6. Wide role of “P.K.K” party in provoking the Kurds.
7. Unemployment of individuals.

B. An investigation of factors causing ethnic crisis of Ocalan arrest

In investigating factors of the above-said ethnic crisis, theories of “sense of relative deprivation”, “suitable geographical situation”, “rational choice” and “social inequity construction” will be considered.

1. Sense of relative deprivation: due to the inappropriate life condition in West-Azerbaijan and Kurdistan provinces, unemployment of individuals, insufficient income of the Kurds and their wide participation in the crisis, it can be said that “sense of relative deprivation” as one of the factors causing ethnic crises in expansion of Ocalan arrest played an important role.
2. Suitable geographical situation: by looking at the state of West- Azerbaijan and especially Kurdistan, it can be found that this province is first located on the border and then distance hinders rapid and low-cost access of the central government force to these regions. Secondly, presence of Kurdish population with similar custom, language, culture and race across the border provides a suitable support for people of the both sides of borders and benefiting from cross-border facilities and sheltering each other if required will be provided. Thirdly, limited transportation – communication facilities, way of distribution of Kurdish villages and so on which provided a suitable field for forming crisis of Ocalan arrest.
3. Rational choice: the Kurds have always felt humility and after Islamic Revolution, the regime can never make the Kurds be in line with the system wholeheartedly. On another hand, presence of some articles in the Constitution law such as the Shia official in the country, Shia president and so on discouraged these people. Thus, news of Abdollah Ocalan arrest and showing his tragic state via Radio and Television provoked the Kurds and caused the crisis.
4. Social inequity construction: social inequity construction especially in the West-Azerbaijan province, failure to meet the expectations and claims of the Kurds and so on was another factor that caused crisis of Ocalan arrest.
5. A comparative study of the causes of the crisis of the Arab people, cartoon Abdollah Ocalan: Ethnic incidents and crisis emerged after the war between

the ethnic groups, including Arabs, Azeris and Kurds unwanted people against government officials put the number of wounded and killed, leading to enormous damage to the public and the public treasury Muslims were. The need for accurate and detailed approach to such incidents and requires more coordinated effort, authorities and stakeholders in order to anticipate and prevent the occurrence of such accidents is not only the sanctity of undermines, on the abuse enemies rather failed to provide internal and external regime, demands. Religious people and poor people, mostly supporters of the revolution. In each of the crises in question were the factors that cause events come at a time the process has taken shape since the beginning of the formation of a rational and systematic approach has been done with them, become a problem inchmeal have been.

5.An comparative investigation about factors causing crises of Arab People, caricature and Abdullah Ocala

By investigating the reasons and roots of ethnic crises occurrence in Arab, Azeri and Kurdish areas of Iran after the Imposed War, it can be said:

- Sense of relative deprivation, superiority and enjoying more facilities of Fars nation than the three nations (Arab, Azeri and Kurdish) have played a role in occurrence of Arab People, caricature and Ocalan arrest crises. However, relative deprivation factor was more effective on crises of Arab People and Ocalan arrest.
- The role of ethnic elites in ethnic crises of Arab People and caricature was more prominent than Ocalan arrest factor.
- Decreased power of central government and transition in the domestic area or construction of international system did not have a special effect on occurrence of ethnic crises.
- Suitable geographical situation factor affected occurrence and expansion of ethnic crises of Arab People, caricature and Ocalan arrest a lot.
- Role of superpowers and big powers, rational choice and social inequity construction had a high effect on occurrence and expansion of ethnic crises of Arab People, caricature and Ocalan arrest.

Crisis Factors		Arab People	Caricature	Ocalan
Psychological	Sense of relative deprivation	*	*	*
	Ethnic elites	-	*	*
Political	Transition in the domestic area and or construction of an international system	-	-	-
	Suitable geographical situation	*	*	*
	Role of superpowers and big powers	-	*	*
Economic	Rational choice	*	*	*
Social	Social inequity construction	*	*	*

Conclusion

By comparing and explaining the events of ethnic unrests in the Arab, Azeri and Kurdish areas, the present study intended to consider the roots and reasons of its occurrence. The following suggestions are offered for preventing the occurrence of such unrests and overcoming them. 1. Logical and systematic planning to eliminate the existing deprivation especially deprivations of Arabs and Kurds. 2. Implementation of serious supportive and security policies to reduce economic pressure over various social groups, especially the vulnerable and deprived group of Khuzestan and Kurdistan provinces. 3. Local officials (governor, police and security officials, etc.) at the mission. 4. Serious, decisive and rapid meeting of Judiciary with disruptors of regime. 5. Establishment of a committee to appease people who are injured or killed in the

unrest. 6. Creation of unity and solidarity among provincial device. 7. Inspiration of frustration and impossibility of getting any benefit through destructive methods, and showing that the society is against it. 8. telling the NAJA not use firearms in dealing with unrests. 9. Justification of Friday and congregation Imams to justify people during their speeches and offer a correct analysis. 10. Creating difference and disconnection among ethnocentric political groups and activists and intensifying it inside and outside the country. 11. Adjusting the sever positions and views of movements and activists inside and outside the country. 12. Preventing formation of cohesive and new movements about ethnocentric subject. 13. Justifying Radio and Television organization with the aim of preventing production and broadcast of programs that cause ethnic angers among people. 14. Preventing tense programs, exhibitions and events about ethnicity

affairs and justifying environment authorities. 15. Following economic, welfare and urban services of marginal areas of cities. 16. of articles 15 and 19 of Constitution law in all aspects. 17. Contrasting principally with the aims and operations of information services and dealing with the elements under their command. 18. Operating and supporting pro-Iranian organizations formally and impalpably. 19. Offering applicable concrete designs to solve the matter and converting ethnic differences to complementary capabilities and emphasizing ethnic and integration sharing and promoting national and religious identity. 20. Reaching a common perception about ethnical issues in the body and high levels of those in charge especially among custodians of cultural fields. 21. Paying attention to and respecting the place and culture of people rather than weakening and humiliating them in different aspects. 22. Using ethnic capacities in reaching national identity by emphasizing the role of ethnicities in the history of Islamic Iran. 23. Providing the field for answering local demands and guiding public opinion correctly (in areas of cultural, social and economic development). 24. Organizing cultural products (in addition to avoiding degrading cultural products, products in the field of promoting national identity by emphasizing the high value of different ethnic groups). 25. Paying attention to the leading role of religious training in amending the behavior of citizens. 26. Developing marginal ethnic regions in terms of development and prosperity due to the inside and the Islamic system. 27. Investing on culture and promotion of knowledge and awareness level of people towards interactive services of the central government and ethnic groups that can reveal plots of enemies.

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