

Constitutionalism in Kurdistan; from Chaos to Social Mobility

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Abstract

The present study adopts a historical-analytical approach to firstly investigate the reasons of Kurds' unawareness and non-timely accompaniment of the constitutionalism stream and secondly explore the constitutionalism's outcomes in Kurdistan. Alongside such predicates as the absence of great merchants and businessmen, disagreements between Kurds and Turks, absence of a laic enlightened mind class and so forth that have been so far proposed by a group of thinkers, it has to be pointed out that the Kurds were intensively worried about Iran and its future. They did not accept any political change or phenomena that could weaken the central government as the symbol of Iran's magnificence. Therefore, Kurds' non-accompaniment of the constitutionalism should be sought in their concerns about Iran's future. However, it has to be stated about the outcomes of constitutionalism that the central government became incapable of fulfilling its most primary duty, i.e. supply of the public security, following the victory of the constitutionalists and this same issue added to the unrest in a vast level in regions like Kurdistan. Salar Al-Dawleh's mutiny had a double effect on the intensification of the clashes and it caused the tribes and nomads collect more ammunition. Thus, the Kurd society was transformed into a tumult-stricken and insecure community following the establishment of constitutionalism. However, the launching of and the presence in the civil society like factions and associations as well as the participation in the polling set the ground for social and intellectual growth and blossoming in the long run.

Keywords: constitutionalism, Kurdistan, cultural poorness, social mobility, chaos, civil institutions

INTRODUCTION

In Iran's contemporary history, Qajar Era should be realized as the period of social-political evolutions' hastening. The incidents and happenings of this period caused the Iranian society engage in redefining its relations to its peripheral world as well as its history and past. A glance at Iran's wars in this period, especially the battles between Iran and Russia, the people-driven fights like Tobacco Movement, business and trade communications, dispatching of a large group of knowledge-seeking Iranians to the European countries, booming and expansion of various religious, political and scientific tourism by the Europeans and production of itineraries under the title of orientology and some other matters of the like make it clear that the Iranian society stepped into a novel era of its life least similar to its past.

Amongst the differences of the Iranian society's novel life to its past are two important political and social phenomena, i.e. the process of building a nation and negation of colonialism with the latter dating back to Safavid Era. After the Qajars seized the power, the two foresaid phenomena were more accelerated and become more diverse and widespread. These two new identities per se sourced wonderful evolutions that caused vast changes to all the society's pillars. It seems that the most major reason for this novel approach in the

traditional society of Iran was the collective awakening and vigilance that had come about for several reasons some of which were mentioned above. Iranians became aware and paved the way for the occurrence of changes each of which became an unprecedented ground for the subsequent and new incidents and demands. In the course of these events, they gained insight about a rare alchemy inside themselves that was called social awareness. It was by the assistance of this social awareness that they could challenge Qajar's authoritative system. These changes with all their margins and challenges peaked in huge constitutionalism movement.

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Although constitutionalism could not help the Iranian nation get rid of the despotism and colonialism's domination as a relieving ideal, it was a ground for the intellectual and cultural growth of Iranians, especially the elites and the local groups that were distant to the center.

Therefore, using a descriptive-analytical method and using library resources, including books, articles, documents and images remained from that time, the present study intends to look at two important and essential subjects: firstly exploring the reasons of Kurds' delayed presence in constitutionalism and the factor(s) having been effective in this process; so, the analyses and notions expressed by the fellows of thought and intellects will be surely taken into account and, secondly, it will be investigated that what effects has constitutionalism been followed by in Kurdistan; thus, we will have a glance at the incidents, events and evolutions that come about the day after constitutionalism occurred in Kurdistan. The fact of the matter is that some of the eccentric forces like Kurdistan could not attend the constitutionalism for various reasons and they should be indeed envisioned as the absentees of constitutionalism. Second of all, the researcher believes that such a huge occurrence as constitutionalism in Kurdistan indirectly resulted in subtle outcomes incomparable to any of the evolutions before it.

Some researchers have so far asserted ideas about the reasons of Kurds' non-participation in the constitutionalism process. Individuals like Hamid Mo'meni, Mojtaba Borzu'ei, Ahmad Kasravi, Abbas Vali, Hamid Ahmadi and others have dealt with this non-accompaniment from their own perspectives that can be criticized and investigated each in a different article; however, a few of the researchers have considered the constitutionalism's outcomes and effects on the Kurd society. The fact of the matter is that it is better to categorize the outcomes of constitutionalism in Kurdistan in two levels of short- and long-term effects and results. That is because the investigation of Kurdistan's environment during those years is reflective of the idea that the misconception by the heads of tribes and nomads, as the influential elites and social leaders, of such a novel phenomenon as constitutionalism as well as their opposing of it which was manifested in their joining of Salar Al-Dawleh's camp caused the generation of an increasing level of chaos and insecurity in Kurdistan that disrupted the people's social life. The intensification of the tribal and clan-based disputes and formation of imaginary groups were solely carried out for the restoration of security and it has to be unfortunately stated that it per se became a factor advancing the expansion of insecurity due to the weakening of the central government's role.

But, on the other hand, the long-term outcomes of constitutionalism are largely positive. The sociological investigations show that Kurdistan is a society during the late Qajar Era completely nomadic and dominated by the heads of the tribes and nomads or local governors and landlords. It is a society intensively traditional and alienated with any sort of social evolution. The civil institution and social activity were

completely uncommon and strange in this period but, the day after constitutionalism, Kurds, even though a few and imperfectly, found themselves in the sessions held by groups and associations. Although these communities were administrated under the domination of the influential persons and aristocratic fief-owners, they exhibited a brand new model of novel social relations. The political factions were busy recruiting Kurd citizens within the format of provincial divisions. In these periods, the publication of journals and newspapers should not be viewed simplistically. Therefore, in one words, constitutionalism changed the Kurds' life in the long run.

For several reasons all of which are considered by the author as having been caused by such a factor as the existence of severe cultural poorness in the entire social classes of the region, Kurds could not prove a timely presence in the constitutionalism and perform their historical role in the course of Iran's social-political evolutions.

It is clear untold that not only the Kurd society but also all the other reasons should be sought in order to find an answer to the question as to why Kurds had a late and vague presence in constitutionalism. That is because even the center-dwelling constitutionalists did not have a clear-cut and correct understanding of the Iranian society and this caused the negligence of the eccentric forces and their demands in the constitutionalism fights as well as in the process of the parliament's establishment and arrangement of the constitution. Thus, it can be seen that not all the social classes and regions of Iran represented these two great accomplishments of constitutionalism, i.e. constitution and parliament. A glance at the first parliament as well as the composition of the representatives attending it can bring testimony to this claim; Kurdistan could not send a representative to the parliament in its first round and Kurdistan's chair was left vacant therein. The investigation of the first and the second parliaments' minutes of negotiations is expressive of the idea that Kurdistan's name has not been mentioned even once!

STUDY BACKGROUND

Ideas have been presented to some extent about the constitutionalism's events as well as the Kurds' non-timely intervention by some thinkers. Individuals like Mojtaba Borzu'ei and others have dealt with the political situation in Kurdistan from 1906 to 1946; Muhammad Kalhor has also investigated constitutionalism and political crisis in Kurdistan; Farhad Maimanat Abadi has studied the constitutionalism in Kurdistan within the format of an MA dissertation. In a book called the "fights of Kurdistan's people", Hamid Mo'meni has dealt with the issue. "Perception of the peripheries amongst Kurds and in Kurdistan" is an article published from Hamid Ahmadi. Abbas Vali and Ayatollah Mardukh have investigated the issue in "the history of Kurd and Kurdistan". Abbas Zare'ei Mehrvarz has studied the factions of Kurdistan and the

parliament after constitutionalism's establishment in Kurdistan^[1]. In the abovementioned works, constitutionalism has been studied in Kurdistan in two forms: one set of works like that by Ayatollah Mardukh in the book "Kurd and Kurdistan" presents an explanation of the incidents. In fact, this set narrates the Kurds' demand for constitutionalism. But, the second set of the works like those by Hamid Mo'meni and Hamid Ahmadi has solely explored the reasons of the Kurds' delayed accompaniment of the constitutionalism and their hesitation in joining the constitutionalists and the inadequacy of their assumptions will be clarified in the course of the present research paper. Of course, the traces of ideological attachments are vividly trackable in some of the notions posited by these researchers. As for the second goal of the study, to wit the effects and results of constitutionalism in Kurdistan, it has to be stated unfortunately that there is no notable research. Thus, it is clear untold that the investigation of the short- and long-term results and effects of constitutionalism in Kurdistan lacks proper study background.

1. Study Questions:

Extensive and various questions can be posited about this research and the researcher offers them below to specify the study framework and answers will be found to them in the course of the research. Thus, the most primary questions are as listed beneath:

How has been the situation of the Kurd society in the verge of the constitutionalism-related evolutions?

In what form Kurds attend the constitutionalism?

What is the reason for the Kurds' delay in joining the constitutionalism?

What effects had constitutionalism been followed by in Kurdistan?

2. Hypothesis:

For reasons like the pervasive cultural poorness in all the social classes, traditional and despotism-stricken community and obedience of the heads of tribes and nomads and absence of an intermediate urban class, Kurds could not get aware of constitutionalism events in a timely manner and, subsequently and for excessive attachment to Iran and having extreme craze for protection of Iran, they refrained from accompanying constitutionalism. However, as a force outlying the Kurdish environment, constitutionalism caused the infliction of the Kurd society with chaos and unrest in the short run; but, in the long run, the injection of self-awareness and wakefulness amongst the Kurds brought about social mobility.

3. Kurdistan in the Years before Constitutionalism:

Ardalan Family that were constantly seeking to establish the required relations based on their own political expedencies with Iran's central governments (Safavids, Afshars, Zandis and Qajars) could preserve their family's power and domination over the state of Kurdistan till 1867 in a waxing and waning manner. In between and in the domestic arena,

the competitions between some local Kurd families internally challenged the power of the foresaid family and these rivals occasionally sought accomplishing of their own objectives and joined the central government to create problems for Ardalan.

Besides leading to domestic engagements, plotting conspiracies and intrigues, internal classification of the forces, putting pressure on and oppressing the people, worsening the economic situation and social order, these contests occasionally resulted in the central government's intervention in Kurdistan's affairs and unseating of the governor Ardalans and/or weakening of the power and or its childish use by some clans.

Mo'tamed Al-Dawleh was the first person assigned by the central government to the administration of Kurdistan's states in Naseri Period following Ardalan's overthrow. His appointment has been in line with Naser Al-Din Shah Qajar's policy for overthrowing the local government of Ardalans and centralization of the power in the central government and assigning of the Qajar princes to the headship of the states. It was with the establishment of Mo'tamed Al-Dawleh's government that the long-lasting governorship of Ardalans family's governors reached its termination in Kurdistan and the period of the central government's governors was begun. The inadequacy of the last Ardalans family's governors and the consecutive uprising by Uraman governors and Ardalan's inability in preventing the rebels corroborated Qajars' policy for overthrowing this governorship. In the meanwhile, Ardalan's border-guarding duty was no longer of importance to Qajars with the overthrowing of the Kurd governorships of Ottoman territory. The period of Mo'tamed Al-Dawleh's government in Kurdistan was followed by a period of change in the local governance for Qajars and caused the joining of this state to the central government. It was a period that was followed by calmness and stability for Qajar's government and it was also followed by a period of calmness and security and proud for Kurdistan's people as also recalled by both local Kurd historians and formal historians all of whom have admired his services in Kurdistan^[2].

4. Constitutionalism in Kurdistan:

In case of investigating the huge constitutionalism stream and its accomplishments from the perspective of the Kurd society, it can be stated that constitutionalism has been the cause of devastative effects like insecurity and plunder as well as intensification of the local conflicts in the short run but, in the long run, it generally transformed Kurdistan.

This incident was a huge shock with which Kurds were afflicted outside the Kurdistan's community and, in spite of the emergence of the problems that some of them will be pointed out later on, it was, however, followed by a sort of wakefulness and vigilance that paved the way for social self-recognition and, additionally, these conditions caused the strengthening of Iranian nationalism spirits and added to the efforts for protecting Iran in the Kurd society. Of course,

constitutionalism transformed the Iranian society in whole. Its short-term effects incorporated such large cities as Tehran, Mashhad, Tabriz and Isfahan and, in the long run, all the spots of the country and metamorphosed the social and political status of Iran's community ^[3].

The interval between constitutionalism and WWI marks Kurds' distancing away from their traditional life and stepping into a modern life. The properties of this modern life are not so much clear but the sure thing is that the lifestyle, attitudes and novel values of the Kurd society no longer possessed the previous life's signs after constitutionalism. In this regard, it might be better to use the terms traditional and post-traditional for referring thereto.

As an example, Kurds' presence in the groups and associations which will be more discussed later on was a new and modern issue without any prior background in their traditional lifestyle; after constitutionalism, the people engaged in expressing their thoughts and beliefs in Sanandaj and some other cities within the format of associations. Although the presence method was different or the domination of the class-based approach prevented the entire general public's free presence, it was anyhow a modern and unprecedented behavior; or, the launching of the national factions' offices like democrats and moderation party and performance of activities within the format of these factions, as well, were amongst the happenings Kurds experienced in the light of constitutionalism. So, metamorphosis of the Kurd society in the light of constitutionalism is a definite and sure matter.

4.1. When Did Kurds Become Familiar with Constitutionalism?

As stated in the first-hand resources, it was after the governorship of Mirza Mahdi Khan Vezir Homayun that Mirza Ismail Khan Theqeh Al-Malek was assigned to Kurdistan's governorship on 22nd of February, 1907, and, by his interventions constitutionalism thoughts and through Ayatollah Mardukh, he makes Kurds familiar with constitutionalism ^[4].

There is a nine-month interval between Qajar king's announcement of constitutionalism command, on 5th of August, 1906, till the establishment of the new governor and this is per se one of the noteworthy points about constitutionalism in Kurdistan ^[5]. Thus, as opined by Ayatollah Mardukh, it was with the recommendation and cuing of the new governor and also with the approval of Tehran-dwelling Kurds that constitutionalism and promotion of constitutionalism thoughts as well as efforts for establishment of democratic institutions in Sanandaj and Kurdistan region were commenced and eventually led to the formation of several associations, including Sedaqat (Honesty) Association which was headed by Ayatollah Mardukh ^[4]. Due to the fact that the associations had been rendered more class-based and because Sedaqat Association chose its members from amongst the aristocrats of Sandandaj

Region, the other citizens started forming other associations. Thus, there were formed other associations in Sanandaj such as Haqiqat [Truth], Okhovvat [Brotherhood] and Salahat [Correctness]. The shopkeepers and traders established an association named "laborers' party" ^[4].

In Saqqez, as well, an association was formed under the supervision of the well-known poet and judge, Molla Muhammad Karim with the surname of Kawthar, who encouraged people to cooperate with the constitutionalists ^[6].

It is clear untold that despite the efforts made for establishing parity and institutionalizing the parity culture, there were still some seeking for keeping the distances in the formation of associations as the fundamental institutions aiming at the establishment of democracy and liberalism. In fact, efforts for segregating the associations and subjugation of all the associations by Sedaqat Association mark the sign of the constitutionalism's deviation in Kurdistan. Lack of a proper and timely understanding of the historical position and remaining in the rotten fence of aristocratic mindset caused the separation of the lower social classes in Kurdistan from the Iranian nation's process of seeking promotion more than ever before. Such negligence was accompanied by a lot of harms to the Kurd society but it somewhat succeeded in becoming a ground for mobilizing the political and social activists.

After Theqah Al-Malek was deposed in April, 1908, and following the power takeover by Azizollah Mirza Zafar Al-Saltanah, i.e. at the same time with the minor dictatorship (June, 1908), constitutionalism was wholly dismantled in Sanandaj. In this regard, Ayatollah Mardukh has the following words: "Zafar Al-Saltanah was commissioned by the king to rule Kurdistan and punish the liberalists. Haj Fath Al-Malek and Haj Arfa'a Al-Malek, the heads of liberalists, were terrified by the news of the parliaments' shelling and withdraw from membership in Sedaqat Association and the other associations were naturally shut down" ^[4].

It was with the reestablishment of the constitutionalist regime and the commencement of the second round of National Consultative Assembly that the aristocrats residing Sanandaj entered the political arena and began shouting constitutionalism. In between, Ayatollah Mardukh preempted all the other rivals. At the same time with the initiation of the national consultative assembly's second round on 15th of November, 1909, he formed a delegation called "promotion delegation" comprised of two thousand members.

Ayatollah Mardukh claims that the presence of "promotion delegation" in the political arena has caused the progress and promotion of the region. He realizes the establishment of the first legal courthouse that occurred in 1910 in Kurdistan as having been the result of the promotion delegation's pressure on Haj Mirza Abdullah Khan Amir Nezam, the then governor of Kurdistan ^[4].

Sanandaj's political situation was somewhat calm during 1910 and the city enjoyed a relative security but, in 1911, a huge crisis hit the entire region ^[4]. Riots were instigated in Garus and Marivan ^[7] and Golbaghi Tribe attacked all the villages in the areas about Sanandaj in such a way that most of the villagers ran away from their villages. The continuation and vastness of the Golbaghis' uprising was so severe that the central government was forced to dispatch Qazzaq troopers for suppressing the rebel. Despite the suppression of Golbaghis, the region did not become calm. Kurd aristocrats, as well, did not have a proper comprehension of the region's political situation and this became per se an essential factor intensifying the unrest and preventing the exploitation of the conditions.

One sign of the aristocrats' unawareness was their extensive welcoming and support of Salar Al-Dawleh, the despotic ruler that had been dispatched by the government for retaking the governorship from the constitutionalists to the region by the deposed king. After recruiting men from amongst the western nomads and tribes, especially the Kurds, he started a raid on Tehran. This intervention by him caused the intensification of the tumult and commotion that per se added to the intensity of the political crisis in the Kurd-dwelling regions ^[5]. The famine that had stemmed from the drought in 1913 caused the elevation of the bread's price and added to the intensity of the insecurity existent in the region. This crisis finally led to the people's assault on the governorship castle and escaping of Azizollah Mirza Mozaffar al-Saltanah, governor of Kurdistan, from Sanandaj (November, 1912). In 1914, Abd Al-Hussein Khan Mirza Sardar Mohyee, a leader of the fighters who conquered Tehran, was assigned to the governorship of Sanandaj ^[4]. Abd Al-Hussein Khan's improper performance and his tyranny and abuse gave constitutionalism in Kurdistan its last stroke.

Finally, as a result of the extensive opposition by Sanandaj's people, Sardar Mohyee was deposed from Kurdistan's governorship ^[4]. However, it was with the emergence of WWI that the political crisis was continued in the region. Although Kurdistan enjoyed larger political calmness during constitutionalism in contrast to the other Kurd-dwelling regions of Azerbaijan, the presence of the Kurd conservative aristocrats caused the wastage of the opportunity that had been provided following the presence of such a constitutionalist ruler as Theqah Al-Malek and this prevented the expansion of constitutionalism mindset in Kurdistan.

Constitutional revolution left different effects in its course on various parts of Iran's political and human geography. It has to be asserted that the accomplishments of constitutional revolution in Kurd-dwelling regions which were envisioned as rural-nomadic communities have been weaker in comparison to the other regions of Iran because the voters and candidates had been divided in the law of elections to six groups of princes and members of Qajar Tribe, scholars and seminary pupils, aristocrats and noblemen, landlords and farmers and businessmen and shopkeepers ^[8]. The

constitutionalism regime legislators' negligence of the presence and participation of the tribes and nomads' heads in the political arena instigated dissatisfaction in them, especially in the heads of Kurd tribes and nomads, because nomads had not been considered as a separate set but as the residents of the states (collection of articles, 1983, p.232). Due to the same reason, the statesmen of the constitutionalism regime sought enacting the "law of state and governorship associations" to prevent a subtle sociopolitical crisis. In other words, they had found out that they should accept a sort of tribal pluralism alongside with the political pluralism. "Some of the scientists of constitutional law believe that there should be another separation of the governmental power in the various regions of the country in addition to the separation of forces meaning that the governmental power should be scattered and divided in various localities and states and governorships so that the power cannot be concentrated in one place like the despotism era. This group also believes that if the local powers have authorities in every part of a country, these authorities make the central government unable to usurp the people's sure right" ^[9]. After the approval of the law on the formation of state and governorship associations, it was by the force of the first chapter of article two that "an association known as the state association had to be formed in the center of every state". Moreover, according to article 5, "the tribes residing the governorship territory can send one elected person to this state association". In the chapter related to the formation of the state associations, as well, and by the force of article 121, "each of the substantial tribes residing the state territory could send an elected person to the state association" ^[10]. Unfortunately, the improper enforcement of the law on "state and governorship associations" in the Kurd-dwelling regions not only made most of Kurds adopt hostile approaches to the constitutionalism regime but it also caused the intensification of political crisis in Kurdistan, as well. Therefore, it has to be stated regarding the political and social status of Kurdistan that it remained deprived of the preliminary accomplishments of constitutionalism like forming state and governorship associations. Of course, the social, economic and political conditions of Kurdistan played their own roles in its deprivation of the vast domains of constitutional revolution.

Businessmen and shopkeepers of Kurdistan, as compared to those in Tabriz and Isfahan, could not be compared in both qualitative and quantitative terms and this same matter caused the pain of the masses suffering the oppression of the khans and landlords in Kurdistan not to be heard and constitutionalism's subjugation by the power-holders and their close companions made constitutionalism's visage appear blemished before the eyes of the Kurds.

In the days ending in constitutionalism, Sanandaj's residents constituted three distinct social classes: one was the class of khans who owned lands and had aristocratic manners; the second was the class of servants that sustained on the money it earned from the first class; and, the third class was composed of shopkeepers who were not at all taken into consideration. The Khans and aristocrats' selling of position

was so important that the businessmen did not have the right to sit beside the bankrupt aristocrats even when they went to them to demand the payment of their debts and they were to sit amongst the peasants leave alone the fact that they had to firstly ask for permission ^[11].

Although Divan Beygi, as the observer of those years, points to the existence of three distinct classes in the city of Sanandaj, as a large urban capital in the west of Iran, it should not be mistakenly held that these three classes have been equal. Though constituting a single class, the aristocrats and khans actually had the reign and control of the other two classes or, better said, the whole society perfectly and entirely. The shopkeepers' class, as the intermediate urban class (carrying evolution to all the social systems), did not have the required effectiveness in Sanandaj for such a main reason as the weakness and low position of the activists thereof as well as for their activity domain that was limited to the western region of the country. This was continued to the extent that nobody was sent from Kurdistan to the parliament after the first round of the elections for national consultative assembly; however, a person from the shopkeepers' class, named Amin Al-Tojjar, was dispatched as the representative to the parliament ^[12].

Therefore, none of the active classes like clergymen, intermediate urban class, businessmen and enlightened minds participated in constitutionalism in Kurdistan. The only active elite class was the traditional clergymen and it did not prove an active presence in an institutionalized and pervasive manner but solely through Ayatollah Mardukh¹'s attending of the constitutionalism and this was the primary reason for the Kurds' unawareness and non-welcoming of the constitutionalism. Of course, individuals like Sadeq Vaziri believe that the electing of Amin Al-Tojjar Kordestani as the representative of Kurdistan to national consultative assembly is a clear-cut and vivid reason indicating the lack of any effect by the traditional clergyman spectrum and non-welcoming of the businessmen and shopkeepers' representativeness ^[13].

4.2. Why Kurds did not Welcome Constitutionalism:

Various thinkers with different intellectual paradigms have asserted about Kurds' hesitation and their pervasive non-welcoming of constitutionalism. Hamid Mo'meni² realizes the economic reasons as having been solely effective in this regard and believes that because Kurdistan did not have any commodities to export and it was less relying on the goods imported from outside and also as a result of the residents' poverty, it did not need consumer products. Thus, it did not experience any intellectual relationship and fundamental

change in cultural ground and the people naturally remained negligent of the constitutionalism for these reasons ^[14].

Some others like Derek Keenan believe that constitutionalism had been introduced badly to the Kurds from the very beginning. He realizes support of the king and opposition to modernism as the reasons for Kurds' accompaniment of Salar Al-Dawleh ^[15].

Abbas Vali³ is of the belief that Iran's Kurd society, unlike the Ottoman Kurds, did not have a laic enlightened class ^[13]. Summing Ahmad Kasravi's notions, Hamid Ahmadi realizes Kurds and Turks' old and historical enmity and hatred as the reason for Kurds' non-welcoming of the constitutionalism. He states that the Kurds' disagreements with Turks date back to Safavid Era and opines that Kurds still held a grudge for Turks and because Turks played an active role in constitutionalism, Kurds rejected constitutionalism to prove their disagreements to them ^[16]. In the researcher's mind, Kasravi's Turk-oriented attachments and Hamid Ahmadi's lack of information about Kurdistan's society have caused them to make mistakes. Anyway, alongside the abovementioned thinkers' ideas and notions each of which can be correct within its limits and point to part of the Kurds' constitutionalism challenge, the researcher is of the belief that the Kurds' non-welcoming of constitutionalism should be sought in their approach towards Iran and sultanate. The relations between the governors and heads of tribes and local nomads with Qajar governorships in Kurdistan have always been good and these sympathetic relations become more stable the more we get close to the end of Qajar Era.

That is because the inadequacy of the last Ardalán governors and the consecutive uprisings by Uraman governors and Ardalans' inability in preventing them corroborated Qajars' policy for overthrowing this governorship (Kurdistan). In the meanwhile, it was with the overthrowing of the Kurd governorships in Ottoman territory that Ardalans' border-guarding duty did not anymore matter. The weakness and looseness of the last Ardalán governor, i.e. Gholam Shah Khan, and his financial pressures on the people set the ground for the emergence of dissidence amongst some of the elders and great figures of Kurdistan's states, particularly Uraman, and caused the raid and abuse by the insurgents and rebels and various clans to this state. As a result of such a situation, turmoil and insecurity was increased in Kurdistan and the domain of the objections and dissatisfaction of the people and some scholars and elders of Kurdistan was stretched to the royal court. Such a situation, as well, influenced the Qajar king's determination for rendering Kurdistan's government Qajari.

¹ Of course, there have been a few of the other clergymen like Haj Molla Ali Nasir Al-Islam Sanandaji, Sheikh Muhammad Wasim Al-Mashayekh Sanandaji and others in addition to Ayatollah Mardukh.

² Hamid Mo'meni was born in 1942 in Sahneh (Bid Sorkh), Kermanshah. He was a writer, a satirist and a theoretician; he was a member of the people masses' devotee guerillas. Mo'meni was enumerated amongst the influential

leaders of the people masses' devotee guerillas and he was killed in 1974 in an attack by SAVAK (Iran's then organization of intelligence).

³ Abbas Vali was born in 1950 in Mahabad. He graduated from London University. He has numerous works regarding Middle East and its changes and evolutions. He is presently residing Turkey.

With such a background, Farhad Mirza Mo'tamed Al-Dawleh was assigned to the governorship of Kurdistan. Historians have underlined his astuteness, heedfulness and knowledgeability. During his governorship, he brought peace and order to this state by suppressing Uraman uprising and arresting and murdering the heads of this riot, curbing the raids of Jaaf Tribe, preventing the abuse and assault of the neighbors on Kurdistan and establishing military bases. He established a period of security and calmness in his governorship realm by adopting a strict method against the insurgents and rebels, exercising lenience towards the people and taking care of their needs, eradicating the inappropriate taxing customs and preventing the financial oppressions in such a way that the people felt peace after long years of insecurity and pressure and the attackers also refrained from raiding on Kurdistan due to his solemnity and formidableness; this was followed by the booming of work and activity in Kurdistan and the fame of this state was spread everywhere in such a way that the people from the neighboring states used to come to this state upon being faced with harsh problems so as to spend their life in security and welfare existent therein.

On the other hand, Qajars did not have any problem quite contrary to the powerful Ottoman empire for exerting their governance right in Kurd-dwelling regions and Kurds did not have any disagreements with the central government for many years ever since. The objections from here and there in Kurdistan were, if any, more related to the tyranny of the installed governors and/or levying of the taxes.

This way, the government period of the rulers dispatched to Kurdistan was a time of local governance change for Qajars which caused this state to join the central government. It was a period accompanied by peace and stability for Qajar government. It was also followed by a period of peace, security and proud for the people of Kurdistan and both the local Kurd historians and formal historians have recalled it goodly and they have admired the services of Mo'tamed Al-Dawleh in Kurdistan ^[2].

If we want to compare Qajariyeh with the dynasty that took its place, i.e. Pahlavi dynasty, it will be seen despite the despotic nature of Qajar Era that the traditional despotism leaves the arena open in some of the cases for the local governments and tribal and local groups find many of their ideal aspects in Iran's political system; the local heads enjoyed voting independence in their area of influence. But, in Pahlavi era, modern authoritarianism narrowed or, better said, closed the arena for the local governorships and navigated the identity course towards the transformation of the local identities and solidification of the Iranian nationalism.

Thus, the people generally had come to a more positive mentality about Qajar and the preservation of sultanate as a symbol and surety of Iran's stability was of a great importance to Kurds and it was due to the same reason that they did not predominantly welcome constitutionalism. That

is because the Kurd society did not have a clear and vivid understanding of constitutionalism in that span of time. Kurds realized constitutionalism as the factor disordering Iran and causing negative transformation but things were subsequently changed because it was made clear to the Kurds that Iran is not just Qajar sultanate and defending constitutionalism does not mean elimination of and opposition to Iran.

These are parts of the reasons for the Kurds' un-timely participation in Iranians' seeking of constitutionalism. But, it can be concluded based on all the above-mentioned attitudes that the intermediate urban class had not been yet formed amongst Kurds and even if there were elites proving an active presence in this domain, they did not have the ability to discern the constitutionalism's ideals and, as it was pointed out, the despotic and anti-people nature of some directors of the constitutionalism, especially in Kurdistan, the cultural poorness and defectiveness of the people in Kurdistan and also the uprising by the region's tribes and nomads and the aristocrats and noblemen and landlords and khans' ignorance prevented the people of Kurdistan from taking pervasive advantage of constitutionalism's accomplishments. However, the scattered and occasionally spontaneous measures that were taken in large cities of the province like Sanandaj, Saqqez and Marivan ^[3] can be realized amongst the valuable activities of the people in line with struggles for intervening in their destiny and cutting the hands of the domestic despotism.

The sure thing is that although the incidents related to constitutionalism and the army deployments by the constitutionalism's proponents and opponents were in some of the cases unconscious and/or should be analyzed solely within the framework of the elites' individual interests that were followed by a lot of economic and political consequences for the Kurds, signs of positive accomplishments can be also observed for the Kurdistan's community in them alongside the damages they caused to thereto. The study of the then incident-driven behavior of the political elites and actors during those days and afterwards is indicative of a sort of wakefulness and retrieval of the self-identity. Although constitutionalism wave reached Kurdistan rather slowly and this is per se a sign of the existence of the cultural poorness in the region, a sort of limited national identity retrieval can be also witnessed. As it was mentioned above, there is a significant difference between the initiation of constitution in Kurdistan and the beginning of constitutionalism and its subsequent happenings in Tehran and Tabriz as well as other cities. However, constitutionalism could find addressees in Kurd society in the long run and they could establish relationships therewith disregarding the well-known constitutionalists who had the least to do with constitutionalism's ideals and this caused the awakening and self-recognition of the southern Kurds in the Iranian society.

However, due to the weakening and collapse of the traditional system of social-political relations as well as weakening of the central government, the region was inflicted with

confusion, chaos and insecurity in the short run. The weakening of the central government and its confusion in restoring public security paved the way for the plunderers to showoff more and it was under such conditions that the local governors felt more that they need to make efforts for establishing security so as to protect their own territory. Thus, khans and local governors began showcasing their power more.

4.2. Constitutionalism, Factions and Kurdistan:

The nomadic and rural texture of Kurdistan's society was one of the primary hindrances to the formation of constitutionalism movements and factions and elections. But, anyway, one of the constitutionalism's outcomes was the establishment of factions in lieu of the covert constitutionalist associations. These factions founded divisions in Kurdistan and engaged in absorbing members from amongst the local forces. In the meanwhile, the state associations and some other coalitions were established in Kurdistan. The election experience should have normally been very successful during the constitutionalism period as a result of the factions and parties' activities but it was no so in practice. The traditional relations and conspiracies stepped in it and vote-making took the real votes' place. The activity of the factions and holding of elections were amongst the constitutionalism's prominent signs and indicative of the commencement of a modern period but the people of Kurdistan did not all have the chance to take part in the elections and this resulted in a wider gap. The traditional relations and collusions remained persistent in Kurdistan's political factions; individuals could easily join any party and disjoin it and enter another faction or even an opposite party. This is reflective of no support for party-based activities in Kurdistan and, in fact, the faction leaders could not counteract the factors of laggardness.

The insecurity of the cities and roads was another impediment to the activity of the factions and elections in Kurdistan and no difference was brought about in the status of roads' maintenance and roads' protection with the launching of constitutionalism in contrast to the past. The collective spirit which is the most important of the factional activity indices was not so strong in Kurdistan. It can be possibly stated that such political behaviors' changes were natural due to the shakiness of constitutionalism base in Kurdistan; but, they instigated distrust in the city-dwelling masses about the parties' performance.

5. Salar Al-Dawleh and Kurdistan:

One of the most dreadful tragedies of Iran's post-constitutionalism history is the endless wars and battles between Salar Al-Dawleh and the central government in the west of the country and they resulted in numerous catastrophes. He was a member of Qajar family and made the most efforts for acquiring throne and crown but he was never

successful. Seddiq Akram, his foreman, states that "he had confidentially procured a set of royal garment and he used to put them on in privacy on some of the nights and wear a jewel-embroidered hat and ask the presence of us who were his close relatives and speak about the future of his sultanate and constitutionalism government and enactment of rules and essential governmental reformations ^[17].

With the final victory of the constitutionalists and banishment of Muhammad Ali Shah to Odessa⁴, he once again started fostering new thoughts in his mind. In 1911, the deposed king who had made all the preparations for return to power added to his efforts upon finding the temporal conditions auspicious and met his brothers Salar Al-Dawleh and Sho'aa'a Al-Saltaneh in Vienna and asked assistance from Salar Al-Dawleh for his more familiarity with the nomads and tribes in the west of Iran.

He gathered an army and, since he had had been the governor of Kurdistan, Kermanshah, Lorestan and Borujerd in the past, he was sure of the support of those territories' nomads and tribes and fearlessly entered the west of Iran ^[18].

As it was mentioned in the discussion about constitutionalism, the cultural poorness and the unfamiliarity and unawareness of the people masses and the aristocrats and nomads' heads did not lead in the Kurd society's least enjoyment of such an unexampled opportunity as constitutionalism and, contrarily, Kurdistan sustained irreparable damages from it. Amongst the signs of the aristocrats' unawareness was their large welcoming and vast support of Salar Al-Dawleh, the despotic ruler dispatched by the deposed government, and this measure added to the intensity of political crisis in the Kurd-dwelling regions ^[5].

When residing Sanandaj, Salar Al-Dawleh played soft tricks to attract a large number of Khans and nomads' heads. Amongst the primary factors of the Kurd nomads and tribes' welcoming of Salar Al-Dawleh, provoking of their ambitions and the promises for granting of titles and more freedom of action on the day after victory can be pointed out. As an example, Salar Al-Dawleh granted the epithet of Sardar-e-Rashid (the magnanimous commander) to Abbas Khan Ardalani (governor of Ravansar) who was accompanying him in the course of unrests and was in the melancholy of revitalizing the Ardalans' government in Kurdistan.

But, the essential point that should not be ignored is the foreigners' support of Salar Al-Dawleh's mutiny. Although individuals like Lazarev, the well-known Kurdistan researcher, made efforts to purify Russia's countenance and provided Salar Al-Dawleh with the highest amount of foreigners' support through Ottomans and young Turks by issuing a report in this regard, there are numerous documents

⁴ Muhammad Ali Shah is the sixth Qajar king, son of Muzaffar Al-Din Shah and grandson of Amir Kabir's daughter; he was born in 1871 and put on the crown in 1907. After Tehran was conquered by the constitutionalists, he

sought refuge in Russian embassy in 1910 and fled from Iran and went to Odessa. After making repeated efforts for retaking the sultanate which were all in vain, he died in there eventually in 1925.

indicating that Russian and Ottoman governments supported Salar Al-Dawleh extraordinarily and that they had perfect hope in Salar Al-Dalweh's success after constitutionalism^[19]. Turks were intensively worried about the spreading of constitutionalism's revolutionary and liberalistic thoughts to ottoman Kurds thence to the entire Ottoman Empire hence they did their best and plotted a lot of conspiracies to suppress the reformatory thoughts in Iran. Russians did not leave any doubtful point about supporting Salar Al-Dawleh by their material sponsorship as well as dispatching of their own affiliated individuals like Samad Khan Shoja'a Al-Dawleh to his camp^[4].

In the end, Salar Al-Dawleh's camp marched out of Kurdistan after collecting vast military accoutrements and started off towards Kermanshah. But, the region's general security was jeopardized due to the disruption of the region's public order and intensification of the disagreements between the nomads and flooding of the various kinds of modern military weapons thereto in such a way that Ayatollah Mardukh, Salar Al-Dawleh's main supporter in Kurdistan, returns to Sanandaj and gathers thirty versatile gunners on 29th of October, 1911, in Qatarchian Neighborhood of Sanandaj to safeguard his own and his neighborhood's security due to the absence of any life security as well as the central government's weakness in establishing security^[4].

CONCLUSION:

Two issues should be particularly explored about the occurrence of constitutionalism in Kurdistan. Besides having a historical-political nature, these two meta-subjects also have important sociological and anthropological aspects. Adopting a historical-analytical approach and relying on the first-hand library resources, the researcher of the present study firstly investigated the reasons of the Kurds' untimely accompaniment and unawareness of the constitutionalism and, secondly, the outcomes and effects of constitutionalism in Kurdistan. Alongside the diverse and numerous predicates offered in this regard with all, except one of them, having been expressed by non-Kurd thinkers, it seems that reasons like absence of great merchants and businessmen, disagreements between Kurds and Turks, absence of a laic enlightened class and so forth can be pointed out; corresponding to the first-hand texts existent from that time, Kurds were intensively worried about Iran and its future. They realized themselves as being more Iranian than any other tribe and race and they did not accept any political phenomenon or change that could weaken the central government as the symbol of Iran's magnificence. Thus, Kurds did not accompany constitutionalism and opposed it for they considered it as the disruptor of Iran's security hence a heinous and denounced measure and they eventually negatively reacted thereto. However, it has to be stated about the constitutionalism's outcomes that it was following the victory of constitutionalists that the central government fell short of fulfilling its most primary duty, i.e. supplying the general security, and this caused an increase in chaos in a vast

level in regions like Kurdistan. Salar Al-Dawleh's mutiny exerted a double effect on the intensification of these clashes. This trend made war equipment largely available to everyone. So, all the tribes and nomads took measures parallel to gathering of sufficient ammunitions. Therefore, the Kurd society after the establishment of constitutionalism became a riot-stricken community replete with chaos and insecurity. But, in the long run, the presence in the civil circles like associations and factions as well as participation in polling set the ground for the intellectual and social growth and blossoming.

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