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A Historical Study of Immigration Phenomenon in Undeveloped Societies: Study of Economic Reasons of Immigration during Pahlavi I Period in Zahedan

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Abstract

During the reign of Reza Shah, policy of magisterial modernization was done on the basis of society modernization by importing products, civilization manifestations, modern management, monopolizing political power and governmentalizing economy. Social structures, under the influence of integration in global system and the effects caused by two world wars, as a semi-periphery region, did not stay away from unpleasant consequences of the situation such as immigration inside the borders of Iran and immigration among the political borders of Iran especially in eastern borders. Because of special geographical situation (border region) and economic situation (silk trade route), eastern borders had an important role in Iran's exterritorial immigration system and were receptive to resident ethnics in neighbor countries (Hazara in Afghanistan, Sikh, etc.) and were also the entry gate of immigrants to eastern cities of Iran. In this research, emphasizing on Iran's situation in global system, immigration and its causes on Zahedan have been studied. The results suggest that the strategic location of Zahedan was a predisposing factor of preliminary foundations such as railway for economy growth of the city and a small group of Hindus' immigration for employment in this part. Gradually, central government actions in customs section and transportation development, turned Zahedan into a suitable region for trade that resulted immigration and habitation of many citizens of neighboring countries in order to work in economic fields. Because of disability in adaption to new conditions and lack of proficiency, many native inhabitants immigrated to the other regions.

Keywords: Immigration, Zahedan, Pahlavi I period, Undeveloped societies.

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Introduction

Immigration is a phenomenon which is seen in societies in different forms mingled with various political, social, cultural and economic aspects. Between 1905 and 1925, Iranian society experienced rapid changes in all aspects and traditional structures which had been formed during centuries, encountered many changes.

For the lack of necessary substructures such as policies and the cultural and civilizational differences with developed countries, Iran's entry to international system caused Iranian society (in terms of thought and identity) and Iran country (in terms of borders and geography) to encounter changes and demographic ones were considered as the most important changes.

Also, following the weakness of central government, some parts of Iran joined the other peripheral countries and a new process of immigration was formed in boundaries. Following that, disjointed Iranians or the other demographic groups, immigrated to the other side of boundary in order to join the other group members (like Afghans and Baloch). As a result of global economic system, workforce's immigration to the other countries (especially from Azerbaijan and Armenian areas of Iran to the northern lands of Caspian Sea) was formed as well.

Although there was a relation between demographic groups and immigrations such as these from long time ago, but immigration feature in this period is population size of immigrants and its specified format. Specified format was immigration from one country to another that also formed immigration structure in the next period "Pahlavi".

During Reza shah's reign, a magisterial policy of modernization was founded. This policy was based on society modernization through importing new industrial products, modern administrative organization, magisterial modernization, monopolizing political power, governmentalizing economy. Being influenced by Iran's situation in global system, social structures encountered changes. In the period between two world wars, Iran as a strategic and oil rich area was notably considered. Thereupon, Iran, as a peripheral region was influenced by the consequences of this unfortunate situation. Demographic changes were one the direct consequences of aforementioned features. Immigration within the borders of Iran or between political borders of Iran and the other countries are considered as its most important characteristics.

In this regard, from the earliest time of human life, eastern borders of Iran with diverse natural structure, various and engrossing climate, special geographic situation, have been undoubtedly the context of human, subsistence, commercial, military activities and one of the

most important center of Iran's population which has always been a subject to change. Sensible changes in history of this region are demographic changes during the history that caused eastern borders to play a great role in extraterritorial immigration system for their special geographical situation (as a border region) and political situation (Silk trade route) and also caused to be perceptible to resident people of neighbor countries (Afghan Hazaras, Sikhs, Indian and Pakistani Pashtuns) and to be a gateway for immigrants to eastern cities of Iran as well.

Remarkable researches have been done about Iran's economic situation. This issue has been discussed in the books "*Political Economy of Iran*" (1993) by Mohammad Ali Katouzian, "*Iran between two Revolutions*" (1998) by: Eevand Abrahamian, "*Fragile Resistance, Social Transformation in Iran*" (1998) by: John Foran, "*Tose'eh va Nowsazi-e Iran da dore-ye Reza Shah (Development and Modernization of Iran in Reza Shah Period)*" (1994) by: Mohammad Reza Khalili khou and "*Dar Madar haye Tose'eh nayaftegi dar Eghtesad-e Iran*" (*Lack of Development Courses in Iran's Economy*) (2004), by: Hossein Azimi Arani.

However, in these researches, the influence of economic policies on social changes, especially on immigration issue, haven't been studied properly. In this regard, in this research it is aimed to study the process of immigration's economic causes by the case study of Zahedan city, applying available theories in the field of immigration and historical analysis of resources and available documents.

Theoretical Framework

Economically, immigration both internal and international, is a mechanisms for workforce's redistribution and access to economic facilities. In classic immigration viewpoint, Adam Smith (1778), considered the labors' immigration as a subsidiary of supply and demand which caused a growth in economy in two immigrant friendly and immigrant sending areas that resulted an improvement in employment condition.¹

From the viewpoint of neoclassical macro-sighted economists such as Larry Sjaastad (1962), Haris and Todaro (1976), wherever labor supply is more than capital, wages are declining and wherever is the accumulation of capital more than work force, wages are ascending. In this situation, workforce will be motivated from the first region to the second one which results a balance between workforce and wages.² Micro-sighted neoclassic economists consider immigrants as activists with wisdom and free will who decide to immigrate according to financial benefits and pick out the place having most benefits according to their personal capacities.

In order to achieve better economic conditions, this group is responsible for different costs like travel costs, accommodation fees (while searching a job), learning new language and culture, adaptability issues with new labor market conditions and ending the old relations by creating new ones.³ Since the neoclassical viewpoint had deficiencies, a solution was given in new economic immigration approach. In this group's opinion, immigration is an individual issue and is in relation with the person's function in society. Immigration happens for the purpose of increasing family member's income to maximum and reduce the risks in labor markets of immigrant sending countries.⁴ In researches done by this group, it has been emphasized that immigration could have happened because of individual support or group support like family or household. Motivations for personal income for immigration decision is considered in this viewpoint. This topic is to explain reason of immigration despite the lack of income difference between origin and destination.⁵ Aforementioned ideas bring some total effective reasons up in immigration process and since direct observation is possible, they are applicable in the studies of contemporary societies.

Since the field study is impossible in historical researches and researcher relies on documents and sources, it's impossible to rely on aforementioned viewpoints, thoroughly. Accordingly, applying aforementioned viewpoints, social and political conditions will be considered as well.

Geographical situation of Zahedan

Sistan and Balochistan province, situated in southeast of Iran and is about 187'502 square kilometers. Consisting 11 percent of Iran's territory, Sistan and Balochistan is the largest province of Iran.

Sistan, situated in north of province, a closed and smooth area, consisted by old new delta alluviums of Hirmand River. The main city is Zabol and most of the residents are Persian-speakers and Shi'as. Balochistan is situated in south of province and is limited to Loot Desert in north and to Oman Sea in south. Most of the residents are Balochi-speakers and Sunni Hanafi. This province is coterminous with Afghanistan and Pakistan in East.⁶

Most of the land is mountainous, but in the area coterminous with southwest of Afghanistan, a vast desert and semi-desert lands are seen without any characteristics in a region with a width of five hundred kilometers between the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan to the beach, the vast desert and semi-desert lands are seen without any characteristics.⁷

City of Zahedan (Zāhedān), situated in south of Balochistan, as a large pit among the mountains, is limited to Zabol in north, to Khash in south, to Afghanistan and Pakistan in east and to Fahraj and Loot desert in in west. Henry Field had divided Balochistan into 4 parts:

Makran of Iran, Border line area, Bampur plain, Dizak. Zahedan (prior name: Dozdab) has been considered as borderline part by Henry Field.⁸

Historical background and formation of Zahedan

Southeast of Balochistan, especially in terms of political geography, had a strategic geographical location because of having 300 kilometers maritime boundary in Oman Sea and being coterminous with India as a colony of Britain in 19th century. In 1839 to 1947, most of Balochistan was under supervision of Britain in order to secure northwest borders of India, officially and non-officially. Britain had also negotiations to define the borders between this part and Iran and Afghanistan.

At this point, by interfering in Bloch's lives, Britain aimed to establish peace and security in the regions supervised by them, strengthen Khans' and petty rulers' power in Makran, determine the boundaries, construct telegraph line and abolish slave trade.⁹ In 1871, India was the subject of peril by Russia's territorial expansionism. According to the situation, "East Issue" or "Great Game" was planned.

In British's plan, Iran and especially in southeast (Balochistan) had a special importance as a buffer zone against Russia's advancing.¹⁰ According to the Commission of territorial restriction and diminution of Iran's borders to current position among Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, the project led to the separation of some parts of Balochistan from Iran.¹¹ In 1924, administration of Eilat and the area in Balochistan borderline area, was officially delegated to Iran by Britain.¹² About appellation of Zahedan's old name, "Dozdab", it is said that the city location was meeting point of the thieves to supply water, therefore it was called "Dozadab".¹³ In the margins of the mountains, wherever the water went into the sand and came out from a steep path, was called Dozdab.¹⁴ In 1898, by residence of some families the development of area started and a village was formed which was called "Dozdab".¹⁵ The name of the city was changed into Zahedan in Reza Shah's travelling to the city.¹⁶

Economic reasons of immigration in Zahedan

Immigration forming is caused by various political, economic and social factors, but in the meantime, political factors are the most important ones that motivate most of immigrants.¹⁷ In researches related to immigration topic, it is emphasized on the main economic reasons of people's displacement. In fact, better or developing economic conditions in target land is considered as one of the main reasons of exterritorial or internal immigration.

In the period under review, due to the end of the First World War, specific conditions were prevailed in Iran and in the world which impressed all structures especially economics. In this section, while reviewing economic situations, its impact on immigration process in Zahedan, will be studied.

External Economic Reasons

In Dependency Theory, immigration is both the result of uneven development and the factor of expansion and deepening uneven development. Lack of development and structural inequality in third world countries is evaluated as a result of capitalist relations' special process of penetration. Therefore, in this regard, immigration phenomenon should be reviewed in these countries. In this regard, two categories of factors are considered for immigration: changing and stagnation factors.

Capitalism influence in undeveloped regions and changing the production methods caused the production in some parts to be mechanized and replaced with human force that resulted immigration. Stagnancy status intensifies immigration process as a result of population growth that is more than production.¹⁸

However, entry of industry to undeveloped regions causes new job opportunities that results the necessity of skilled and specialist immigrant human force in this regions. The capitalist world system was expanded gradually by forming universal production system, forming labor class and capital accumulation in the world. Following the increase of potency and economic need, the world system was formed.

In Wallerstein's theory of world system, there are 3 main sections: central communities,¹⁹ peripheral communities,²⁰ semi-periphery communities.²¹ Although there are lots of critiques on Wallerstein's theory and functional characteristics of these regions, but the totality of this theory explains Iran's position in Pahavi I period in international relations. As a country with strategic situation, huge mineral and non-mineral sources, Iran drew many capitalist countries' attention that had impact on political, economic and social aspects causing changes in several fields. One of the most important changes in Iran was formed in political field. Although, Wellerstein's theory was on the basis of economics, it has to be considered that preserving the economic superiority of capitalist countries requires preserving their political superiority as well.

Therefore, political influence is important for capitalist countries in order to stabilize political situation. Accordingly, peripheral countries were colony of capitalist countries (like India) or were influenced by capitalist countries politically and militarily (like Iran). From past till now, due to its strategic situation (maritime boundary, oil sources, etc.), Iran has drawn many

countries' attention. In the meantime, East of Iran has been noteworthy of powers for its proximity to India.

In Pahlavi I period, East of Iran was a scope of Britain's and its puppet governments' games for a long time. Thereby, some industries and offices such as telegraph and railway were constructed in this area. Although the reason of these sections formation was political, but the economic function overcame political function and provided the base of remarkable changes in these regions, such as demographic changes. In the First World War, India and Britain's main concern was preventing disturbance in communication lines and oil installations. Therefore, the policy was to benefit from the Khans' rivalries in border areas and support them financially.

Military force was sent to Jask port, Chabahar and Bandar Abbas, but Ottomans' arrival, claiming Islamic caliphate, caused war in Afghanistan and caused some Baloch tribes (Ismaeil zaei, Damani, Raki)²² attack border areas in Balochistan. The result was transmission of British forces from Quetta to Kacha in Iran's, using local troops in order to maintain security, communicate with local governors and support them financially.²³

Development of this policy required maintaining British troops communication line in order to send more troops and supplies. On the other hand, following Bolshevik revolution in Russia and being disappointed of Russians' aid, India government planned to extend Kata-Nushki railway to Mirjaveh.²⁴ Until then, India's railway stretched out near Mirjaveh in Iran border, but in April 1918, India's government suggested to Britain's ministry to carry out preliminary surveys and topography in north toward Birjand in order to extend railway. Since Indian government didn't incline to provoke Afghans by extending this line, brought up a proposal to extend the railway through Dozdab, Hamun in west and Mirjaveh in Iran. Finally, railway was connected to Dozdab on 2 February 1919. Connection way of Iran to India was facilitated by railway construction after the First World War that commercial outreach in Dozdab and was the most important result.²⁵

Dozdab railway was formed by political causes, but in the beginning, social and economic impacts were tangible by immigration of 600 work forces from India to Zahedan.²⁶ Population of Dozdab was estimated about 5000 people in the beginning of Reza Shah's reign by Amanollah Jahanbani and 3000 of them were foreign citizens. According to the same source version, the main trade of Dozdab was done by several Indian and Yazdi merchants; moreover, Rigi tribe inhabited in the southwest of Dozdab.²⁷

Britain's decision for extending Quetta railway to Dozdab border, resulted immigration of many Hindus to Dozdab in several phases. In the first step, a group of Hindus arrived to Dozdab to work in railway. By finishing railway extension and also the end of the First World

War, this line's importance reduced, but Dozdab's location (proximity to India and also international waters of Oman Sea which causes facilitation in economic affairs) resulted Dozdab's economic importance and consequently city's significance.

It caused immigration of another Sikhs to Dozdab and their occupation in trade. Customs exemptions, also paved the way for Indian citizens' immigration to Dozdab. According to ministry of affairs and finance and customs' report (no.409) in the beginning of First World War, Britain government tried to extend India-Afghanistan railway inside Iran as well, in order to extend strategic lines and make connection among Iran, Afghanistan and India.

For this purpose, some regulations enacted in the field of exporting and importing goods between Iran and India whereby shipping from Afghanistan and Iran by railway was tax deductible; however if the goods were transported by ship through the sea, the tax was applied equivalent of 50 percent of products' value. This action caused trade outreach in Zahedan and most of exported Iranian goods were shipped to India through the railway of Zahedan.

After inhabiting in Zahedan, Hindu and Sikh merchants bought local products and raw materials from Iranian traders, then transmitted them to India through the railway and in return, imported foreign products from India such as tea, cloth, rubber and etc. to Iran with cheap rents.²⁸As immigrants' wages are low and there are some policies for employment, job opportunity diminution for the native inhabitants happens consequently.

Sikhs were considered as Indian citizens of Britain that some restrictions were applied to them, but in contrary some benefits were applied to them as well which were considered as disadvantage for Iranian citizens. Iranian citizens were not supported by local government and some actions done by local government were harmful for them.²⁹

One of the merchants in Zahedan writes in his letter to main economic director of ministry of economy and finance in Tehran, as comes below:

Due to applied opinions of British officials about commercial affairs and resident merchants in Zahedan, Iranian resident merchants in border have encountered deprivation and have had no current occupation for a few years and in terms of affordability they are disadvantaged, whereas the Indian immigrant merchants are advantaged by monopolized importing.³⁰

For instance, he points to the letter written by Britain consulate in Zahedan in which it was stated that textile quotas wouldn't be assigned to Iranian merchants for a while due to a command from India. The Sikhs' presence in Zahedan paved the way for their presence in the other parts of Iran and benefiting job opportunities like employment facility in Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Sikhs and Hindus were employed in this company instead of Iranian citizens.

In a report on 29/10/1910 (no. 1289) by Iran consulate in Bombay about labor force employment in Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Iran consulate in Bombay states that some advantages have been applied for Hindus and Sikhs by personnel manager of company, but in contrary many Iranians have been rejected to be employed with excuses like not passing military service or old age. He continues then:

Personnel manager of company did something terrible to a Zoroastrian Iranian which resulted Zoroastrians and Parsees complaint to consulate. Especially when a Zoroastrian Iranian referred to aforesaid in order to follow up the complaint, he was told that if he expresses his regret for his behavior towards manager of Abadan Company (claims that Zal Banji has talked to him harshly) and not request foreign exchange, his statements will be considered.³¹

Domestic Economic Reasons

Unorganized Iran's view after constitutional movement was found social and political disorders, fleeting and inefficient governments, economic poverty, anti-authoritarian and separatist movements, foreigners' interference. The First World War was the final damage. Economic structure in this period has been analyzed as comes below:

There were no prominent changes in economic or technical-industrial structure of the country. About 90 percent of labor force were employed in agriculture and rural handicrafts and the remaining 10 percent were employed in business, public and private services and urban industries. Capital production was very limited.³²

In this situation, Reza Khan came to power. Primarily, he planned for renovation of Iran that subsequently caused reforms in most of economic structures and foundations such as tax, mines, railway, communications, and customs on the basis of his plans. As a new city with strategic situation, Zahedan was affected by some changes due these reforms.³³ As mentioned above, Britain's decision in Quetta railway extension to Dozdab, caused economic outreach. However, in addition to this outer factor, policies of central government should be considered that in one hand encouraged the immigrants to come to Zahedan and in the other hand staved off some native inhabitants.

Customs

Customs was established in Dozdab before Reza Shah period. Its proximity to the boundary and being situated in connection way to India, made Dozdab to be focused by Iran government. In order to gain earnings from commercial situation of this region, government

of Iran sent a group of Belgian experts and specialists to construct a border customs in 1905 that resulted population increase, importance and extension of the city which connected other parts of Iran to eastern neighbors as a commercial crossroad. Gradually, after customs railway construction, Dozdab gained outreach and many foreign merchants, craftsmen from Yazd, Mashhad and a group of Baloch and Zaboli labors came to this region.³⁴ Customs exemption regulation approval, customs development and thereby trade facilitation were the attraction factors of domestic and foreign merchants to Zahedan. In an economic report about Iran-India trade in *Otagh-e Tejarat* Journal, has been said:

“The way of Dozdab has become very important recently and since this way is exempted of all toll customs for helping Balochistan railway, many of merchandises are imported from Dozdab at the moment”.³⁵

Railway

Although Dozdab railway was constructed due to Britain’s political expediency, but Iran was responsible for its budget and maintenance; however it seems that the lack of permanent monitoring on this line and government delays in its completion and extension to the city caused importing and exporting from this passageway to be ineffectual for a while. In a report in *Otagh-e Tejarat* Journal in this matter has been written that:

At the moment, transport fare is more than goods’ price for India. For example, poppy’s price in Kharvar-e Tabriz (equal 300 Kilograms) is 6 Tomans, but transport fare to railway is about 16 to 20 Tomans. Also, wheat and barley that rot in Sistan, cost 20 to 25 in Kharvar-e Tabriz (equal 300 Kilograms). Transport fare is 50 Rials for 30 Farsakh (equal 180 Kilometers).³⁶

It caused a perennial stagnation (1932-1934) in customs affairs.³⁷ After the First World War, the importance of Dozdab railway was decreased to the extent that government decided to eliminate line and refuse to extend it and buy it from Britain. Accordingly, the products were sent near Zahedan by railway and were transported to Zahedan by other means. It caused price increase and inefficiency of the railway; however, this issue was discussed in the 8th Parliamentary Budget Commission (1932) and 4 million Rials of earnings from sugar were assigned to provide equipment and extend railway.³⁸ By extending the railway into the city, merchants and businessmen were more enthusiastic to continue their commercial relations with Iran through Zahedan.

Transference of uncultivated lands to companies and businessmen

One of the government actions which had an important role in development of Zahedan, was transference of uncultivated lands in proximity of railway to Iranian and foreign businessmen for prosperity of the area and construction of commercial and residential units free of charge.³⁹

Also on 29th of November 1929, due to National Consultative Assembly's approval it was planned to transfer some lands of Dozdab to Imperial Bank in order to establish a bank building and the funds were assigned to constructions and economic city infrastructures.⁴⁰ Government's actions paved the way for commercial affairs in Zahedan.

Dynamic customs, customs exemption and appropriate transportation system were three characteristics that paved the way for active participation of businessmen in Zahedan and caused increasing number of immigrants who had selected Zahedan as a commercial and central crossroad for themselves. According to given data by Otagh-e Tejarat Journal about Zahedan trade and commerce status in 1933, people's names and titles indicate that 14 of 43 trading houses in this city were managed by Iranians and other 29 were managed by foreigners that were mostly Indians.⁴¹

Native inhabitants' poverty

Changing lifestyle is one of the social evolutions that occurs in the transition from tradition to modernity and during this evolution, being influenced by the others (such as the head of the tribe) often becomes a substitute for conscious option; but it usually happens when traditional society starts this transition, like changing production or life method; but some characteristics of modern society in Balochistan confirms that in Pahlavi I period, the pastoral life was not quitted, social behaviors were not individual yet and were related to tribal dos and don'ts and influenced by traditional leaders. In Zahedan, as a new established city, native residents inhabited in some parts as well as new immigrants.

As the reports by Jahanbani suggest, Baloch Rigi clan inhabited in southwestern of Dozdab, an obedient clan who engaged in herding and agriculture. They were Sunni and their language was Balochi. New immigrants' entry and also central government's reforms created conditions that a number of native residents were forced to immigrate because of inability to cope with these conditions. In a report written by the consul of Iran in Bombay to ministry of foreign affairs on 19th of July 1935, has been stated as below:

There are a number of Baloch who have come to India about 70 years ago and as a result of education and hard work and sufferings, most of them are

working as secretaries, translators and mechanics... But the Balochis who have come in recent years, most of them are porters and some of them sell their daughters that is not worthy at all, nowadays. Almost 3 years ago, a number of Balochis formed an association in Karachi in order to help each other... The representatives have stated that.... The Baloch have immigrated to in the recent years, because of the poverty and oppressions done by...⁴²

In fact, native residents who had no job skills or were engaged in false jobs such as trafficking goods, Iranian banknotes⁴³ or as stated in the report above, they had no choice but to immigrate. Most of immigrants choose the lands that are similar to their own land or similar to their cultural environment. In fact, social networks play an important role in reducing the risks of crossing borders in international immigrations. These networks make information about work situation and economic conditions of destination land available for people. Immigrants prefer to choose a region wherein they are familiar to the culture and language.

Immigration networks provide these cases for the immigrants through their relatives, friends and other citizens. Since a number of Baloch immigrated to India in previous years, new situation caused a part of native population of Zahedan to join their relatives in India.

Conclusion

Although the main immigration-friendly condition in Zahedan was provided by railway construction, but economic factor as a long-term factor set up a new wave of immigration that subsequently resulted demographic and spatial development. Various ethnic groups immigrated to Zahedan for economic and living hood reasons. Sikhs' immigration to Zahedan as a non-Muslim and non-Iranian minority was done due to customs formation, connection of India railway to Dozdab and for economic reasons.

Though the Sikhs were not considered as founders of Zahedan and the customs there, but they are considered as the founders of economic development in Zahedan which was completed by central government's economic policies. On one hand, Zahedan's situation as a commercial crossroad in southeast of Iran, provided a good condition for Indian merchants sponsored by Britain in order to import crude materials needed by Europeans from Zahedan to India and export artifacts and consumable goods to Iran through India.

However, this groups' immigration caused new job opportunities which was efficient in developing process of Zahedan, but caused native inhabitants' deprivation of some job opportunities; in contrary the Sikhs benefited job opportunities due to support of the British and their mutual influence in both Iran and India. It also caused native inhabitants

immigration due to the lack of financial and professional ability for compatibility to new conditions.

Footnotes

¹ Zanjani, *Mohajerat (Immigration)*, 121-132.

² Ibid, 121; Massey, “Theories of International Migration”, 434; King, *Theories and Typologies of Migration*, 4-5.

³ Hein, *Migration and Development*, 12.

⁴ Zanjani, *Mohajerat (Immigration)*, 122; “Mahdavi, Avamel-e Ejtemaei-Eghtesadi-ye moaser bar Eshteghal-e Zanan-e Irani” “Effective socio-economic factors on Iranian women’s employment”, 35.

⁵ Massey, “The Social and Economic Origins of Immigration”, 68-69.

⁶ Kaviani Rad, *Nahieh garayi dar Iran az Manzar-e Joghrafiayi (Regionalism in Iran from the perspective of political geography)*, 225.

⁷ Baloch and Balochistan entry in *Encyclopedia Islamica*, vol. 4, Spooner, “BALUCHISTAN: Geography, History and Ethnography”, 598-632. Spooner, “BALUCHISTAN: Geography, History and Ethnography”, 598-632.

⁸ Field, *Anthropology of Iran*, 281& 287-288.

⁹ Spooner, *Ibid*.

¹⁰ Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 309.

¹¹ Sepahi, “Morouri bar Tarikh-e Balouchestan-e Iran (Dar Asre Reghabate Oroupaeian) “ (“Reviewing the history of Balochistan in Iran (in the age of European competition)), 208-211; Malekshahi, “Engelis va Jodayi-e Balouchestan” (“Britain and Balochitan’s separation”), 208-211; Mojtahedzadeh, “Marz haye Sharghi-e Iran” (“Eastern Boundaries of Iran”), 33&34.

¹² Jahanbani, *Amaliat-e Ghoshoun dar Balouchestan (Army Operations in Balochistan, 11*; Karimian, “Parakandegi-e Joghrafiayi va Shenakht-e Hoze-ye Ejtemaei-e Aghaliat-e Sik dar Shahr-e Zahedan” (“Geographical distribution and recognition of Sikh minority’s social life in

city of Zahedan”), 82.

¹³ Soltani, Sima, "Peydayi-e Shahr-e Zahedan" (Formation of Zahedan City), 17; Zand Moghaddam, *Baloch Story*, 13.

¹⁴ Jahanbani, *Amaliat-e Ghoshoun dar Balouchestan (Army Operations in Balochistan*, 11; Karimian, "Parakandegi-e Joghrafiayi va Shenakht-e Hoze-ye Ejtemaei-e Aghaliat-e Sik dar Shahr-e Zahedan" ("Geographical distribution and recognition of Sikh minority's social life in city of Zahedan"), 82.

¹⁵ Asgari, *Moghaddame i bar Shenakht-e Sistan va Balouchestan (An introduction to Sistan and Balochistan recognition)*, 38; Zand Moghaddam, *Hekayat-e Balouch (Baloch Story)*, 70; Karimian, "Parakandegi-e Joghrafiayi va Shenakht-e Hoze-ye Ejtemaei-e Aghaliat-e Sik dar Shahr-e Zahedan" ("Geographical distribution and recognition of Sikh minority's social life in city of Zahedan"), 70.

¹⁶ Jahanbani, *Amaliat-e Ghoshoun dar Balouchestan (Army Operations in Balochistan*, 11; SAKMA (National Library and archives of Iran): 340-5880.

¹⁷ Gilbert, *Cities, Poverty and Development: Urbanization in the third world*, 67.

¹⁸ Lahsaeizadeh, *Nazariat-e Mohajerat (Theories of immigration)*, 15&16.

¹⁹ These societies were employed in the most advanced economic jobs such as banking, industrial production, advanced technical agriculture and ship making. These activities form the main economic substructure. The goods produced by these types of countries require using complex technology, mechanized and capitalized methods. Central governments are the most powerful and organized ones. Saei, "Review and evaluation of global system theory: Critics and Proponents", 7.

²⁰ Wallerstein's viewpoint on the fringes of the theory is intimately about margin is very close to dependency theory, it means that both of them believe that peripheral areas produce crude materials for other industries. Their governments are weak and unable to maintain their power in international scene. Salimi, "Ta'ammoli dar Nazarie ye Nezam-e Jahani" ("A contemplation in global system theory"), 93.

²¹ It is consistent of the countries whose some economic activities are similar to central economic activities and some others are similar to peripheral governments. Semi-periphery governments are more independent than peripheral governments against central governments' influence. Semi-periphery societies are the moderator connectors of global system and in many cases transmit the goods and capital from center to periphery or produce necessary goods for global system that won't result rapid capital accumulation. Saei, "*The Third World Political Economic Issues*", 196.

²² Ahmadi, *Ghomiat va Ghomiat garayi dar Iran (Ethnicity and Ethnocentrism in Iran)*, 203; *The Country Of Baluchistan, Its Geography, Topography, Ethnography and History*, C.E.M Dyer. (1877).

²³ J.B. Luft, "Britain's policy in East of Iran during the First World War", 71 &74&76&77.

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- ²⁴ Archive Center of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran, SH1311-K25-P47.84-11.
- ²⁵ Maberly, *Operations in Persia*, 372 & 373; Mahboubi Ardakani, *History of Modern Civilizational Institutions in Iran*, vol.2/336.
- ²⁶ Maberly, *Ibid*.
- ²⁷ Jahanbani, *Amaliat-e Ghoshoun dar Balouchestan (Army Operations in Balochistan)*, 10&11.
- ²⁸ SAKMA, 24000709.
- ²⁹ Library and Document center of Iran's Parliament (SAKMA), 21-02404, 21-02413
- ³⁰ SAKMA: 240018650, Zarrin Kelk, *Asnad-i az Ravabet-e Iran va Engelis (Documents of relations between Iran and Britain)*, 224&225.
- ³¹ SAKMA, 240004676.
- ³² Katouzian, *Political Economy of Modern Iran*, 112.
- ³³ H.A.Eslamieh, "Eghdamat-e Dolat nesbat be Eslahat-e Eghtesadi" ("Government efforts towards economic reforms"), *Otagh-e Tejarat Journal*, February 1929: 14/5-17.
- ³⁴ Yaghmaei, *Balouchestan va Sistan (Balochistan and Sistan)*, 73; SAKMA: 240000709.
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- ³⁶ "Sherkat-e Tejarati-e Iran" ("Iranian Trade Company"), *Otagh-e Tejarat Journal*, August 1932, No. 44/26.
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- ³⁸ Detailed Negotiations of Parliament, 8th & 110th period.
- ³⁹ Yaghfour, "Barname Rizi-e Tose'eh ye Paydar-e Shahr-e Zahedan" ("Planning stable development of Zahedan"), 105.
- ⁴⁰ Detailed Negotiations of Parliament, 7th & 10th period.
- ⁴¹ Edare ye kol-e Tejarat (Trade Office), "Asami-e Aghayan-e Tojjar va Asnaf-e Iran" ("Merchants' and Guilds' names"), *Otagh-e Tejarat Journal*, 1933, No.59 & 60, 58-61.
- ⁴² *Ibid*

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