CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Islamic Republic of Iran is one of oldest civilization nations in the world, a place of a witness for a lot of human development and also Abrahamic faith. Becoming the site of Silk Road, hub of east and west reigns, and residence of various ethnics, it creates Iran as diverse nation in Middle East compared to other nation. Among various ethnic that live in Iran, Kurds is part of them. Kurds who were known having a close root with Persian ethnically and language mostly are living in northwest of Iran.

Ethnic similarity between Persians and Kurds does not simply guarantee the live of minority Kurds in Iran into secure and prosper. Failure of Kurds movement to achieve Kurdistan land as independent land for Kurds in period of early 20th century, to establish their own safe place in Middle East could be a trigger for any nations in region to underestimate them as second citizen who are labeled as rebellion. Presence of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria as independent states, make them to have Kurdistan bigger and bigger. In the other hand, it also convinces these four states to treat them more unlike other citizens because their idea to separate and be different from majority rulers. The condition of Kurds in Middle East become erratic, especially in Iran.

Back to the history of Kurdish national movement in the region. In the beginning, the presence of Kurdish national movements wanted to establish an independent country for Kurds. Later, caused by the dividing of Kurdish place of living this kind of movement grew wider and growing in numbers. In Iran, they tried for many times to

fight against the regime to get the independent yet. Failure were still close to Kurds' effort. In the end, the rebellion has become a trend of Kurdish struggle and lot of failures later made their aims of struggle was always reduced and finally it shifted to a desire to obtain greater rights of citizens.

Minority of Iranian Kurds felt discrimination in almost every aspect of life for decades under Iranian regime of Shah Dynasty or even under Supreme Leader era. Communal identity of Persians as the ruler of Islamic Republic of Iran and domination of Shi'a as the definition of Islamic rules constituently created the ignorance of Kurds existence. It created an instability of Kurdish fate in Iran as part of Iranian citizen. The deprivation of political rights for Kurds came into one of main indicators that created condition of Kurdish becoming worst.

Reduction of Kurdish demand to only have a greater rights from Iranian government did not change anything toward the condition of Kurds who were struggling for. In the name of existence of Islamic Republic, Iranian constitution and laws were ignored by Tehran regime who wanted to eliminate any national movements from Kurdish minority. Even, Kurdistan was named as provincial name in Iran but for Kurds was only a name, not more that. Politically, they were unrepresented and unrepressed by law of *Gozineh* which limited them to join and contribute in any kind of political activities. Sectarian regime of Persians ethnic as leader of Islamic Republic alongside with Shia political perspective clearly discriminated them into different and strange group of people.

Meanwhile, in aspect of economic, Kurdish inhabited areas are known as underdeveloped areas. Poor of people, lack of access or infrastructure, and no much of investment were description of Kurdish economic. Even, their area had a lot of natural resources that can be explored for interest of State and progress of region. For local people, their natural resources were only exploited for central government benefits. Iranian Kurds also deprived on their culture, education and social matters, freedom of expression is one of good example.

Generally, the discrimination treatment of Iranian government toward minority Kurds years by years can be analyzed caused by two main factors. The first is the over domination of Shia Persian centric over elites in Iranian government. Since Islamic Revolution in 1979, Iran was identified as center for Shia government in the world run by the Persians. These two identifications clearly limited any ethnics' or faiths' movement in Iran which wanted to be different from them. Being an Iranian politician meant they had to act and think like Persian or Shia. In the other side, Kurds identity in Iran was typically far from these two indicators, because majority of them was Sunni Kurds. Space for Kurdish politicians was too small compared to their number of citizen, while some politicians who had position in parliament or local official were powerless. Identity of identification harmed them for twice. The first, they were unrepresented politically and it had domino effect which created one other thing that is their rights and the basic needs could not be fulfilled. Finally, they were marginalized for ethnic and religious sectarian reasons.

The second is about the resistance of Kurdish elites who felt disappointed because of the treatment from Tehran authority. Kurdish elites had no role to manage Kurdish fate in Iran. Moreover, they could not have any power to say different statement or protest toward government treatment which discriminate their existence. Overall, Kurdish elites thought that they must be powerful to conduct their plan to reform policy relate to Kurdish condition. Armed struggle against the government was declared in order to take attention of them and they could hear what became the need and request of Kurds generally. Whenever, central government stated that Kurds national movements was defined as *moharebeh*, an action which was not only against the regime but against God orders.

Literally, the action of Iranian government has alienated the constitution and law of Iran. Freedom of some actions of their citizens and the guarantee of citizens' rights who came from any kind of background were stated in their legal law. In fact, these base of regulation were ignored and the Kurdish people were ignorance. These lot of reasons created a situation where Kurdish elites formed something such national movement supposed to they were not neglected.

At the end, PJAK arose in Iran that had no other intension except struggle and fight for rights of separation. Rights and pride of Kurds in Iran could be reached if they could determine their self and then they could change their condition. Furthermore, it was creating their future into better life. In one occasion, Abdul Rahman Haji Amhedi, leader of PJAK, have ever said to Belgian webzine Uitpers that:

"We do not want to wage a war, we want to fight a political struggle. It's not our goal to completely eradicate the Iranian army, we fight for peace. We insist that we solve the Kurdish question in Iran through dialogue."

PJAK would not come or exist in case government could unify and synchronize them into Iranian government system while Tehran authority also tried to eliminate sectarian reason for any activities in country. Openness for government to any kind of differences would also help the Kurdish minority problems to be solved. In the end, political participation for Kurdish politicians in any level of political activities in Iran and gave them equal rights and accessed in their political wish that would end of discrimination against them.

 $^{^1}$ http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/01/iranian-kurdish-parties-waning-support-exiles-pkk-turkey.html#, consulted on 25 May 2015.