

Comparative Study of Constitutional and Iran's Islamic Revolution Based on John Foran's Model

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Abstract: In this research, we have compared the constitutional and Iran's Islamic revolution based on John Foran's model. In Foran's opinion, dependency development is emerged as a result of outside pressure on third world countries. The new situation paves the way for the emergence of oppressive government and this government also paves the way for the opposed side. As a result of this, a revolutionary situation arises. Based on documents and open minded's opinions, the role of government and development in forming both revolutions has been outstanding. Based on Foran's statements, the world system situation has been effective in the formation of constitutional and Islamic revolutions. On the other hand, based on documents, what Foran has stated regarding the inability of America at the time of revolution formation does not seem to be true and the role of political culture of opposition in forming both revolutions also needs to be refined.

Keyword: revolution- government- dependency development- global system- the political culture of opposition

Introduction and statement of the problem

Revolution is one of the most important social phenomena that rarely happen. The historical review shows, the more we are closer to the present time, the lower the number of social revolutions. To the extent that some have said about the end of the revolution and considered its life over especially in the twenty first century. However, thinking and theoretical reflection on this phenomenon is not only declining but we observe the increasing amount of researches and studies and growth of information and revolution. Numerous works are seen which reanalyze social revolutions especially great revolutions. The question is deeper when we see that among these revolutions, a large amount of western researches are devoted to the last great revolution i.e., the Islamic revolution of Iran. (Abrahamian, 2009: 28)

John Foran, a western theorist, in numerous works explained Islamic revolution independently or in relation to third world revolutions.

Following centuries of autocratic reign, for almost one hundred years ago, a revolution was formed in Iran under the formation of internal bases and some external assistance. The messages of this revolution were aversion to the existing oppression, hopes to improve the political structure and rescuing society from the numerous pains. Its purpose was to reach the justice as most as possible. This anti-authoritarian movement appeared in the form of constitutional

revolution. Iranians planned another revolution, with disputed leadership of Imam Khomeini, which led to victory. Second revolution was basically religious in spite of the first one and its purpose was to prevent all foreign countries penetration.

Theoretical framework

John Foran's model has been used in this study as he has not examined revolutions based on a single factor and he has considered culture in addition to structural factors and combined great ideas. His idea is a combination of:

Dependency theory

The most important figure of this theory can be named F.H. Caardoso, E. Faletto. In their preliminary definition of dependency, the scope of development is emphasized. From economical point of view, the system is dependent if accumulation and expansion of capital can't find its basic and required dynamic element in the system itself. In this definition an international economic system was referred to within its framework, various nations occupy positions of power and influence qualitatively in different levels. At the heart of advanced industrial countries, the key players control technology and finance and with this privilege, in particular way, make the countryside industrial. Development is impossible in such a situation. Economic growth which is measured by increased trade, an increase in the national gross production and industrialization may occur in some

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third world countries in an exact period of time. These achievements are usually accompanied with negative consequences such as inflation, unemployment, health problem, etc. Therefore, this kind of development is called dependent development which means grow, progress, and prosperity of minority of society and suffering and deprivation of majorities. Gunder Frank's theory is one of the recent cases. Therefore, no changes can be occurred in dependent situation to advanced industrial capitalist powers unless in exceptional times of war or world economic crisis which the relations are broken.

The world-system theory

The world system theory is mainly related to an expert in historical sociology, Emmanuel Wallerstein's opinion about existence of European capitalism of sixteenth century. It can be said that the modern world system which is led in Wallerstein's point of view by capitalist mode of production is made of a central core including powerful governments having the greatest share of the excess of international economy, a marginal area of the weak governments who are exploited at a high level and a semi-peripheral area including layers of government exploited by central core and exploiting marginal regions.

Government and culture theory

While studying the social revolutions, Theda Skacpol has tried to put government at the center stage i.e., assuming government a self-organizing structure. "An structure with its own logic and benefits, which is not necessarily synonymous with the benefits of ruling class of society or the whole set of group members of political society, and is not also necessarily related to it. In Skacpol's opinion, government is not merely an area of class struggle but it is a massive structure whose bases are "a set of administrative, police and military organizations and an administrative position at the organization head which is more or less responsible for coordination. In this situation, he has the ability to **manure** and can confront the dominant classes of society who are competing on society resources, maintain internal order and compete with other governments in the internal arena."(Foran, 2002:13-15)

Dependence on foreign capital and the dominance of government on society is imposed on material and spiritual welfare of various groups and social classes which should be kept alive in the daily context of its political and cultural orientations and is formed by them. Political culture is a complex amalgam formulation of explicit ideology, culture and tradition of the people and practical orientation towards available situations and environments. This type of political culture of resistance can make a determining intrusive cause between exploitation objective

relations and suppress with political action. Not only the culture of resistance and opposition embodied in social movements but also the culture of legitimacy that are used by dominant groups should be considered in their parts potentially as an area of research. According to John Foran, dependency development was made to external pressures on third world countries. The new situation opens the way for the emergence of a repressive government and this government will pave the way for the opposite side as a result of these conditions a revolutionary situation arises.

In Foran's explanation "the political culture is a combination of formulation of clear ideology, culture and people's tradition and practical orientation to available situations and environments. All of the mentioned aspects should be analyzed and used for this purpose" why and how do certain groups conclude that it is possible to oppose the government authority." In other words, with some kind of practical and political action, the political culture of resistance can relate in favorite objective conditions and favorite subjective situation. In his view, the political culture of legitimacy have the same importance and theses cultures that are used by dominant groups should be regulated as potential areas of research having cause and result relations. (Foran,2002:31-32)

To fill the vacuum, he uses a layout that is applied in analysis of historical development of Iran.

Foran believes that to realize revolution in third world countries, a bilateral crisis is essential in addition to inequalities and structural problems and making of one or some political culture of resistance as their response, the decline of the domestic economy and its simultaneous emergence which he calls "the opening of the world system".

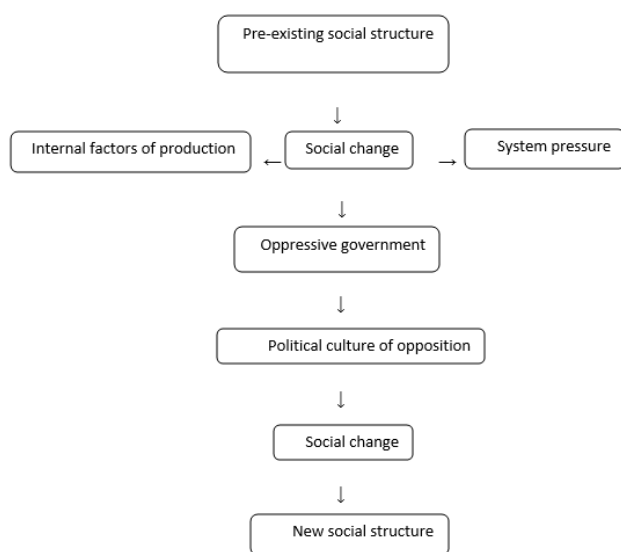
Iran's Islamic revolution, the United States hesitated to support the regional suppressive unions like king and Sumoza and this provided an opportunity for third world rebels which ended sometimes later when Reagan came to power in 1981. In fact, the inability of the key powers of the world, in dealing with Iran, paved the way for showing completely the internal forces balance and this led to Iran's success. At that time the world system was in favor of Iran's victory and this led to the success of Iran i.e., the central power of the government did not embark on intervening offensively and aggressively and did not prevent Iran's victory.

Therefore Foran believes:

If the above mentioned conditions are all gathered, there will be a revolutionary movement in which the multi-class coalition of social forces will appear to implement a revolutionary plan. Such a board

coalition has the best opportunity to seize government power. When dependent development pattern is created as a result of confronting world-system with production aspects in third world countries, mostly (but not always) there is a need to a repressive government in order to control the social forces related in the process. Such a government (and supporting foreign powers) inevitably pave the way for the opposite side which knows the existing political cultures as its support. And finally, the social revolutions of third world occurs as a result of a mixture of the ravages of the domestic economy and what is said as "open space of world systematic" by its author. The first one has the evident deterioration of various groups of society's situation and the second is ended to "penetration permission" of foreign dominant powers in equation which in turn can be caused by disturbances or competition between major powers or as occurred in Iran and Nicaragua in the late 1970's, results from the relative criticism of main powers of dominant regimes suppressant. (foran,2000:27-32)

The theoretical model used in this research
The integrated model of John Foran



Research objectives

- * Can the development procedure of Iran in Pahlavi Qajar period be called dependent flow?
- * How much effective was the political culture of opposition factor in Qajar and Pahlavi period?
- * How much influential was the impact of world system on constitutional and Islamic revolutions?
- * To what extent has the economic crisis been effective in revolution?
- * How effective was the role of government in making constitutional and Islamic revolutions?

Description of revolutions

Constitutional revolution

Among wonderful historical events of Iran, the constitutional revolution is prominent. Iran was for the first time against the tyranny of kings and old rotten regime from one side and abuses against capitalist Europe from the other side. (shamim,2007:411)

The advent of constitutional revolution

A. The loss of Iran states

One of the main reasons of discomfort and displeasure of people was the loss of Iran's territory from the four sides. (Amini,2008:185)

B. Iranian's trips to European countries

Travelling to developed countries and observing their great civilizations and various developments, industries, sciences, explanations, discoveries and beautiful cities which all were the result of national government, Iranians were attracted and interested in new changes and wished to have developments and to be the same as developed countries. (Malekzadeh,2003:85)

C. The Russia revolution

Iran's open minded people who were harassed by the increasing pressure of Russia government on Iran and the interference of Russia agents on inner tasks appreciated the liberal revolution of Russia. Despite the existence of tyranny pressure which prevented Iran's relation with world free media, people gained the pleasant news of Russia liberty and published them among the freedom enamoureds.

D. Japan revolution

Japan's rapid development was one of the effective factors in enlightening Iranians. Iran people who considered Japan as their co-continent were ashamed when they saw Japan's development in a short time. And they thought despotic reign responsible for their retardation. Japan's reign was constitutional for years and Iranians imagined that they can develop only with a constitutional reign.

E. Killing of Naser Aldin Shah

During fifty years of his reign, Naser Aldin shah ruled people in a despotic way and separated Iran from developed countries and democratic nations in a way that there was no hope for justice and freedom in such an oppressive and dark environment. Killing of Naser Aldin Shah, the despotic ruler by a liberal man, is one of the great historical events which had an important role in releasing Iran from the constraint of slavery. (Malekzadeh,2003:87-100)

F. Tabacoo uprising

when Naser aldin Shah travelled to Europe for the third time, The British insisted a lot on his presence in this country. Their purpose was to make their new

demands. One of their demands was the Tabacoo concession. (Rezaie, 1999:181)

Based on this concession, the ruler gave the monopoly to purchase and sale tabacoo within and outside the country to an English named Talbot. This was for a period of fifty years. The company accepted to pay Iran 15000 pounds and also a quarter of its benefit each year. Talbot was to pay 15000 pounds and a quarter of the benefit while in ottoman, whose tabacoo was less than Iran, the concession of only inside selling was given to accompany for 700000 pounds and one fifth of its benefit was also given to government. People did not know this but were afraid of foreigners' coming to the country. (Kasrawi, 1957:15) Following contract conclusion and the start of British forces actions to purchase tabacoo, Ayatollah Mirza Shirazi, the religious leader of Shia, proclaimed that the purchase, sale and use of tabacoo was prohibited and it was like fighting with Imam Zaman. This action provoked people against this contract and its agents. People also stopped purchasing, selling, and using tabacoo.

The ruler was to suppress the opposed movement but that was a religious movement which was done by people's heart so Naser Aldin Shah had to cancel the contract. In most theorists' opinion, tabacoo uprising had a great effect on constitutional revolution. (AdWan, 1968:62)

G. Mozaffar Aldin Shah

Mozaffar Aldin Shah was not as hard-hearted and strong-willed as his father. He did not tend to be harsh and despotic. He could not naturally prevent liberal organization or suppress liberals like his father. His reign period flourished Iran's horizon. (Amini, 2008:187)

H. Publishing of newspaper

Half a century before the advent of constitution, some national newspapers were published in foreign countries. These newspapers should be called liberal pioneers. The success of these national newspapers was due to practical liberty of the authors in the environment they lived and they were far from Iran. (Malekzadeh, 2003:196)

I. Japan and Russia war

This war occurred in the last years of Mozaffar Aldin Shah's reign period in 1905. This war which lasted a year and a half resulted in Japan's success and Russia's failure. The failure of the greatest military government of Europe by Japan stimulated Iranians to overthrow the dictatorial palace.

Continuous sanctuary in British Embassy, the psychological and social pressures caused by migration of Tehran's scholars and leaders to Qom

made Mozaffar Aldin Shah dismiss Einodoole from his position as the prime minister and a few years later, He decreed to establish constitution. (Karimi, 2007:15,45)

Iran's Islamic revolution

The roots of Iran's Islamic revolution

A. The coup of February 21, 1953

The coup plan was implemented on 21 of February. While the mob of the market gymnasium made an uproar, thirty two tanks moved towards Tehran and surrounded key location. After three hours of combat with three home guard tank of Mossadegh's home, Zahedi was announced as the appointed prime minister of Shah. (Abrahamian, 2009:223)

The coup of 1953 had long term consequences. Shah removed Mossadegh but did not get rid of his spiritual attractiveness. The coup undermined the legitimacy of the monarchy to a great extent and related the king to the imperialist powers. In Iran's opinion, Britain was not only the main enemy imperialism but accompanied America, The coup cabinet had two tasks after its victory: first, suppressing anti-imperialist movement and strengthening the political position of the regime. Second, solving the oil problem that opened the door to solving economic problems after the coup. (Mirfendereski, 2007:177)

B. White Revolution of Mohammad Reza Shah

Relying on the support of America's government in his spring trip to Washington in 1963 and his decision to get along with Soviet Union as the leader of social and political reforms, Mohammad Reza Shah tried to run the reform program titled "white revolution" which was left incomplete when Amini went away.

C. Land reform in Iran

Land reform in Iran was a rule to achieve a stable policy which was done between farmers who had monotonous lives and their owners. The rule was dictated by the US in a country with stagnant economy. Land reform is a set of operations and actions taken place to change the land structure in a country or an area in order to improve social relations for determining the requirements in the application of new agricultural techniques and increasing agricultural production.

D. The consequences of Land reform

The political, economical and social purposes of land reform, as the Pahlavi regime claimed, can be known as the abolition of old serf-owner system, rapid expansion of financial and industrial bourgeoisie, weakening the strength of great owners as a powerful class of people, and paving the way for the formation of group of farmers with their own lands, increasing

the rural and urban working class and the growth of agricultural economy. However, the reform results did not practically match the stated goals of reform. Pahlavi regime's political objectives were more obtained compared with economic and social purposes. Land reform removed the temporary crisis of the government and stabilizes it for a while and expanded bureaucracy to Iran villages.

Land reform led to deterioration of income distribution in rural economy from one side and from the other side increased the number of unemployed workers without land, and very poor farmers with low productivity and standards of living. The rapid flow of rural migrated workers to urban areas with the high natural rate of population growth led to rapid expansion of the urban work forces small numbers of which were absorbed by modern industrial sector. (Goudarzi, 2009:145) Land reform could renovate the Iran's economy. Despite oil revenue, it remained unsupported industrially and financially and political system preferred to import 10 to 20 percents of agricultural requirements. As a result, land reform remained unsuccessful. Practical bankruptcy of agriculture and related capitalist growth led to a huge wave of rural migration to urban areas. (Alamdari,2001:493)

E.The massacre of 1964

In 1964, The king had a powerful position both militarily and politically and was able to confront his opponents. The religious traditional tendency and some statements and writing against land reform and women's rights also strengthened the advertising position of the king.

On Khordad 15 of 1965, a wide riot occurred all over the country. The king went to Saad Abad palace and as the telegraph daily newspaper announced victoriously in its first page: The command of fire was given in order to kill. The slaughter lasted three days. According to official statistics, the number of victims was less than 90 and based on unofficial statistics, the number were 5000 to 6000. The uprising of Khordad 15th was not only religious, conservative, radical or democratic, it was also people's uprising against the government and included all trends. It was led by religious leaders especially Imam Khomeini and its members were merchants, vendors, farmers, traders, artisans, students, workers, the unemployed and political activists. (Katouzian,2006:273)

Analysis of two revolutions based on John Foran's model

The role of government in forming constitutional revolution

In the opinions of nineteenth century Europeans, Qajar kings were generally seen as a perfect symbol of "Eastern despot" but the undisputed authority of the kings was merely superficial. In his speech, the king claimed to have the monopoly of coercive, administrative, legal, and judicial means. His words were law. The dismissal and appointment of officials were in his authority. He knew himself as the owner of the whole country and could claim to have all the country's property. (Abrahamian, 2009:28) Qajar autocracy was not basically different from the previous despotic reign. The only feature of Qajar was being simultaneous with democracy period of Europe.(Karimi,2007:9)

The pre-constitutional government was deeply tied to dynasty of hatred Qajar. The legitimacy of Qajar during nineteen century was due to the failure of Iran against Russia, reform failure and surrendering various privileges and with all deficiencies, on the eve of the twentieth century, nothing was left of the legitimacy of the monarchy. Surely the government crisis had political, economical and epideologic aspects. (Foran, 2002:30)

The government's role in the formation of Islamic revolution

From the experimental point of view, the Pahlavi regime represents a unique experience. The main features of this government, however, was rooted in a history of thousands years. Iran's social and economic system in usual times was an authoritarian system based on lack of owners' rights. Therefore in unusual times (collapse of authoritarian regime by internal or external forces), the country underwent relatively long period of anarchy, chaos and lack of competent central authority so that the next dictator regime was located.(Katouzian,2006:225) In Mohammad Reza Shah's time, the government was exceptionally mixed with king and court and was part of the ruling class. As government was synonymous with the king and had the privilege of a higher class but other classes were not at the same class as the king and had no duty to defend the king, the government's downfall was made easier. If the regime did not treated people in that harsh way, there surely was not such a rapid downfall.(Foran,2002:30) Thus the government had a great role in the victory of the Islamic revolution. (Mohammadi, 1978:34)

The role of political culture of opposition in constitutional revolution occurrence

The role of opposed political culture in constitutional revolution occurrence has been explained by Foran as follow:

The political culture of constitutional revolution was in fact a seal of approval on its popular social origin. (Foran, 2002:275)Iran population in constitutional

period was estimated to be 10 millions. From these, 1.5 to 2 million lived in cities, 3 to 4.5 millions in rural areas and the left were nomadic tribes who were not settled in one place.

97 percents of Iranians were educated in those days and only 3 percent were able to read and write. Mirza Ali Khan Amin Aldole writes, Qajar kings trusted more on uneducated people rather than those who could read and write.

In those days, Iranians did not yet realize the value and importance of parties and the great structural role of political organizations. Majority of people i.e., great number of farmers were still unaware of their rights and social duties.

In such a society in which its majority were uneducated and were influenced by backward thoughts and acted politically based on superficialities, the low number of educated people can't be expected to be able to defend constitutional's objectives. (Malekzadeh,2003:214).

The role of political culture of opposition in Islamic revolution

Foran explains the role of political culture of opposition in revolutions:

"The formation of new political culture of king opponents in 1350's was a determinant factor in revolution.

The emergence of multi-class coalition can be realized through studying the political culture of the opponents, their organizations, class and dissatisfaction of related groups. In Foran's opinion the greatest danger of cultural factor is bounding it to sh'ism and valuing the role of clergymen and sometimes traders in comparison to other factors. (Foran,2002:275)

In Foran's model religion is not focused on though Shia had an important role in the unity of popular masses. In fact, based on the teaching of Islam and Shiism and for the sake of Islam and social justice, people revolted against Mohammad Reza Shah who made people unpleasant by doing actions like changing calendar which was based on the prophet's migration from Mecca to Medina into a calendar based on coronation of Korosh. Another criticism on this part of Foran's model is whether Dr. Shariati's fight was as effective as Dr. Mehdi Bazargan on the unity of people? Does Imam Khomeini's fight was as influential as other people and groups?

The role of economic crisis on constitutional revolution

Iran experienced an economic crisis in late 1283. Bad crops all over the country, the sudden record of north

trade due to cholera outbreak, the Russia-Japan war, and the subsequent revolution in Russia caused inflation or rapid increase in Iran food prices. During the last quarter of 1283, the price of sugar increased to 33 percent and wheat price went up to 90 percent in Tehran, Tabriz, Rasht and Mashhad.

At that time, considering the reduction of custom revenue, higher food prices, rejecting its demand for a new foreign borrowing, the government specified taxes for native merchants and delayed repayment of local creditors' loan installments.(Abrahamian,1995:74)

Thus, this part of the Foran's theory stating the economic crisis before constitutional revolution seems to be untrue.

Iran's economical condition before Islamic revolution

Economy was slack but not stagnant in Mohammad Reza's time. Following increased export, the oil revenue grew quickly and America's assistance was as effective as a sedative in a short time. In 1960-1963, the average annual growth of GDP was 1.6 percent, 10 percent for oil revenue.5-6 percent for industry and construction activities, 8 percent for services and 1.6 percent for agriculture. The descending rate of service growth was partly due to reduction in military and bureaucratic costs in the first budget of Amini. Poor performance of agriculture sector was indirectly due to the use of almost the whole oil revenue and foreign loans in cities and was indirectly due to the implementation of land reform plan. The more rapid growth of industry and construction, especially in 1962, was also due to the use of oil revenue and foreign assistance in Tehran. The explosion of oil revenue occurred in late 1972. Based on different ways of calculation, the average annual growth rate of GDP was 5-6 percent. Industrial production, construction activity and non-oil mining- which also included the increasing revenue of gas sale to Soviet Union- had the annual growth rate of 10 to 11percent, services 8-9 percent, agriculture 2-3 percent, and oil revenue 20 percent. The explosion of oil price in october1973 made it difficult to have logical conclusion of GDP growth rate in later years. What is more important in this period is the difference in the growth rate of non-oil inner sectors. GDP (which represents the national income level) had an increase of more than ten times over the fifteen years period. If we assume stable the exchange rate of rial to dollar equal to 75 rials, this means that GDP has reached 49365 million dollars in 1978 from 4323 million dollars in 1963. The figure capitations for GDP were 188 dollars and 1410 dollars but the exact figure based on dollar was higher in 1978because of the promotion of Iran exchange rate after 1352. (Katouzian, 2006:301)

Based on Ahmad Ashraf statistics, 1.5 percent of people had a high share in the country's income and only ten percent of the enormous revenue of oil.

The economical problem of Iran in Mohammad Reza Shah's period was rooted in poor distribution of oil income s and revenues.

The role of world system in constitutional revolution

Fortunately, at the same time that the dawn of the freedom movement was showing itself in Iran's horizon, the Russia government who was a great supporter of autocratic system of Iran and guaranteed the Qajar monarchy and opposed with any kind of progress was involved in internal and external problems and this government's problems provided liberals the opportunity to reach their purposes.

In 1907, contemporary to constitutional revolution, Reuter announced, " A great revolution was set in Moscow and it was thought that the revolutionaries defeated army Burysyga. In addition to this problem, Russia was in an exterior war with Japan. British movement saw its interest at stake. Its radio and newspapers announced the world that Iran was oppressed and dictator government was brutal and invited Iranians to favor democracy. As British's government was constitutional, it could win Iranian's trust. (Malekzadehn, 2003:213) Thus Foran statement that the world system was in such a way that provided a unique opportunity for revolutionary alliance is confirmed. In world system theory, Iran has gone out of foreign arena mostly out of global economy orbit and has accepted to have a marginal role in world economy of capitalism.

The role of the world system on Islamic revolution formation

There is a consensus with Foran in this case that the world system situation of first half of 1971's was in such a way that the Islamic revolution won. The major factors affecting on the change of political atmosphere are the attention of international Amnesty organization in London to human rights in Iran, intense competition between the two key powers of the world i.e., America and Soveit Union and the effect of this competition on international flexibility and indirect effect of Carter's human rights. In early 1975, international Amnesty organization which was busy visiting the political prisoners in East camp paid its attention to non-comonist countries and discovered that Iran was one of the main human rights violators in the world. (Foran, 2002:228) The opening in world system which was largely as a result of the attention of human right organizations to non-democratic countries and also competition between major powers of international system was partly effective in clear political environment. The human

right policy of Carter can be named as one of the flexibility factor in international system because of its prevention of communism infiltration in Iran. However, this policy was adjusted in Iran. The king regime went temporarily under the pressure of Carter administration. It can be claimed that the human right policy of Carter had only indirect effect on Iran revolution. This means that the king felt that if the pressure and repression of regime is reduced, he can keep himself popular in the eyes of democratic president. The opponents tried to use the created global opportunity to express their protests and demands in the form of statement and open letters. The other point is that, opposed to Foran's claim, America did not stop supporting the regime whose aim was suppressing the opponents. Selecting other choices like coup and military intervention exists in suppression of Iran revolution by America's side.

America, however, faced major obstacles in implementing these scenarios due to great power and the united uprising of Iranians from one side and the experience of failure in Vietnam and the pressure of the domestic public opinion from the other side.

Dependency development in Qajar period

In 1267, Linch brothers established a company using a steamer in Abadan to Ahvaz track which was already active in Karoon river.

To help the traders and English merchants, Britain established Shahi bank of Iran. Following this action, Russia also made its desired bank. The British company in Karoon could get the following rights: road construction and telegraph in the south, providing finance for carpet workshops in Isfahan, establishment of Shahi bank with full authority of printing money, and the most important, drilling for oil in the south west. Russia has also gained other rights, the right of fishing in the Caspian sea, drilling for oil in the north, road construction and telegraph lines to connect their boundaries to the cities of Tehran, Tabriz and Mashhad. Balgians had the right of not only establishing railroad between Tehran and Abdul Azim shrine, but they also had the right of construction of tramway, wiring the street, a sugar factory, and a glass factory. By the end o f the nineteen century, foreign investment in Iran reached as a whole to 60 million dollars. In the meantime, the Iranian private entrepreneurs also founded moderate plants. Power plants are in Tehran, Tabriz, Rasht, Mashhad, sugar factory in Mazandaran, silk factory in Guilan, cotton cleaning plant in Tehran, Paper mill and printing office in Tehran and Isfahan. (Abrahamian,2009:269)

To find out if Iran was developed in Qajar period, we should know whether actions like making factory and

rights like telegraph lines, bank, ...were due to Iran or foreigner's interests?

The answer is somehow clear. Action done by British countries to establish Shahi bank made it easy for them to steal Iran's interest. To get more benefits, Shahi bank of Iran did not print monotonous money so there was a need to pay interest in order to exchange them. Thus this bank was established because of its benefits. It seems that Iran had some developments in Qajar period as most action done by foreigners was because of their own interests and most people were deprived of it.

Dependency development in Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's period

In dependency development, some development indexes like GDP, foreign business and industrialization showed some improvements but these will have negative results such as unemployed problems, inflation, urban overcoming, failure in providing education and health services for a wide range of social classes. Among third world countries, Iran will have the highest industrial growth and GDP. Considering the country's dependence on oil revenue and its independency on exporting industrially made goods, there were only some deceptive indicators. The share of oil export was only two percent at that time and due to the increase of oil production amount and its price, the oil export had reached to 98 percent. On the eve of 1980's, Iran was not only unlike new Japan but it was not even a certain member of the semi-periphery. (Foran,2002:219)Therefore, dependency development dissatisfied various groups of society especially tradesmen, workers, and rural classes. At last they could form a coalition against the king tyranny and overthrow it.

Criticism of John Foran's model

1. Making central the considerations of class and material-economic criteria

Foran knows the pivot of his theoretical research about Iran development in "presenting a solution to the problem of integrating world system and production aspect of dependency patterns. In other words, what has become important for him in the history of Iran social changes from Safavie to years after revolution is mostly economical development and Iran's underdevelopment. For this reason, his researches are pervaded by a kind of economical and financial view. In theories which focus more on the structural aspects of development, it is essential to explain how long term and structural process affect idea arrangement, forces and resources to pave the way for developments and if they can discover the cause and present a logical analysis, they have done the most important part of structural analysis. In explanation of developments, movements, revolutions and theorizing, it is important to be in the

middle while this part of Foran's theory is weaker than other parts and has more dissociation with overall structure of the theory. Putting "production facet" theory in five facet theories is accompanied by an unproven default. If it falls, theories combination will face a problem and changes in production facet is the base of other political and cultural changes. The dissatisfaction about government policies are mainly due to this case which results in manipulation in dignity and credibility of production ways.

2. On the other hand, deeper relations of groups (urbans, merchants, workers) with political and social movements could have had different factors and could not be lowered to class considerations and necessities of production ways. As an example the flow of information and news is more in cities than in villages and the urban' knowledge and information (including religious and non-religious) cannot be compared with that of rural. Among the urban, merchants had naturally high religious and political knowledge because they have traditionally been in an environment linked with clergy, speech, meetings, sermons and reading of Quran, and these are not related to production ways and issues like that.

3. In some case, a classified interpretation has been presented of people's religious ideas. In fact, these ideas led to creation of Marxist and liberal ideas based on which classified factors in analysis became common. For instance anti-oppression justice, pessimistic look at relaxed painless people and other such ideas which are mainly based on Islamic and Shia's culture shows people's understanding and their struggle against classes and confiscate their ideas.

Conclusion

Iran has passed two revolutions. The first revolution i.e., constitutional revolution led to the short time success of intellectuals. It was based on fully anti-religious laws and ruled out clergymen armed with the speech skill on pulpits in mosques. Since the government was synonymous with the hatred king through history, it was attacked by the lower classes. The government had great role in both revolutions. The masses participated in constitutional revolutions wanted to limit king's power but masses of people in Islamic revolution were killing to dismantle the monarchy completely. The first revolution ended in dictatorship due to the difference between intellectuals and clergymen but due to the wise leadership the second revolution led to a great victory. Studying the major reason of constitutional revolution failure makes the role of leadership clearer. What was unbelievable for previous theorists and made some of them retrieve from their theories. Unlike the pundit's opinion who believed industrialization and modernism led to a religion disappearance, people masses were able to unite

based on this religion and made Islamic revolution victorious by Imam Khomeini leadership.

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