

Transformation Pattern in the political Transition

Period of the Revolutions

Case Study: Islamic Revolution of Iran

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Abstract

In this research, the period of political transition has been studied with reference to revolution. The current research applied descriptive and analytical methods with the use of library resources and documents in order to focus on the pattern of post-revolutionary political transition period of the Islamic revolution in Iran. Results show that governmental and constitutional structures in the post-revolutionary period were institutionalized on the basis of elite revolutionary ideology, and most of the incidents after Iranian revolution such as export of revolution, seizure of American embassy, and ethnical internal crises such as those of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan became the layout for the future geopolitical challenges of Iran. Emerging political competition among political groups and revolutionary elites, possession of power ethnical claims, and formation of revolutionary structures etc were happened.

Keywords: Political transition, Islamic revolution, Power structure, Revolution, Iran.

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INTRODUCTION

As the real and most important discussion in political geography from the structural point of view, the country is manifested together with three elements of "territory", "nation", and "government" (Mojtahedzadeh, 2002:31). These elements are transformed under particular condition but are not to be omitted from the structure of a country. If political organization in a geographical space does not function according to the wishes of the nation new structures are established on the basis of the desires of transition agents as well as nation. According to the political geographers like Cohen and Rosenthal, political systems are guided upon the functional nature, consisting of equilibrium and inter-dependency of ingredients (Dikshit, 1995: 184). Richard Hartshorne with a systematic approach also considered the existence of a country dependent to the dynamic equilibrium of constructive and destructive forces. Constructive forces cause integration, union, cohesion and survival of the state whereas destructive forces cause disintegration and decay of the state (Haggett, 1996:365). Political transition in every country arises from instability, downfall and governmental breakdown. Types of political transitions are according to their grounds of formation including political reforms, coup d'etat, occupation and revolution (Bashiryeh, 2003:191).

Revolution, in the most common meaning, is to endeavor for basic change and transition in the system of government (Laqueur, 1996:91) or according to Goldstone, illegal subjugation and usually violent power that cause the basic transition in the governing institution (Goldstone, 1996:82). Hanna Arenet also considers revolution as alteration means fresh air where violence is for freedom from oppression with the intention to establish independence (Arenet, 1982:47). Possession of official power is integral part of revolution. In reality, what is indicated that rulers are deprived by another group and open the way for more political and social transition (Brier and Calvert, 1982:11).

Much of the post-revolutionary changes take place till the time new rule is established. Absence of constitution to establish relation between ruler and ruled (Qazi shariatpanahi, 1998:13), existence of provisional leaders and administrators in the country, competition between power claimants, struggle among people and central government in the countries possessing ethnical groups, lack of political-administrative mechanisms for administrative affairs are some of the indicators of the period of political transition. By this way, the period that continue from the downfall of old regime to the establishment of political institutions of new regime -that establish the monopoly again in the country- can be called as the period of political transition (Fig.1).

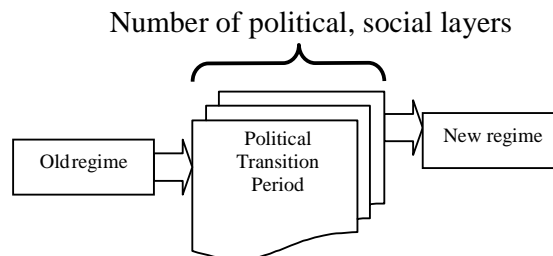


Figure1: Political transition in post-revolutionary periods

Lack of distinct political system means an effort for bringing an order and explaining manner of connecting a particular political regime that not only take into account three-fold governing institutions rather it also focus to establish relation and power distribution among organizations, groups and structures with dispensation to existing condition that are some of the obvious features of period of political transition (Pairov, 1987:279).

One of the important transformations of contemporary Iran has been the Islamic revolutionary process in 1979 that led to the changes in political, social, economic, security and structures. Period of political transition began with the fall of Pahlavi regime on February 11, 1979 on one side and election of Bazargan as Prime Minister, with the help of Ayatollah Khomeini that continued up to the formation of new administrative system with the first presidential elections on January 26, 1980.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The actual question of the current research is: what transformations and events take place in the period of post-revolutionary political transition? To respond to this question, many secondary questions were propounded and studied in different domains which are as follows:

- What events occurred in the domain of political management (decision making, execution and supervision)?
- What incidents occurred in the domain of unity and territorial integrity (divergence, convergence and political parties)?
- What changes came into being in the domain of political, social and national securities?
- What events occurred in the domain of economy and public service security?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The current research is a kind of descriptive-analytic in nature, which data have been gathered from bibliotic methods. Analysis was made through applying syllogistic reasoning and data were analyzed with qualitative methods. Due to the connection of research with peripheral and spatial interactions data analyzed by the qualitative method.

BACKGROUND OF FORMATION OF IRANIAN REVOLUTION

Islamic Revolution of Iran was one of the important transitions in the last decades of 20th century that emerged outside the axis of socialism and capitalism. Earlier cultural, social, economic, political and ideological conditions (Enayat, 1998:44) helped accelerate Iranian revolution, and also numerous internal and external factors led the clergies to accede to power. Based on the opinion and analyses, the grounds for the emergence of Islamic Revolution of Iran are as follows:

1. Economic background (Modernization)

Iran witnessed big economic transformation and transition to industrial capitalism from that of rural system, during 1953 and 1979. Nationalization of oil and related incidents, though, are important from the political and economic point of views but that did not bring fundamental change in Iranian economy. Expansion of capitalist system after 1953 caused deep political and economic issues. Policies of development and investment of Iranian government excelled (Jorjani, 1999:149). On the other side, appearance of the White Revolution that usually borrowed from the Rustau view points was executed in Iranian economy that bloomed accordingly till it did not fall into the lap of communism, and by this reason only land reform was propounded in Iran (Zare, 2000:242).

Above transformation was witnessed along with the rise in oil incomes in a way that Iran's oil revenue increased to \$5.6 billion in 1973 from \$ 817 million in 1968 and reached to \$22 billion in 1974 (Amjad, 2001:61). In the process, employment in agricultural sector decreased to 23% between 1963 and 1978 (Bayat, 1987:25). In the military dimension, American coup d'état of 1953 and competitions among Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia in acquiring

the first position of regional power persuaded Mohammad Reza Shah¹ to depend much importance to defense power more than before. Process of militarization of the country reflected in the increase of military forces and their budget. Forces were raised from 200,000 to 410,000 in 1977. Similarly, annual military budget was increased from \$293 millions in 1964 to \$1.8 billion in 1973 and then reached to \$7.3 billions in 1976 after four-fold increase in the global oil prices (Abrahamian, 2004:535). At the climax of economic crisis, Shah (King) purchased American arms amounting to \$12 billions in 1976 (Rahbari, 2000:253). By this way, extensive part of the national budget was spent on defense. Renovation policy of Pahlavi regime had two outcomes: first, weakening pre-capitalist orders of traditional society; second, creating ground for the emergence of populous society through land and economic reforms, urbanization, migration and marginalization that were believed to be the real factors for the revolution.

2. Ideological background

Political mobilization as such could result from economic, political and social conditions, also could results from ideological ground. Leaders of revolution as ideologue presented revolutionary ideology and guided and managed them (Bashiryeh, 2004:92-93 and Mohammadi, 2002:117). Grounds of the emergence of Iranian Revolution were pertaining to a kind of collective process as compared to Shiite religion (Enayat, 1998:46; Shafieefar, 2005:547) that became effective as an ideology. The most important conditions that led to the emergence of religious ideologies in 1960s and 1970s are:

- Dissolution of some social and cultural structures in the modernization process;
- Deprivation among social strata;
- Enormous growth of middle class;
- Emergence of century old mythical structures in the society;
- Effect and influence of leftist ideology (Nikpai, 1999: 357).

In the process of Islamic revolution and Shiite revolutionary hegemony, clergies were effective in this phenomenon; particularly, the development and formation of clergy and their relationships with the government separate them from other Islamic countries. Religious community of Iran, in reality, was attached to the channels of mosques, seminaries and local sermons

¹ - Mohammad Reza Shah as the King, as well as the head of state of Iran.

(Heshmatzadeh, 1998:350) and was scattered whole country and clergies by utilizing them could develop and stabilize their own influence in order to hold on the socio-political transition in Iran.

3. Self-Centered State

On the other side, revolutionary transition of Iran arises from self-centered government whose strength and power were not based on established law. state and society were practically autonomous and were opposed to each other (Humanyun Katouzian, 2001:32). With the development of bureaucratic and repressive systems, gap between government and people widened (Moaddel, 2003:76). Coup d'état of 1953 was clear victory of dictatorship¹ and end of the short democratic phase of Mosaddeq². After the coup, the military rule was enforced till 1957 and illegal workers union and extensive censor were applied on the publications. In 1955, Shah took absolute control and eradicated the oppositions, completely. Suppression of opposition allowed the Shah to strengthen his power without facing to any serious opposition (Amjad, 2001:112) and establish extensive policing and security apparatus. After the incident of May 5, 1963, all the opposition leaders were either in the prisons or were under the strict supervision of intelligence organization popularly called SAVAK (Sazeman-e Ettelaat va Amniyat-e Keshvar), and as such members of Majlis (Parliament) were also strictly screened by SAVAK (Nejati, 1992:259). From 1963 to 1976, their power hastily grew because most of the oppositions had scared away (Humanyun Katouzian, 2004:47). Peoples' dislike for Shah King and his bloody combat during 1978-79 was indicator of dictatorship of Pahlavi regime.

Forces Participating in Iranian Revolution

During the period of struggle against King or Pahlavi regime, many political and social groups participated in the struggle based on their own social, economic, class and ideological benefits. Segregation of these groups and forces are different according to different view points but following the same they can be distinguished into four important blocks that are: Traditionalist related to clergy class; Secular and Liberal parties and groups related to new middle class; Radical Islamist groups related to the

¹ -Refer to the Shah(king)

² -Refer to the Prime Minister

intellectual and educated class and; Partisan Socialist parties. These groups and parties were also formed in the early years of revolution were also formed on two ideological axes (Fig.2).

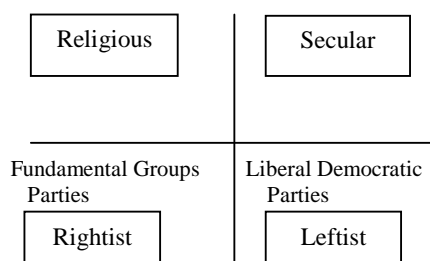


Figure 2: Classification of political groups in the formation of Iranian revolution (Source: Bashiryeh, 2003:27)

Apart from the above organized groups, other groups also played effective role in the formation of Islamic Revolution of Iran. The most important of them are as under:

- Businessmen, who were sacrificed owing to industrialization and growth of the capitalist production;
- Students were the most active opponents of the regime in the post- 1953 coup;
- Marginalized immigrants of the cities who were more than two millions between 1963 and 1978;
- Worker class who became evident in the post-White Revolution. In 1978, total workforces in Iran were 10.6 million. Increasing inflation, lack of housing, low salary, suppression of independent unions of workers etc. were some of the back grounds for the entry of this group in the downfall of regime (Amjad, 2001:175-186).

PATTERN OF CHANGGES IN THE PERIOD OF POLITICAL TRANSITION

1. Inter action of forces in power process

After the victory of Islamic Revolution, competition began to acquire power. In this circumstance, leftist groups were gradually put aside from the country's political arena (Esposito, 1999:65) and as such, the competitions between clergies

and liberalists began for the appropriation of power till at the end, country was controlled by traditionalist with the help of clergies. Some of businessmen, capitalists, lawyers, civil servants, judges and other parts of new middle classes supported secular parties while traders, craftsmen, guilds and main stack of people supported clergies (Bashiryeh, 2003:34). Secularists emphasized mostly on pure republic, law, freedom and democracy, whereas, clergies put emphasis on Islamization of sovereignty, Velayat-e-Faghih, and jurisprudence (Fig. 3)

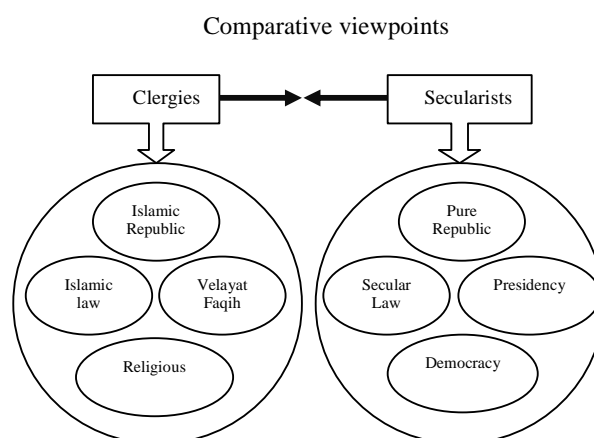


Figure 3: Interaction of Secularists and traditionalist clergies in setting governance

2. Formation of provisional institutions for country's administrative affairs

With the fact that during the post-revolutionary political transition, basic structures of the previous regime became absent and new structures had not yet emerged, provisional institutions established for the administrative affairs. These post-revolutionary institutions can be classified into following categories:

- Revolutionary Council (For provisional law making and policies);
- Provisional Government (Executive branch);
- Revolution Committee (Armed officials executing government's orders);
- Revolutionary Courts (Judiciary); and
- Revolutionary Corps (Sepah-e-Pasdaran etc).

3. Emergence of managerial and service institutions

The most fundamental role of the country's elites, in search of institutionalizing and expanding political domain, is the legitimacy of new institutions (Azghandi, 2000:20). Islamic Revolution was not only a social revolution that led to the change in political regime (Hafeznia, 1990:120) rather with the collapse of old system, it focused to produce new institutions to execute its programs and policies. Obviously, the much influence of Islamic Revolution has been with respect to political and institutional. Most of these institutions emerged in the early years of revolution directly under the order of Ayatollah Khomeini as the leader of the revolution. These institutions are as follows:

- Defense and security institutions (Islamic Revolution Committee, Islamic Revolutionary Corps);
- Cultural political and ideological institutions (leader); Office of the religious propagation in Qom. Organization of Islamic Propagations; Higher Council of Cultural Revolution; literacy movement. Political & ideological office of armed forces; Higher council of Islamic propagation and etc);
- Service institutions-(Poor's and War Veterans Charitable Foundation; Islamic Revolution Martyrs Foundation; Imam Khomeini Charitable Committee, 15th Khordad Foundation and etc.);
- Economic institutions -(Seven member group for land donations; constructive movement and etc);
- Judicial institutions (Group for purifying offices from corruption; Islamic revolutionary courts and etc.);
- Legislative institutions -(Revolution Council; Constitutional experts or Khubregan; Guardian Council);
- Executive institutions -(Provisional Government; Revolution Council) (Ghabel, 1990:251-54).

Distinctions of these institutions with those of the apparatus and institutions of the previous regime have been in three following aspects:

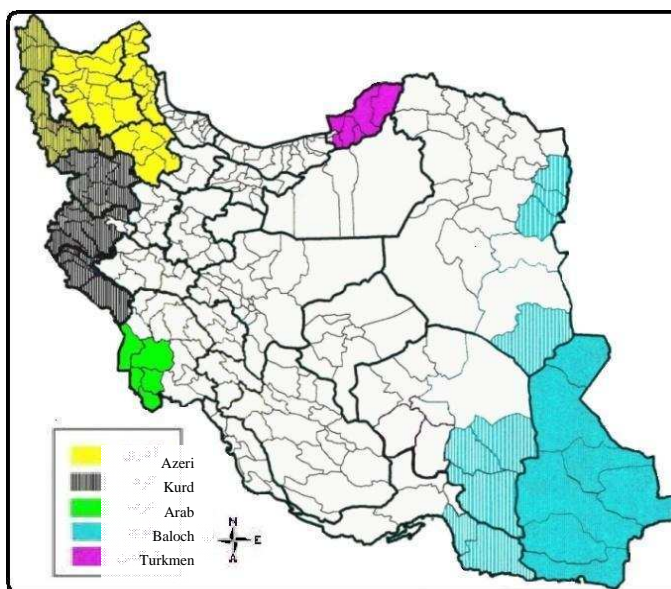
- Activities and types of duties;
- Management, organization and formations;
- Human resources (Kalantari, 1990:88).

From the distinct features of these institutions, we can point to the lack of expertise in selecting human resources, lack of yardstick to measure standards; lack of experts and existence of social relation culture, in the early revolution. Key forces of these institutions were mostly people

associated with revolution (Khaleeji, 1990:106) and appointments took place on the basis of revolutionary credentials and ideological truths (Esposito, 1999:64) that coordinated with the revolutionary aims.

4. Ethnic and ethnical demands

Geographical and environmental structure of Iran divided into two parts central and peripheral that is attached together. Central part of Iran possess wider environment whose mid-elements establish lateral homogeneity and is integrated with respect to the ethnical, language, cultural, religious and is counted as the real and main part of the nation. This part is entirely Iranian, from the point of view of Islam, Shiite belief, Persian language and culture. As against the homogenous central part, periphery parts that include elevated region, have encountered interruption and contain a collection of diverse ethnics and groups. People at the periphery possess distinguished language and dialect, ethnicity, religion and local culture and are distinct from the central part and even among each other (Hafeznia, 2002:148-49) (Map. 1).



Map1: Pattern of ethnical groups structure in Iran (Hourcade & others,1998, Hafeznai, 2002:158, karimipour,2002:137)

Political movements in the ethnics regions of Iran always had direct relation with the central government. When central government did not enjoy suitable power and authority in order to enforce its influence, or during the transition from a system to another, the state had faced challenges in those units. However, the roots of challenges of ethnicity cannot alone consider to the power of central authority; other factors too, influence this process like feelings of relative deprivation, unequal distribution in the political structure, manner of geographical setting of the ethnic groups and profit of tribal elites. We would discuss below some of the important ethnical transformations during the post-revolutionary political transition in Iran.

Kurdistan: Kurds, though, are Sunnis in their belief and possessed inclination to autonomy from the very beginning but they also voiced for Islamic revolution together with the rest of Iranian people. Slogans like 'Death to Shah' and 'Praise to Khomeini' were heard even in Kurdistan. For a short period after the revolution, Kurdish crisis with respect to their ethnical identity began in the form of a resolution from Sheikh Ezuddin Hosseini, Abdur Rehman Qasemlu and Ghani Beloorian to the representatives of central government (Keyhan, February 2, 1979) that was rejected by new government. With the beginning of irregular battles in the Kurdistan region with enormous expenditure and killing of large number of people from two sides continued for some years.

Turkmen Desert: The crises in the Turkmen Desert began in the middle of 1979 and continued about one month that was finally suppressed. Motivation of the Turkmen was arisen out of the economic problem dominated in the previous regime as their land was under the occupation of Pahlavi families. After the revolution as they found suitable opportunity, the old wounds and anger refreshed and under the protection of ethnic leaders and political powers, the political movement 'Khalq-e-Turkman' was formed (Hafeznia, 2002: 178). This crisis ended with the suppression of Turkmen by the central government.

Azerbaijan: Unrest in Azerbaijan especially Tabriz was formed in the months of December-January 1980 by Mosalman Khalq party that was in reality against the Islamic Republic Party (Amjad, 2001:218) and was in the form of clergies against clergies. This movement did not care the ethnical approach but simply began opposing the central government in the framework of competition of elites versus elites over the share of revolution (Maghsoudi, 2001:337). In continuation, this move was supported by some outside power till the crisis took its ethnical shape.

In Sistan and Baluchistan as well as Khuzestan, groups like Baluch and

Arab ethnical began their movements with the ethnical approach after the revolution and in some cases their national desire went along with the military struggle that wasted time and money of the newly formed government for some time to deal with the challenges.

5. Lack of security organizations and development of insecurity

Unrests develop after each revolution due to lack of security organization which can be observed in the following cases in the post-revolutionary Iran:

- Aggression to properties of rich classes especially the properties of the officials of the previous regime and religious minorities like some Jews.
- Prevalence of accusations like Bahaists or Savakis that are abundant in the publications of this period.
- Collective movements were not organized;
- Killing a number of people from the previous regime by the people depend on the revolutionary movements (See Ittelat and Kayhan dailies of later 1979 and early 1980).
- Trials of opponents in the central and local revolutionary courts (such as executions that took place with the help of Sadegh Khalkhali in Kerman Shah and Gonbad) (Ali Babaei, 2005:233);
- Continuation of strikes that had begun from the earlier period.

6. Stabilization of new government and punishment leaders of previous regime

Emergence of Islamic Revolution was in a modern form, with the emergence of authoritarianism. In this process few elements had an important role, for example, modernism, nationalism, formation of central government apparatus, permanent political parties and so on (Humayun Katozian, 2002:334). Prevalent of these factors, apart from historical role and place of clergies in the social structure of Iran and emergence of this class as Islamic-- Shiite revolutionary, anti-colonial, justice-seeker and protector of masses—raised them to occupy power in the post-revolutionary period and as such charismatic legitimacy (Weber, 1991:170) of clergies like Ayatollah Khomeini accelerated this process. Wise and charismatic rule that is based on devotion for powerful and personal charisma (Aron, 1993:601) became the reason for attracting the attention of masses towards clergy and that caused the legitimacy of their rule in Iran after the revolution.

The actual features of the transition period were lack of efficient institutions of the previous rule and as a result confusion and interruption in all apparatus of the country. Competitions among political groups, executions, and terror, settling personal disputes, accusations (like Bahaists or Savakis) have been mentioned abundantly in the publication of that time. Many of the military commanders and political figures of previous regime were executed. On the other side, the people like Sadegh Khalkhali as a representative of Ayatollah Khomeini had special authority for speedy executions for example; on the first day of his entry to Kerman Shah, about 11 rebellious armed personnel were shot dead under his order (Ali Babaei, 2005:233).

7. Compilation of constitution(Constitution of I. R.I : 1980)

After the arrival of Ayatollah Khomeini, the compilation of the constitution- that had begun before the revolution by a group of lawyers, judges, professors- was renewed. This group, with due attention to plans and laws under their jurisdiction, prepared the draft. The proposed design was prepared in a period of one month with the repeated recommendations by Ayatollah Khomeini. Draft had 151 articles that designed a powerful republic and that had much similarity with the constitutional law of 1907.

This draft considered referendum as fundamental step. In the meantime, Guardian Council comprising five clergy and seven jurists was formed for the satisfaction of the lack of contradiction of Majlis laws with Islam (Milani, 2004:280-81). After the formation of design, the draft constitution was presented to Ayatollah Khomeini and was sent to Qom for the opinion and as such legal authorities and jurist gave their opinions and suggestions. This constitution was compiled in the Revolutionary Plans Council and also sent to the Revolution Council for its approval. On August 19, 1980, Majlis-e- Khubregan (Council of Experts) was formed which studied the draft for about three months (Katuzian, 1981:11-12). At last, Majlis-Khubregan studied another design that possessed 12 chapters and 175 articles (Milani, 2004:284) and that was presented. This constitution reached to the Majlis for the final approval on November 15, 1980 and finally approved in the referendum with 98.2% votes on December, 3, 1980.

The basis of the actual structure of government and power according to the principle enshrined in the constitution, lies in leader or Velayat-e-

Faqih who possesses the jurisdiction for: determining policies of whole system; supervision on the proper execution of policies of whole system; decree of referendum; commander of all forces; declaration of war and peace and mobilization of forces; appointment, removal and accepting resignation of the members of guardian council; highest authority of judiciary; head of television and radio etc...(Article 110). Real and special job of the executive, according to constitution is "to execute the order of Islamic provisions". Legislature of Islamic Republic of Iran i.e. legislative and judiciary are" under the supervision of Velayat-e-Faqih" (Article 57). Jurists of Guardian Council are also appointed by leader (Article 91), and Majlis (parliament) does not have any legal credibility without Guardian Council (Article 93). The right of interpreting constitution and confirmation of the candidature of the presidential and parliament candidates has been given to Guardian Council (Articles 98 & 99).

The above mentioned constitution is the foremost experiment of composing new constitutional rights with the Shiite jurisprudence in the form of an Islamic government (Bashiryeh, 2003:57-62). As a whole, constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran has been explaining the historical claims of the clergy as political and organized class and exerted the plan so that they could respond those claims to the capacity of the modern government. General conditions of political revolutions also lead to the domination of particular political class, and as such this particular class in Iran has been clergy.

8. Seizure of American Embassy

In the international law, the countries that possess bilateral diplomatic ties have obligation towards each other. As an example, immunity from aggression means non-violation of respect of a place or person (Sadr, 1976:105). "Article 22 of 1961 agreement on diplomatic rights" inhabitants of commissions of other countries accepted inside the country (such as embassy, consulate and others) considers possessing immunity and the host nation without prior permission of the commission in-charge does not have right to enter the premise of these inhabitants (clause 1). Host countries are obliged to arrange all the essential procedure in order to safeguard this immunity (clause 2). By this way, inhabitants and the place of their commissioning are safe from all kinds of questioning, confinement, confiscation or execution step (clause 3) (Ziaee Bigdeli, 2000:387).

Seizure of American embassy and detention of American diplomats by

a number of students on November 4, 1980 is counted as one of the prominent incidents of Iranian Revolution (Bazargan, 1981:94) that influenced a number of later incidents in Iran and source of conflict of Iran with other countries especially United States. Group of students with the instruction of Mousavi Khowaini who was a well-known clergy (Milani, 2004:300) decided to seize the American embassy. They declared that hostages would be released only in the case of hand over of Shah and payment of \$24 billion Iranian reserves in American banks (Amjad, 2001:227). Mahdi Bazargan, then Prime Minister of the provisional government while condemning it as violation of international law and diplomatic credentials, urged to free the hostage without any pre-conditions and said: I'm neither Hovaida not Ayatollah Khomeini, Mohammad Reza Shah (Bazargan, 1981:290). Ayatollah Khomeini remembered this action of students as "Second Islamic Revolution". Internal and external effects of this hostage taking that continued for 444 days, incurred much expenditure on the newly formed revolutionary government.

Neglecting regulation supervising diplomatic relations and international obligations between countries brought dislike against Iran especially in North America and exhibition of rudeness of revolution and new government of Iran were highlighted internationally (Bazargan, 1984:91-94). Claim of \$24 billion Iranian reserves in the American banks (Milani, 2004:227), only 3 billion was paid by the US finally with the Algerian agreement (Jordan, 1983:193). Iran-Iraq War and US support to Iraq is considered one of the outcomes of the actions by student of "Khat – e-Imam".

9. Export of revolutionary ideas and regional reactions to Iranian revolution

Relation of every revolution with the world system is bilateral. Undoubtedly, political transformations inside the country witness regional and global reactions. It is possible that global systems show unfavorable reaction with regard to a particular revolution. Such circumstances become more acute in the ideological governments. Iranian revolution was believed by some regional countries as possessing some non-democratic ideologies. Systems that had been sensitive in encountering global transitions, took up a position against this incident. Much of the congestions of kingship and sheikhdoms could be witnessed in south of Persian Gulf (Karimipour, 2001:28) that they were opposite to the

revolution. One of the principle roots of the Iran-Iraq war must be considered in the emergence of revolution and a kind of perceptions of revolutionary leaders to the element of export of revolution (Zolfaghari, 1999:9). [Persian] Gulf Cooperation Council (PGCC) that resulted from the fear of the export of revolution to their respective countries supported Iraqi imposed war against Iran on the following principles:

- Political and economic consolidation of Iraq in order to prevent Iranian influence;
- Financial help without any return that was estimated to about \$35-45 billion;
- Transformation of some of the seaports of Arab countries in Persian Gulf as the transportation center for Iraq during the war;
- Logistical help, exchange of information and provisions to Iraq;
- Declaration of support to Iraq, issued in the meeting of the foreign ministers;
- Propagandistic support through media.

In the north of Iran, there existed another ideological axis i.e. Soviet Union. Naturally, dominant revolutionary ideology in the post-revolution with the thought of exporting it in the region that encountered with the global ideologies such as communist and conservative ideologies would face with the tough challenges. On the other hand the Iranian revolutionary elites consider themselves under the framework of anti-West especially the United States. As a whole, policies of Islamic revolution of Iran had fundamental changes in the Middle East and the world as a whole that are:

- Absence of eavesdropping bases and close of CIA centers in the region;
- Complete dissolution of CENTO and absence of link of NATO and CITO;
- Decrease in the volume of export of Iranian oil and increase in global oil prices;
- Export of Iranian revolution and its impacts on regional and Western countries;
- Challenges to the hegemonic powers in the region;
- Endangering the Hormoz strategic strait which has the largest share of oil export;
- Collapse of bi-pillar policies of US in the region (Nixon Doctrine);
- Soviet occupation of Afghanistan(Ezati,2002: 120&121);
- Establishment of [Persian] Gulf Cooperation Council(Fazlollahi,1998: 80-81;

- Defeat of Democrats in the presidential election of America;
- Emergence of revolutionary movements in the regional countries (Asadi, 2002:427).

10. Expansion of government: Ground maker of socialistic economy

After the revolution, process of centralization became more in all economic, political and administrative dimensions of Iran. Grounds of expansion of the government in economic arena are classified as:

- Dominance of government on the wide sections of private industries created during Pahlavi regime.
- Dominance of government on banking system with the nationalization of banks after revolution.
- Interference of government in the economic affairs, insurance companies, and hundreds of big economic firms. Attachment of big financial units and insurance companies to the government (Jaafari Mozhdahi and others, 2002).
- Expansion of government in the arena of industry, relying upon oil revenues. This expansion was the presence of government in the industrial market of the country, in the form of investment and activities of government institutes and companies in the financial markets, which led to the extended interference of government in the economic affairs (Pirzadeh and Gharavi, 2005:31).
- Formation of coupon phenomena and presentation of free of charge possibilities to the deprived people in the frame work of subside.
- Presentation of subsidy to some of the consumable goods.

ANALYSIS

To study the question as what changes occurred in the domain of political management (including decision making, execution and supervision) in the period of Islamic revolution? With due attention to the study conducted and emergence of provisional institutions in the domain of political management of the country including revolution council, provisional leader, provisional government, group to compile constitution, revolutionary army, revolution courts, revolution committee, the answer is this that in the period of political transition, provisional institution formed in order to administrative purposes.

In response to the second question as to what incident took place in the domain of unity and territorial integrity (divergence, convergence and

political parties). With respect to ethnic's studies in the research, and absence of desires of autonomy except the Azeri region that was in the form of competition of clergy versus clergies, about Kurdistan, the situation was not similar and Kurds in the framework of entirety of Iranian territory were desirous for their own ethnical demands.

In order to study a question that what changes occurred in the political, social and national securities domain? With the accumulation of the events of unrest and insecurities, and scattering administrative institutions and disturbance the hypothesis related to the political, social and national securities domain, with respect to the beginning of terror, killing, plunder, revenge, continuation of strikes, social disturbances and lack of social security were confirmed. Also the emergence of tension in the relation of Iran with foreign countries, with due attention to the incident as the seizure of American embassy and taking of hostage of American diplomats and the thought process of export of revolution that cause the intentions of many regional and global countries against Iran, were confirmed.

In order to study the question that what changes occur in the domain of economy and safeguarding public services? The outcome of research shows centralization process in post-revolution and dominance of government on the larger part of industries, nationalization of banks, insurance companies and hundreds of big economic agencies and expansion of governmental sphere in the industrial arena on one side and presentation subsidy to some of the consumable goods, coupon phenomena were happened.

On the basis of the above data and the experience of the Islamic revolution can be concluded that in the period of political transition after revolutions the following pattern is happened:

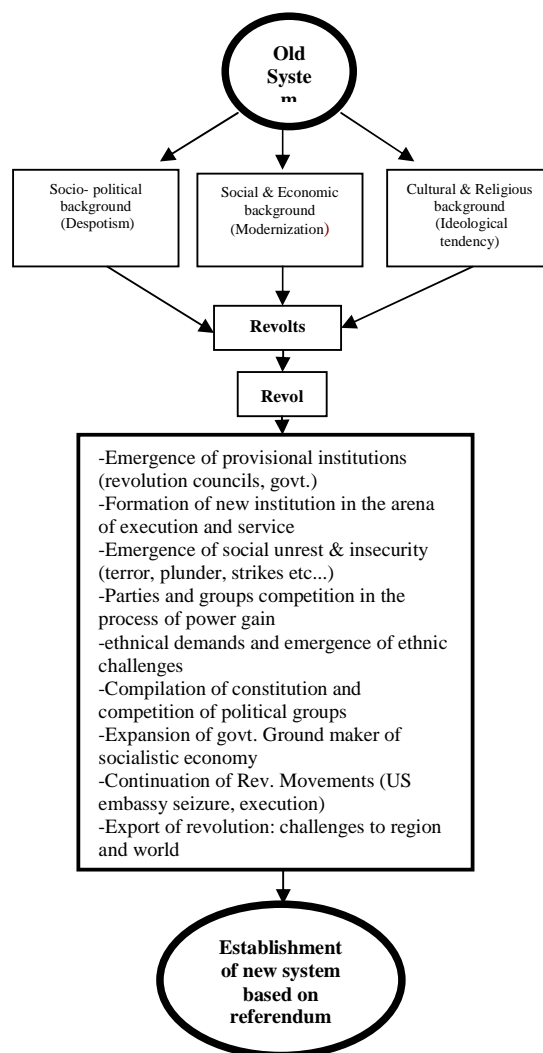


Figure 4: Pattern of political transition period in the post-revolutionary Iran

CONCLUSION

The period of political transition after the Islamic revolution that began after the collapse of old system led to the wide transformation in the country. This post-revolutionary phase began with the establishment of provisional government and terminated with the first presidential elections that could take the executive affairs of the country into its hand.

The transformations which happened in this period are as under:

- In the domain of political management, provisional government, revolution council, provisional leader and the assembly of "Khubregan" (Experts) for compilation of constitution came into existence.
- In the domain of national unity and territorial integrity, along with the emergence of ethnical challenges in the country political parties competed with each others for the control of power that at last led to the elimination of some parties, and centralization of power took place.
- In the domain of social, political and national security, at the internal level beginning of terror, revenge, killing, and at the external level tension on the relation of Iran with different countries started.
- In the domain of economy, the thought of statehood and socialist economy grew with the index of subsidy and coupon presentation.

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