CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
Introduction

This chapter attempts to conceptualize the idea of political party. In the first section of the chapter, the concept of political party has been explained. The chapter then proceeds to present a brief history of the concept of political party. A brief introduction of the different types of political parties and party system is discussed followed by their functions. In the concluding section, this chapter explains objectives of this study and the methodology used.

1.1. Political Parties: Concept and Characteristics

In political sociology, there are some key terms like political party, democracy and representation. Democracy and representation are impossible concepts without the idea of political parties. Usually political parties have been defined by their goals, activities, behaviour and also by their functions in a society.

Hess (1994: 15) perceived political parties as:

"Groups of people who have joined forces to pursue their common political and social goals. Parties have been formed in all societies and states where the population actively participates in the political process. They enable the people thus organized—the party members—to articulate their political will and strive for the realization of their political aims as a group".

According to Heywood (2002: 248), "A political party is a group of people that is organized for the purpose of winning government power, by electoral or other means. Parties are often confused with interest groups". Heywood identifies four characteristics that distinguish parties from other organized groups. He believes that political parties:
- aim to exercise government power by winning political office (small parties may use elections more to gain a platform than to win power);
- are organized bodies with a formal ‘card-carrying’ membership. This distinguishes them from broader and more diffuse social movements;
- typically adopt a broad issue focus, addressing each of the major areas of government policy (small parties, however, may have a single-issue focus, thus resembling interest groups); and
- are united by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity.

Edmund Burke defines: "Party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors, the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed" (Maor, 1997: 3).

Neumann (1956: 403) defines a political party as: "the articulate organization of society’s active political agents, those who are concerned with the control of governmental power and who compete for popular support with another group or groups holding divergent views. As such, it is the great intermediary which links social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions and relates them to political action within the larger political community".

Sartori (2005: 57) believes that a party is a group that "presents at elections, and is capable of placing, through elections, candidates for public office". For Sartori, the electoral process—wherein a party competes under its official label—is taken as a discriminatory tool between parties and interest groups. Thus, the occurrence of an election suffices to distinguish the single party from those political groups that do not have recourse to ‘electoral rituals’.

James Madison defines a party as "a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community" (Maor, 1997: 4).
Dowse and Hughes (1972: 7) defines political parties as "associations formally organized with the explicit and declared purpose of acquiring and, maintaining legal control, either singly or in coalition with other similar associations, over the personnel and the policy of the government of an actual or prospective state".

In Maor's opinion (1997: 106), "A party is created from groups and individuals who feel the need to direct groups and peoples, who feel the need to direct a specific conception regarding political government and, who manifest the will to direct the evolution of the global society in a specific way".

After going through all the definitions of these theorists and thinkers which have been mentioned above, we can simply say that a political party is an organized group of people with at least a set of similar political goals and ideas, and in order to achieve these desired goals and ideals, parties try to gather the support of the common masses through democratic means; or through other means, whatever the political setup of the place may be. Their primary objective is to make their own members occupy powerful places as public representatives and ministers in the parliament.

1.2. Political Parties in Historical Context and the Origin of Political Parties

Before the emergence of political parties, it was generally thought that the ultimate power—including political power—resides with God. A king was thought to be second to the heavenly deity on this earth, and kingship has always been considered as hereditary. A king was surrounded by a group of his trusted followers, all belonging to elite class, landed gentry and rich businessmen, who never wanted to lose their political power. In some European countries, in the 17th and 18th centuries, people tried to confront old beliefs of political authority.

Traditionally, political parties appeared on the scene when actions of an erstwhile political system attained a point of complexity that needed a change or the
introduction of a new political setup. Political parties emerge when different classes of society get aware of their own interests, and a lot of people of a country want the right to take part in political issues.

"The emergence of political parties can be traced back to eighteenth-century England. Following the 1688 revolution which established parliamentary rule, the English middle classes captured political and economic power. They then began to organize themselves into groupings led by prominent members of their class in order to control the state and promote their own ideological aims. In the course of the eighteenth century, two main political groups emerged in England: the Whigs and the Tories. The Whigs represented the interests of traders and manufacturers and favoured free trade, low taxes, growth of cities, and an aggressive foreign policy. They also supported the expansion of personal liberties and opposed privileges of the aristocracy. The Tories, on the other hand, represented old landed families and other large property owners. They favoured protectionist trade policies and preservation of traditional ways of life. They wanted to restrict political power to the wealthy and propertied classes. These two groups were the forerunners of the modern Liberal and Conservative parties. As British society developed, more and more citizens gained the right to vote and participate in politics, and political issues became more complex" (Audit, 1998: 11).

Keverenge says (2007: 17), "In other European countries as in England, the rise of the middle class, the expansion of representative democracy, and the opening up of forums for political discussion and participation were the main catalysts for formation of political parties. Thus, early forms of political parties arose in France on the eve of the 1789 revolution and, in Germany, at the time the 1848 revolution. The emergence of political parties in other countries generally followed a similar pattern".
Throughout the 19\textsuperscript{th} century the idea of political parties was rather vague. But certain concepts were emerging. A party was a part, and not the whole of the civil society. It was formed on the basis of common/ shared opinions and aims and concerned politics, that is, state power. Also, if there was one party, there must be at least another. In short, the state was considered larger than a party and a civil society was larger than the state. A party was to operate within the general normative structure of the state and the civil society. The state should not engross the civil society and the party should not engross the state. A party seeking to engross the civil society was out of the question. At the same time, a certain amount of political autonomy was allowed to the parties to conduct their own affairs.

Nowadays, in most countries political parties are the main creators of political systems, though there are some exceptions. In some Middle East countries because of their monarchies, traditional and religious political systems are not officially permitted. In other countries like China, there is just one-party communist state. Keeping in view the last two centuries, we can expect that political parties will survive, and it will direct political actions toward improvement of political systems in most countries.

Though, it is very difficult to forecast the future of political parties because of impact of globalization and liberalization of economy these days. This expansion declares a warning not only to government dominions but also to actual party contributions.

1.3. Party Systems

The party system is an idea in political sociology related to the government systems and it is through political parties that a democratic setup is maintained in a state. The concept is that political parties have an essential place in modern states; their key function is to run the government and to control elections.
"A party system is important in determining exactly how political parties play the political game. Party systems influence greatly the way parties operate and how effective they can be in addressing the demands and articulating interests of the electorate. In some countries party systems are profoundly institutionalized and robust, while in others, they are less institutionalized and fragmented" (Matlosa, 2007: 37).

There are a variety of types of political party systems in between the two radical situations where political parties according to law are illegal and where there are so many small and useless parties, that becomes difficult to arrange political systems according to one single measure.

There are basically four known political party systems. The main aspects which differentiate them from one another is the number of parties present or allowed to exist in a political setup, the relation of the parties with each other and the structure of the parties.

One-party systems

A single-party state, one-party system or single-party system is a kind of political setup in which only one party governs and is allowed, legally, to exist.

Single-party system can produce an autocratic or dictatorial government. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, and changes in the form of governing in Eastern Europe, the number of single-party systems has been significantly reduced, though in countries such as North Korea, China and Cuba, one party system is still dominant.

Dominant party systems

A dominant-party system is a political party system where only one party can practically form the government, even if there are a number of other political parties. This happens usually by itself or in an alliance government, as all other parties are not
so powerful; for example, in Japan, since the end of the American occupation, the Liberal Party has won almost every common election.

Two-party systems

Sometimes, multiparty systems are so thoroughly dominated by two parties that they effectively become two party systems, as none of the parties has any real chance of forming a government, or in most cases, having an impact on government policies. This has been the case in the United States for most of its history. The Democratic and Republican parties remain in power in the national and state legislatures, as well as local politics in most of the states. Other parties are free to compete but they are rarely able to elect representatives even at the local levels.

"The chances of other parties becoming important in two-party systems vary from place to place. In the United States, the Republican and Democratic parties are so entrenched at all levels of the political process that only a major upheaval could open up the political space to meaningful participation by another party. In Britain, however, which was effectively a two-party state (Conservative and Labor) for forty years following the Second World War, dissatisfaction with polarized politics led in the 1980s, to the formation of the Liberal Democratic Party, which now has a substantial following" (Keverenge, 2007: 12).

Multiparty systems

Multiparty system is a system in which there are many political parties which try to gain control over the government in a country. Multiparty system is commonly found in democratic countries. A multiparty system creates an environment where it is possible for even smaller and newly established parties to exist besides the already established big political parties.
"Under this system, all parties have an opportunity to run for elections. The party that wins the most constituencies (in parliamentary system) or the most votes (in proportional representation) forms the government. Although rules differ from country to country, a coalition government can sometimes be formed if no single party gains an outright majority of seats in the legislature. In a coalition, two or more parties agree to form a government together in order to command majority support in the legislature. In some multiparty system as in South Africa, candidates not affiliated to any party (independent candidates) are also allowed to stand for elections. In Kenya, however candidates have to be nominated by a registered political party" (Ibid. 2007: 12).

1.4. Party Types

For nearly a century, political scientists have developed typologies and models of political parties in an effort to capture the essential features of partisan organizations that were the objects of their analysis. The result is that literature, today, contains various categories of party types, some of which have acquired the status of classics and have been used by scholars for decades (e.g. Duverger, 1954; Kirchheime, 1966; Neumann, 1954; Gunther & Diamond, 2003).

Political scientists have expanded ideas of different perfect types of political parties in order to compare them with each other. Gunther and Diamond (2003: 172) have distinguished between five families of political parties: elite-based parties, mass-based parties, ethnicity based parties, electoralist parties and movement parties.

Elite parties

Elite parties take shape as an alliance of elite members, especially in circumstances where a personal political idea can be preserved without the support of considerable people. An elite party can take shape within the parliament and its political power originates from its members.
According to Gunther and Diamond (2003: 175), 'elite-based' parties are those whose principal organizational structures are minimal and based upon established elites and related interpersonal networks within a specific geographic area. Deference to the authority of these elites is a feature shared by the two species of parties that fall within this 'genus'. Such parties do not have ambitions of hegemony, and are tolerant and collaborative towards one another within a parliamentary regime. The first party type to emerge was, the traditional local notable party. This early-to-mid nineteenth century development emerged at a time of sharply limited suffrage in semi-democratic regimes. Given that the right to vote and hold office was restricted in most of these countries to males owning substantial property, this competitive game was limited to the upper socio-economic strata. French conservative parties in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, and several conservative parties in Brazil today, are examples of this variety of elite party.

**Mass-based parties**

Mass-based parties have a protected association and it is organized in the same as a pyramid, like hierarchically-organized levels. Members of such parties align themselves more with party principles, than with a few powerful members of the party. They have an intangible link with the party, independent of any personal association with the party heads. The decisions in such parties are taken only after the collective consensus of its members, and the necessary funds for party management are raised by contributions made by affiliated members.

Gunther and Diamond (2003: 178) believed that mass-based parties have deep roots in literature, as well as in the nineteenth and early twentieth century history of Europe. The mass-based party emerged as a manifestation of political mobilization of the working class in many European polities. Organizationally, they are characterized
by a large base of dues-paying members who remain active in party affairs even during periods between elections. In an effort to disseminate the party’s ideology and establish an active membership base, the party seeks to penetrate into a number of spheres of social life. Affiliated trade unions, religious and other social organizations serve not only as political allies (helping to mobilize supporters at election time), but for the projection of the objectives of the party from the electoral-parliamentary arena into a variety of spheres of social life. Supportive organizations including party newspapers, recreational clubs, and networks of local party branches are established nationwide. These organizational networks not only serve as a framework for mobilization at election time, but also provide subsidiary benefits to party members, such as opportunities for fraternization and recreation.

**Ethnicity-based parties**

An ethnicity-based party is a party that identifies itself as a defender of only one specific ethnic category. The central scheme of gathering support from voters is done in the same manner.

Gunther and Diamond (2003: 183) in their paper suggest that parties based on ethnicity typically lack the extensive and elaborate organization of mass-based parties. What distinguishes them, however, are their political and electoral logics. Their goals and strategies are narrower: to promote the interests of a particular ethnic group, or coalition of groups. Their objectives do not typically include secession or a high level of decision-making and administrative autonomy from the existing state. Instead, they are content to use existing state structures to channel benefits towards their ally defined electoral clientele. The electoral logic of an ethnic party is to harden and mobilize its ethnic base with exclusive and often polarizing appeals to ethnic group opportunity and threat.
Electoralist parties

Gunther and Diamond (2003: 185) believe that at election time, Electoralist parties spring into action to perform what is unequivocally their primary function: conduct of the campaign. They utilize ‘modern’ campaign techniques (stressing television and the mass-communications media over the mobilization of party members and affiliated organizations), and rely heavily on professionals who can skilfully carry out such campaigns. The personal attraction of the party’s candidates is an important criterion for nomination at the expense of other considerations, such as length of service to, or formal organizational position within the party. Electoralist parties differ in some important respects that significantly affect their behaviour and, in turn, the quality of democracy.

Movement parties

According to Gunther and Diamond (2003: 188) there is another type of partisan organization that straddles the conceptual space between ‘party’ and ‘movement’. These are moment based parties; of which the most prominent examples in Western Europe today, are of two types: left-libertarian parties and post-industrial extreme right parties. However, this genus of party types should be regarded as ‘open ended’, since its fluid organizational characteristics may be manifested in a wide variety of ways in other parts of the world or over the course of history.

1.5. Functions of Political Parties

Aldrich writes that in the contemporary world, democracy is unworkable without having any political parties (Aldrich, 1995: 3). Because of their functions the parties have become a crucial factor in stabilizing the state. In modern and democratic societies, fighting to gain power usually is the perfect function of political parties. Mostly, political parties, present programmes that the society can decide to support or
refuse. It is the party leaders and members who decide upon special policies and rules while sticking together and sharing their ideas, in addition to, taking suggestions from their society. The basic aim is to present these ideas to the government for the good of the citizens. Political parties perform certain functions necessary for running the political system. It is feasible to organize these functions under the following titles.

**The governing function**

Without political parties, this multifaceted modern civilization would become unmanageable. Political parties make easier the creation of governments. They also give stability to the government; particularly if members of the authority belong to a party.

Political parties usually collaborate between the two main areas of government: the legislative body and the administrative. Parties provide a very important opposition and criticism, from within as well as out of government.

**The electoral function**

Election in democratic societies is dependent on political parties. Political parties generally select candidates at elections. They offer funds and services for election campaigns. Recent electoral investigation has discovered that the common man has some problems in making the right selection in elections because complication of matters and the diversity of choices confuse voters. For this reason, one of the strange functions of political parties is to make politics more reachable to citizens.

Political parties need to organize the vote bank to get votes and also to protect the election of their candidate to parliament or other public office. On other hand, all political parties try to find ways to persuade voters that their candidates are more reliable than those of its rivals. They set up policies which the voter is required to
support. Parties supply a tag with which the electorate can identify and take responsibility, since the voter is capable of holding them accountable for policy achievements or disappointments.

**The representative function**

Political parties facilitate the formation of ideas of people to be understood and they guarantee that issues of social concern in the political scheme. They are the main input mechanisms that guarantee the fulfilment of the needs and desires of the society. This kind of function is, one of the basic and essential functions of a party.

**The policy, or goal setting, function**

While performing their representative functions, political parties try to create some policies. They are one of the agencies through which people of a country try to attain their joint goal. While doing this, political parties gather support of the common people and through this, they ultimately gain political power. This helps them, get into the parliamentary system of a specific state and there, they make and implement the policies they had promised the common masses. Political parties also introduce ideas and matters; they clear other goals for the society in ways that could improve the chances for selecting those values.

**The recruitment and participation function**

In modern and democratic societies most political campaigners are members of parties. In these countries political parties perform the main function of giving confidence to people to become political activists. They are in charge of supplying to the states their political principals. Leaders gain office because of their high profiles and participants in a presidential selection are generally political party leaders. In the parliamentary system the head of the majority in parliament usually becomes prime minister and other place of duty are generally filled by most important party members.
Sometimes, political parties offer a training class for policy makers, and equip them with information and skills. Otherwise, in societies where political parties are powerless, power is generally in the hands of traditional leaders like that of military institutions or ruling families.

1.6. Growth of Political Parties in Iran

In 1941 the allied occupation of Iran changed the authoritarian rule of Reza Shah to constitutional government. When allied forces were busy fighting war in Russia their main concern was to protect their source line, therefore, they did not show any interest in local political developments in Iran with the exception of preventing conditions from getting dangerous for them. They entered Iran and the people were relieved from the earlier restrictions on free speech and free discussion which they had experienced under the regime of their earlier dictator. It was, unexpectedly, a positive change after the twenty years of Reza Khan’s repression. Voices for establishing democracy were raised from the intellectual elite corners of Iran, as they saw the world drastically changing. The continuously changing government in those days added to the uncertainty by unsystematic repression of the opponent media. To appear, from this stage, apparently unharmed is witness to the political wisdom of Iranian leaders; it also shows the nature of Iranian politics.

"In 1941 there were no political parties in Iran, or any possibility of continuity with those of the previous period of constitutional government from 1906 to 1921. Of course, many of the old politicians still survived, but the conditions they knew had passed away, in Iran as well as in the world outside. Nevertheless, it was to these old men that the Allies turned, rather than to the young and enthusiastic - but untried - products of Reza Shah's educational system. This traditionalism, once established, set the tone of Iranian politics even after the Allies had gone. The 300-odd vacancies in
some 24 cabinets between August 1941 and November 1948 were filled with few exceptions from a clique of 70 or 80 politicians, all over fifty years of age, and many over sixty” (Elwell-Sutton, 1949: 46).

Political parties in Iran were created after its emergence from political reconstruction. In the twentieth century, the creation and growth of political parties in Iran became the main feature of country's political modernization.

"The situation in the Majlis (Parliament) was nearly as unorganized. The elections for the 13th Majlis were already under way when Reza Shah abdicated. When it met in November 1941, it was found to contain virtually the same men as its predecessor, appointed by the late Shah at the height of his power. The only new departure was the formation of "fractions" which, it was carefully explained, were not parties, but simply groups of deputies with similar ideas who proposed to discuss political questions together. These "fractions" continued to play an important part in the manoeuvres of the Majlis, but they bore little relation to developments in the country as a whole, where political parties, unrepresented in the Majlis, were being organized in a variety of ways" (Ibid. 1949: 46).

Many parties emerged in Iran during the phase of the dynastic change and social upheaval. This phase was the period when Kaiserism was undermined, or, an interim between two autocracies, when political circumstances were relatively loose. Many of Iran's political parties were influenced by western bourgeois politics, oriental proletarian politics, Iranian monarchism and Islamism. So far, there existed no mature modern political party (Lei, 2007).

Thus, increased Iranian contact with the West in the nineteenth century made Iranian elites encourage the renovation of political structure. In the Second Constitutional Assembly, for the first time political parties officially began their
activities. The twelve years period—from 1942 to 1954—after the collapse of Reza Shah's regime, up to the coup of 28 July 1954, was a fertile period for political activities.

1.7. Objectives of the Study

This study is guided by five objectives:

1) Introduction and identification of political parties which were socially active during 1942 to 1954 in Iran.

2) Recognition of political and social personalities active in organizing the political domains. The study will also look into the durability and decline of newly formed political parties.

3) Cause of rise and flourishing of political parties and their social role in the said period of time.

4) Find reasons of defeat of political parties and their relations with the masses.

5) Study the negative as well as positive responses of society towards the formation of political parties.

1.8. Methodology of the Research

The method applied in this study is documentary method. "The use of documentary methods refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon we wish to study. These documents vary greatly. Some are primary documents, or eye-witness accounts written by people who experienced the particular event or behaviour. Others are secondary documents by people who were not present on the scene but who received the information necessary to compile the document by interviewing eyewitnesses or by reading primary documents. Although there may be some "grave" areas in the primary-secondary distinction, the difference between the two is generally clear (Bailey, 1994: 294).
According to Scott, "A document is an artefact which has, as its central feature, an inscribed text. Simply put, a document is a written text. Documents are produced by individuals and groups in the course of their everyday practices and are geared exclusively for their own immediate practical needs" (Scott, 1990: 5).

Documentary research involves use of texts and documents as source materials: government publications, newspapers, certificates, census publications, novels, film and video, paintings, personal photographs, diaries and innumerable other written, visual and pictorial sources in paper, electronic, or other 'hard copy' form. Along with surveys and ethnography, documentary research is one of the three major types of social research and, arguably, has been the most widely used of the three throughout the history of sociology and other social sciences.

"The general principals of handling documentary sources are no different from those applied to other areas of social research. In all cases data must be handled scientifically, though each source requires a different approach" (Mogalakwe, 2006: 224-225).

Scott (1990: 1-2) has formulated certain control criteria for handling documentary sources. These are authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. Authenticity refers to whether the evidence is genuine and forms an impeccable course; credibility refers to whether the evidence is typical of its kind, representativeness refers to whether the documents consulted are representative of the totality of the relevant documents, and meaning refers to whether the evidence is clear and comprehensible.

This research is based on using numerous books from different writers with diverse thoughts. Even though most of the historical events related to political parties were similar in Iran, but for the better conclusion and more precise evaluation, it has
been chosen between the years of 1942-1954. Because: Firstly, favourable conditions for existence of political parties have been prepared at this period of time. After twenty years of Reza Shah Suppression, these years were a unique historical opportunity to found different political parties.

Secondly, during these years as compared to other periods, a lot of political parties were organized, and Iran witnessed a vast expansion of political parties.
References


