

1990

# Causes of Political Revolution

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*Eastern Illinois University*

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**Causes of Political Revolution**

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(TITLE)

BY

**Alazar Gebil**

**THESIS**

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF

**Master of Arts**

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IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY  
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

**1990**

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## **ABSTRACT OF A THESIS**

This essay is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in political science at the graduate school of Eastern Illinois University. The essay intended to elaborate the basic definitions, theories, ideologies and causes of political revolution.

This thesis relates historical facts and events of the American, Russian, Cuban and Iranian Revolutions to the causes, definitions, theories, and ideologies of general revolutions. The main theme is that governments' failures caused the continued social unrest such as demonstrations, strikes and upheavals. When an opposition group was well organized and represented by intellectuals equipped with political theories and ideologies they changed the social unrest into a revolution.



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

In the present project an effort has been made to arouse an interest in the study of revolution, which occurred all over the world from time to time. As is always, no project or book is complete without valuable suggestions from friends and well wishers, this project is no exception. Many have contributed in bringing this project to its present shape. I would like to place on record the help rendered by them.

I wish to thank Dr. Abdul Lateef, my advisor, who has been a guiding force and has all along been with me through this project. I also value the advice given to me by Dr. Andrew McNitt, John Faust and John Martone who have been a source of inspiration to me. My thanks are also due to Ronda Huston, who typed the manuscript so well. In the end, I appreciate the cooperation and understanding provided to me by my wife Aziza Awate and my daughters Jordan and Solem.

Alazar Gebil Abib

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## **CHAPTER - 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **DEFINITION OF REVOLUTION.**

#### **STATEMENT OF PURPOSE**

This essay attempts to examine the causes of political revolutions in modern times. The essay also intends to elaborate the basic definitions, theories and ideologies of modern revolutions. In order to justify or relate historical facts and events of past revolutions to the definitions of causes, theories and ideologies of political revolutions; the American, Russian, Cuban, and Iranian Revolutions are studied.

The causes of each revolution of these nations are reviewed. The most common characteristics in each prerevolutionary situation was that there was corruption, abuse of power, irresponsibility and extravagance. Societies were not provided with the necessities of life, instead there was suppression of human rights and dignity.

The main theme is that the above mentioned governments' failures caused the continued social unrest such as demonstrations, strikes and upheavals. When an opposition group was well organized and represented by intellectuals equipped with political theories and ideologies they changed the social unrest into a revolution.

## **Methodology.**

This essay uses historical analysis of past revolutions as a method of research. The case studies will cover American, Cuban, Russian and the Iranian Revolutions. The American Revolution was selected because it was the first revolution in modern times. Many nations followed its course to declare their independence. The Cuban Revolution of 1953-1959 was selected because it represents the best example of frustrated workers and peasants who were repressed under the dictatorship of Batista. The situation was thus ripe for a revolution.

The October 1917 Russian Revolution was selected for its Leninist and Socialist ideologies, radical changes, and spontaneity (mass supported) caused or aggravated by the Czar's tyrannical regime. Finally, the Iranian Revolution was chosen because of its influence as a religious and political revolution in the Moslem world. The Iranian Revolution gives us a diversified view of the causes of revolutions.

Chapter two contains definitions, causes of revolutions, ideologies and theories of revolutions. Chapter three will discuss the causes and the course of the American Revolution in relation to the Declaration of Independence. The similarities and differences of the American Revolution from the other revolutions will also be examined. Chapter four will discuss the corruption in the Russian Empire during the Tzar's rule and how the provisional government aggravated

the situation by declaring the offensive war. The miserable life of the Cuban people before the Cuban Revolution and Fidel Castro's leadership is discussed in Chapter five. The war with Germany and revolutionary leaders and parties will be discussed as causes and effect respectively. Chapter six discusses the Iranian monarchy, the religious upheaval, socio-cultural opposition and political unrest during the Shah's regime. Chapter seven will discuss the conclusion of the essay. This chapter will relate the case studies with the theoretical and ideological definitions of revolutions and conclude that yes indeed regimes (Governments) inefficient in their administration can be the cause for a revolution.

### **Review of Literature.**

A large volume of literature on political revolution is available in the form of books. This essay has heavily depended on books written by independent established scholars. These scholars are not concerned with passing moral judgements. As scholars and free researchers, they do not evaluate revolutions as good or evil, or whether they should be supported or condemned.

Based on the above-mentioned facts, this thesis focused on unbiased studies of the causes of political revolution. Scholars such as Samuel Huntington, Mostafa Rejai, Gerard Chaliand, Lawrence Kaplan, Jack Goldstone, Crane Brinton and Carle Schmitt were selected because each one of them examined the causes and developments of political revolutions.

These authors clearly described the characteristics and elements of

political revolutions. They all explained that revolutions are an illogical phenomenon; demand mass participation and pass through various stages or phases of violence and wars.

A.S. Cohan's book Theories of Revolution has been selected for its elaborations on revolution as "non-legal violent change" (Cohan, 13, 1975). Revolutions or great revolutions include the French and American Revolution of the eighteenth century and the two major twentieth century revolutions, the Russian and the Chinese. Cohan's definition of revolutions always involves the breaking of the social contract not by a simple dissolution of it but by a willful act of violence. Crane Brinton's book The Anatomy of Revolution also supports Cohan's ideas that revolutions are accompanied by violence. For example, he stated that the American Revolution and its complex struggles grew into a revolution after several violent incidents (Boston Tea Party, mass uprisings, and massacres of the 1770's). Jack Goldstone's book Revolutions Theoretical Comparative and Historical Studies, clearly explained that one of the main reasons for mass violence and revolt is oppression. When oppression becomes too much to bear, the masses will rise up against their oppressors, "misery breeds revolt".

Samuel Huntington's book Political Order in Changing Societies is also a good resource for the literature of the theories and definitions on the causes of revolutions. Huntington's assumption is that revolutions are unlikely to occur in

a political system which has the capacity to expand its power and to broaden participation within the system.

Instead of discussing a revolution in general, it is helpful to break a revolution into components. Classifying them will also aid in understanding the whole strategy of revolutions. Mostafa Rejai's book, The Strategy of Political Revolution studied ideas and types of revolutions. Different kinds of revolutions are identified according to the degree of mass participation, duration, degree of violence (measured by number of casualties) and insurgents' goals.

As for Rejai's classifications of revolution, revolution is divided into four types:

- A. Mass Revolution: participation of the masses which takes a long time, with increased violence and demand for political and social change (examples: French Revolution and Chinese Revolution).
- B. Revolutionary Coup: identified by low mass participation, takes a short time, has less violence and demands moderate change.
- C. Reform Coup: identified by its very low mass participation, lasts a short time and brings little change in political structure.
- D. Palace Revolution: lacks mass participation and violence, lasts a short time and brings little change in political structure.

This essay also takes into consideration psychological motivation as a cause

of political revolution. Ivo Feierabend's book Anger, Violence and Politics: Theory and Research, has been useful. Frustration, aggression, displacement, the outplay of guilt the operation of cognitive consistency, reduction of loyalties, non-voting, decreased political action, interaction in membership and meetings of political organizations have all been recently applied to the phenomena of revolutions. Feierabend's study of psychological signs of revolution also indicate that a withdrawal phase and an increased restlessness are the symptoms of the availability of revolutionary behavior.

The primary goal of the American Revolution was thought to be independence from British rule. This fact can be found from Thomas Paine's book Common Sense. Paine's Common Sense was an influential book during the American Revolution. Paine believed that Americans must not be governed from Europe. He wrote "the blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries it is time to part". Paine's book was not available for this thesis but much of his work is cited in Albert Marting's book The War for Independence, The Story of the American Revolution.

The Cuban Revolution was mainly caused by poverty together with the chronic stagnation and unemployment which resulted from the semi-colonial economy of one crop. All the Cuban troubles and misery are explained in a book written by co-authors Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy; Cuban Anatomy of a Revolution. The Cuban Revolution became more radical mainly because of



Batista's corrupted regime.

No one more than John Thompson ever attempted to uncover the Russian frustrations during the 1917 revolution. John Thompson's book Revolutionary Russian, 1917 discusses the details of the living conditions in pre-revolutionary Russia. The frustrations of the Russian society before the revolution made it a natural breeding ground for revolutionaries. The revolution was demanded by exploited workers, desperate peasants, and angry intellectuals.

As of Curtiss Shelton's statistical numbers (from his book) Russian Revolution, the cause of the revolution was Russia's disastrous involvement in World War I. As the war dragged on, the people became both exhausted and bitter. The Russian losses in the war were about six million soldiers killed, wounded, and captured. In addition to these, the Tsarist state was an inefficient and easy-going authoritarian machine. Finally, the Russian masses demanded the Tsar's abdication. During the revolution Lenin's ideas and leadership were very determiners and crucial. Arthur Adams book The Russian Revolution and Bolshevik Victory explains Lenin's role in helping to organize the Bolshevik party.

The ulama who believed that religion should be involved in all aspects of life opposed the Shah. The mujahadeen also opposed the Shah. They assassinated many Iranian officials, including six Americans. The communists and students also opposed the Shah's regime. William Sullivan, who was the U.S. ambassador to Iran during the Shah's regime, elaborated on all of the

events that took place during the Iranian Revolution. His book Mission to Iran discusses the progress of the revolution. Milani Mohsen's book Iran's Islamic Revolution from Monarchy to Islamic Republic also provided extensive data on the number of arrests and economic decline during the Shah's regime.

The Shah ignored the culture and religion of Islam and heavily depended on western culture and technology. He ignored Sharism (an established Islamic law), and imprisoned the ulama islamic teachers, which led to mass opposition. Ramajani's book Iran's Revolution, the Search for Consensus discussed the cultural opposition against the Shah.

The term revolutionary change, conveys the notion of something radical happening; that old forms are disappearing, or are at least in the process of being displaced by new and usually untried approaches. However, theorists do not agree upon a single definition of what a political revolution is.

Revolutions or great revolutions include the French and American Revolutions of the eighteenth century and the two major twentieth century revolutions, the Russian and the Chinese. Generally, "a revolution is, by definition, non-legal violent change" (Cohan, 1975, 13).

✱ Revolution is the passage, or transition from one historical epoch to another. In a revolution, the transformation of an entire system occurs by class of men who see no other way out of their misery other than a revolution (Cohan, 1975).

A revolutionary phenomenon always tends to bring into contact two and only

two opposing camps. On one hand there is the established order with its defenders and on the other the people who challenge it. It always involves the breaking of the social contract not by a simple dissolution of it but by a willful act of violence (Cohan, 1975).

✎ Economic need or low standard of living by itself will not bring revolution. In addition to that, there must be groups or individuals who would tell the people that they are living in a worse condition. When governments are inefficient and the patience of the governed are very limited, then revolution is close (Brinton, 1965).

Pressure groups move from propaganda and lobbying to terrorism in order to attain their aims. During the American Revolution the complex group struggles grew into revolution after the violent incidents. It is not possible to predict a specific time when revolution or crisis of revolution ends (Brinton, 1965). Right after revolution, a highly centralized power with strong leadership tries to handle the weakened laws, customs, habits, and beliefs which tie the society together. Revolution by nature destroys or weakens the old habits and beliefs. To implement new beliefs or strengthen (the wanted culture) revolutionary leaders need strong military and mass support. Usually the new leadership is efficient and active and eager to construct a new government with institutions, laws, routines and all other civilian activities (Brinton, 1965).

✎ Political revolution intends to end the inefficiencies and abuses of the former

regime. Revolution also expropriates the old ruling class and replaces it with another ruling class. Most revolutions demand the abolition of poverty, and sharing cumulated wealth (Brinton, 1965).

By definition revolutionary change tends to be:

- A. The change of values or the myths of society.
- B. The change of the social structure.
- C. Changes in the leadership formation either in the personnel of the elite or its class composition.
- D. Non-Legal or illegal transfer of power.
- E. The presence or dominance of violent behavior made evident in the events leading to the regime's collapse.

As far as principles and ideology are concerned, there is no single revolution without an ideology to give it meaning and to serve as its justification. Revolutionary ideology should represent a view of the world clear enough to form the axis around which to build a society. At least most of the society should believe in that ideology and realize the possible hope of victory from that ideology. Revolutionary ideology is a coherent, closed intellectual system and it is possible to reproduce ideology's functions by travelling the same intellectual road (Baechler, 1975).

The desertion of the intellectuals on a vast scale from the regime, implies unusually widespread and pervasive dissatisfaction with regime performance.

The actual fall of the regime begins with an acute political crisis brought on by the government's inability to deal with some economic, military or political problem rather than by the action of a revolutionary opposition only. A crisis may take the form of a state bankruptcy or a weakening command of the armed forces. Revolutionary leaders, who were active but powerless might suddenly find themselves with the upper hand due to the incapacity of the old regime. The sudden onset of revolution thus stems from a weakening or paralyzing of the state (Goldstone, 1986).

People generally accept high level of oppression and misery if they expect such discomforts to be their natural lot in life. When people expect a better life, and their expectations are frustrated, they are likely to develop feelings of aggression and resentment. A period of growing prosperity that raises people's expectations for a better life, followed by a sharp economic downturn that dashes those expectations would yield exceptionally sharp feelings of deprivation and aggression (Goldstone, 1986).

The topic of revolution is very important in terms of its relevance; today many third world nations are experiencing revolutions. Personally, as an Eritrean, I want to study other revolutions in order to understand my own situation better.

**CHAPTER - 2**  
**THEORETICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS**  
**OF THE CAUSES OF REVOLUTIONS.**

Certain interferences or disturbances in the normal process of the readjustment of social habits can escalate into a revolution. All social systems have equilibrium, but in revolutions certain social systems are thrown out of equilibrium; which results in a disequilibrated social system. Disequilibrium implies a breakdown of the system's roles, institutions, functions and values. "In a certain society, for a revolution to take place, the ruling elites are unwilling to resolve the problem of disequilibrium" (Rejai, 1973, 8).

Revolutions are unlikely to occur in political systems which have the capacity to expand their power and to broaden participation within the system. That is why revolutions are unlikely to occur in highly institutionalized modern political systems, simply because these societies have developed the procedures for assimilating new social groups and elites desiring to participate in politics. Democratic countries have more capacity to absorb new groups into their political systems and share political power with them but in some political systems, power is equally small and concentrated (Huntington, 1968).

Revolution is a sign of modernization. Revolutions do not occur in highly traditional societies with very low level of socio-economic complexity. Nor does

it occur in highly modernized societies. It occurs in societies who have experienced some social and economic development, and where the processes of political modernization and political development have lagged behind the processes of social and economic change (Huntington, 1968).

In prerevolutionary societies, governments are in financial and administrative strains. Bribery and corruption are common, the bureaucracy is neither open nor responsive to the public demands. The elite lose the skill of ruling and become vulnerable to coups. Instead of responding to the needs of the masses, the elite rely on a policy of increasing repression. The dominant ideology is in a state of decline, and it is challenged by powerful alternative ideologies (Rejai, 1973).

#### **Types Of Political Revolutions And Revolutionary Warfare.**

Types of revolutions are identified according to the degree of mass participation, duration, degree of violence (measured by number of casualties) and insurgents' goals or results. There are four types of revolutions (most common in our time) (Rejai, 1973).

- A. Mass Revolution: participated by the masses and takes a long time with increased violence and demand for political and social change. Examples of such revolutions would include: the French, Russian, Chinese, and Algerian Revolutions.

- B. Revolutionary Coup: Identified by low mass participation, takes a short time, with low to moderate domestic violence. This type of revolution introduces political change within the structure but not within the society as a whole.
- C. Reform Coup: Identified by its very low mass participation, lasts for a short time, with less violence and demands moderate changes within the existing political system. The best example for this type of revolution would be Argentina's developments of 1955, that of France and Pakistan in 1958 and Turkey in 1960.
- D. Palace Revolution: Characterized by the lack of mass participation and violence, lasts for a short time, usually brings little change in the political structure. The best example for this type of revolution are the Latin American coups (Rejai, 1973).

As of Rejai, there are other category of types of political revolutions which depend upon four criteria of typology of revolutions.

**Criteria For Typology of Revolution:**

1. Targets of revolution whether it is directed towards specific regimes, form of government, or the whole society.
2. The identity of the political revolutionaries (either from the elite or mass).



3. The Revolutionaries' ideology whether they have reformist, nationalist or religious.
4. The plan for the duration of revolution, whether to make it spontaneous or calculated and limited (Rejai, 1973).

Six types of political revolution which depends upon the typology which are mentioned above:

- A. The Jacquerie: Peasant mass uprising, it is spontaneous, but with limited aim or goal of bringing radical change, such as the overthrow of existing government. Examples of this type include the peasant uprisings during the Chinese Revolution.
- B. The millenarian rebellion: In many aspects similar to the Jacquerie Revolution, but they are inspired by utopian ideology and charismatic leader (example: the Taiping rebellion 1851-1864).
- C. The anarchist rebellion: They attempt to bring back pre-existing state. They do not support, accept, or promote any change or order. (Example: The Ventee rebellion of 1793-1796, the Boxer rebellion of 1899-1900).
- D. The conspiratorial coup d'etat: Small elites plan to replace ruling group. Examples of these groups include attempted and succeeded coups of the Middle East and Latin America.

- E. Jacobian Communist Revolution: A spontaneous and mass movement, the goal of which is to bring a total political and social transformation of the society (Examples would include the French and Russian Revolutions).
- F. The militarized mass insurrection: Well planned, national and social revolution, with mass participation and support in a guerrilla warfare. (Examples: The revolutions in Algeria, China, and Vietnam) (Rejai, 1973).

In general we have three most common types of revolutions.

- A. "Revolution from below" (Rejai, 1973, 13) refers to a mass movement, spontaneous which develops slowly and the goal is political and social change.
- B. "Revolution from above" (Rejai, 1973, 13) is planned organized non-spontaneous seizure of political power. Armed groups take over governmental authority, they do not have the intention of implementing a new social order.
- C. A "combined seizure" (Rejai, 1973, 13) contains elements of both revolution from below and revolution from above in a moment of mass unrest a group of armed men seize the political and governmental apparatus.

Revolutionary warfare in its modern form includes three distinct phases:

- A. Defensive phase during which the revolutionary organization takes root among the people; it is usually a long process and requires political preparatory work.
- B. When the underground organization and its infrastructure have become strong, the second phase begins. When the adversary is weakened gradually, fighting is scheduled and revolutionary ideas spread to the whole population.
- C. The third phase starts when the rivals' power is balanced. Developed offensive operations with bigger units also take place. The best of these examples would be the revolutions of China and Vietnam (Wallerstein, 1976).

Revolutionary warfare in modern politics (in some places) start as guerrilla activities. Guevara (Foco theory) in his book Guerrilla Warfare 1960; has argued that Guerrilla fighters can defeat a regular Army. Revolutionaries need not, must not, wait until all the objective conditions are ready to start. The mobilizing of the insurrection by its very existence is able to create them, as example he brought the Cuban Revolution (Wallerstein, 1976).

The weak point of the Foco theory is that if one is headed straight into armed struggle without any political education and serious mobilization of the population, it is possible that the guerrilla fighters will be cut off from popular support. For example these failures were demonstrated in Paraguay (the 1959

movement) and in Colombia's workers-students and peasants movements of 1948 to 1953 (Chaliand, 1977).

### **Ideologies And Theories Of Revolution.**

There are many kinds of revolutions, such as Artistic, Industrial, Intellectual, scientific, political, and technological. All these revolutions share three basic components.

- A. At the most general level revolution is a form of change.
- B. This change is relatively abrupt, stretching perhaps over a period of two or three years to two or three decades.
- C. These changes are striking and far reaching; they affect the behavior patterns of significant segments of the population (Rejai, 1973).

In order to qualify as political revolution an upheaval must meet five additional criteria.

- A. Political revolution requires a mass movement. The components of mass makes revolution a modern phenomenon.
- B. Power transfer by eliminating former government and its institutions.
- C. Political revolution entails an array of disruptions on all fronts: political, economic, psychological and social (Rejai, 1973).

There is no revolutionary phenomenon without at least "the germ" (Jean, 1975, 106) ideology to give meaning and to serve as its justification. In political

revolutions ideology inevitably plays a much greater role. Generally speaking any ideology can become the basis for revolutionary aims in the narrower sense of the term. The ideology of any revolution represents a view of the world clear enough so that, most of the social groups will realize that there is a possibility to achieve their aspirations and hopes (Jean, 1975).

The aim of revolutionary phenomena, the goal for which they strive, whether consciously or not, whether effectively or not, is power. That power will enable them to build a new social order (Jean, 1975).

### **Definitions And Functions Of Ideology.**

Ideology is full of myths, appeals to the heart, makes extensive use of symbols, slogans, rituals, its goals and values are overstated. All revolutionary movements employ ideologies and the serve of functions of different ideologies are as follows (Curtiss, 1957).

- A. The most important function; facilitate the development of cross-cutting alliances, and form an alliance to impose the regime. Lenin's slogan "Land, peace, and bread" (Curtiss, 1957, 40) offered something to workers, war-weary soldiers, and hungry people. Nationalism is perhaps the best example for this function (Curtiss, 1957).
- B. Ideology provides intellectual and symbolic cohesion of the minds of revolutionary leaders and followers.

- C. Strong ideological commitment keeps revolutionary mobilization progressive; but weak one creates factionalism.
- D. Ideology legitimizes the movement, sanctions its means and ends; ideological justification is necessary for sustained violence.
- E. Revolutionary ideology is also intended to weaken or eliminate the legitimacy claimed by the existing regime; denounces existing order and its goals.
- F. Ideology is the best tool to mobilize and politicize the masses; to arouse them to act (Curtiss, 1957).

### **The Marxist Model Of Revolution:**

The economic structure causes social relation and development causes the particular class arrangements. In each society there will be two basic classes; one class rules and exploits and the other class is ruled and exploited. Members of the exploited class become alienated from the dominant values and eventually form a large group which is drawn together by common class consciousness (awareness of their common situation). Once the exploited class is politically strong it overturns the ruling class (Cohan, 1975).

The Interest of the radical revolutionaries is to make the revolution permanent until all possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, and the proletariat has taken control of state power (Philip, 1973). The fundamental premise of a revolution is that if the existing social structure has

become incapable of solving the urgent problems of development of a nation, then a revolution becomes possible, only in case the society contains a new class capable of taking the lead in solving the problems (Philip 1973).

The critique of the marxist explanation of class and revolution is that first of all the managers in contemporary society are not necessarily the owners of the means of production, thus authority flows from factors other than property ownership. What has happened is in contradiction to what Marx predicted. He had stated that a communist revolution would occur first in the developed industrialized country. What has happened however, is that the Marxist revolution took place in agriculturally predominant countries such as, Soviet Union, China, Cuba and many third world countries (Cohan, 1975).

No other Marxist thinker before Lenin thought that different situations required different approaches to revolutionary change or the actuality of revolution. In order to deal with the Russian problem however Lenin was forced to reject certain Marxian propositions that had been considered articles of faith by the majority of Marxist such as proletarian participation. But that did not work in peasant dominated Russia (Cohan, 1975).

### **Psychological Motivation Of Political Revolution:**

As David C. Schwartz states, revolutions like all political phenomena originates in the minds of men. All revolutionary organizations however, are composed of both of persons who have been previously socialized to accept a

political system from which they were alienated and hence their loyalties have never been effectively tied to the policy (Feierabend, 1972).

Frustration, aggression, displacement, the outplay of guilt, the operation of cognitive consistency all have been recently applied to the phenomena of revolutions. Revolutions begin with the attempted withdrawal from politics. The behavioral manifestations withdrawal or political alienation include: diminished effective support and sense of legitimacy for the political system. Reduction of loyalties, non-voting, decreased political action and interaction in membership and meetings of political organizations. The notion of withdrawal phase and increased restlessness are the symptoms of the availability of revolutionary behavior (Feierabend, 1972).

In revolution people crave for a new life and new rebirth. They also anticipate and experience new elements of pride, confidence and hope (Hoffler, 1951).



## **CHAPTER - 3**

### **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.**

The American colonies were not considered as part of the British politics. The English American question was purely the consequence of the colonial system; a struggle for monopoly on one side and free labor on the other. In the history of the western world it was a struggle between hereditary prerogative and inalienable rights (Greene, 1865).

The people in the colonies worked hard in order to build a comfortable home and enjoy them in their own way, but the English parliament claimed a legal supremacy of constitutional principles over the colonies (Greene, 1865).

#### **Relating American Revolution To The Theories, Ideologies And Definitions Of Modern Revolution.**

According to Cohan, revolution is a transition or sudden change and illegal transfer of power from one regime to another. A revolutionary phenomenon most of the time takes place by the willful act of violence (Cohan, 1975).

Obviously there were political, economic and social changes which took place during and after the American Revolution. There were illegal waging wars, conventions, boycotts, demonstrations and riots and violence during the American Revolutions. As an example of violence, some British sympathizers were isolated, cowed, their houses destroyed and looted, by mob violence.

They were stripped naked and treated with hot tar. Dr. Beebe of Connecticut, who spoke for British rule, was assaulted and stripped naked. Hot pitch and hog's dung was poured on him, by the mob (Ferguson, 1979).

It is true, that there is no single revolution without ideology. Masses must see victory and hope of the ideology which binds them to their political leaders.

The American colonists were tied together by ideas of political liberation and hope of being independent. The American war for independence resembles the wars of liberation from colonialism in the Twentieth century.

The primary goals of nationhood are independence, territorial integrity, popular cohesion, and self identification. Finally, the American Revolution gained the criteria of nationhood through independence (Rassiter, 1971).

Writers, like Thomas Paine, played a big role in the American Revolution, by setting on encouraging theories for independence. Paine's book the Common Sense was the most influential book during the American Revolution. Paine used to believe that Americans must not be governed from Europe. "The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries it is time to part" (Marrin, 1988, 85).

Common sense had come at the right time with the right ideas. Paine's ideas awakened American patriotism in order to take control of their own conventions which led to the establishment of new government.

Huntington's predictions of revolution also fits into the occurrence of the

American Revolution. Revolutions take place when the political system lacks the capacity to expand its power of administration and broadens participation within the system. Revolutions are unlikely to occur in a highly institutionalized system. That system developed the procedures for assimilating new groups and elites desiring to participate in politics (Huntington, 1968).

American colonies did not send representatives to the British parliament. The colonies were ruled by strangers who did not deal with the day to day problems of the colonies. Government jobs were given to members of the parliament, and voting systems were influenced by bribes. King's friends were winning any major elections. The king used to replace popular leaders with someone he liked. For example, King George trusted, George Grenville so that he became the prime minister in 1763. Grenville put ten thousand soldiers in the colonies, and in order to pay his troops he passed the Stamp Act of 1765. That act upset the colonies but unified them against the British rule (Morris, 1988).

The British conservatism was not ready for political change, instead they were trying to adapt ancient rights and privileges which pushed the colonies towards revolution. The British Empire was so conservative, that they tried to be bound by the Magna Carta (Carson, 1973).

On the eve of the American Revolution there were no wide suffrage and political democracy the Americans and their leaders were tied to the elite stewardship. These were not organized parties, people were simply following the

upper class leadership.

Public offices were monopolized and controlled by the elites. Voters were not influencing governors who were appointed by George the III. The British government failed to develop a rational administration within the enlarged empire. Colonies were to serve the economic interest of the mother country that was the accepted principle of the eighteenth century. So, the British parliament should work upon and develop a colonial system compatible with the British interest (Ferguson, 1979).

As Jefferson said "God endowed man with certain rights government is responsible for securing these rights" (Corison, 1973). When government is not fit or fails to secure these rights, the people have the right to alter or abolish it. But did the British abuse their power? Obviously the monarch was not that much sophisticated and flexible in political administration so that they can respond efficiently to the needs of the colonies. Instead, they were looking for their own economic and political reserve (power) interests.

For example, the English parliament passed the Townshend Act which demands heavy duties on English goods exported to the colonies. Such goods included paper, paint, glass, lead, and tea. The colonies responded by smuggling goods from other nations. The Sons of Liberty's (riot leader, but not necessarily revolutionaries) violent activities went wild patriotic girls and women voted not to drink tea, and gave up wearing British clothes and not to marry

men who bought British goods. However, anyone who violated the boycott agreement was taken care of by the Sons of Liberty with tar and feathers (Marrin, 1988).

### **Political Background.**

From the very beginning of their settlement the colonists longed for liberty and hated the colonizing government. The desire for freedom, and refuge from oppression which led the settlers to the new world was a main barrier to the success of the plans of the British government to rule the colonies (Greene, 1865). The American colonies believed in the principle of "no taxation without representation" (Miller, 1943, 31). But despite the colonies opposition, the British parliament continued to tax them. The people in the new world were not allowed to have their own autonomous legislatures instead they were required to submit to the strict supervision of the British government.

The British Government was sending Governors to the colonies, but the colonial governors were simply dull, common Englishmen who badly needed a job but who ought to have been given a clerkship instead of a governorship. For example, the governor of Maryland was described as "a hearty, rattling wild young dog of an officer" (Miller, 33, 1943). The Americans perceived that the British treated them in the new world as inferiors.

Offices were also given to influential colonists by the crown to reward services or to suppress and buy the opposition. These offices helped to create

a colonial oligarchy at the hands of favored American families. The lines between the oligarchs and the popular leaders had been drawn long before the outbreak of the revolution and the common Americans knew that they had enemies at home as well as abroad (Miller, 1943).

### **The Establishment Of A Strong Revolutionary Army.**

George Washington became the representative of the revolution. The army loved and honored him, even revered him. Citizens acknowledged that his leadership was proved by his wisdom. Washington's supremacy gave more strength to civilians as well as to the military (Washington, 1895).

No one clearly knew the colony's military power. Some people estimated that there were 165,000, but in reality Washington might have had only 25,000. The most important thing is that they were well equipped with ammunition and moral (Lutnick, 1783). It was very hard for the British Navy and army to recruit personnel. Soldiers were not willing to go to America even when merchants promised better wages and improved living conditions. British monarchy's problem was that the empire they wanted to control was large, even larger than that of Alexander the Great. The geographical location of the colonies and lack of enough army personnel made the situation impossible for the British to win.

The year 1775 was a very remarkable year, in which the American troops occupied Breed's Hill (in Charlestown) and captured the harbor city of Boston from the British army. In order to defend the revolution, the Massachusetts

militia was taken over by Congress. George Washington immediately struck a new military note "Our cause is just, our union is perfect, our internal resources are great and if necessary foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable" (Miller, 1943).

### **Economical Warfare Of The Revolution.**

The American Revolution was primarily a National and political revolution, and secondarily it was concerned with financial, commercial or social factors. The American merchants instinctively were tied with the British Government. The merchants knew that they could not benefit from the disorder. Instead they wanted to benefit from the protection which was offered by the British Navy (Richard, 1970).

Class distinctions, and social relations were rigid and clearly distinguished. There was a sense of insecurity; little attention was given to educate the poor. The town's overcrowding, poverty and diseases were completely ignored. Corruption, excessive drinking, violence of human rights and relations were very common (Richard, 1970).

In order to improve and protect the revenue system the mother country (i.e. Britain) introduced the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, and Property Taxes.

The Sugar Act prohibited the North American colonies from trading with the West Indies. The Stamp Act and the British control of the American economy made the situation very difficult in the colonies. The British parliament



established the right of taxing the colonies. There were taxes on imports, taxes on exports, land taxes, window tax and so forth (Miller, 1943).

As Alexander Hamilton said "Your tables, chairs, and platters, and dishes and knives, and forks, and every thing else would be taxed. Nay, I do not know but they would find means to tax you for every child you got and for every kiss your daughters received from their sweethearts; and God knows that would soon ruin you" (Miller, 1943, 291).

### **The Difference of the American Revolution From the Other Great Revolutions.**

#### **1) Economic difference.**

Unlike the Cuban and Russian peasants, the colonial Americans owned small, self-sufficient farms. The average family produced his own food, drink and clothing. They reserved a little surplus for markets. Most colonies were producing their own goods. For example, Pennsylvania and New York were producing a variety of crops and dairy products such as wheat, flour, meat and butter. The colonial economy was operating within the context of the British imperial system.

The Royal officials encouraged economic specializations so that the whole empire's economy would be well-balanced. The self-sufficient colonists enjoyed a monopoly within the British markets. They were also provided for by the fairly inexpensive security that enabled them to invest their energies and resources into economic development (Polakoff, Rosenberg, Bolton, Story, Schwarz, 1976).



## 2) Political Difference:

During the colonial era there were no mass politics. Colonies enjoyed an autonomous administration. Beginning with the Stamp Act, the colonies established an organized opposition. Many Americans used to believe that King George was their legitimate leader but they protested the parliament's special rights to tax the colonies. The colonies formed their first congress and passed the Stamp Act. Some radicals argued that Britain had no right to tax the colonies. The congress opposed the external taxation but their opposition was not denying Britain's legitimacy. By opposing only the Stamp Act and the special privileges of the parliament, congress showed a polite colonial protest (Polakoff "et al", 1976).

The British government abandoned the war effort because of a lack of decisiveness of the British monarchy. The internal division of the parliament also led the Americans to victory. The British could not decide between affirming the colonial system or appeasing it (Morgan, 1965).

The division of opinion between the Whigs and Tories was also an important issue during the American Revolution. The Tories staunchly refused to accept independence after it had been declared, whereas the Whigs after a sharp struggle sided with the rebels. Many conservatives refused to surrender their hopes of reconciliation even after the Declaration of Independence.

The conflict of interest and manners between the Northern and Southern colonies appeared to be a strong guarantee of continued American dependence

upon the mother country in 1777. George Mason of Virginia declared that Americans should not accept independence, but rather they should be happy with the mother country (Morgan, 1965).

### 3) Social Difference:

The American Revolution was a different revolution in the sense that the society which emerged after the revolution was not completely different from the society which existed before the revolution. No social change took place and the American Constitution was still attached to the constitutional history of Great Britain by legislation which included: trial by jury, due process of law and habeas corpus. Also, there was no basic social change. For example, the American Revolution tragically failed to confront the issue of black inequality. The revolution failed to end slavery and discrimination against the Negro. The slavery issue was postponed until the Civil War (Miller, 1943).

The colonies' cultural independence from Europe came slowly. Americans initially simply imitated the English patterns. Even after the revolution, the best American works of art and paintings continued to follow the British fashion (Polakoff "et al", 1976).

### **General Overview Of The American Revolution.**

It is true that the American Revolution was caused due to accumulative and explosive causes of complex political, economical and social grievances (Richard, 1970). The American Revolution was the first great revolution which led

to the declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776) for the Americans. The Americans Revolution was the best example for the French revolutionaries to follow in order to replace their monarchical rule by a republic. Many foreign officers wanted commissions in the continental troops of the colonies. As Marquis de Lafayette who adopted America as his second homeland "The moment I heard of America" he said "I loved her. The moment I knew she was fighting for freedom, I burned with a desire of bleeding for her" (Marrin, 1988, 119). The American Revolution set the tones of the rights of man and women, too. It also set an example for revolutions for independence for many emerging nations of the modern times (Morris, 1970)

## **CHAPTER - 4**

### **THE 1917 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.**

**Historical Background of the Russian Revolution:** The Russian Revolution burst forth with sudden force. Many generations had longed, believed and sacrificed everything for it. Every section of the population came to place in it their deepest hopes and yearnings. Each class in its own way dreamed of it as the beginning of a new life (Chernov, 1966).

The frustrations of the Russian society before the revolution made it a natural breeding ground for revolutionaries. The revolution was demanded by exploited workers, desperate peasants, and angry intellectuals. What was needed was an ideology and an unbending government in order to set off the explosion (Thompson, 1981).

The West was advancing in technology while Russia remained stagnant. All European nations had beaten Russia in modern industrial technology. Russia remained behind, in military, government's administration and agriculture (Bertram, 1981). Tsarist Russia was completely ignorant of the "new factory" (Chernov, 1966, 127) in which the owner was the constitutional monarch bounded to his factory; subjected the workers through a system of fundamental laws. In prerevolutionary Russia the right of the entrepreneur in his factory was identified with that of "the master in his own house" (Chernov, 1966, 128). The Russian bourgeoisie insisted that relations between capital and labor in Russia

were patriarchal and did not require regulation or interference from outside the factory (1966).

The modernization, industrialization and urbanization also contributed to the revolution. Millions of Russians were physically displaced; some fifteen million by mobilization into the army, millions more as refugees from war, some worked in factories, on farms and in various war related organizations. The migrations of individuals from their origin meant that old habits and attitudes were disturbed. All these confusions led to the weakening of the old society, and many groups began to search for new, radical, social, and political changes (Thompson, 1981).

### **World War I As a Cause For the Russian Revolution.**

What actually brought about the revolution was Russia's disastrous involvement in World War 1. As the war dragged on people became both exhausted and bitter. Russian losses in the war were about six million soldiers killed, wounded, and captured. In 1915 Russian loss was heavy, 235,000 per month, and 200,000 prisoners. In the whole year of 1915 2,000,000 were killed and 1,300,000 went to prison. Total losses since the outbreak of the war reached 4,360,000.

Again, in 1916 the Russians lost more than 2,000,000 men killed and wounded and 350,000 prisoners. The military's morale was ruined beyond repair (Shelton, 1957). Russia also lost one quarter of the richest lands of the empire to the enemy. As for the farmers, prices of manufactured goods were higher

than the price of their production. The war also strained the Russian economy and transportation became difficult for civilians. Food and fuel shortages in the cities worsened living conditions (Thompson, 1981).

During the provisional government's era the upper and middle classes supported the more determined and effective war efforts. On the other hand, workers and soldiers demanded an end to the war, more food and better wages.

The provisional government which was led by Alexander Kerensky started to direct its attention toward the last offensive war against the Germans. The war-weary Russian masses openly opposed the efforts for an offensive war. The Petrograd Soviet or Council of Workers and Soldier's deputies also opposed the offensive efforts. Finally, the council chose to protect the revolution from the counter-revolutionary forces and that broke the discipline of the army. The Bolshevik Party exploited the situation by promising land to the peasants; an end to the war and rest for the exhausted soldiers. All of these caused the masses to uprising and activated the revolution which in turn strengthened the radical party of the Bolshevik Communist Party (McKay, Mill, Buckler, 1983). All these developments led to the failure of the provisional government.

#### **Internal Political Situation During The Revolution.**

The Tsarist state was an inefficient and easy going authoritarian machine. The state was too large, from Siberia to the front of Germany, to be

administrated under such an old monarchy. There was also disagreement between the Emperor and Empress and her lover Rasputin, and among the authoritarian leaders and all Royalists. The situation paved the way for the October revolution because control from the above (elites) had weakened due to disagreement and division of power (Wolfe, 1961).

The lower classes which felt that they were being oppressed by the upper class and even by foreign bureaucracy and industrialists, were ready for the revolution. But the main group which made the revolution possible and got it going were the soldiers from the Imperial navy, the Petrograd workers, and the ordinary peasants. The peasants were the most untouched, by foreign influences. The peasant's revolution was an economic one; they wanted to seize land. The peasants revolutionary theory owed much to the populist, social revolutionaries, mainly practical analysts of the revolution such as Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Kamenev, and Zinoviev. Even the theoreticians of Socialism (Marx and Engels) did not expect a socialist revolution would break in an underdeveloped country because Russia then lacked large number of workers and huge industries unlike the West (Bertram, 1961).

Later even after the distribution of land (to the landless peasant); the peasants distrusted the Bolsheviks because the Bolsheviks were alien to them. They were townspeople often not ethnically Russian. The friendship between the Bolsheviks and the peasant which was mainly Lenin's strategy did not come

soon. The opposition of the peasants (especially to the landlords) helped building strong socialism in Russia. Stalin was also less interested in the forces of internationalism, but he built strong forces to crush opposition and settle the peasant uprising (Leiden, Schmitt, 1968).

### **The Beginning Of the Revolution.**

The 1917 revolution's radical demands and actions started on March 8th, chosen as women's day. Multitudes of strikers advanced and thronged the streets of Petrograd, shouting "Give us bread" (Bertram, 1961) and attacking the bakeries. The cassocks disobeyed the order to disperse the crowd, in fact unlike the 1905 revolution, they joined the crowd. During March 8-11, soldiers did not fire a bullet. On the night of March 11th workers, and soldiers attacked and burned police buildings and government offices. That was the first part of the upheaval. That was why the liberal government of the Soviet won the support of soldiers, workers and radical intelligentsia. The Duma (Russian parliament of March 13th -15th) retained the support of the middle class (1961).

The crowds demanded the Tsar's abdication. They shouted "Down with the German Women (the empress) (1961). The Duma had temporarily taken charge of the government, but was very shaky because the troops revolted and would not obey the Duma, and even threatened them. The executive committee of the Soviets went on strike to get power from the Duma and the Monarchy was in danger because people asked for the abdication of the emperor. Finally on



March 16 the Emperor, Nicholas II, abdicated in favor of his son Nicholas II. The people as a mass and the revolutionary leaders were not satisfied with the abdication of the Emperor because they trusted in the revolution as the destroyer of the accustomed tenure. They believed that the abdication was done as a reform and in order to avoid radical changes (Roger, 1964).

### **Workers Strikes And Mass Demonstration Of 1917.**

Despite Mensheviks claim of insufficient workers in Russia, it was the skilled workers who constituted the core of labor protestors in January and February 1916, on the eve of the revolution. Some 675,000 workers left their work in these two months, in 1300 separate strikes, in which 1100 were labeled "political" by the factory inspectors (Journal of Social History, 1986, 608).

After February 1917, skilled workers continued to be quite active in the strike movement; the semi-skilled workers were relatively more active than the skilled workers. Unskilled workers and the previous march of women were a source of anarchy and blind violence, and played a relatively minor part in the 1917 strike movement. The dynamics of strikes in 1917 and the evidence which was collected suggested that strikes occurred in the month of May and June, and again in late September and October. The last days of June and July were full of strikes in response to concern about political opposition to the military offensive. It was during these days that the Bolshevik soldiers marched with the "Petrograd Soviets" demanding to take full power in the name of Russia's

workers and the peasants under the goal of "land, bread, and peace" (Koenker, Rosenberg, 1986, 50)

### **Political Differences Between Parties And Party Leaders.**

In Russia there was no lack of pre and postrevolutionary guidance and justifications, such as propaganda, revolutionary literature, and ideology. By 1917 there had been enough theory created and enough ideology generated to justify the Russian Revolution. The people who won control of the revolution were men of words as well as action. They left behind much ideological materials that still exist. If there was no Lenin would the peasants have won the revolution? Maybe at another time and under a different situation, but during 1917 it was Lenin who saw the interest and flexible ideology (new ideology of Marx and Lenin) to lead and incorporate the peasants demand with the workers interest (Leiden, Karl, 1968).

One of the communist's creed states that "No one shall have cake until everybody has bread" (Albert, 1919, p50). When there was no bread for people, Lenin did not get bread either. Each person got as much as Lenin. Lenin did not need to send a commission to discover the sentiment and psychology of the people. A hungry man with the people, freezing with the people, Lenin was feeling their feeling and thinking their thought. Lenin set out for discipline. He knew that only strong action could save the revolution which was menaced by hunger, invasion, reaction (Leiden, 1968).

**The Bolsheviks:** When the Russian party of Marxian Socialism split into two rival factions; Lenin's camp was called "Bolsheviks" or the "Majority". His opponents were called the "Mensheviks" or "minority" (Bennet, Hill, 1966, 972). The Bolshevik party led the revolutionary proletariat (United Workers power) and assumed the role of leader of the revolution. Lenin believed the transition to the direct struggle for socialism could be made possible by the revolutionary break-up, overthrow of Tsarism, and the establishment of a democratic republic (Volobriyan, 1985).

When the Bolsheviks seized power they won more popular support by promising bread to the hungry, freedom to the oppressed, and peace to the war weary nation. Russia at that time needed peace to give the Bolsheviks, as Lenin said, "breathing space in order to tackle the task of reconstruction, and to stamp out the opposition against the bourgeoisies" (Fainsad, 1973).

**Lenin's Activities and the Bolshevik Party.**

By 1903 Lenin's ideas were clear and the revolution was inevitable. According to Lenin, the successful accomplishment of the revolution was essentially the work of an organization. He set three stages of revolutionary activities, which were: (Arthur, 1967)

- A. The insurrection was a theoretical objective of the revolution.
- B. The political party organized the insurrection.
- C. Finally the party issued the call for insurrection.

The party's first duty was to give theoretical direction, to clarify. The party could lead the revolution when it was guided by advanced political theory. If the revolutionary party did not propagate its own ideas of scientific socialism, and the Marxist interpretation of political and social ideas, then the ideas of the ruling classes would continue to direct and corrupt the minds of the masses to weaken their struggle. For that reason Lenin said "No revolutionary theory, no revolutionary practice" (Arthur, 1967, 47). As for the party and its relations to the masses, Lenin saw the party as a small cog putting the great body of the working class into motion. The Bolshevik party did what a party could do from 1903-1923. The fact is that Lenin's party was organized and self-efficient theoretically and practically. They propagated their ideas, they were also committed and ready to sacrifice for the sake of the revolution (Arthur, 1967).

### **The Mensheviks and The Revolution.**

The Mensheviks claimed to be keepers of Marxist orthodoxy opposed Lenin's idea of Russia's advance to Socialism. They accused the Bolsheviks of revolutionary adventurism, pointing to the country's backwardness, the economic dislocation and numerically small number of proletariat. Their main point was that Russia had not yet matured for socialism, and should wait for the coming of socialism from the west because west European Socialist development was supposed to provide some kind of universal model (Volobriyan, 1985). Lenin's response to the Mensheviks from his economic and social standpoint was that

capitalism in Russia was moderately already developed.

### **The Collapse Of The Imperial Rule in Russia.**

The Bolshevik organization and strategy brought the revolution a victory. The Bolsheviks won the final coup through the military revolutionary committee of the Petrograd Soviet. On October 29, 1917 they created the central committee which was composed only of Bolsheviks with Trotsky as chairman of the committee. On November 6, 1917 Lenin gave the order and advice saying "We must not wait, we might lose everything" (Arthur, 1967).

At last the Bolsheviks army captured the last stronghold of the provisional government and arrested all the ministers who were in the palace. All railroad lines, telephone posts, telegraph stations and government offices were occupied. They also took over the banks, and main government buildings. Armored cars were taken by the revolutionary committees and the Cossacks refused to obey the government. The provisional government was deposed, power was taken by the revolutionary committee of the petrograd Soviet of workers and soldiers (deputies 1967).

During the turmoil of politics the imperial family lived quietly in the provincial town of Tobolk. They were safe from the Petrograd mob, but still the family suffered humiliation daily, at the hands of the soldiers who guarded them. During their final days the royal family lived in Ekaterinburh in the Urals. The Soviets in Ekaterinburg took upon itself the responsibility for dealing with the

Tsar and his family. On July 16 between 7-8p.m., Yurovsky (head of the guard) and some extra ordinary commission executed the royal family which included Nicholas II (Emperor). When the news of the massacre reached Lenin, he arrested those involved in the massacre and later he executed five of them (Arthur, 1967).

### **General Conclusion on the Russian Revolution.**

The Russian autocracy lost the confidence and respect of the people because it failed to bring a proper degree of modernization to Russian Society. In the economic, technological, and educational fields, the Czars made no adequate effort to overcome Russia's backwardness. The Regime was intolerably cruel and despotic in its treatment of the people; a revolution was seen as a must to correct that situation. The Autocracy also failed to supplement the political system in good times with some sort of a parliamentary institution. The need of the intelligentsia from all classes for some institutional framework which would give them a sense of participation in the governmental process and policy was not met (Pipes, 1968).

The Bolshevik party argued that without bloodshed revolution would not occur. Maybe that would be true for the Russian Revolution and most other (political) revolutions. Revolutionaries do not run an election because the whole population is at war. Even right after the revolution the Russians were not ready for a free election. The common theme was to change the government and

implement the ideology of Lenin - Marx (Brown, 1988).

In revolutions it is common to find very deterministic leaders like Lenin who are very eager to achieve leadership and implement their ideology. After monarchy was overthrown, the peasants got land, which they would not have gotten under the Tsar's regime.

## **CHAPTER - 5**

### **THE CUBAN REVOLUTION OF 1953-1959.**

#### **The Manifestation Of The Misery Of The Cuban People:**

The prerevolutionary (1950-1954) Cuban population was starving, had low income, poor housing, ignorance, disease and food scarcity crippled the progress of that nation (Huberman, Sweezy, 1961). It was unthinkable that a starved nation such as Cuba would wage revolutionary war in the 1950's. Even though revolutions are the result of misery, revolution will not occur in a much less developed societies. On the eve of the revolution, the Cuban people lacked the basic needs of life. There was a shortage of water, electricity, and housing problems. There was lack of sanitation, and toilets in the rural areas. There was not enough food and medicine in the rural areas in Cuba. Children died from malaria, yellow fever, typhoid, tuberculosis and syphilis (Huberman, Sweezy, 1961).

There was a shortage of schools and teachers. Two thirds of the Cuban children were not attending school. As far as employment was concerned those who finished school did not get job. In pre-revolutionary Cuba one out of every four was unemployed.

#### **Sugar the only cash crop and source of economy, in prerevolutionary Cuba.**

The entire nation was subordinated to the production of Sugar. Cuba was one of the richest country in the world but could not feed itself. Sugar was the



only product and investors did not invest in any other products to diversify the economy.

People who worked in the sugar factories led a miserable life. The owners were making lots of money and brought bigger and modern machinery for the sugar industry. The Cuban land was concentrated in the hands of few individuals as the Latifundia (Cattle ranked enormous tracks of land) (Huberman, Sweezy, 1961).

#### **Prerevolutionary Guerrilla Warfare (1956-1959) In Cuba.**

During the prerevolutionary phase Castro started his political operations outside the communist's bureaucracy. The orthodoxy of Marxism, Leninism, workers role and class analysis could not work for the Cuban Revolution. In the Cuban mode, the vanguard role of guerrillas, was exclusively forced in the rural areas. But, the Cuban based parties were playing the role of supporting the guerrilla's revolutionary struggle (Edward, 1974).

#### **The Mancada Plan:**

The plan was to attack one thousand Batista's (Batista seized control of the army in 1933 and government in 1934) troops in order to capture their weapon and then use that weapon to seize the radio station in order to denounce Batista's regime. But the July 26, 1953 Mancada attack was a failure because of technical errors. Some of the attackers were killed and some were put in jail, others were murdered instantly (Huberman, Sweezy, 1961).

### **Revolutionary Activities Under Castro.**

Castro was one of the prisoners who was captured in the Mancada operation. But as a lawyer, he presented a petition, so that the supreme court could declare the Batista Government as unconstitutional and illegitimate. The courts power was limited under Batista's regime. Therefore they could not adhere Castro's demands. After escaping the incredible danger Castro started the revolutionary movement in the mountains of Sierra Maestra. The Cuban people began to join the movement and to believe in Castro as a legendary hero (Casuso, 1961).

Every social class of the Cuban population participated in the revolution. The rebels in the mountains were joined by priests, professors, lawyers, doctors, skilled and unskilled workers.

The upper class and middle classes also helped by contributing money and provide shelters for the rebels. Even the military prisoners were cooperating after their liberation. The policy of releasing Batista's soldiers won for Castro, the reputation of generosity and mobility, so that Batista's troops refused to fight against Castro. Batista soldiers had bombed a large population, the precise number of dead was not known because the army used bulldozers and quickly buried them in the ditches (Casuso, 1961).

The Cuban Revolution under Castro was a unique revolution because it was not bound or guided by a special theory (until 1961) that contradicts the

orthodox expression of Lenin "without a revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement" (Lavan, 1967, 18). But the Cuban Revolution proved that even without a theory, revolution can succeed; As Che Guevera stated, "If historical reality is interpreted correctly and if the forces involved are utilized correctly" (Lavan, 1967, 21). Under Castro the guerrilla fighters felt themselves at home, their morale was high and their sense of security was great. The peasant was promised land distribution after victory and that encouraged them to join the revolution. The bourgeoisie also favored the revolution against the tyranny because they sought a negotiated solution would permit them to substitute for Batista's regime (Lavan, 1967).

### **Why Radical Revolution?**

The Cuban Revolutionary and radical movement was mainly caused or pushed to the extreme by Batista's general regime and Castro's leadership. Sergeant Fulgencio Batista seized power and controlled the army and government in September 1933. The Batista regime was a nightmare full of repression, assassinations, gangsterism, bribery and corruption. Batista's soldiers tortured and beat many innocent people were murdered including doctors whose crime was that they only treated the wounded who were brought to their offices (Huberman, Sweezy, 1961). The regime designed terror in order to crush the resistance movement. The Cuban people under Batista's regime suffered the loss of 20,000 lives, tortured in prisons. Corruption was wide

spread, Batista alone had stolen about 400 million U.S. dollars (Huberman, Sweezy, 1961).

The Cuban Revolution was mainly caused by poverty, the chronic stagnation, and unemployment resulting from the semi-colonial economy of one crop. So the mission of the revolution was to make Cuba less dependent on sugar, while not reducing sugar production. The plan was to add extra activities and industries, which produced food stuffs for export would raise total income, employment and domestic consumption (Huberman, Sweezy, 1961).

Castro's leadership, his personal gift of audacity, strength and courage, extraordinary eagerness brought him honor. His other important qualities such as ability to assimilate knowledge and experience in order to understand the whole situation while keeping sight of the details of certain situations. Fidel Castro was the only one who constructed Cuban revolutionary government, from the guerrilla stage into the formidable present revolution (Lavan, 1967). Castro and his cadres were joined by the communists from the urban centers during 1959-1962. And this stage brought the popular class stage of 1962-1969, during these years Cuba came to be ruled by Socialist Marxist ideology (Louis, 1976).

The Cuban revolutionary experience owes much of its radical thrust to Fidel Castro The "prime mover as well as principal architect", behind the Cuban Revolution (Edward, 1974). With the exception of Che Guevara, the Cuban revolutionaries had no form of ideological guide to follow until Fidel Castro formally adopted Marxism-Leninism as the official ideology (Edward, 1974).

## **CHAPTER - 6**

### **THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION OF 1979**

#### **Historical Background.**

The former Shah paid little attention to the constitution, his power remained absolute. The nationalist reformer and prime minister Mohamed Mossadeg (1951-1953) challenged the Shah; and briefly took the lead in determining government policy. But in 1953, with help from the United States' CIA, the Shah regained full power against Mossadeg (Goldstone, 1986). Because of his ambitions, but disruptive reform program, he was disliked by landholders and religious leaders who had lost their properties. His regime was not liked also by the merchants and workers who believed they had been neglected in the drive for industrialization. Social democrats suppressed in the 1953 coup, radical Islamic groups, separatists, tribal chieftains, communists and the Shiite Mullahs all lost trust in the Shah. William Sullivan, the American Ambassador to Iran during the revolutionary struggle indicated that all the interest groups of Iran combined to overthrow the Shah (Salinger, 1981).

The urban and rural poor were left with less land and poor housing. At the same time the Shah's political program rejected the claims of trade unions, intellectuals, merchants, religious leaders and professionals to share in the government policy. In the world of economy the Shah was unable to take any

action specially during the 1975-1977 period because oil and commodity prices were rising. When the economic crisis prompted strikes in 1978, leaders from every elite group sought to rally popular opposition against the Shah. The Shah was brought down by a combination of factors similar to the Russian Revolution, social, economic and political crisis (brought on by the severe inflation of 1975-1979). The opposition of elite groups, alienated from the regime, also played a major role in bringing about the revolution (Goldstone, 1986).

The ulama who believe that religion should involve in all aspects of life opposed the shah. The land reform was also opposed by the mullah and their leader Ruhollah Khomeini. The mujahadeen also opposed the Shah, they assassinated many Iranian officials including six Americans (Sullivan, 1981). Regardless of this opposition, the Shah decided to move ahead with the programs of westernization, modernization, and secularization (Sullivan, 1981).

In 1957 the United States' CIA devised a modern intelligence system the Sazman'e Ethela'at Va Amniyat-e keshvor (Iranian State Intelligence and Security Organization) the Savak. The communists, workers, student organizations, merchant of the bazaar, ulama and Islamic extremists, social democrats, old aristocracy and regional political leaders all were the victims of the Savak repression. Some of the Savak's terroristic activities were such as persecution, murder imprisonment and torture. All these inhuman acts of the Savak took place during the Shah's program of "White Revolution" (Sullivan, 1981, 97). An

enlightened effort to free the nation from ancient curses of poverty, disease, ignorance and famine.

### **Main Causes for the Iran Revolution of 1979.**

In the Iranian case, the revolution was brought about by the traditional clergy inspired by an Islamic belief and ideology. Their political philosophy argued that the religious leaders had the divine right to protect the community. Clergy exercise power over the elected representatives and scrutinize the activities of all social groups (Goldstone, 1986).

### **Social Unrest.**

The Shah of Iran widened the gap between social structures and the political structures. He cut the communication between the traditional social and social force (the bazaar) and the political establishment.

The regime failed to win the support of the salaried middle class and urban working class. The reason was that the regime overthrew the popular leader (Dr. Mossadeg in (1953) banned unions, professional associations, and independent parties. The regime also implemented policies which benefited the upper class, but not the middle and lower classes (Goldstone, 1986).

The standard of living was improving because people were introduced to modern housing, modern goods, motorcycles, air conditioners and private cars.

The Shah's regime also stood against the religious establishment. The resurgence party declared the Shah as the political leader as well as spiritual

guide of Iran. The Shah also predicted the coming of a "new great civilization" (Goldstone, 1986, 124).

In order to hasten the arrival of the new civilization the Shah replaced the Muslim calendar with a new and royalist calendar; overnight they jumped from 1355 to 2535. The regime also disregarded the Shar'ra laws by raising the age of marriage (girls from 15 to 18, and boys from 18 to 20). Judges were instructed to enforce the law of family protection which restricts both polygamy and men's right of easy divorces.

Universities were ordered not to accept women who wear chado (long veil). Newly established religious corps taught peasants that "True Islam" (Goldstone, 1986, 125) differed from "block reactionary mullahs" (Goldstone, 1986, 125). The opposition group in Iran and in exile considered the aim of the corps as nationalizing "religion and undermine spiritual leaders" (Goldstone, 1986, 125).

The regime crashed down any religious opposition killed and imprisoned many Ayatollahs such as Ayatollah Shamsabarti (preacher in Isjahan was murdered. Shaikh Hussein Ghoffari was detained. Groups of clerics who opposed the resurgence party as an Islam and unconstitutional were put in prison such as Ayatollahs Talegoni, Ayatollahs Motazeri, Ayatollah Hassain Gumi, Hojat olislam Kari, Hajat al-Islam Lahuti: never before there were many religious prisoners were detained.



Various classes demanded participation in the political process. Consequently the Shah mobilized his security force to control and repress parties such as communists and nationalists and this gave chance to the Islamic forces to expand and to be mobilized (Milani, 1990). The Islamic Revolution tied many oppressed classes together with the religious symbol (A. Khomeini) who won the battle (Milani, 1990). Ayatollah Khomeini also criticized against the Shah for proliferating "centers of corruption" like bars and liquor stores (Milani, 1990).

The Ayatollah should supervise the legislative and executive branches of Islamic nation

#### **Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic Ideology For The Revolution.**

Khomeini argued that with the disappearance of the Twelfth Imam the imamate cycle was stopped. The ulama should establish Islamic law (Sharia) and government which continues executing the Sharia laws and traditions. Therefore the enlightened ulama should overthrow governments in the Iran and Middle East installed by imperialists and Zionists. Instead, establish and expand Islamic governments (Milani, 1990).

Sharism contains ingredient of liberating and modern ideology with the ability of neutralizing the cultural hegemony of the west in Iran. Sharia also ends the endemic alienation of educated Iranians and protects the country's national identity and heritage (Ramazani, 1990).

As the 1976 census the ulama's number reached more than 23,476. But

the west did not understand and accept the religious culture of Iranians. The USA undermined the power of the ulama, the CIA depended on the Savak for information, but the Savak was under the Shah's control, therefore, unfit to give effective information (Ramazani, 1990).

### **Economic Causes of the Revolution.**

Starting 1953 up to the revolution the cumulative oil income came to as much as \$54 billion. Some of this was wasted on princely palaces; royal grand tours, major festivals, solid gold bathtubs, nuclear projects, and ultrasophisticated weapons. The regime financed the impressive economic growth, but failed to win the support from either the salaried middle class or the urban working class. The regime further widened the gulf by implementing policies benefiting the upper class rather than the middle and lower classes; who had no pressure groups through which, they could alter government decisions (Goldstone, 1986). After 14 years of so called White Revolution, 68% of adults remained illiterate, the number of illiterates actually rose from 13 million to 15 million; relatively the literacy rate rose from 26 to 46 percent. Only 60,000 university places were available for as many as 290,000 applicants. The percentage of population with higher degrees was one of the lowest in the Middle East; and the doctor patient ratio remained one of the worst in the whole of western Asia (Goldstone, 1986).

For many urban families the quality of life deteriorated as shanty towns proliferated, the air became more polluted, and the streets turned into traffic

nightmares. Between 1967 and 1977 the percentage of urban families living in only one room increased from 36 to 43 persons. On the eve of the revolution, as much as 42 percent of Tehran had inadequate housing (Goldstone, 1986).

### **Economic Crisis.**

The value of nonmilitary goods was increased to \$40 million from about 12 million. Even though the per capita income increased from \$160 to over \$1600. Population growth was increased from 18 million to about 35 million.

The regimes strategy of economic development helped private entrepreneurs and that created income inequality. The royal families and many senior officers who ran companies (such as Iran Air, National Oil) were grabbing state wealth.

The Pahlovi Foundation reached its highest corrupted stage by using the government wealth.

Sectoral contribution to Gross Domestic Product (as percentage of G.D.P. and at current prices) for selected years, 1963-1977.

	<u>1963/64</u>	<u>1969/70</u>	<u>1972/73</u>	<u>1975/76</u>	<u>1976/77</u>	<u>1977/78</u>
Agriculture	27.9	22.5	16.9	9.8	9.4	9.3
Oil	18.6	17.4	22.2	45.0	36.8	31.8
Industry/mining	15.8	22.5	20.8	15.4	19.3	22.5
Services	37.7	39.9	40.1	29.8	14.5	36.4

Source: Annual Reports, Bank, e markazi-ye Iran 1973, 1975-1976, and 1977-1978 issues.

As the role of indigenous in Industrial sector increased so does the

western investment, in industry and banking system. As a result, Iran now depends on Western technology and economy (Milani, 1990).

### **In The Midst Of Political Turmoil.**

The Shah did not allow the formation of pressure groups who would open political avenue for social forces and create a link between the monarchy and new classes.

The regime also broke the ties which existed between the monarchy and the middle class especially the bazaars and the monarchy (Goldstone, 1986).

The traditional middle class is important due to the following reasons:

A.The bazaars, the professional traders, shopkeepers, contain two-thirds of Iran's trade. They are also the majority group in the middle class with (250,000 shopkeepers).

B.Well organized with unions and their craft and trade guilds (Goldstone, 1986). The bazaars exercised entrepreneurial influence with their stores and workshops, employees peddlers, retailers and petty brokers.

C.The bazaars also influenced the life of the country side partly because of their ownership of commercial farms.

Between 1953 and 1975 the Shah government used to follow the policy of "let sleeping dogs lie" (Goldstone, 1986, 124). But the Shah ignored that policy and tried to control the bazaars way of life, their religious establishment in order to control the urban working classes and strengthen his Resurgence

party (Hizb-i Rastakliz). which is a fascist-style totalitarian regime (Goldstone, 1986). The Resurgence party, through state bureaucrats opened branches in the bazaars traditional guilds.

The regime extricated (bulldozed) some of the bazaars districts in order to build major roads and state run markets.

The King also failed to gain the intelligentsia and proletariat (Goldstone, 1986).

The most active participants in the Iranian Revolution were the Ayatollah Khomeini and his advisers on the outskirts of Paris. These leaders had strong contact with revolutionary elements and groups engaged to overthrow the Shah, such as bazaars, professors, teachers, secondary school and university students, lawyers, doctors and urban migrants, (all these were engaged).

Khomeini and his followers wanted to guide Iranian government along the path of Guran and Sharia. While in exile (in Najaf Iraq) Ayatollah Khomeini was teaching about the monarchy's rule, its anti-Islamic nature, and the rights of the Fagih to rule his nation (Ramazani, 1990, 50).

The Shah widened the gap between social structure and the political structure. He also cut the communication between the traditional social force (bazaars) and the political establishment (Ramazani, 1990).

The Shah's foreign policy was opposed mainly because of his defacto allegiance with the United States. Because of the strong relationship with USA,

the revolutionary epithet called him "The American King" (Ramazani, 1990, 49). America was considered as the destroyer of the Nationalist Muhammad Mossadeghi, the Supporter of the Shah, the Corrupter of the Iranian Islamic tradition (bringing) mass western culture and "the Great Satan" (Ramazani, 1990, 49).

Occupational Background of the arrested injured in the June uprising, June 2 to June 10, 1963.

<u>Job Background</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Skilled Workers	163	27.6
Ulama	88	15.0
Retailers; Shopkeepers	79	13.4
Students	70	11.9
Apprentices; Assistant Shopkeepers	47	8.0
Merchants and Middlemen	36	6.1
Unskilled Workers	32	5.4
Unemployed	16	2.7
Unspecific and Others	16	2.7
Private and Public Employees	16	2.7
Formers	14	2.4
Professional Group	<u>12</u>	<u>2.3</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>588</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: The Bloody Uprising of June 5, 1963 (Teheran Iran, 1984).

The table generally depicts that more people from lower class, students, and religious groups were opposing the regime (means the political bridge between the regime, and lower classes was broken (Milani, 1990).

The new secret police named Sazmani Ittala'at VaAmniyat-i keshvar (National security and information organization) soon became notorious under

its Acronym Savak. The Shah used the military and the Savak to crush opposition groups. Communist and Tudeh parties were outlawed. The Shah's was the most coercive regime in 1971-1977. On February 8, 1971 thirteen young men armed with rifles matching guns and hand grenades attacked the gendarmerie post in the village of Siakal. This attack was later known as the "Siakal incident" (Abrahamian, 1982). They sparked eight years of intense guerrilla activities and inspired many other radicals, Islamic as well as Marxist to take up arms against the regime. When the Islamic Revolution began to unfold in the streets of Tehran, 341 guerrillas and members of armed political groups lost their lives. 177 died in June battles; 91 were executed some without trial, others were forcibly tried in tribunals (Abrahamian, 1982).

The February (1979) Revolution came about not only because of a sudden and dramatic Islamic resurgence but also as a result of deteriorating socio-economic conditions, rising inequalities and political suppression by the Shah's regime. The situation became intolerable. As soon as the masses realized that it was possible to avoid this they began challenging the old regime (Afshar, 1985).

The potentially revolutionary situation was the direct and inevitable consequence of the people's expectations rising at a much faster rate than the actual satisfaction of their needs and the non-responsive nature of the Shah's autocratic regime (Afshar, 1985). Plans made in the guise of reform or revolution

failed. Worst of all, human rights and individual freedoms were being disregarded. The principles of the constitution and the universal declaration of Human Rights had been violated. The Shah's monarchy was the country's only institution, around which all power revolved without any formal checks and balances. More than other single factor, money and wealth were the cement for Mohammed Shah's system of government (Graham, 1979).

The Shah and his bureaucracy imposed state control over universities, private schools, business groups, religious endowments, and numerous other private organizations. Civil servants, university professors, and ordinary citizens were forced to join the royal political party. One analyst of the Iranian Revolution has noted that the Shah generated in Iranians a sense of humiliation and ultimately rage. "The behavior of the Shah increasingly came to be experienced as an insult, a narcissistic injury to his won people- he showed the Iranians no compassion and no empathy" (Bakhash, 1984).

### **The Final Days Of The Revolution.**

The earlier protests were generally reformist seeking implementation of the constitution and redressing of grievances. But the mosque-led demonstrations were more radical and revolutionary in intent. On 7-8 September at Jaleh Square troops opened fire and large number of demonstrators were killed which became known as "Black Friday" (Bakhash, 1984) in the folklore of the revolution. It was very difficult to compromise with the Shah during his final days.



Throughout the crisis he waited for the United States to tell him what to do, but in Washington counsels were divided. The state department under Cyrus Vance, believed the Shah should negotiate with the opposition, but the National Security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski believed that the Shah should be told he would have U.S. support for whatever measures he thought necessary to restore order. By the end of December 1978 the Shah turned to the National Front, and its leader, Shapour Bakhtiar. Bakhtiar was committed to a constitutional transfer of power. He agreed to accept the prime ministership from the Shah and to remain loyal to the constitution. The Shah handed over authority to a Regency council and left the country on a "vacation" of undetermined length. The Shah left Iran on 16th January 1979 (Bakhash, 1984).

Three days after the Shah's departure a million people marched in Tehran demanding Bakhtiar's resignation. At Khomeini's instruction, employees in ministries refused to let Bakhtiar's ministers enter their offices. Finally Bakhtiar's government collapsed and on 11th of February, the revolutionary forces took control and Khomeini triumphantly announced the establishment of the Islamic State (Bakhash, 1984).

### **Conclusion On The Causes Of The Iranian Revolution.**

The Shah's regime grew more authoritarian. Increasingly, one man dominated all the important national economic and political networks. No other institution had any power or authority. The Shah also committed a grave

mistake by destroying the Bazaars work shops. The Bazaars were not only shop owners and merchants, but they dominated urban politics in Iran; they influenced the people in many aspects such as culture and local leadership. So their opposition to the Shah brought a decline in his popularity and power.

If the Shah had been more flexible perhaps the revolution could have been avoided altogether. But some argue that the Shah had no other option except repression once the guerrilla movements began operating in early 1970 (Stempel, 1981). Basically revolution in Iran was continuing because Shah's regime in one way or another affected the overwhelming majority of the people. The Islamic fundamentalists around Khomeini rejected what they called the "westernization" (Stempel, 1981) of Iranian Society seeking to return instead to the old ways and to abandon all efforts to modernize the country. Yet most Iranians see nothing wrong with economic betterment and modernization. Their attachment to Islam is modified by practical considerations.

The Shah did not consider giving any thought to the culture and religion of the Iranian people. He did not consider ruling on the basis of the Koran which is held in high esteem and is the major book of the Iranian Muslims. In Iran the Islamic form of governance was legitimized by the establishment of the Imamate State. And all sovereignty within an Islamic state was vested in God. The Caliph or the Imam merely ruled on behalf of God. The Shah did not try to make any attempt or bring some harmony and integration between religion

and modernization. Hence his monarchy was overthrown by the Islamic as well as the political revolution.

## VII. Conclusion.

The most common characteristics in each pre-revolutionary nation was the corruption, abuse of power, and irresponsibility ; societies were not provided with the necessities of life and there was suppression of human rights and dignity. Governments failed in introducing political reforms and this caused social unrest such as demonstrations, strikes and upheavals. When opposition groups were well organized and led by intellectuals and other leaders equipped with political theories and ideologies, they could transform the social unrest into a revolution.

All violence and disruptions do not lead to revolutions and all revolutions do not demand blood shed. But most political revolutions, since they demand fundamental change of the existing socio-economic set-up, pass through a long and bitter struggle which takes a toll of human lives. Great revolutions include the French and American Revolutions of the eighteenth century and the two major twentieth century revolutions, the Russian and the Chinese.

The term revolutionary change conveys the notion of something radical happening; that old forms are disappearing or are at least in the process of being displaced by new and usually untried approaches. However, theories do not agree upon a single definition of what a revolution is. Revolution is the passage or transition from one historical epoch to another. In a revolution, the transformation of an entire system occurs when a society and the masses see no other way out of their misery except by a revolution. Generally, "a revolution

is by definition, non-legal violent change" (Cohan, 1975, 13).

The actual fall of the regimes begin with an acute political crisis brought on by the government's inability to deal with some economic, military or political problem. The desertion of the intellectuals on a vast scale from the country or the government implies unusually widespread and pervasive dissatisfaction with regime performance.

Revolutions are unlikely to occur in political systems which have the capacity to expend their power and to broaden participation within the system. That is why the revolutions are unlikely to occur in highly institutionalized modern political systems, simply because these societies developed the procedures for assimilating new social groups and elites who desire to participate in politics.

Revolution is an aspect of modernization and do not occur in highly traditional societies with very low level of social and economic complexity. Revolutions occur in societies which have experienced some social and economic development and where the processes of political modernization and development lag behind the processes of social and economic change (Huntington, 1968).

In modern revolutions the radical revolutionaries try to bring radical changes by making the revolution permanent until all possessing classes have been forced out of their positions of dominance. The fundamental premise of a revolution is that if the existing social structure has become incapable of

solving the urgent and necessary problems of development in a nation, then a revolution becomes possible only in case the society contains a new class capable of taking the lead in solving the problem (Philip, 1973). The general definitions of the causes of revolutions, theories and ideologies, in one way or another fit the conditions of the modern revolutions of the US, Cuban, Russia and Iran.

The British rulers were not efficient; the Empire was vast and hard to administer. The Britishers only interest in America was to subdue the people and tax the colonies; they had no interest in developing the legislature or the administration in the new world. The sufferings of Ireland were of great propaganda value to the American agitators. Once a rich and prosperous country, Ireland had been crushed by heavy taxes and commercial restrictions. As a consequence the country seemed to be sinking beneath the load and had nothing to call its own.

One of the strongest arguments for independence was the vice and corruption of "the rotten island" (Miller, 1943, 47) of Great Britain would eventually spread to America and overwhelm the virtue of the people. It was impossible for one part of the Empire to be in a corrupt state without endangering the others. Americans pointed out that the longer they remained within the British Empire, the greater was the danger of contamination (Miller, 1943).

Batista's regime in Cuba never assimilated parties or opposition groups

into the political system. Pre-revolutionary Cuba was suffering from repression, assassinations, gangsterism and corruption. The Cuban population suffered from poverty, hunger, diseases and ignorance. There seemed no alternative solution to the people's problems. In fact, the military regime responded by killing 20,000 people. Finally the irresponsible Cuban leader escaped from the nation with \$400 million.

The 1917 Russian Revolution was one of the great revolutions in the modern times. It was supported by the Russian people, guided by the intellectuals and had well articulated ideologies. The Russian Empire under the Czar was wide and hard to administer. It was true that during the pre-revolutionary upheavals and strikes, the Bolshevik party emerged. In terms of coherence, ability to organize the people, its political ideology and effective leadership, the Bolshevik party was much superior to its rival, the Mensheviks and to the Czar.

The Shah's monarchy in Iran was socially alienated and incapable of assimilating some of the basic tenets of Islamic creed. Politically, the Shah was an inefficient leader because of his heavy dependence on foreign advice. His regime arrested, tortured and killed the Ulama. He annoyed the rural population by interfering with the bazaars, their way of thinking and rural traditions. The Shah's secret police (the Savak), was another nightmare and harassed the Iranian people.

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