Flowology of contemporary parties with a systemic approach (Case Study: secession MKO from Nehzate-Azadi)

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Abstract

The present study aimed to analyse historically the early activities of the Iranian liberation movement based on Parsons' theory of structural functionalism. Before the founding of this party began in the form of the "National Resistance Movement" and then "Second National Front" and in the process of political events in the early 1940s, activities caused the band's decline and then the split Mojahedin Khalq Organization. In this study, the Freedom Movement Party of Iran as a system has expressed its decisions as output through an internal process after receiving political developments as data. In Parsons' theory, internal and external factors affecting the environment and the order's value system cause disorder. The agreement between the Shah and the US for the fall of Amini, an external environmental factor; leftist revolutions, the outer aspect of the value system; the leaders' arrest of the Freedom Movement for opposing the White Revolution, the internal environmental factor, and Bazargan's scientific-oriented thought as the internal factor of their value system led radical young people to conclude that they could derive the science of struggle from Marxism while religious spirits. The result indicated that the collective construction of the Freedom Movement was one of the factors that did not oppose this internal radicalism and confirmed it. In the collective construction of the Freedom Movement, the gang was formed as a circle of friends, not a professional organisation. Regarding the lack of standardised procedures in political behaviour, failed to institutionalise adherence to the constitutional legal structure as a political model for members.

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Introduction

The establishment of Ali Amini's government in Ordibehesht 1340 provided a relatively favourable atmosphere for the political activity of the nationalist currents after the coup d'état of 28 Mordad 1332. The Iranian Freedom Movement began its activities believing in acting within the framework of the constitution while adhering to Mossadegh's path. But with the fall of Amini and the Pahlavi government's attempt to revise some constitutional principles, the leaders of the Freedom Movement were tried for opposing the White Revolution. Some of the radical youth of the movement, led by Muhammad Hanifnejad, under the suppression of Khordad 15, 1342, used the armed struggle and established the Mojahedin Khalq Organization. The main question is 'How to emerge a group with an armed policy within a party with a conservative approach?' According to the systematic analysis, the hypothetical answer is that the collective and incoherent construction of the Freedom Movement caused a strategic vacuum in this group.

Kazemi stated that using the three-level analysis of Fairclough discourse in three levels of text, production process and social function. He believes that completing the discourses meanings, non-discourses, and the effect of social position on discourse change has been the reason for the split in political factions (Kazemi 2015 AD/1394 SH: 113). Karamipour stated that the social and strategic attractiveness of the select group causes the split and collapse of smaller groups (Karamipour, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 95). Beheshti Seresht analysed the issue of the organisation's religious stream after changing ideology, their division and path (Beheshti Seresht, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 42). Regarding the specific subject of this article, namely the separation of the Mojahedin Khalq from the Freedom Movement, some works and research articles were examined. The most critical work is the three-volume book "Mojahedin Khalq Organization, Emergence to Fate" (2005 AD/1384 SH) by the "Institute of Political Studies and Research." The difference between the present study and previous examples is the modelling of Parsons' theory of structural-functionalism for political rheology of the Iranian Freedom Movement and the systematic analysis of the factors that split the Mojahedin Khalq Organization from this group.

1. Theoretical Framework: Structural Functionalism

Talcott Parsons, an American thinker in political sociology, proposed the theory of structural functionalism. His central idea is how to balance a social system. He approached Pareto in his critique of utilitarianism. Pareto wanted to analyse all aspects of social and economic activities in

proportion to their position as volatiles within a balance acceptance system (Hamilton, 1995 AD/1374 SH: 75). That is, the political decision is analysed not due to its result but how it is adopted. Parsons avoids classical positivism, which treats the social sciences as the natural sciences. Accordingly, influenced by Max Weber and in his empiricism critique, he highlights the role of social systems in expressing actions. According to him, the system concept indicates the complex dependencies of coherent and interconnected set members. This theory evaluates the conditions of survival, operation, change and system perfection. In this perspective, functionality is the variety of solutions that a system finds to survive a set of specific problems. This function makes sense in socially active systems and constant contact with their macro environment. A dynamic system in interacting with the environment has four elements: data or what enters the system; yield or something that goes out of the system; the process that converts data into product and yields feedback in the form of subsequent data that intensify the process of system performance or reduce it (Bashirieh, 1995 AD/1374 SH: 84).

At this level, the actor's action is like a bridge that approaches the two aspects of static (structure) and dynamic (function). Therefore, the role concept position in Parsons's thought appears as a factor for linking the action of system actors and the balance of the general environment in a specific and organised pattern. Thus, an act in Parsons theory consists of four elements (Hamilton, 1995 AD/1374 SH: 87):

1) Subject or actor;
2) The goal or the desired situation of the actor;
3) The normative approach or tendency of the actor;
4) The state in which the action takes place includes changeable or immutable elements.

The activist approach expresses the concept of socialisation, which outlines the conventional acting way in the social environment. The sociability of the cultural patterns that determine the value or horror of an action plays an essential role in balancing a political system. It caused the evolution in the context of maintaining the system foundation. So, a change in the value system makes the system unbalanced. This point explains positive action means maintaining the balance of the system, which is reflected in the fourth element. According to the fourth element, the action system means the interaction relations and rules between the actor and the situation. We should say that the actor acts inside the case or social environment, not outside and in front of it. Because, his action is regarding the signs meanings understanding that finds and responds to as data in the background.

To explain the structural aspect of the system, Parsons borrows the two

concepts of community and group. He defines variables as structural variables that determine a specific actor's characteristics in society's two components. These variables are the same patterns that provide the structural order and static aspect of the system, and each social system chooses one of the dualities of this variable and rejects the other (Roche, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 70-71):

1) Populism versus specialism: The actor makes decisions based on general criteria generalised to a set of cases or judges only based on criteria. Like the difference between parents' actions with unknown children or when they encounter their children;

2) Acquisition versus attribution: The actor can calculate the action subject according to his achievements or pay attention to the nature of purchases such as degrees and business efficiency versus attributes such as gender and race;

3) Neutrality versus emotional: In the first case, he puts aside his emotions and feelings, and in the second case, he acts based on emotional relationships. The first case is like the doctor-patient relationship and the second case is like the father-child relationship;

4) Specialism versus multilateralism: The actor can choose to have a comprehensive relationship with other actors only in certain aspects. For example, a father looks at his child and life comprehensively, but the doctor's attachment to his patient is only related to his illness.

Populism, acquisition, neutrality and specialism are the characteristics of society and specialism, attribution, emotional, and multilateralism are the components of the group. The systems function also corresponds to the activities that provide the system needs. These functions are used to maintain the internal stability of the system in the face of internal and external challenges and to achieve the system goals to environmental changes (Hamilton, 1995 AD/1374 SH: 133):

1) Compatibility: Obtaining resources or facilities from the environment and redistributing them. In other words, it takes feedback or sources in the form of data from the environment and produces the desired return. This function adapts the system to its environment, requirements, bottlenecks and limitations;

2) Achieving the goal: Actions that, after determining a plan, motivate them to achieve it. This function mobilises and manages resources to achieve the goal;

3) Unity: It is Functional about maintaining coherence in subsystems and disruptive prevention. This component protects the system against sudden changes and significant disruptions;

4) Invisibility: The term refers to motivating the actor to move, which Parsons calls the preservation of cultural patterns.

In this study, the Iranian Liberation Movement is seen as a system that operates per Parsons' approach in interacting with the Iranian political environment in the 1340s. The research hypothesis is that the value system of the freedom movement youth changed regarding the social events. This change was based on the legal construction of the constitutional system activities in the denial of the former value system of the freedom movement, which eventually led to the establishment of the Mojahedin Khalq Organization. The methodological strategy of this research is close to Parsons' macro strategy. He seeks to present an organised plan to explain how to maintain coherence and balance in a political system because the function of the Freedom Movement has been to create balance, stability and a gradual movement towards reform in the Iranian political space.

2. Establishment of the Iranian Freedom Movement

After the coup, Mosaddegh's supporters tried to continue the nationalisation of the oil industry by establishing the "National Resistance Movement." (Nejati, 1996 AD/1375 SH: 306-307) Differences arose between the conservative and radical sides over their participation in the 18th National Assembly elections. Some parties opposed running in the election, claiming it was illegitimate, but some were satisfied to participate in the polls (Sahabi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 71-72). The subsequent dispute occurred after the dismissal of Zahedi in Farvardin 1334 and the installation of Hussein Ala (Abrahamian, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 384). At this time, the conservative faction led by Allahyar Saleh, to gain the government's trust, proposed the idea of separation from Mosaddegh. But the radical section, with Ayatollah Taleghani and Bazargan, emphasised continuing to support Mosaddegh (Nejati, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 122-125). As the first nationalist organisational system after the coup, the National Resistance Movement stagnated considering the contradiction of the value system, the contradiction between the resistance idea and the political reality based on the establishment of the coup government. This conflict led to internal disputes and then to disfunction, resulting in the dissolution of the system.

At the end of 1338, with the approaching twentieth parliamentary elections, the Shah sought a more accessible space for elections under US pressure, which encouraged Mosaddegh's supporters to revive the National Front. This front started its activity on Tir 30, 1339 (Nejati, 1996 AD/1375 SH: 346). Shortly afterwards, the John F. Kennedy government sought economic reform in underdeveloped countries to prevent the spread of communism. It caused the appointment of Ali Amini as the Prime Minister of Iran, who

also selected people close to the Tudeh Party and the National Front to the Ministry to attract the attention of critics of the government (Abrahamian, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 386-385). Mahdi Bazargan, Yadollah Sahabi, and Sayyed Mahmoud Taleghani decided to form a new party in this favourable political situation. Adopting a more radical approach compared to the conservatism of the National Front leaders was their motivation, which showed the continuation of the National Resistance Movement differences (Nejati, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 212). According to the structural functionalism theory, the National Front system could not maintain its unity in the face of the macro-political environment. It occurred because of the invisibility absence in its function. That is the absence of differences coverage and the failure to internalise the political model after the coup. Thus, the loss of these two internal functions of the system caused the National Front to fail in two external parts: adapting to the environment and achieving political goals, and more critical, parliamentary competition. This failure in functional features stemmed from the structural characteristics of the National Front. The founders of the National Front derived from the National Resistance Movement and inherited the divisions and differences of that group. According to a review of the National Front system based on Parsons's four components, the main actors, some opposed the coup government and others, conservatives, believed in overcoming the coup. The goal of the first group was to fight against tyranny and colonialism, but the purpose of the second group was to get closer to the United States and gain a parliament. The radical reformers acted only to declare allegiance to the monarchical legal system, while conservatives legitimised the Shah's intervention's genuine construction. Thus, the system became disordered in its external function, i.e., adaptation to the environment.

Regarding the two factors of religious thought and political radicalism in the separation of the Freedom Movement from the National Front, formed two factions in the Freedom Movement. Religious parties, including religious students and activists from Islamic associations, became members influenced by the spiritual approach of the Freedom Movement leaders. The national faction includes radical activists of the Resistance Movement who joined the movement considering the idealism of the Freedom Movement leaders. According to Bazargan, people had no religious motives and mostly came for political reasons (Keshavarz Shokri, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 148). The first systemic feature of the movement was that it had not an organisational structure but a club structure because the members came together because of the old friendly relationship. Some, such as Mostafa Chamran, Muhammad Tavassoli, and Saeed Mohsen, became members of the Freedom Movement regarding their student background of Bazargan at

the Faculty of Engineering, and others, such as Ebrahim Yazdi, Muhammad Hanifnejad, and Abdolreza Nikobin considering their experience in Islamic associations. Some also became members of the movement due to kinship. Rahim Ataei and Mansour Ataei were the nieces of Bazargan, and in addition, Rahim Ataei was the brother of Sahabi. Muhammad Bastengar later became the son-in-law of Ayatollah Taleghani. Bazargan and Taleghani were charismatic leaders for religious students. Bazargan was the professor of the Engineering Faculty, a modernist speaker at the meetings of the Islamic Association, and an idealistic political fighter. Ayatollah Taleghani was also a radical fighter and a religious leader who learned his spiritual teachings during the Qur'anic exegesis meetings. Therefore, the primary recruitment of the Freedom Movement was among religious students, and it was less influential among the working class or the market (Keshavarz Shokri, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 142). Accordingly, the characteristics of the congregation in the structure of the Freedom Movement are as follow:

1) Specialism: Focusing on students through the charisma of leaders among academics;

2) Ascription: The effect of kinship, training and friendship relationships on membership;

3) Atefi: The structure of the movement was formed based on the interest of the leaders;

4) Multilateralism: The comprehensive role of movement leaders as political, religious, and intellectual leaders.

The figure below shows the internal factionalism of the Freedom Movement in its early formation.
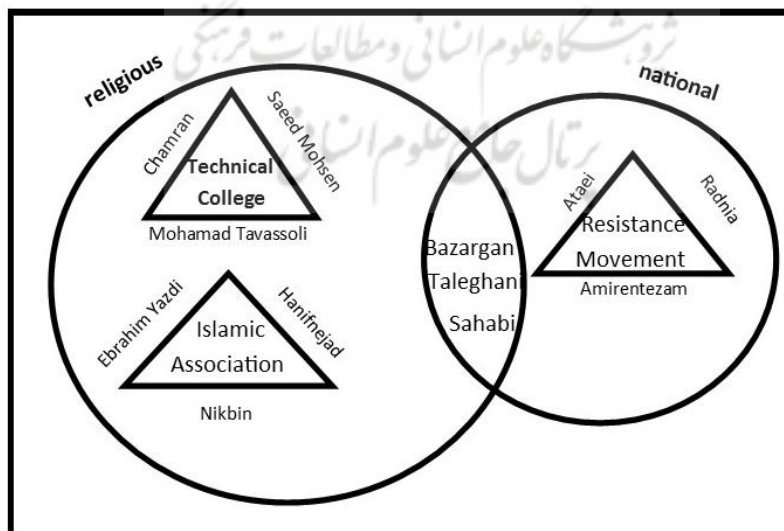

Figure 1: Internal Factionalism of the Freedom Movement

The value system of the Freedom Movement was defined based on Islamism, nationalism, loyalty to Mosaddegh and adherence to the constitution (Nejati, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 379-380). The first two principles are the conditions for membership in the movement. The third principle contains the prevailing tendency on most movement members as a continuation of Mosaddegh's policies. The fourth principle is the only practical principle of the movement and expresses their activities limitations. Therefore, according to its only pragmatic principle, this system's political action has moved in the parliamentarism style. According to Parsons's definition, four characteristics of this political action are as follows:

1) The activists of Bazargan are Ayatollah Taleghani and Dr Sahabi, along with their followers in the Freedom Movement;
2) The goal is to hold free parliamentary elections and achieve civil liberties such as press freedom;
3) The way of action, peaceful strategies such as statements issuance and holding political meetings;
4) The action state, the limited political space created by the pressure of the US Democratic government.

According to Parson's explanation of the fourth component of action definition, the state of action, especially in politics, is volatile. It is especially true of the Freedom Movement political activities during the short period of Ali Amini's rule. The fragility of Iran's political situation stemmed from eight years of suffocating atmosphere following the coup. On the other hand, Amini lacked partisan support and a clear social standing and was a politically conservative politician. He grew up only based on individual sports policies. So, he tried to gain the support of workers and students by appointing three people close to the Tudeh Party and the National Front.

Regarding Amini's goal of implementing the land reform plan, left-wing parties seemed more satisfied. Still, the National Front and the Freedom Movement of Iran announced their goal of having free elections and put pressure on Amini to dissolve the parliament. Amini did not want to hold elections considering the conservatives and significant landowners in parliament (Amini, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 402).

In a statement against Amini's government in Tir 1340, the Freedom Movement stated that "The government claiming to be a reformer should be tested against the nation." (Collection of Documents, 1982 AD/1361 SH, vol. 1, no. 17) The purpose of this statement was not to put pressure on Amini's government in line with confronting the Shah, which Amini

had no desire and will to do. Sometime later, on the eve of Tir 30, 1340, the Freedom Movement asked the people to gather in honour of Dr Mosaddegh and Dr Fatemi (Collection of Documents, 1982 AD/1361 SH, vol. 1, no. 19). Amini opposed this accumulation, which led to the arrest of several members of the Freedom Movement (Nejati, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 181). In conclusion, the relationship between the Freedom Movement and Amini's government became strained, and the Freedom Movement attacked Amini in a statement entitled "Freedom Trick" calling him a "Consortium Broker and Zahedi Crimes Partner." (Collection of Documents, 1982 AD/1361 SH, vol. 1, no. 21) On the first of Bahman 1340, Tehran University students protested against the closure of the parliament, which was suppressed simultaneously with the army entering the university (Nejati, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 189). In its protest statements, the Freedom Movement believed the government guilty for presentation or informing of the attack and strongly condemned it (Collection of Documents, 1982 AD/1361 SH, vol. 1, no. 26). It caused the reduction of Amini support and facilitated his removal by the Shah.

Regarding the political acts of the freedom movement during the short period of Amini's rule, we should say that the Movement had problems from the beginning with the political environment in the first function, i.e., adaptation. They committed themselves to the legal building of the public system of Iran, i.e., the constitutional constitution. But they had no obligation to the actual installation, i.e., the Shah's rule, but opposed Shah by stating the third principle, allegiance to Mosaddegh.

3. Freedom Movement and Islamic Uprising

When Assadullah Alam became Prime Minister, peaceful actions gradually became demanding. On Mehr 16, 1341, the government approved the bill of state and provincial associations. The condition of Islam was removed from the elected in this bill, and swear to the Qur'an was changed (Jafarian, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 370). Following the publication of this news, a group of Qom authorities such as Imam Khomeini, Ayatollah Golpayegani and Shariatmadari expressed their concern in separate letters addressed to the Shah (Institute of Political Studies and Research, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 167). In a statement in Azar 1341, while supporting the authorities, the Freedom Movement emphasised the common goal of the struggle for fundamental and parliamentary freedoms (Collection of Documents, 1982 AD/1361 SH, vol. 1, no. 40). The minority union of the Freedom Movement, which was more inclined towards the National Front, disagreed with supporting the clergy. But the religious faction believed that a comprehensive struggle against

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the Shah's rule requires the presence of the mullahs (Sahabi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 251). This religious spirit and Bazargan's friendly relations with religious scholars were among the reasons for the members of the Freedom Movement tendency to the religious movement. The bill of state and provincial associations ended with the withdrawal of the government on 9 Azar (Institute of Political Studies and Research, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 170). But the Shah announced on Dey 19, 1341, that he wanted to put the six principles of the White Revolution to a referendum (Jafarian, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 370). Imam Khomeini, in response to a referendum (Istifta') on the 2nd of Bahman, recalling the Shah's opposition to Mosaddegh's referendum on the dissolution of the 17th parliament, wrote: "Voting should be free and done without any pressure, coercion, threat or bribery. In Iran, it is not practical, and most people are intimidated by government organisations in all parts of the country and put in pressure and hardship" (Mousavi Khomeini, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 136). The Freedom Movement makes a fundamental objection to the validity of the referendum in a statement entitled "Iran on the Eve of a Great Revolution:" "Today, the governing body and a system are making a revolution, which until yesterday, through the owners and government officials, were the only supporter of the feudal system and the cause of all pressures and corruption. They put Amini's government to work. American politics has no interest in the individual or the class. They wanted land reform and the fight against corruption to stop communism. Therefore, simultaneously with a trip to the US, a promise was made that the country's first-person would be the first and last person, and the appearance and inner executor. The prime minister [Amini] left and was replaced by a ring servant [Alam]. Revolution must be from inner, not outside" (Nejati, 1996 AD/1375 SH: 389). Simultaneously with the publication of this statement on Bahman 4, SAVAK arrested Ayatollah Taleghani, Bazargan, and Dr Sahabi (Nejati, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 214-216).

The relations between the Shah and religious scholars were severe crises from the beginning of 1342. On the second day of Farvardin, the Assembly of Rouzeh Feyziyeh in Qom, in the martyrdom of Imam Sadegh (AS), was attacked by government forces, and some scholars were injured (Jafarian, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 371). In a message addressed to the Tehran clergy on Farvardin 13, Imam Khomeini announced: "I have now prepared my heart for the bayonets of your agents, but I will not accept your coercion and cruelty" (Mousavi Khomeini, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 178-179). These statements deepened the Freedom Movement's connection with religious scholars. In this regard, members of the Islamic Students Association, most

of whom were also Movement members, visited some jurisprudents. In this meeting, on the 10th of Ordibehesht, Imam says to the students: "We want to preserve the parliamentary system. Now, the freedom of the pen, expression, thoughts and even the right to life has been taken away from the people" (Mousavi Khomeini, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 191-192). Imam Khomeini's emphasis on fighting tyranny and colonialism and defending political and constitutional freedoms caused the religious party of the Freedom Movement to be more interested in him. Simultaneously with Muharram, the crisis accelerated. On Khordad 13, coinciding with Ashura, Imam Khomeini addressed the Shah at the Feyziyeh school: "Do not oppose the clergy so much, they want the nation expediency. I swear God, Israel does not want your well-being. What is the connection between the Shah and Israel that the security organisation says do not talk about Israel, do not talk about the Shah? Somehow convey this information to this gentleman, he may wake up" (Mousavi Khomeini, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 245-247). At midnight on Khordad 15, Imam Khomeini was arrested at his home and transferred to Tehran. The news publication caused widespread public protest severely suppressed by the army (Nejati, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 234-235). The Freedom Movement issued a statement entitled "Dictator Sheds Blood:" "It is the first time in the history of Iran that dares to successor position of Imam Zaman (AS). Jurisprudent Khomeini is stolen and imprisoned, and the scholars of Tehran, Shiraz, Qom, Mashhad, Tabriz and other cities are imprisoned enmasse" (Yahosseini, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 676).

The imprisonment of the freedom movement leaders, the lack of relationship with youths, and the effect of the Khordad 15 incident on the political atmosphere of Iran, strengthened the radicalism of the youth who were members of the Freedom Movement. Bazargan says in court: "They were prejudiced, and we were symmetrical. We forced them to follow the legal path and the public interest" (ibid., 336). Gradually, the young people moved away from the Bazargan conservative position. The system of the Freedom Movement in the output caused a conflict between the value system and the political environment. While the data was a harbinger of political radicalism, the value system insisted on maintaining the legal structure of the constitutional monarchy. To resolve this conflict, the movement system in the internal process emphasised confronting the natural form of the Pahlavi government while adhering to its legal structure. But the Pahlavi tyranny caused the feedback of this output to the Freedom Movement system not appropriate to its value system. In his last defence, Bazargan warned the

Shah: "If you openly condemn the Freedom Movement, which explicitly says that it is in favour of the constitution and the constitutional monarchy, after this, if formed a court, it will deal with a population that is really against this regime" (Nejati, 1996 AD/1375 SH: 560-561).

The most important effect of the Khordad 15 uprising was changing the political atmosphere of the Shah's opponents to the military phase. Religious groups and Marxist groups turned to armed fight, which showed that the legal battle and the attempt to achieve free parliamentary elections were ineffective. In addition to internal factors, external motives such as the victory of the Cuban revolution led by Fidel Castro and Chegoara and the success of the Algerian liberation revolution led the Iranian Marxist and Islamist currents to armed struggle (Meysami, 2001 AD/1380 SH: 159-160). Thus, after eliminating the National Front and the Freedom Movement of Iran in 1341 and then suppressing the uprising of Khordad 15, 1342, the young members of the Freedom Movement led by Muhammad Hanifnejad began to study the armed struggle. Together with Saeed Mohsen and Abdolreza Nikbin, in Shahrivar 1344, he formed a group to conduct scholarly studies regarding armed struggle (Institute of Political Studies and Research, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 294). According to Hanifnjad and his companions, there are some reasons for battle failure. These are the existence of colonial imperialism, the compromise of nationalist parties such as the National Front and the Freedom Movement, the lack of organised fighters and scientific struggle (Institute of Political Studies and Research, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 292-293). In their opinion, the weakness of educational and organisational issues were the most critical weaknesses of the Freedom Movement (Sahabi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 297). In other words, the collective structure of the movement, which turned it into a friendly club rather than a political and ideological organisation, was the criticism basis of the Mojahedin Khalq founders. They wanted to establish a system with radical and revolutionary content and a structured form with individuals' membership based on their ideology and function toward their goal. Therefore, the unit of action had changed as follows:

1) Activist of radical and religious youth with a scientific approach;
2) Target; the overthrow of the Pahlavi government;
3) The action way; armed struggle in the style of an urban uprising;
4) The state of the environment regarding the increasing activities of SAVAK and the establishment of an authoritarian government.

The following figure shows the four components of data, process, output, and feedback of the actions of the Freedom Movement political

system based on Parsons's functionalism theory.
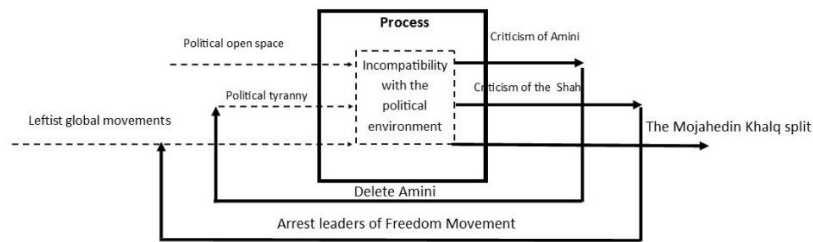
Figure 2: Components of action in the political system of the Freedom Movement from the establishment to the split of the Mojahedin Khalq

According to Parsons's systemic theory, the reason for the separation of the Movement's youth from the pragmatic principle of the Movement, that is, adherence to the constitutional constitution is the internalisation of cultural patterns. The Freedom Movement leaders failed to institutionalise the implementation of the constitution in the members of this group; with tyranny and repression, they understood the legal strategy was ineffective. Hanifnejad explained why he was inclined to armed struggle during SAVAK interrogations: "We practically saw that everyone who acted legally was repressed. The best example is the National Front and the Freedom Movement of Iran" (Institute of Political Studies and Research, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 667).

Conclusion

According to Parsons' theory, the disorder occurs when the order value system is inconsistent with environmental realities. The atmosphere of repression in 1341 and 1342, which eventually led to the arrest of the Freedom Movement leaders, pushed the younger members of the movement more and more towards radicalism. Based on the functional characteristics of the Freedom Movement, the early founders had radical tendencies towards the actual construction of the ruling regime. It had an essential effect on promoting the political radicalism of the younger members. At the same time, the value system of the youth changed regarding changes in Iran's internal and external environment. Therefore, organised the internal process of the Freedom Movement towards criticism of the Pahlavi government. The failure of the Freedom Movement in two instrumental functions, namely adaptation to the environment (conflict of a value system with the power realities) and preservation of cultural patterns (lack of institutional commitment to the constitutional constitution), led to failure in two purposeful functions, i.e., achieving external goals (free parliamentary elections) and unity (organisational cohesion). It caused a split in the

Freedom Movement. Inconsistency factors have been superficial and internal factors affecting the value system and external and internal factors affecting the system. The internal factor influencing the change of the order value system was the scientific thinking of Bazargan, which ruled the morale of the youth members of the Movement. They concluded that the previous failures were regarding the unscientific nature of the struggle and can earn struggle science from Marxism. The external factor influencing the value system was global events such as the leftist struggles in Latin America or the Algerian revolution. The Shah's agreement with the United States to implement land reform and set aside Ali Amini were external factors influencing the environmental change. The internal factor affecting the transformation of the social system was political repressions.

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