Tradition, Modernity and Iranian Society

Mohsen Alini *, Maryam Bijani **

* Assistant Professor of Planning Economic and Rural Development Research Institute

** Faculty member of Higher Education Institute of Maziar

Abstract: Longstanding tradition and modernism in Iran is the old story of those countries that have not yet found the way of independence and emancipation of the self encountering western culture and civilization and stayed caught within the viscous cycle of Modernism or Traditionalism. Cultural weakness and passivity of Islamic Societies before new life of the west has converted into the basic problem for countries like Iran, crossing from tradition and reaching to modernism so that its impact for generation of the nation has led to thoughts and patterns each of them have affected scientists, scholars and people for some time. Pure fascination with western culture and civilization, absolute rejection and opposition with it and attempt to keep the optimal values of the national culture and identity are three approaches that have formed creation and development context of intellectual streams in the course of history over the years. Understanding the intellectual attitudes and their impacts on the ups and downs of Islamic Iranian Thought without doubt help how to deal with this phenomenon in the present time. It also requires an understanding of two issues (tradition and Modernity), an overview of the history of Iran from tradition perspective and valuation of the perspective that Iranian society is facing the name of Modern Community.

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Introduction

When the foundations of the glorious Islamic civilization attempted and the authority and magnitude of the Muslims diminished, cultural weakness and passivity were besieged in Islamic societies and from the ingenuity, creativity and glorious culture nothing special remained from predecessors' heritage. While beyond the Islamic borders, westerners tried to wipe their face with ideological and intellectual fanaticism and sprang from thousand years of middle ages of sleeping. In these circumstances, Muslim scholars began to repeat the ancient thoughts and Islamic Societies stopped their movements. Moreover, the transition from traditional to modern conditions created a situation in which an anomy dominated based on social relations, socio-economic, cultural and political structures and by the continuation of the conditions the range of problems were added. This led many scientists, researchers and scholars of the Islamic countries to think and provide a solution to step out of the crisis. In general, dealing with the culture and western civilization created three types of reactions among Muslim scholars particularly Iranians. A group of intellectuals called for full acceptance of western culture and its achievements. Mirza Malkam Khan, Talibof and Akhundov were those who know how to step out of the underdevelopment and backwardness community with undisputed acceptance achievements of western thought. Others strongly rejected the west's cultured patterns of behavior and tried to rebel what was the west oriented. The third

group of scholars was seeking to conduct the way of consciousness and union adopted. It tried to be the minds of true Islam compatible with the findings of a mind free from shackles of ignorance, superstition and bigotry. This group wished emancipation of the people from improper social and cultural conditions, consciousness and actions. Among the leaders of this movement can be pointed the following characters: Sayvid Jamal ad-din Asadabadi, Muhammad Iqbal, Rashid Reza, Kawakibi, Shariati and Bazargan. In this paper an attempt in addition to the concept knowing and criticism of two categories (tradition and modernity), Iran's condition in the course of transition from tradition to modern era will be indicated and obviously, in this analysis we will inevitably have historical overview on relations between Iran and the west and thereby addressing the cause of this situation would be effective. Beside the ups and downs, three mentioned above attitudes in different historical periods to date will be reviewed and considered.

The concept of tradition and modernism - Tradition

Tradition originated from Latin meaning the action of transferring and bringing back. So, tradition is the heritage of people to transfer from generation to generation. In a sense, traditions include customs, beliefs values and experiences of all people and are means-tested of social life (Saroukhani, B. (1370), p.823).

Based on this, traditional society refers to a society that has the following features:

- The absence or being worthless of production tool
- Relying on established traditions as a way of social life
- Slight tendency for social change
- Reliance on land and agriculture as the main source of wealth

And Traditionalism is the attitude or philosophy that institutions, organizations or social beliefs are respected because these are remnants of the past and have been tested over the ages (Saroukhani, B. Ibid, p. 823-824).

- Modernity

Modernity from Anthony Giddens perspective is at its simplest form a brief explanation of modern society or industrial civilization. First, modernity is related to a certain set of attitudes towards the world and towards the world of ideas, as a free world to change by human interference. Second, complex institutions especially industrial production and economy based on market. Third, a certain limit of political institutions, including nation-state and mass democracy. As a result of the features, modernity meets generally social order with more dynamism. Modern society is a society with a more technical and sophisticated institutions that unlike previous culture live in future than in the past. (Pierson, CH. (1380). P. 165-166)

Many believe that the modern era is the triumph of human mind over the conventional wisdoms (A mythical, religious, moral, philosophical and...), development of scientific thinking and rationality of the self, addition of the reliability of critical philosophical perspective, all are associated with the new organization of production and trade, forming the rules of commodity exchange, and gradually domination of civil society on government. As for this, modernity is the collection of cultural, political, economic, social, philosophical issues continued from about the fifteenth century to the present day or a few decades ago.

This concept unifies modernity with new civilization that is human-centered and anthropocentric and makes it a pattern, example or paradigmatic. European civilization has been formed in the heart of social life and made a culture claiming universality. Thus, modernity is considered as an ideology and precursors and pioneers of the Renaissance in contrast to the holiness of elevated powers and for the benefit of humanity, recalls the necessity of wisdom and understanding the rules of life and criticizes the traditions, institutions and veteran forces (Ahmadi, B. (1373), p. 9).

Looking at the modernity from any perspective has been criticized by great thinkers, philosophers and socialists. Hegel, Marx, Weber, Giddens, Foucault and... all have criticized modernity with different point of view and have talked about alienation, steely cage, technochratic prison and.... Even fanatical advocate of modernity talk about the crisis in modernity or consider modernity an unfinished project (Bremen, M. (1380). p. 41-43) - (Nozari, H. (1380). P. 214-225). Accordingly, the post modern perspective is formed and is trying to fill the voids of modernism and reduce unpleasant consequences and complications.

Tradition and Modernity in Iran

Although modern world and great thinkers criticize modernity and talk about the world entering to post modern era, but Iran is still involved in a great challenge between tradition and modernity and has not passed safe and secure in this crossing. The nature of the economic, social, political and cultural structure of the society belongs to ancient times and is unable to think on the nature of modern era (Tabatabaei, S. (1374), P. 6) – (Tabatabaei, S. (1375), P. 290).

Active presence in the modern world requires supporter of ordinance and modern thought and solemn thinking in modernity. Right understanding of Iranian historical experience in this field can lead us to new horizons. Thus, the old history shall be researched very well and out of historical lessons we can provide a skeleton to create a modern system.

Historical fields of Iran encountering west

Some centuries ago, Iran had friendly relationship with so many European countries before the beginning of direct pressure by west capitalist to Islamic territories, and this friendship, on the one rooted from political and economic disagreements of European Governments or Turkey's imperial and, on the other hand, old economic, political and religious animosity and hostility of Turkey with Iran's sovereigns. Hence, in the framework of the features, "Iranians similar to the old ways of Muslims accepted them" based on disinterest in history, culture frees and Europeans (Haeri, A. (1367). P. 140-141).

However, the Iranians could not link up with Europe in a manner worthy and deserving benefit. Strong Safavid government did not show much interest in learning West knowledge and more willing to use European military power in fighting the Ottomans. Approach to military achievements in the time of Shah Abbas grew further as a result of the bloody clashes between his regime and the Ottomans, especially for taking back the lost provinces of Iran, expanded (Ibid. p. 144-147).

Raiding by Afghans and creating old chaos and instability in Iran, an approach to knowledge and West expertise to its best interest was forgotten in the occasional and straggly tendencies. During the 18th

century in two separate periods (Periods of Nader Shah and Karim khan), there were more or less stability but chaos and turmoil of the two previous periods of the time and then, series of temporal stability were separated. In the early days of the confrontation between Iran and the West at the height of bourgeois civilization of the West, is considered to be comprehensive and serious (Ibid. p. 181-182).

Iran is on the verge of entering modernity

Political developments in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century Suggests several bloody wars, chaos, and tribes' successive rush to gain more power and control over land and in the first half of the 19th century, external intervention was added to it. In this era tribal and military policies were closely related and overall economic and social structure of tribal life had more influence on the country's overall policy. In the 19th century there were changes in the amount and structure of the population; however, these changes did not reflect the growth of the middle class and the industrial and commercial sector or capitalism. Iran's social structure was from the urban elite class (Courtier, businessman and cleric), urban middle classes (Professionals and government officials) and urban low classes (Wage earners). The rural community was formed out of owners, yeoman and newcomer peasant. The period was the most powerful political unit of the state court (Of the Qajar dynasty) was domination over the government and was depended upon it. Governmental expenses were provided out of taxes, from the sale of the property and court positions. Traders, owners and Clergymen were out of state positions but were dominated by governmental class (Kasraei, M. (1379). p.197-202).

Political economy in this period was typical of a traditional community. Poverty was high compared to other countries. Taxes primarily land tax, poll tax, income tax of artisans and custom tariffs among which land tax had the greatest share. In addition, discontinuous confiscation added to both central and local treasury as flowing revenue. In the late 19th century, seemingly on the relative importance of other non-financial ways to raise revenues, such as granting concessions to foreign trade, foreign direct loans and the sale of public office was added But it was not meant to reduce taxes on agriculture. Harmonic average of about 15 percent of the country's total land tax is on agricultural products. The rate of discontinuous confiscation was probably about 10 to 15 percent. The total amount of agricultural exploitation in the first decades of the century, it has been almost 25 to 40 percent (Katouzian, M. (1366). p.

The impact of the West on Iran began in the early thirteenth century, first by the military pressure

from the Russians and then by the Englishmen. Russians, equipped with new weapons came to Iran from Central Asia and the Caucasus and nomadic army that were easily defeated and the Treaty of Gulistan and Turkmenchay imposed on Fath-Ali Shah. England, in order to oppose with Russians and to put Afghanistan as a buffer zone confronting India to be away from Tsarist Russia and the Shah of Iran, attacked the south part of Iran and the 1857 Treaty of Paris, was imposed on the king. As a result of the Treaty, the Qajar dynasty, took back Tabriz and the south part of Iran, then Iran became known as the international legitimate ruler, but Georgia, Armenia and the Caspian fleet lost, each claim was withdrawn from Afghanistan, the amount of three million pounds in compensation was paid to the tsar and above all, a series of commercial capitulation to Russia and England awarded (Abrahamian, Y. (1378). p.47).

The only smart move was to obtain technology and West knowledge. The first move by Abbas Mirza, the crown prince of Azerbaijan, was the establishment of regular army and then expanded by establishment of a ball mill, a gun shop and Translation Guide for Military and Engineering books and sending students abroad for technical and vocational education, second reform move was led by Mirza Mohammad Taqi Khan Farahani that was known as Amir Kabir recreated regular army, established 15 factories Established the first official newspaper, called Vaghaye Etefaghieh, foundation of the Dar ul-funun, sending students abroad and inviting foreign advisers to Iran tried to find a way out of the impasse retardation. But the two basic moves were faced with failure with conspiracy and intrigue of the court.

On the verge of the 19th century, Iran challenged basically with bourgeois culture of the West that on the one hand, economic, social, political and cultural structures targeted and on the other hand the transfer of new ideas and critical thinking, especially in the modern era training and Europe departing opportunities were provided and the two conditions provided for the emergence of the constitutional revolution aimed at curbing uncontrollable power handling and fundamental changes in socio-economic conditions.

Constitutional Revolution and Modernity Thought

Centralized state involved with the constitutional revolution based on this manifestation contexts can be briefly observed as follows:

Impact of western culture and civilization and theoretical involvement with west made Iran society compare itself with west and felt retarded that led to people dissatisfaction.

Development of middle class in Iran society led to dissatisfaction enhancement and predisposed revolutionary power in city society.

Manifestation of elites, party establishment and guild communities made deep social consciousness and extension of social collections and thereupon provided revolutionary conditions.

Injustice and tyrannical behavior on people (wide-spread social dissatisfaction)

Poverty and un-equality among social classes

Weakness of centralized state and attempt to control the libertine power

(Farasatkhah.(1372) - Abrahamian.(1378) - Kasravi.(1369) - Haeri.(1367) - Zibakalam.(1377)).

Iranians for the first time became familiar with modernism within constitutional movement. To make the monarchy as a constitutional one was the will of this familiarity and influence. As deceased Enayat commented: "Constitutional revolution is the manifestation of direct confrontation between western and Islamic traditional culture in modern Iran" (Enayat, H. (1365). P. 285).

Different classes of society participated in constitutional movement that can be mentioned of top three distinguished Groups followers of western development pattern: Tradesmen, Clergies and Intellectuals.

First, some clergies participated in constitutional movement. By highlighting different dimensions of modernism and its impact on society, a gap appeared between defenders of constitutional monarchy and traditional and conservative reformers advocate of legal state. This period ended with legal seekers' failure but constitutional seekers also did not reach to their targets. In the time of constitutional school all the historical problems of Iran still remained including: Tribal relationships, State religion, Land-holding system and power centralization. Henceforth, influence of colonialism factor also added to previous ones as development in Iran depended upon the interests of superpowers (Alamdari, K. (Ibid). p. 493).

The most important achievement constitutional revolution is the creation of national parliament and regulation and approval constitutional law, but constitutional movement had other important social achievements including appearance of new political parties and political, guild, religious and tribal communities, fast development of press (as number of magazines and publications suddenly increased from 6 to 100 title), law tendency and definition of three powers' terms of reference, population domination and limitation of state power, attention to reformation, development and progress and so on (Zibakalam, S. (1377). P. 427-431).

By defeating constitutional movement, modernity also lost its position because first, Iran's

political culture rooted from tribal relationships and opposition and domination of tribes to each other and this structure was not compatible with European Pluralism arose from another structure and this attempt was in vain to link culture (with infrastructure structure of power distribution) with centralized society. Society was still widely dependant upon agriculture in economic structure and revolutionary evolution unlike Europe led to commercial capitalism than industrial economy. Beside, this evolution was against Iranian traditional and religious culture as well as absolute thinking of Iranian society and modernist thinkers in Iran confronted with this absolute power and traditional religious leaders with similar features of having influence on masses. Thus, Modernism took religious and absolutism face while most clergies were against it before adopting with modernism and domination of parliament.

Under the cover of constitutional monarchy government, clergies maintained their political power and religious nature unlike west not only did not separated from state but also merged legally with it. Offering the plan of licit government before constitutional government on behalf of clergies, open conflict and hostility began with modernism and people participation in determining their destiny however, at that time it was not successful but constitutional purposes gained nothing (Alamdari, K. (1380). P. 493-495).

Modernism and Westernism in Pahlavi era

Death of Mozzafar Ad-din Shah who has signed constitutional charter and accepted it and appearance of Muhammad Ali Shah stopped constitutional seekers and authoritarian government revived and created inappropriate conditions. Civil war began in the course of time and different parts of the country got involved in this war. This condition continued in the time of Ahmad Shah and mutability in national security system and centralized power finally led to appearance of Reza khan. Changing the name of Reza Khan to Reza Shah happened slowly but sequentially. He repressed revolutionary movements in Khuzestan, Gilan, Azerbaijan and other parts of the country to make a solid system (Abrahamian.(1378). p. 92-107 -Kasravi. (1369). p. 198-258- Ghaninejad. (1377). P. 39-42).

Iran government gained political and economic power in the reign of Reza Shah that rooted from army. To justify ideology of reformation on Judicial and educational domain and other related organization following modernism, contradictory mixture of secularism and westernism has been offered. Reza Shah basic reformation was to create a powerful army to execute state power everywhere. Some of his basic actions are: Increasing state incomes by tax collection,

Banking and Custom activities, improving route system by generating first railway all over Iran, Generating new routes, Creating telegraph and telephone network, Being compulsory of military service and enlistment that necessitates reorganizing provinces, Creation of Judiciary and educational system both of which weakened very much clergies' domination, women's participation in education, economy and general life, development of sanitary and medical network, Urban renovation and discipline and security making,... in general mentioned actions is justifiable within the structure of armed modernism under the leadership of state (Foran, J. (1378). P. 330-331).

Occupation of Iran by Allies in 6th month of Iranian calendar (1320) led to the fall of Reza Shah, changed the vague dreams of modernism into a terrible nightmare. National pride, that had been unsuitably magnified, was hurt and development promises, modernism and greatness of archaic Iran's revival was not fulfilled. In this context that everything is chaotic and west and modernism is useless, a kind of ideology manifests under the name of alien fighting and introspection then makes future decades of political and intellectual life (GHaninejad, (Ibid). p. 40-41–Foran, J. (Ibid). p. 378-381).

Reza Shah's abdication made social forces free of heavy pressures and opened the way for future social movements. Not only people and political activists requested revival of old principles constitutional government and population domination and law seeking but also those involved countries in extended socio-regional movements like Azerbaijan and Kurdistan and young king were to tranquil regional movements' waves and reintegrate chaotic and domestic conditions. In this context, nationalizing oil leaded by Mohammad Mosaddegh similar to constitutional revolution made people become against Shah and foreign countries led to nation's coalition.

This revolutionary movement that wanted to release Iran's dependence to west and global power specially to release from Britain's trap, did so many reforms in domestic affairs and constitutional monarchy of Iran became democracy oriented.

Failure of national democratic movement led to financial hit of Iran and caused people to lose their hope for independence and having democracy and reopened the way for dictatorship in jeopardous form that Iran has experienced thus Iran doomed to cycle of depended extension and lost its second chance after constitutional period (Foran, J. (Ibid) Unit7 – Katouzian, H. (1368) Unit 9).

The period between 1332 coup that returned power to Muhammad Reza Shah and the revolution that expulsed him forever, opened a new season in social structure of changing Iran from agriculture to

capitalism and rapid growth of industrialization by large amount of oil money.

Shah's politico-economic relations with super powers and other world and regional super states were based on absolute pseudo-modernism inside and cynical realism outside. Inside the country he was the absolute and exclusive power wishing to change Iran to a main guns and industrial power. To fulfill the dream in his mind he needed large amount of financial sources because he wanted to cover the target without any internal or external chaos. So, he wanted peace confronting alien powers especially super powers. His cynical realism was positive in his diplomacy. His demoniac plans within the country led him to political and economic perish. From Shah's point of view, to change Iran as a fifth industrial country we needed pseudo-modernist economy. But the main question in this area was, which part and which product can be replaced by oil (main exported product) that everything has been depended upon it? (Katouzian. (1368). p. 252-255).

Islamic Revolution and Modern Thought

In the course of society's bipolarity on economy and culture and continuation of political dictatorship. small part of society joined modernism but large part of it stayed traditional. Cultural gap created cultural lag and led to society's cultural identity crisis. From that time on opposition of traditional Islamists was not the only part of against monarchy but also large part of society (still were conveyance of society's traditional culture) stood against the culture of western oriented modernism. This part of society that had not gained portion of it, suffered from identity crisis stood against doer of it-Shah regime. Just small part of society enjoyed advantages of modernism or western modernism. This kind of interest confrontation provided objective fields of anti-monarchy revolution. In revolution changes traditional clergies could take the leadership. Society that had not yet been familiar with culture and advantages of modernism including democracy and consequences of traditional power, preferred domestic traditionalism to external modernism (Alamdari, K. (1380). P. 496-497).

Conditions of revolution caused insecurity on investment and increased investor's escape and of manpower. immigration skillful Beside, revolutionary government nationalized huge industries and agricultural units. Iran's politico-economic relations with America broke off because of tension. Disintegration of economic structure, mutability of security structure, NGO's on ownership and investment future doubted. Nationalizing banks, insurance companies, some big industries and transferring ownership of industrial, agricultural and service units of great investors to revolutionary

organizations, national industry organization and... although those were bad response, in Iran's depended economy could not have basic change. Also, changes in oil policies could not have great modifications in depended structure of country's oil industry (Foran, (Ibid). unit 9 – Abrahamian, (Ibid). unit 11 – Razaghi, (1378).p. 23-24 – Azimi, H. (1371). p. 135-139).

From 1368 economic adjustment policy indirectly and relatively confirmation of wage executed and followed the below ways: privatization of country's economy, freedom of currency rate, commercial open doors, loan taking from abroad, subsidy decreasing, money value decreasing.

With the first relative success, this policy to somewhat revised under the much importing influences of 50 billion dollars, taking loan from abroad about 30 billion dollars and inflation increasing in 1374 to about 60 percent (Razaghi. (Ibid), p. 24-25).

Altogether, in this period because of chaotic political conditions and social tensions, 8 years of war and amateur management, economic conditions were shockingly bad and political atmosphere was also fluctuating, a sort of political blocking and occlusion of political atmosphere were observed in society of Iran before Dovom Khordad 1376 and then we witness people oriented jumping. In cultural and social zone although revolutionary system proposed different slogans, but totally because of none having practical patterns there were no special event and there were just domination of social abnormality specially within young generation (Foran, (Ibid), unit 9 – Abrahamian, (Ibid), unit 11 – Keddie, (Ibid), unit 9).

Conclusion

In this essay we tried to have a historical overview between modernity's and tradition's position but by critical view on Iran's condition. As seen above, Iran society specially from 100 years ago up to now and under the influence of different internal and external factors tried to release itself from traditional conditions and go after modern conditions, but this was not covered because of different reasons including social, economic, political and cultural, thus Iran and society of Iran were straying between old and new, tradition and modernity, but could not pass this kind of situation and finish the conflict between tradition and modernity.

Based on the survey the following results inferred:

- 1- First conflicts of Iran society with West started from Safavid era but this conflict was not based on both cultures and thoughts.
- 2- In the period of Ghajar, political elites tried to reform the monarchy from within and people like: Abbas Mirza, Amir Kabir, Ghaem Magham Farahani, Sepahsalar and... tried to use western civilization and

society renovation to bring off Iran from chaotic condition of economic, social, political and cultural but this kind of reform confronted with failure.

- 3- Failure of this attempt led scholars, political activists and people to reform from outside and movements like Tobacco prohibition, Constitutional revolution, nationalizing oil industry movement and Islamic revolution formed.
- 4- With these revolutions and social reforms, political and social structures reformed but social, economic, political and cultural infrastructures did not change.
- 5- Conflict between tradition and modernity captured all dimensions and created a sort of chaos in economic, social, political and cultural zones. From one point of view tradition could no longer continue because of obsolescence, exhaustion and in-adaptive with new conditions and from another point of view modernity entirely could not bud in Iran for having difference on ideology and culture. This kind of peace and mixture required elites' attempt and their responsible behavior with these issues and in this way fanaticism, dogmatism and individuality dominated on their thought shall be wiped.
- 6- Despite the major role that great traders played for the development of foreign trade and economic growth with forerunner clergy and leading merchants, created great political movements against domestic tyranny and foreign colonization, but with the two basic areas that are economic and social development, did not gain success: One is the country's industrial development and the establishment of bourgeois democracy or democracy. Failing business community in both these areas was largely due to the forces that were in conflict with and the domestic tyranny and foreign colonization (Ashraf, A. (1359). P. 132-133).
- 7- Three streams of thought emerged against modernity: The West -oriented stream for West culture, the stream of tolerance and rejection of Western ideas and the stream of consciousness and unity. Accordingly, three types of ideas and thinking about the backwardness and underdevelopment of the society was formed:
- Internal factors influencing the current situation, inferred obsolescence and exhaustion of traditions and cultural barriers as a major factor of retardation.
- The flow of colonialism and external factors that determine the circumstances and were found to conspiracy hallucination.
- During the third internal factor due to the weakness and vulnerability of traditional architecture and culture was seen as important but did not neglect the external factor which is the booster of crisis.

8- It seems that modernism is the achievements of human society and belongs to everyone. Western societies have resulted in the development of modernism. Developing countries such as Iran needed the experience too. The backwardness of society without entering values, adapting them to the needs of the modern era of globalization is impossible. Experience of West should also be used in the development of Iran. The difference is that national independent of global development is impossible (Alamdari, K. (Ibid). p 499). What have dropped Iran behind are not climatic factors, but economic, political, social, cultural and religious factors. We need to fix, adjust or modify the problems within these institutions playing a preventive role.

9- Iran seeks to disrupt current regeneration status, and duplicate imitation and the challenge with emulate reality and the western thought. Regeneration requires the backing of a solid foundation of faith and rational thought and modern political philosophy that creation and editing it is impossible to imitate. Not a mere return to the past and renewal of the existing decline will be ended, not a mere imitation of the West will lead us to the road of ijtihad. Preliminary establishment of social, political philosophy of Iran regeneration will be provided with criticism of tradition and making fundamental questions on modern world and editing categories and concepts and in this way an empirical understanding of the historical experience of Iran on the one hand and regeneration in the West on the other may be necessary but not sufficient. Thus, if we do not put Iran within the focus of the most fundamental ideas, we shall be fearful that Iran lost its last opportunity to renew his majesty and leave forever as the land of the living and the creator (Tabatabaei, S. (1375). Unit 11).

List of Resources

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- 2. Ahmad, A. (1359). Historical Barriers of Capitalism Development in Iran: Qajar Era. (1).
- 3. Ahmadi, B. (1373). Modernity and critical thought (1)
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- 15. Kasraei, M. S. (1379). Conflict between tradition and modernity in Iran (1)
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- 18. Katouzian, M. A. (Political economy of Iran (Reign of Mohammad Reza Shah)). (1).
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