

Reza Shah's Role in the Collapse of Iran's Constitutional Movement

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Abstract

Reza Khan's coup started on the last days of the Iranian constitutional movement to eradicate the hopes the Constitutional Revolution had created in the Iranian nation and to replace the old Qajar tyranny with the modern one. In this analytical and descriptive study, using the library method, we wanted to answer the question of how Reza Khan, with the mentioned coup, ended the life of the Iranian constitution, prevented its revival, and created a new chapter in tyranny. In doing so, first, we study the factors behind the coup of Reza Khan, and then the developments in Iran from the time of mentioned coup until his being overthrown with an emphasis on the level of conflict between religion and government in this period. In line with British colonial policies and the realization of the goals of Western intellectuals, Reza Shah's coup aimed at eliminating intellectual, social, cultural and political effects of Iran's constitution and, unprecedentedly, set battle against religion and clergy as its base to deter the rebuilding of the constitutional and similar movements.

Key words: Reza Shah, Coup, Constitution, Colonialism, Clergy

PROBLEM STATEMENT

In addition to demanding the structural reform of the Qajar regime, Iran's Constitutional Movement demanded Iran's political independence from the colonial influence of Britain and Russia. The critical state in Iran during World War I caused the constitutional movement to be forgotten, but the colonialists were worried that the end of the war and the improvement of the security and livelihood conditions, the Iranian public opinion would turn to the pursuit of Iranian constitution.

In the research on the Reza Shah era, his role in overthrowing Qajar dynasty has always been focused on, but this article examines his role in the complete destruction of the Constitutional Movement of Iran. Moreover, this study shows that one of the most important reasons behind planning of the Reza Khan coup was the

Qajar dynasty's ineffectiveness in preventing and then the suppression of popular movements, such as tobacco and constitutionalism. In fact, the colonialists concluded that the weak Qajar had lost their effectiveness in securing their illegitimate interests, and despotism needed a kind of reconstruction. Therefore, the British coup of 1921 of Reza Khan is considered a coup against the revival of social movements of Iran, especially constitution.

This study reveals that the first Pahlavi's approach, on the one hand, is the opposition to religion and repression of the clerics- as the main elements of the establishment of social movements. Moreover, on the other hand, it is the institutionalization of the influence and domination of foreigners, in particular the colonialism of Britain in various parts of Iran's political, cultural and economic life.

Factors Contributing to The First Pahlavi Coup

Each one of the historical occurrences is caused by some factors, without careful consideration of which it is impossible to accurately analyze the historical event.

The formation of Reza Khan's tyranny is affected by factors, some of which are internal and some go back to regional actions and global equations and relations (Loseueur, 1994).

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World War I

In August 1914, World War I began and Iran, in spite of its neutrality in the war, became the battlefield of hostile governments (Bayat, 1990). Although Russia and England had previously divided Iran between themselves in the face of the growing threat of Nazi Germany with signing of the 1907 treaty (Turkaman, 1991), after the war began, the number of foreign forces quickly increased and struck deadly blows into the new constitutional system (Homayoon Katouzian, 2001; 87).

The world war brought hunger, famine, diseases, mortality, general poverty, insecurity, and looting to Iran, so that there was no remnant to maintain the achievements of the Constitutional Revolution. The power of the central government was virtually limited to Tehran, and in other places, chaos and insecurity had expanded. In every corner of the country, local, ethnical, and tribal autonomy claims were being heard, and widespread disputes had made people's lives insecure (Majid, 2011).

However, the occupation of Iran by the Russian, British and Ottoman forces undermined the rule of Ahmad Shah.

After the end of the war, British colonialism paid serious attention to the reconstruction of political power in Iran, so that with the advent of a powerful dependent dictatorship suppress and control uprisings, movements, and threats that threatened his interests before the war, and through violence restore his intended stability and security in the country (Besharati, 2002).

The Power of The British, Following The Collapse of The Russian Tsarists

With the victory of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Russian forces left Iran. The new conditions provided a good opportunity for the British to consolidate their power throughout Iran; hence, the British forces in Qazvin replaced the Russian forces and controlled the north and northeast of the country (Jay Olson, 2001).

The Cossack forces, which until then were managed by the Russians, remained at a disadvantage with the defeat of the tsars, without commander and without salaries. The replacement of the British forces in the north of Iran resulted in their influence in the Cossack forces, and since then, these forces were arranged under the command of the Great Britain. The British started to recognize talent in the Cossack forces and identified the Cossacks who were prone to take command of the Cossack forces. Among them was Reza Khan Mirpanj who was identified by the famous British spy Ardeshir J. Reporter and introduced to the British as the commander of the Cossack forces after

the necessary training, and this was the start for the rapid ascent of a young, cruel, military man to political power of Iran (Kedi, 2002).

Failure of The 1919 Agreement

After the deployment of British military forces, British colonialism sought to extend its political dominance to the rule of Iran. To do this, it had to influence the Iranian government, and therefore, Vouqul al-Dawlah, as the head of the government of the Iranian government, at the request of the occupying forces concluded the 1919 agreement with the British. Under this agreement, the military and financial authority of Iran was entrusted to English advisers; although their salaries were borne by the Iranian government. Moreover, the gendarmerie and the Cossack forces were abolished and the allied army was formed under the command of British officers. In addition, the customs duty of Iran that was in the Russian monopoly of the tsar was given to England.

The Iranian income from the 1919 agreement was merely the receipt of two million pounds of loans and the approval of the territorial integrity of Iran by the British government, as if there had not been a country called Iran until then (Najmi, 2002).

Freedom fighters in parts of the country fought in response to this deal (Homayoon Katouzian, 2008; 315-378).

Protests by Seyyed Hassan Modarres, the position of Mirza Kuchak Khan Jangali and the occupation of Tabriz under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Khaybani (Homayoun Katouzian, 2001; 201) are examples of this reaction. Eventually, the British, who knew that by signing the contract and other diplomatic actions they could not come to Iran for their long-term intentions, became determined to establish a military government that preserved the interests of England and fully satisfied the demands of the British government with Iranian capital and forces. The best option for this was Reza Khan, who was introduced by Ardeshir J (Reporter) to General Ironside, commander of the British forces in Iran, who at that time was responsible for the withdrawal of English troops from Iran after the establishment of the rule supporting British interests (Ironside, 1994: 203-240).

With the appointment of Reza Khan to the command of the Cossacks, the Cossacks army was organized with the support of the British (Agheli, 1998) and while moving to Tehran, seized the capital without resistance, and actually took over the political power of the country (Shahbazi, 1989; 148/2).

Transnational Colonial Flows

One of the most important reasons for the supremacy of Western colonialism, especially Britain during the new colonial era was that it did not enter into formal action through its formal institutions, but through the creation of seemingly non-governmental political and economic foundations. Thus, it reached its desirable results in such a way that the changes are assessed as natural and consequential developments of domestic social needs of countries. The trans-nationality of these centers has led to the emergence of global networks that in the last two centuries played the most important role in securing the interests of colonial powers:

Freemasonry

The Freemasonry transnational network, which is rooted in Britain, appeared in various parts of the world, especially in the East, apparently as an independent liberal movement.

Maneki Lymzhi Hatria, and Indian Freemasonry, at the time of Nasir al-Din Shah, founded the Freemasonry in Iran. His close colleagues in this campaign were Jalaluddin Mirza, the head of Malekm Freemasonry, Akhundzadeh, Mirza Malkumkhan Nazem al-Dawlah, as well as Bábism and Babiyeh traditions, which formed the primary spectrum of Iranian freemasons. In other words, they have formed the enlightened and selected the next generation of Freemasonries from the court site or at least affiliated aristocracy and send them in disguise of higher education to Europe to gain membership of the World Wide Freemasonry Society led by the UK (Aria Bakhshayesh, 2014).

Enlightened were the intermediary forces between the court and the British colonial government, who played a role in the various political developments in Iran from the Naseri period and then during the Constitutional Revolution (Abadian, 2004; Chapter 3). At the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution, after the suppression of the scholars' sit-in at the shrine of Hazrat Abdul Azim by the court, they forced thousands of unknowing people into a sit-in at the British embassy in Tehran and had a dark role in Constitutionalism of Iran (Jafarian, 1999). Moreover, after the conquest of Tehran by the liberators, they played a pivotal role in the execution of Ayatollah Sheikh Fazlollah Noori (Ansari, 1990), and they were from allies and companions near Reza Khan and in did their best in his gaining power.

The successor to Manjecki Lymzhi Hatria was Ardeshir J, who came to Iran before the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah. Establishing Iran awakening legion, active participation in constitutional intellectuals associations, preparing for a sit-in at the British embassy, promoting

Baha'is, influencing the Cossack forces and preparing and training Reza Khan Mirpianj for the coup are of what he did (Heidari, 2015).

Therefore, Freemasonry and Enlightened dependent on it played a significant role in the relocation of Reza Khan from the command of the Cossack forces to the position of the Commander-in-Chief and then his appointment as the head of the Supreme Council in 1923 and finally his arrival in the reign of the monarchy. This group, which was in the minority in the fourth parliament in the form of the Transformed Party of the Modernist Party faction, opposed the slogan of democracy and immediately praised overthrowing the imperial modernity. They considered revolutionary dictatorship of Reza Khan and his reigning necessary to save Iran and end all the problems that the Iranian people had at that time. The modernist party included Freemasonry; such as Mohammad Ali Foroughi, Davar, Timurthas, Taghizadeh, Tadayon, etc., who are considered as the main factors in Reza Khan's gaining monarchy (Toloui, 1993).

Iron committee or Zargandeh

It was a committee that British Colonel Hague founded it in order to organize elements of British policy. Its main branch was in Isfahan, and he seemed to have chosen socialist ideology cover to attract the attention of the people and intellectuals and escape the accusation of being British. Seyyed Ziauddin Tabataba'i established the committee in Tehran. The members of the committee consisted of a politicians who often held important political and military posts in the unstable cabinet of Ahmad Shah Qajar; thus, they were able to play an important role in defeating the weak states that were on the verge of a coup. The list of the actions of Zargandeh committee in that condition can be stated as follows:

“Influencing in the Cossack forces and taking responsibility for their management, empowering the settled and very weak state of Armydar Rashti, creating social and psychological insecurity through the press, rebuilding the Cossack forces with the help of Imperial Bank of Persia financial resources, and influencing Tehran's Nazmiyeh (law enforcement agency) and gendarmerie to make the capital defenseless.” After the victory of the coup, the members of Zargandeh Committee were all appointed to major government positions (Najafi and Faqih Haghani, 2005: 400-403).

Baha'i sect

One of the British colonial methods to defy rival ideologies and to cast doubt on people's beliefs was to build fake alternative ideologies and promote it in the community. Wahhabism in the world of Sunnis and Baha'is in the Shiite

world are of these examples. In the coup of 21 February 1921, the Freemasonry and the cult of the Baha'is were the two executive levers of England aimed at achieving the desired goals that was the replacement of a native military government protecting British interests., so that there could not be any real difference between the Freemasonry, Zargandeh Committee and the Bahá'ís (Zahed Zahedani, 2015).

Ardeshir J, a member of the Awakening Legion, is a Freemasonry who has played a role in promoting Baha'is among Zoroastrians in Iran. Einolmolk Hoveida, Ali Mohammad Khan Moqir al-Dawlah, and his son Hasan Makar al-Dawlah known as Hassan Baliuzi were both Freemasons and Baha'is. Among the members of the Zargandeh Committee that at the same time had been promoting Baha'is, Lutfalikhan Klabadi, known as Sardar Jalil Mazandarani, as well as Mahmoud Khan Jam can be cited. All of these figures played a pivotal role in the 1921 coup (Karimi, 2010).

Imperial Bank

Sasson Jewish family founded the bank in Iran. The owner of the bank was Sir Philip Sasson, who played a major role in creating economic crises for the Qajar. The head of the bank was James McMurray, who had friendly relations with him since the time of Reza Khan's presence in Hamadan. He paid Reza Khan a large amount of money to equip and strengthen the Cossack forces and prepare him for the coup, and in fact, provided the financial support for the coup and, after the coup paid heavy and lofty loans to Reza Khan (Najafi and Fagih Haghani, *ibid*: 398).

General Sir Edmund Ironside

The British, few months before the coup, when the failure of 1919 agreement became clear to Iran brought him to Iran. It can be said that he managed the coup. The withdrawal of British forces from Iran, which was the aspiration and will of the Iranian nation, associated with replacement of a native military government protecting the interests of England was of the major duties of Ironside in Iran. In addition, he assumed the coordination of all the factors and influences affecting the coup, such as the Freemasonry, the Baha'is sect, Zargandeh committee, Imperial Bank, the forces Cossacks, etc. were of the major duties of Ironside in Iran (Ironside, *ibid*).

Deviation of Constitutionalism

The main reason for the establishment and initial victory of the Constitutional Movement of Iran was the Sharia of Islam, the Shiite religion and the leadership of the Shiite clergy, and the British colonialism, using all the capacities and elements we enumerated, led to the diversion of Iranian constitutionalism. This deviation has many different factors

that should be considered independently in the analysis of constitutionalism in Iran (International Constitutional Proceedings in Iran, 1999). The mentioned elements created disorganization and insecurity in the country by isolating religious thought, disappointing the religious people and eliminating them from the struggles, reducing national sensitivity to the danger of colonialism, promoting Western thought and imitation of the aliens, fomenting the plurality of leadership, the overcoming of secularism and Laiseism in the political developments in Iran, weakening constitutional constitution, the division of political parties and the plethora of political parties, the establishment of affiliated and Western-oriented press and other factors. The increasing famine and mortality that arose in the First World War for Iranians strengthened the issues made the masses feel the need for a powerful and even repressive government that could end this insecurity and instability in every possible way (Jafarian, 2007).

The Evolution, from the Coup of Reza Khan to his Fall

Following the organization of the Cossack forces, which was conducted with the direct help of Ironside, Reza Khan Mirapanj was mandated to travel to Tehran with Seyyed Ziaeddin Tabataba'i to establish a strong government to form a strong government, firstly, to establish a government affiliated with the UK and, secondly, to stop all the ways to rebuild the Iranian constitution. The non-resistance of Tehran against the coup expresses the unconditional adherence of the Qajar court to the new British colonial policy for the re-establishment of autocratic rule.

On the morning of 21 February 1921, the British coup won (Kedi, 2007), and Reza Khan published his first declaration, which became known as "I Decree". In this statement, firstly, martial law was announced; second, the formation of any gatherings and the publication of the press were banned; thirdly, Reza Khan warned that he would strongly suppress opposition and resistance to the coup.

The first practical action of Reza Khan was to attack on the houses of the effective religious authorities of the country and their arrest, including Haj Agha Jamal Isfahani, Seyed Hassan Modares, Sheikh Mohammad Yazdi, and others, who sought renewal of the constitution.

On February 23, 1921, Ahmad Shah introduced Reza Khan as the commander of the Army and commissioned Seyyed Zia al-Din Tabataba'i, the head of the Islamic Revolutionary Majlis to introduce his cabinet.

On 1 March, Seyed Zia introduced his cabinet, consisting of some members of the Iranian Freemasonry Awakening Legion, some of the members of the Zargandeh

Committee, as well as some of the activists of the Baha'i religious sect. The ambitions of Reza Khan prevented him from sufficing to the commandership of the army; hence, he seized the ministry by removing the Minister of War. He succeeded in the post of Minister of War, which heavily suppressed all his opponents, in addition to the local and tribal revolts and insecurities that had arisen throughout Iran, and thus gaining popularity among the Iranians (Deldam, 1992).

Reza Khan's successes in this helped him gain a huge share of the country's budget and provide a regular army.

Seyyed Zia's cabinet collapsed after ninety days and he was expelled from the country on the pretext of mistreatment of Ahmad Shah Qajar and political prisoners.

Though the Ministry of War was an important position for Reza Khan, it did not satisfy its demands, so in post-Seyyed Zia governments, he disturbed the affairs, and these governments collapsed one after the other, and no other option were left. Therefore, the Qajar king appointed him in November 1923 as head of state law.

Reza Khan sought to establish a republic in Iran and succeed himself as a presidential candidate by the abolition of the Qajar era like what happened in Turkey. To do this, he cheated on the fifth parliamentary elections and allocated the majority of it to his supporters, the Faction of the Modernist Party. These were enlightened people educated in the West fascinated by British colonialism and by membership in the Freemasonry network pursued modernity goals of Western world in Iran. The modernity party, which was supporting democracy those days, by a tactical change, chanted the slogan of modernist revolution or revolutionary dictatorship, and introduced Reza Khan as the best figure for its realization (Hessam, 2003).

The fifth parliamentary minority, led by Ayat Allah Modares, fought severely with Republican Reza Khan, so that the Republican plan failed in parliament, and this was the first defeat of Reza Khan from the clergy, especially Modarres (Baghi, 1991: 56-52/5). With his disappointment with the republican plan, he decided to take over the monarchy, and eventually, on October 30, 1924, he forced the parliament to approve the single article of the Qajar disengagement, and was appointed as the chairperson of the Provisional Government and one month later, officially took over the monarchy (Mollayi Tavanayi, 2002).

The famous freemason; Mohammad Ali Foroughi, who played an important role in Reza Khan's reign, was introduced as prime minister to provide all means for the

establishment of a new government and to plan Reza Khan's coronation ceremony.

Eventually, in 1925, Reza Khan was crowned Reza Shah, and in the first steps, he started the cultural replacement and de-Islamization, along with it, intensified the plundering of the property of the people and the seizure of the country's property, which he had begun from the Cossack era. This work went so far that Reza Shah was forced to establish a "special estate administration of the kingdom" to run it. The most valuable ranges, gardens, farmlands, and villages were captured by the Shah's agents and were registered in the special estate office for Reza Shah. The remaining pages of this office show located in historical documents of Iran show that more than 6,000 villages throughout the country have been registered for Reza Shah (Maki, 1987; 80-19/1).

His other actions were the elimination of the opposition and their severe repression. Until before the coronation, he pretended to be faithful, then he showed his real face and established the highest level of war with religion and religious people, and in the year 1926, he tried to assassinate Ayat Allah Modares to remove the constitutionality revitalization ideal leader physically (Homayoon Katouzian, 1994; 425).

In Nowruz of 1927, Ayatollah Bafghi strongly objected to the Pahlavi family being without veil in the holy shrine of Masumeh (SA). Reza Khan went to Qom personally and entered into the shrine with his bootleg and his agents beat the scholars and students, including Ayatollah Bafghi. In fact, this was the announcement of Reza Shah's war to the religious and clerical institutions (Basirat Manesh, 1997).

In July 1927, Reza Shah approved the plan for the use of Pahlavi hats, and his agents forced the people for that across the country.

In November 1927, after the announcement of the law of the system of compulsory duty, Ayat Allah Haj Aqa Noorullah Isfahani turned against Reza Khan and asked the scholars throughout the country to accompany him to immigrate to Qom. The result of this uprising was the martyrdom of Ayat Allah Haj Aqa Noorullah Esfahani.

Reza Khan, at the request of the British government, imposed heavy taxes on sugar and sugar cube, so that from its revenue build north-south railroad to secure the interests of England and make it easy for troops to be transported to the Russian borders.

Iran's economy changed during the Reza Shah era (Homayoon Katouzian, *ibid*: 129). About one third of the country's budget was allocated to the army and

military expenses; however, the agricultural industry that was the first industry of the country by then, and the majority of the people were making life through it, was weakened by applying the immigration policy to the cities and farmers were still in poverty. The country's livestock industry, which had the second rank after agriculture, was severely undermined by the disarmament and compulsory settlement of tribes and nomads, and went into ruin (Maki, *ibid*: 95/6). Reza Shah identified the seasonal migration of nomads as a sign of backwardness and heavily opposed it; hence, settled nomads lost their livelihood and became one of the poorest strata (Nighibzadeh, 2000).

Therefore, economic growth during the period of Reza Shah meant his benefit and the court, and then the urban classes, but the villagers, livestock farmers, and tribes who formed the majority and had the pulse of the economy of the country became poorer.

Major measures of Reza Shah in Iran include the creation and consolidation of intellectual and cultural changes. Undoubtedly, it was not Reza Shah designing and executing engineering changes because he was a totally military person who was very illiterate and free of cultural thought and aspects, and all Reza Shah's anti-cultural programs and actions were due to the design of the British colonial think tank. The British had experienced the bitter taste of defeat in the two movements of the Iranian tobacco and Constitutionalism movements, which were brought about by the role of Islam and led by the Shiite clergy and endangered all the interests of British colonialism. Moreover, they knew that by the end of the World War and the betterment of the internal situation of Iran, the fire under the ashes of the Islamic movements led by the clergy would re-ignite; hence, they tried to prevent it by major cultural changes. In 1929 and 1930, the government's policy was to unify the dress of the Iranian people in imitation of the Europeans. On the eve of the opening of the Seventh Majlis, he announced the law and enforced it by force and coercion. At the same time, he captured his old enemy, Ayatollah Seyyed Hassan Modarres, and exiled him to Khaf in Khorasan.

His next steps were for cultural change; in other words, de-Islamization and Westernizing Iran were the establishment of a pioneering organization, the spread of European names, the change of the education system of the country with incomplete imitation of the French educational method, and the massive deployment of students to Europe, and so on. (Safai, 1977).

He then slaughtered or imprisoned those who gave him the most of the services and at the same time were likely to be posited as his political rivals in the future. Nusrat al-Dawlah

Firooz, Timurthas and Jaafarqoli Khan Sardar Asad were among them. Mohammad-Hosayn Ayrom, the frightening head of the police of Reza Khan fled to Europe in fear of being killed, and Ali Akbar Khan Davar, commander of the judiciary of Reza Khan, committed suicide.

In 1923, Reza Shah abolished the Darcy contract in order to meet the British interests and concluded a new contract that more than ever met their needs. According to the agreement, the British government for another thirty years plundered Iran's oil under much better conditions than before (Lesani, 1978; 137).

In 1934, Reza Shah traveled to Turkey and closely followed the observance of the secular regime, led by Atatürk, and was heavily influenced by his actions. Reza Khan's souvenir from this trip was to turn the Pahlavi hat into a shawl or European hat, as well as the ratification and enforcement of the hijab discovery after the establishment of the women's center.

These actions sparked a wave of dissatisfaction against Reza Khan, culminating in the uprising of the Mashhad people led by the great saints Sedyouuns Ardebili, Aghazadeh Khorasani, and Haj Agha Hossein Qomi that were finally killed on July 12, 1935 in Gohar Shaad Mosque in Mashhad by Reza Shah's army. Moreover, the soldiers, with the desecration of the holy shrine of Imam Reza (AS), fired on the crowd in the mosque, who listened to the speech of Ayatollah Bohlul (Madani, 1982; 244/1; Vahed, 1987; Bohlul, 1991).

In 1937, Ayatollah Seyyed Hassan Modares, who was in exile, was poisoned with a deadly poison, ordered by Reza Shah, and martyred, so that all hopes for the restoration of the constitution of Iran would end (Modaresi, 1995; 318).

In the first Pahlavi era, one of the concerns of the British was the influence of the Soviet communist revolution in Iran. Thus, the British government encouraged European countries to increase their presence and influence in Iran. One of these countries was Germany, which, with the desire and encouragement of Britain, launched economic and commercial investment in the south of Iran, but with the onset of World War II in September 1939, the political equations of the world broke down. In this situation, this coincided with the opening of the 12th Majlis in Iran and the introduction of Ahmad Matin Daftari as the prime minister to Parliament, Iran declared neutrality in the World War. However, in July 1941, the Germans attacked the Soviet Union, and thus the Soviet Union joined the Allies and the Allied Alliance was formed against Hitler's Germany.

Germany was seeking to siege the Soviet Union with the conquest of the west and north of Iran and Turkey separate the South and the north Corps of the Allied Front. The Allies also urgently needed the Iranian railways to transport Soviet troops and ammunition, as well as the protection of Iran's oil resources, which were in fact available to the British, while Iran had made an impartial declaration from the outset; hence, they were looking for excuses. On June 24 and 4 July 1941, they called on the Iranian government to expel four-fifths of the Germans who had come to Iran encouraged by Britain. However, Reza Shah, who regarded himself as neutral in war, and on the other hand thought that the Germans would soon enter Iran from the Caucasus, opposed the Allies' demand, and it was their best excuse to accuse Reza Shah of advocating Hitler and occupy Iran.

The Iranian army surrendered within three days. The greatest concern of the British in this situation was the weakness of the foundations of the Iranian government and, as a result, the rebellion of the relatives and opponents of Reza Shah, henceforth, to preserve the stability of the country, Mohammad Ali Foroughi was promoted to prime minister to manage the peaceful displacement of the Shah. Reza Shah resigned on September 14, 1941, and after his departure to Isfahan, he was expelled from the country on orders from the British (Motazed, 1999), and his son Mohammed Reza, promising to pursue his father's abuses and grudges, with the support of the Allies, took over power.

Conflict Between Religion and Government During The Reign of Reza Shah

This approach was in line with the goals of the colonialists, especially the British government, which, using the West-dominated and Western-controlled Reza Khan, tried to eradicate the political and social dimensions of Islam, as the root of the constitutional movement. Reza Shah justified the policy of de-religion and disagreement with the clergy for the purpose of centralization and domestic authority and claimed that religion, like other matters of society, politics, and culture, should be state-owned. As in the Islamic countries of Sunni religion, it is stated-owned.

However, in reality, Reza Shah's anti-religion attitude was an important part of the mission that British colonialism left to him (Mokhber, 1992). The religious and clerical establishment, especially in the second half of the Qajar regime, with extensive political and social movements, jeopardized the interests of British colonialism. The uprising of Mullah Ali Kani against Reuters privilege, the Tobacco Movement, the Constitutional Movement of Iran, and the fatwa of Ayatullah Seyyed Hassan Modarres against the 1919 treaty indicated that the religious institution, using

the power of popular mobilization, will shape the future of Iran (Abadian, 2004). It was very important for the UK that in the fifties of the second half of the 19th century, all social movements of Iranians were inspired by religious teachings, and the culture of Ashura and the follow-up of Hussein-ibn-Ali (AS) school was the role model of Iranian nation's struggles. Consequently, British colonialism had set the confrontation and suppression of the religion of Islam and the Shi'a religion as the first priority and the main mission of Reza Shah to prevent the occurrence of religious and Shiite uprisings and revolutions, and the restoration of constitutionalism in Iranian society.

The English nature of the secular Iranian intellectuals is not obscured by anyone, and the fact that secular intellectuals played a key role in the re-election of Reza Khan, cannot be doubted, so that in no other period of contemporary Iranian history, this level of convergence can be seen between government and intellectuals.

The causes of this convergence were, on the one hand, the unity of the colonial origin of intellectuals and Reza Shah; that is, the intellectual movement of the constitution era was the origin of the colonial policies of England and Reza Shah was a figure identified and selected by the intelligence agency of England and by the commander of the British forces, Ironside to gain power in Iran. On the other hand, the goal of secular intellectuals and Reza Shah was also united in accordance with the teachings of the British government, and both pursued replacing the modernization, or, in other words, Western modernity instead of the religious tradition.

The British colonialists knew that intellectual and cultural activities, without violence, could not reach their destination in the pursuit of their intentions and could not provide a comprehensive political authority that would safeguard their long-term interests.

A study of the history, actions and intellectual foundations of the most prominent intellectuals of that era, such as Hasan Taghizadeh, Mohammad Ali Foroughi, Ali Akbar Davar, Isa Sedigh, Sadrlashraf, Ali Asghar Hekmat, Timur Tash, Nosrat al-Dawlah Firouz, Ardeshir J (Reporter), Ahmad Kasrovi, Hakami Zadeh and Shariat Sanglaji, etc., clearly reveals their cooperation in Reza Shah's taking power.

The personality traits, low social position, and the level of Reza Shah's literacy prevent us from attributing an ideology or philosophical or even political thinking to him, but we should say that Reza Khan is the executor of the teachings that British colonialism dictated to him through the enlightened people it had in its disposal.

These foundations, which formed the pillars of the modernist system of the West after the Renaissance and the French Revolution, include:

Secularism, ancient nationalism, and west-oriented modernism and intellectualism

Secularism emphasizes the ineffectiveness of religion in all social arenas, including politics, and Reza Khan, relying on it, tried to suppress the effective presence of religion in social and political spheres and, in this regard, heavily clashed with Shiism and ceremonies of Muharram and Ashura, all of which had messages of fighting oppression.

It is worth pointing out that the principle of the intellectual beliefs of Iran has been and continues to be secularism since its inception (Najafi, 1999).

Moreover, Reza Shah and his intellectual school tried to replace the nationalist ideology of the Imperial Iran with the traditional religion of Iran. To this end, firstly, with the magnificence of ancient Iranian history and the Aryan people, they tried to humiliate Islamic civilization and its effects and Islamic life of Iran. Secondly, with an emphasis on aspects of ancient culture, such as praise for monarchy, and loving Shah and even worshipping him, they wanted to tie Iranian identity and nationality with monarchy and imperial government. Thirdly, with humiliation of customs, language and identity of various ethnic groups of Iran, they tried to implement the policy of ethnic and cultural integration.

The enlightenment, inspired by Western positivism, that considered truth and reality in experiencing and objective affairs, was based on the common ground between the Western-oriented intellectual and Reza Khan, so the newspapers began massive attacks on religion and religious principles, and during the first Pahlavi regime, they were engaged in creating hesitations in this regard.

The titles of the coordinated actions of Reza Khan and Iranian secular and freemasonry intellectuality for wide-ranging cultural changes are

Strong attacks of journals and the press to religion in the name of combating superstition and foolishness and propagating and promoting widespread manifestations of Western civilization, conducting dozens of Iranian Art and Iran archaeology conferences with the approach of magnifying Iran's history before Islam. Moreover, these actions included distorting Ferdowsi's personality and thoughts in the framework of holding his commemoration and making his tomb like the tomb of Cyrus Achaemenid in 1934 with the aim of promoting the ancient monarchy

of the kingdom. Furthermore, these actions included the establishment of the Persian Academy directed by Isa Sediq whose main task was to remove Arabic and Islamic words from Iranian culture, establishment of Justice and Adliyah as a substitute for the Shari'a Courts on April 25, 1927 and the removal of legal authority from religious scholars. These even continued with replacement of uniform British uniforms instead of the variety of Iranian ethnic groups, the discovery of female veils by force and oppression of the gendarmerie, the dismantling of clergy, the expansion of student deportation to Europe. The actions of this kind continued with the closure of many religious schools and the destruction of some of the mosques and the promotion and administration of the affairs of endowment and its removal from the control of the clergy. Furthermore, these included making religious education state-owned such as the establishment of a respected faculty in the Sepahsalar school and then at Tehran University, prohibiting and severely restricting the conduct of the mourning of Abu Abdullah al-Hussein (AS) and Ahlul Bayt (AS). Moreover, these measures were establishment of a state institution of preaching and speaking on May 31, 1936 and making preachers participate in it, so that each cleric could preach on condition that he was a member of the institute, expanding the shops selling alcoholic beverages throughout the country, and creating happiness carnivals on the mourning days of the Ahlul-Bayt (AS). These continued with the prohibition and restriction of travel to holy shrine, and the abolition of religious procedures. abolition of the use of the Hijri Lunar calendar and the replacement of the Hijri Shamsi calendar, the establishment of a think tank organization in 1938 as the introduction of an inclusive political party similar to the People's Republic of Turkey. The activity of the mentioned organization was in the field of promoting Western intellectualism and modernism and rewriting historical texts with Shah and Westernization and Zoroastrianism orientation (Najafi and Faqih Haghani, 2005)

Strong Policy of Militant Scholars Inside Iran Against Reza Khan

If we say that Reza Khan was able to reign by showing interest of Islam and Shi'ism and clerics, then we did not say anything exaggerated. His company at the mourning ceremony of Abu Abdullah al-Hussein (AS) and attending mourning bands with naked feet and accompanying them in various corners were the religious demonstration of Reza Khan before his complete ride on power. This demonstration continued even after the reign of Reza Khan was established (Haeri, 1985; 193).

After the transfer of the monarchy by the constituent assembly, he took an inauguration ceremony on December 15, 1925 in the Islamic Consultative Assembly, swearing for the independence of Iran, the rights of the nation, the

constitution and constitutionalism of Iran, and endeavoring to promote Jafari's religion (Maki, *ibid*: 136/2; 130 and 37/3).

Other examples of Reza Khan's religious demonstrations were his disgust at the actions of the Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia and Iraq before and after the reign. He attended the meetings of the religious scholars and the National Assembly's Shrine of the Holy Shrine Commission, and expressed his willingness to take serious action against the Wahhabis, in which the Mostofi government was forced to publish a circulation in mid-June of 1926 (Haeri, *ibid*).

On the one hand, his knowledge of the power of the Shi'a cleric and the degree of his hypocrisy and his thrust, on the other hand, initially led to a respectful attitude even towards Ayatollah Modares. Modares was one of the characters arrested at the same time as the coup; however, Reza Khan soon released him and sought to make him happy to use his reputation for gaining power. Although Modares never showed good treat with Reza Khan, his behavior with Modares at the beginning was one of the upsides for some people and the clergy and the scholars of the holy shrine (Maki, *ibid*: 99-97/4).

In the establishment of the Republic, Reza Shah was strongly opposed by Ayat Allah Modares educator and the minority of his supporters in the parliament and resorted to the scholars of the holly shrine to first obtain religious prestige, secondly, to make them oppose Modares and the opposing clerics. Thirdly, he pretended that his authority with the scholars of holy shrine.

The pro-Reza Shah representatives in parliament, who had the majority, were busy with sabotaging in Mostofi government, who had a reputation for good faith and treatment with the clergy, and finally called on his cabinet in February 1926, which led to his resignation in June 1927 (Sardar Asad Bakhtiari, 1999: 196).

At the same time, the press also provided intense attacks against clergy and religious laws, especially Islamic hijab.

Reza Shah chose Mukhber al-Saltanah Hedayat as the prime minister, and he placed the separation of religion from politics at the head of the government's plans. On August 23, 1927, with the dissemination of information, he initiated a war of religion and clergy (Etelaat Newspaper, 1927: No. 290).

The scholars throughout the country responded to this statement and sent telegrams to protest. Qom also witnessed a massive demonstration against the statement of Hedayat.

Severe pressures from the religious scholars to the government led to the contact of Reza Shah with the scholars of different cities and gave them *carte blanche* in enjoining good and forbidding wrong (Bohlul, *ibid*: 7).

However, Ayatollah Nourollah Esfahani did not stop fighting. He, who had started effective struggle in Isfahan since the enforcement of the law of the system of forces, called for the Immigration of the religious scholars of Isfahan to Qom in protest against the statement of August 23, 1927. This migration also spread to other cities and many scholars immigrated to Qom, which frightened the regime (Najafi, 1999; 386).

Reza Shah's reaction to this uprising was first to strengthen ties with the scholars of holy shrine, to prevent their fatwa against government, then he tried to resolve disputes between immigrants through a number of court clergies, and eventually falsely declaring acceptance of the demands of the immigrants, he gained more time.

On December 6, 1927, Reza Shah welcomed the representative of the Immigrants, Ayatollah Sheikh Kamal Najafi, known as Shariatmadar, and, through him, conveyed his esteem to the Immigration clerics. On December 12, 1927, the Ministry of the court, under a notification, expressed the complete commitment of the Shah to serve Islam and the country, and promised to meet the demands of the Immigrants. Reza Shah himself also responded on December 21, 1927 to the telegram of Ayat Allah Holy Noorollah Isfahani, Fesharaki, Shariatmadar and Seyyed al-Araqin (Information in a Quarter century, 1950; 27).

However, the hypocrisy of Reza Khan and his promise led to the end of the gathering of scholars in Qom, but he not only did not act in accordance with his obligations, but also pursued the policy of limiting clergy since March 1928.

Some of Reza Shah's measures against the clergy which led to conflict of religious scholars with his government were the recruitment of few clerics, the limitation of the social role of the clergy, the isolation of the Shi'i clergy, the attempts to make religion state-owned, and the mockery and humiliation of the clerics in the general public and the press. These actions also included the attempt to break the emotional connection of the clerics with the people, the establishment of organizations for the training of clerics, and the implementation of the change and disarmament of the clergy by force, and threatening their personal situation by implementing the law of uniform clothes approved in 1928. Furthermore, these measures included giving exams to the clerics to obtain a turban, creating a change in the religious courts and the replacement of the judiciary in order to reduce the social influence of the clergy, and

removing the endowments from the control of religious scholars based on the law approved on December 24, 1934. He also prevented the implementation of the principle of their supervision over the laws of the parliament, reduced of the number of clergy in parliament by threat, beatings, exile and murder of some forerunner and effective scholars, such as the beating of Ayat Allah Bafghi in March 1928, and then his exile to the shrine of Hazrat Abdul Azim. He also exiled Ayat Allah Modares in late 1928 and martyred him in 1937, exiled a number of the religious scholars of Tabriz in 1929, exiled of some Mashhad scholars in July 1935, martyred Ayatollah Haj Aqa Noorollah Esfahani in 1927, and concentrated a group of clerics at the school of Magul and Mangul from since August 24, 1931. He last wave of actions that led to the opposition of the religious scholars included the establishment of the institution of preaching and sermons in June 1936 to train court clergy, destroying some religious schools and social restrictions for students, preventing the publication of religious books and so on (Najafi and Faqih Haqqani, 2005).

The Policy of Establishing the Qom Seminary

Some scholars, including Ayat Allah Bafqi, urged by the situation, invited Ayat Allah Haj Sheikh Abdul Karim Haeri Yazdi to emigrate to Qom, and this great scholar eventually established the Qom Seminary in 1922.

The establishment of the Qom Seminary should be considered as a long-term scholar's strategy of the scholars to fight the outbreak of anti-Semitism and modern Western culture and Eastern socialism. The base that although was born at the same time as the reign of the Pahlavi dynasty, in six decades of difficult struggle, eventually became the great dynasty, one of the fruits of which was Imam Khomeini. From this great base, the colonial style of the West and the East and the tyranny and reign of several thousand years were destroyed and the wave of Islamic awakening in the world was established, to restore Islamic genuine civilization in the world.

CONCLUSION

The first Pahlavi monarchy is one of the most sensitive historical periods in Iran, and different aspects distinguish it from other historical levels of Iran.

Although the 1920 coup and the emergence of the Pahlavi monarchy are evaluated in the direction of ending the Qajar dynasty, in fact, this is a product of the actions of colonial rule to destroy one of the most promising liberation movements of the Iranian nation, namely constitutionalism. It sought the prevention of the emergence of new Islamic and Shi'i movements based on the capacity of absolute

despotism, with the collaboration and convergence of the Western-oriented intellectual. The change in tactics of foreigners in attending the political developments in Iran and the transition from the old colonial period to the era of the new colonialism is another feature of this historical situation that inevitably results in complete convergence of the West-oriented intellectualist and the violent affiliated tyranny. Its outcome is the realization of the highest level of opposition between religion and state in the political history of Iran to prevent the repetition of religious and Shiite uprisings such as the Tobacco Movement and the Constitutional Movement of Iran. The social forces were weakened with the conditions of decadence due to the collapse of constitutionalism and the crises caused by World War I, such as insecurity, mortality, famine and the spread of various contagious diseases, as well as the repression of Reza Khan. However, this course is important in preparing of religious and clerical forces organization to achieve long-term cultural, political and political goals and being more active in future developments in Iran. The concentration of religious scholars and the authority and foundation of the Qom seminary are the products of the modern approach of clergy at this period of history, which showed its fruits after six decades. Moreover, it led to the extinction of the monarchy reign and the establishment of the Islamic Republic as a point of reliance for the Islamic awakening movement in the contemporary world.

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