

**DOI: 10.7596/taksad.v6i4.1136**

**Citation:** Rabiee, B., & Jalalpoor, S. (2017). Development of Cultural Construction and Constitutional Revolution in Iran. *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, 6(4), 1140-1159. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.7596/taksad.v6i4.1136>

## Development of Cultural Construction and Constitutional Revolution in Iran

Bijan Rabiee<sup>1</sup>, Shiva Jalalpoor<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract

The subject of this article is the development of the cultural construction and the emergence of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran. This study, by examining the cultural structure of the Qajar era of the Nasser-al-Din Shah period wants to investigate the cause of the Constitutional Revolution.

The findings of this research, which have been collected by historical-analytical method, indicate that the pattern of development in the Qajar era is consistent with the pattern of unbalanced development. In this sense, by starting educational, political and military reforms in the Qajar era specially Nasser-al-Din Shah, gradually the cultural structure apart from the traditional political structure. This development provided the basis for the emergence of new intellectuals and elites with new political ideas in the field of governance methods. However, the attenuation of political structure and the backwardness of political development from cultural development faced with some obstacles. Political system instead of creating a development along with gradual cultural development and consolidating its position through the persuasion of the community, in fact to maintain integrity in the social system was resorted to force and preferred force and compulsion to persuasion. The kind of reaction and opposition of the political power structure against the modern intellectual movement, which contained new political demands in the area of governance and freedom, led to the weakness and, finally, the collapse of the Qajar political system and the constitutional revolution.

**Keywords:** Cultural construction, Construction of political power, Iranian political change.

<sup>1</sup> Ph.D student of international relations, Persian Gulf International Branch, Islamic Azad University, Khorramshahr, Iran.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding Author, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Sciences, Ahvaz Branch, Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz, Iran.

## **1. Introduction**

The article is divided into three parts of the cultural construction of Qajar era and its internal and external agents of its development, political power structure in Qajar era and its characteristics, and finally, the development of cultural construction, the lack of development of the political structure and the occurrence of the Constitutional Revolution. As it is clear from its subject, this paper intends to investigate the factors influencing the intellectual and cultural developments of the Qajar period, in other words, the development of the cultural construction on the one hand and the inability of construction of political power in emerging the Constitutional Revolution.

Several factors led to the inability of the Qajar political system to perform well, including its coordination with the environment (progressive cultural structure), the political absolutism, the centrality of the king, and the main elements of the political power structure in the political administration of the society; in addition, the lack of institutional power in the third central government, the presence of foreign forces, and ultimately, the existence of an Islamic and nomadic military structure, which we will discuss in the text.

Among these factors, the most important issue that caused Iran's disability and backwardness in the Qajar era is the absolute despotism and the old way of governance (based on international developments that have followed developments in the field of science, industry, politics, especially on governance practices), due to the effort of some reformist intellectuals and reformist forces, a new parliamentary and libertarian thought was entered to Iran, which led to the development of the cultural structure of Iran.

Undoubtedly, the Constitutional Revolution and its political, social and economic consequences should be considered as one of the most important fields of contemporary Iranian history. The scope of the effects of this enormous event is so wide that as much scientific research and investigation about its consequences occurs, again a blind point is observed and in other directions it is questionable and verifiable. This research examines the role of mental factors of revolution (intellectual change).

The main question is what role has played the developments of cultural construction in the occurrence of Constitutional Revolution in Iran?

Sub Question:

- How has been the gradual process of cultural development of Iran before the Constitutional Revolution?
- What factors have been effective in the cultural and intellectual development of the community?

- The lack of coordination in the development of the cultural and political construction of the Iranian society, how is led to the occurrence of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran?

The research assumptions that are as the theoretical model of the thesis are as follows:

1. The government regime of the society studied is formed by an absolute tyranny system, this government system that is usually formed in traditional societies, represents the structural backwardness of formal institutions of power.
2. The new international developments and the influence of the new political ideas derived from it, in addition to the backwardness of the structure of the regime, make the reforms necessary.
3. The government regime and structure of its power, due to its inherent disability, do not allow such modifications to its internal reformer forces.
4. On the other hand, in traditional societies, usually under the conditions of two categories of material developments, such as the growth of classes, the creation of new civilizational institutions and intellectual developments, which collectively causes to emergence of new political needs and the ruling board, is incapable of responding to them. The most important political need is related to the distribution of power and the possibility of the participation of new social strata in power, and the fact that the structure of power is incapable of supplying it because of its structural characteristics.
5. Due to the impediment of intra-system reforms and the growth of new political and social needs, a crisis in the structure of the ruling power emerges and political conflict begins.
6. Under appropriate domestic conditions, the formation of a united front against authoritarianism and the existence of an alternative and acceptable system of government, with or without the interference of certain foreign powers in semi-colonial conditions, the power structure will inevitably modify the distribution of political power and political participation.
7. In such a situation, if new political institutions not exist and its foundations not stabilize the new political system, then if foreign policy does not disturb the natural process of developments, a new crisis develops.

The purpose of the paper was to investigate the structure of the power and the failure to meet the new needs of the intelligentsia to the distribution of power and the possibility of the participation of new social strata in power. King was resorted to force instead of reforming. The set of these factors created the conditions that led to the Constitutional Revolution.

## **2. Conceptual System**

### **Cultural Construction**

Construction is the concept of network of relation of elements of a system in a mutual relationship with each other, which these relations can take new and different forms according to the rules of coexistence and the succession and while preserving the totality of a single, fixed structure. For example, clock has a precise construction that all its components are pursuing an end goal by doing its special works, which is the "time" display. The purpose of cultural construction is the study of the relations between the inter-constructural cultural elements and the surrounding environment, which is the political construction.

In this article, the factors that caused to the development of cultural construction of the Qajar period during the era of Nasser-al-Din Shah era have been studied that the set of these factors provided conditions that shattered the rules of coexistence and succession between the cultural and political construction that led to the Constitutional Revolution.

### **2.1 Construction of Political Power**

The construction or structure of the political power of each regime has particular structural component and elements that based on it, the relations of power and relations governing it are shaped. The reliance on the kind of relationships of these elements, as well as their function, not only helps in valuable explaining of political events, but also gives researchers a credible aggregation, and in the sustainability of the resulting outcomes will have a profound effect. The purpose of constructing the political power is the owners of power in the royal system, including the king, the princes, the small kings of states and the chiefs of the elites, and the government apparatus i.e. chancellor and the council of ministries and the bureaucratic apparatus, including the top elements of bureau (the hierarchy of bureaucracy).

### **2.2 Constitutional Revolution**

The Constitutional Revolution is a collection of efforts and events that led to the signing of the Constitutional Order by Muzaffarodin Shah Qajar in 1906 and continued until the Mohammad Ali Shah Qajar period to convert the autocratic government to constitutional government, leading to the formation of the National Assembly and the adoption of the first constitution of Iran.

### **3- Cultural Construction of Qajar Era**

#### **3.1 Characteristics of Cultural Construction in Qajar Era**

Although the origins of the development of cultural construction of the Qajar era should be sought in the process of socialization, such as the institution of the family, the clergy, and educational institutions such as the school, the press, etc. but this article does not permit this comprehensive study.

What we are going to explain in this section is the expression of the factors influencing the intellectual and cultural development of the Qajar period from the domestic (not international) perspective. The family institution, in spite of being an important element of socialization, merely has the role of familiarization of the children to religious duties and the execution of religious orders and worship and maintain purity and chastity and escape from the monarchy such as wine and gambling (Nafisi, 1965: 38).

The role of the clerical institution was crystallized only in the mosque and the pulpit. The mosque and pulpit, which was the center of community and people's acquaintance with each other and the center of ethical and religious guidance wasn't effective in the intellectual development movement. Although the special education i.e. literacy, reading and writing of Persian and Quran and Sharia, was the school work plan, and this task was in responsibility of the clergies in many parts of Iran (ibid: 33).

The reasons for the ineffectiveness of the institution of family and clergy in the political intellectual development of the Iranian society before the Constitutional Revolution have been the social fabric of that society. Despite old and brilliant culture of the Iranian society of the Qajar era was a roughly medieval society with intense national and religious prejudices that dominated the spirit and thought of the vast majority of this community. The people of this community stubbornly adhered to their national traditions and rhymes, and their religious rhetoric (Rahmati, 1992: 15-23).

In this almost medieval society, there was a certain intellectual domination. This intellectual spirit that prevailed in the Safavid era from the early 10th century continued to the early Qajar era.

The only institution that has been effective in the movement of intellectual development of Qajar era was educational institutions. In this section, in addition to explaining the role of educational institutions and their agents in the development of the cultural construction of the Qajar period, the role of state reformers will also be mentioned.

The purpose of external factors of the power structure and their role in the development of the Iranian cultural construction of Qajar period is not international factors, but are set of

elements that are outside the structure of political power. These elements include the reformist intellectuals, the press, and the translation movement.

These elements have played a significant role in the development of the thought of the Iranian society especially during the second half of the Qajar dynasty (Naser al-Din Shah's period), and we will now explain each of them.

## **Factors of Development of Cultural Construction**

### **3-2-1 External Factors of Constructing Political Power**

#### **3-2-1-1- Intellectuals:**

The intellectuals are the founders of the cultural developments of this historical period of Iran. The most important of the intellectuals are Mirza Malekom Khan Nazem Al-Dole, Yousef Khan Mostashar Al-Dole, Seyed Jamal al-Din Asad Abadi, and Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani.

Akhtar was the first Persian newspaper published in a new style outside of Iran. Management of it was with Agha Mohammad Taher Tabrizi and authors, many intellectuals and known liberalists as Mirza Agha Khan Kermani, Sheykh Ahmad Ruhi, Mirza Mehdi Khan Tabrizi (later publisher of Hekmat in Cairo) Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan Kashani (publisher of Soraya and Parveresh), and the newspaper was established in 1913 in Istanbul. The law was set up by Mirza Malekom Khan Nazam al-Dowleh, in collaboration with a group of his followers in London in 1928. Hekmat was also set up by the effort of Mirza Mehdi Khan Tabrizi in 1931 in Cairo (Varharam, 1990: 191).

Another Iranian newspaper outside the country was Soraya's newspaper, which was set up in 1937 in Cairo by Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan Kashani and the other newspaper was Parvaresh that was published in 1939 by Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan Kashani in Cairo, and eventually the weekly newspaper was Hable al-Matin, which was founded in Kalkate in 1932 by its author Seyyed Jamal al-Din Mu'id al-Islam.

In sum, it must be said the creation of these new civilization institutions and the emergence of new ideas about society, economy, and government informed that Iranian society was pregnant of important developments. If these aspects were formed and emerged, it was not just the will of the state, but the pressure of public opinions due to the reasons above mentioned. Mirza Hossein Khan Sepahsalar without the individual weaknesses and the inadequacy of his thought was the political crystallization of such a social desire, and the emergence of new civilization institutions and intellectual thoughts formed the intellectual crystallization of this issue.

### **3-2-1-2- Translation Movement:**

The translation of books of European authors began since Abbas Mirza period and created a great development in the thought culture of Iran. This movement was rooted in the revival of the printing industry. Because the history of the printing industry in Iran dates back to the first half of the seventeenth century, that the Carmelite cult originated printing house in Isfahan, publishing books, followed by them, the Armenians of Isfahan in Jolfa created a printing house and published the Book of Saghmus.

By revival of the publication industry during the reign of Abbas Mirza, the translation and publication of the books emerged. Abbas Mirza, for the sake of interest in history, initially assigned the translation of the historical books to Mirza Reza Mohandes (one of the expedition students to England).

The book translation and publication, after the death of Abbas Mirza and Fathali Shah, was weakened during the reign of Mohammad Shah, and at the time of Nasir al-Din Shah and Muzaffar al-Din Shah increased again. The translators of this period were Mohammad Taher Mirza and Mohammad Hassan Khan Etemad al-Saltanah.

### **3.2.2 Internal Factors of Political Power Structure**

The purpose of factors or internal elements of the power structure is the reformist chancellors of the Qajar period until the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran.

The expression of the role and the reformist actions of these government elements in the development of Iran's cultural structure, especially the Nasser-al-Din Shah period, requires their division based on the periods of Sadarat and their responsibility in the structure of power. Accordingly, the development of the culture construction of the Qajar period until the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution has 4 mutation periods:

- The periods of Abbas Mirza or the beginning of the reforms
- The era of Mirza Taghi Khan Amir Kabir
- The era of Sepahsalar (Adamit, 1972:13)
- Amin al-Dowleh's social and economic reforms

These periods, like any other historical periods are relative. What are important in these periods are the thoughts and corrective actions of the reformist chancellors in the country. These reform ideas were associated with the intellectual, social, economic, and political developments of Western civilization. In the Western civilization, the philosophy of life

changed with this development. The phase of humanity has evolved towards the natural world and scientific knowledge has been applied in improving life. This development has its effects on the East, the publication of Western mental development in Iran was derived from immediate need, and Iranian intellectuals realized that by the weapon of the past cannot governance, this weapon should be changed.

Familiarity with the new culture of the west was gradually increased. This added to the influence of European times and made the natural necessity of the acceptance of Western civilization more compulsory, made a new intellectual development in Iran. We will explain more in this regard in the actions taken in each of the four periods mentioned.

### **3-2-2-1- First Period: Abbas Mirza or Beginning of Reforms**

The origin of reforms and the entry of new civilizations in Iran dates back to the Safavid era and the formation of the Ottoman rule in Asia Minor. In the distance between the death of Shah Esmail and the Shah Abbas Kabir, Iran had firearms. However, during the era of Shah Abbas, the new European-style regime was common in Iran, and the use of firearms reached to perfection.

During the reign of Mohammad Shah Qajar in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, several students were sent to France to learn military, industrial and medical techniques.

### **3-2-2-2- Second Period: Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Kabir's Era (Disciplined Reforms)**

Amir Kabir was one of the survivors of the reformist of dynasty in Tabriz. Preserving the independence and integrity of the country and improving its economic, military, and cultural potential was one of the ideals of the courtier reformers of Tabriz, whose buds were urgently raised during the reign of Abbas Mirza Karajad and great Mirza, and now the historical events had prepared the time for the fulfillment of those ideals by the people of the same descent. Mirza Taghi Khan, with the same wishes and by relying on a young king who was somewhat beyond the power of politics, took the position of Sadrat Azami and began his efforts to reform matters.

Following the establishment of the order, Amir Kabir did the following corrective actions: a) Financial and administrative reforms, b) Reforms in the army, c) Reforms in the economic structure of the country, d) reforms in education, e) Fight against informal centers of power such as princes, lords, aristocrats (Dougobino, 1988: 378).

In the area of financial and administrative matters, Amir Kabir did two parallel steps: first, by decreasing government spending and increasing taxes improved the bad condition of state treasury and then he contacted with the financial crisis and the bribery of the administrative authorities that had expanded strongly and somewhat destroyed it (Dougobino, 1988: 230). He then made reforms in the army, which included the reform of the military structure and the strengthening of its military base, among these measures can be considered the establishment of the state barracks (Mostofi, n.d.: 63).

Another corrective action of Amir Kabir is the reform of the educational structure. The plan for creating a school of Dar al-Fonoun and printing the newspaper of Vaghaye Etefaghaye in the same direction was raised and followed. By establishing the Dar-al-Fonoun School, he wants to place modern science and new methods as basis of the country's education, and, by educating a generation of new educators and assuring them ensures the continuation of the country's development plan (Bakhash, 1978).

The next action of Amir Kabir in dealing with the class of princes is lords and nobles. Amir had well understood that one of the reasons for the social and economic collapse of the country and the weakening of the power of the central government is the excessive influence of courtiers and princes on the administration of the country and the formation of a government in the state. In this way, he faced with them with severity and prevented from the arbitrarily intervention in affairs. From this expression it is easy to understand the greatness of the work of King in the field of dethrone princes and other elders, and hence the subsequent opposition of this group was also started with King which led to his removal from Sadrat (Mahboubi Ardakani, 1975: 254).

Another important consideration of Mirza Taghi Khan Amir Kabir on the political scene was to establish the politics system on a new basis and paid attention to Germanic states, and he confirmed with the European people in the system of German rule (Adamit, 1972: 14). With the collapse of the Amir Kabir government until the beginning of the Sepahsalar government, the reformist idea was faced with a record, and for 20 years from Moharram (1268-1275), Iranian history faced a period of retardation and reactionary.

Aga Khan Nouri, with awe and consciousness of the people, was very afraid. He did not pay attention for the telegraph establishment. With the dismissal of Mirza Aqa Khan Nouri, the idea of reform and reformation came out of the record and entered a three-year period of progress (1275-1278).

Efforts from this era were carried out by the political power structure that was unfinished. During this period, Naser al-Din Shah decided to abandon the installation of the Sadrat Ozma,

eliminate the distribution of power accused of monopoly and power-seeking, and undertake a role that Sadrat Ozma does.

What is important in this period is that, in any case, a series of corrective actions was taken place by the political power structure that was effective in publishing the idea of advancement and the establishment of a consultative assembly in subsequent periods. At this time, the progressive movement entered the bureaucracy. Immediately after the dismissal of Mirza Aqa Khan Nuri, several valuable treatises were written in political criticism, a forty-two board of Iranian students was sent to France to learn new knowledge and techniques.

### **3-2-2-3- Third Period of Mirza Hassan Khan Sepahsalar (Progressive Period)**

Mirza Hossein Khan, Sepahsalar, started reforming from top and highest level of government. His political assumption was that the government was a factor in the improvement and progress of the country. In the context of this analysis and it was from the form of implementing corrective programs that believed in the progress of the government. Encouraging Nasser-al-Din Shah in trip to culture along with a number of government leaders also originated from this insight. Because he thought, seeing the great progress of the western countries, the king and the courtiers will see the result of reforms as a social, economic and political system, which will further strengthen them in the development of corrective actions.

The most important issue that attracted the attention of Sepahsalar was the reform of the system as statutory and legislative. Even before the era of Sadrat, which was the head of the Ministry of Justice, he always spoke in the presence of the king about the provision of new weapon, military daily preparation, warfare, soldier comfort, and dignity, until finally; the king was convinced to consolidate his power by arranging affairs (Sassani, n.d.: 236). The Great Court, which is referred to the Court Council, the Assembly of the corresponding ministries and the Cabinet of Ministers is formed according to the bill approved by the king.

With the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah and the fall of Sadrat Sepahsalar, a new era began. Usually, following each external defeat, the thought of a change took place, and the necessity to improve the general situation of that day in Iran was felt by the circumstances of the day. These changes took place in the fourth period.

#### **3.2.2.4. The Period of Amin Al-Dowleh's Social and Economic Reforms**

Hajji Mirza Ali Khan Amin al-Dowleh was born in Tehran in 1844 which after studying in Iran and gaining more knowledge outside of Iran with the job of special secretary of king started his work. After the dismissal of Amin al-Sultan, he became the prime minister at the

era of Mozafar al-Din Shah in 1877-80. His era was accompanied by political and economic disturbances.

Mozafar al-Din Shah, in fact, was the heir of the political and economic crises of Naser-al-Din Shah's era, which included the financial inadequacy of government, foreign borrowing, the collapse of the king's power, the formation of informal networks and influential people in power, the emergence of clergy and businessmen as new political claimants, and the spread of corruption in government apparatus (Hejazi, 1978: 166).

The internal crisis of the government and its inadequacy increased with the prime minister of Amin al-Sultan. Mozafar al-Din Shah chose Amin Al-Dowleh as the prime minister that he was a hard-working and serious person.

Mirza Ali Khan, Amin al-Dowleh that was considered of reformists of final period of Naser al-Din Shah and these periods, in such a critical situation reached Sadrat. Amin Al-Dowle in his one-year Sadarat periods tried to reduce the financial inadequacy of state by regulating the spending of treasury and reducing the salaries and privileges of the princes and courtiers. On the other hand, he started investing in the industry, and with the establishment of the sugar factory, it took the first step in meeting the general needs of the community within the country. At the same time, he began his efforts to expand primary and secondary schools and spent a lot on this, as he knew that the basis for progress in each nation is the promotion of mass thinking and knowledge in each nation. For this reason, with the increasing number of schools, he wanted to help the advancement of knowledge and awareness. This was an excuse for his opponents, Amin al-Sultan and Ein-al-Doleh, to escort him to the king, and Amin al-Dowleh was banished from prime ministry (Hejazi, 1978: 167).

In sum, it must be said that one of the factors of the gradual evolution of Iran's cultural structure in its intellectual dimension is the role of elements within the system of power structure. Their political, military, and economic reform measures led to the entrance of new European civilizational institutions, along with a new method of governance and economic reforms in Iran. These reforms led to a change in the minds of the general public and especially intellectuals that this thought transformation was the most important expression in the demand of company in political game from them.

The influence of the works of ideas and new sciences of the West to Iran, along with other international developments caused public awareness and familiarized the sections of society with the rights that they had not been aware of until now, and these rights in face with the definition of power and the manner of enjoyment and use it opened new horizons.

In turn, this cultural development directly contrasted with the political culture of the public, which coincided with the political culture of the political elites before the second period of the reign of Naser al-Din Shah.

Therefore, the corrective actions of these elements of government and the reformist ideas of the intellectuals such as Ehtesham al-Saltaneh, Mirza Malkum Khan brought something that became the ideology of the Constitutional Movement of Iran. Because midwives were the constitutional movement of reformist intellectuals, intellectuals all of whom were among the new students, were representatives of Western political thought. Most of these were European educators who, after entering Iran, changed the principles of politics and the popularity of the parliamentary system.

In fact, political democracy and the parliamentary system formed the framework of political thoughts of the intellectuals of the new generation of the Qajar period.

#### **4. Political Power Structure in Qajar Era**

##### **4.1. Features of Constructing Political Power in Qajar Era**

The Qajar victory and their power in terms of political structure must be considered as a shift in the level of the ruling coalition. Because the tribes of Lak and Lor replaced the Qajar tribes of Turk and their confederate and the limited role of the traditional bureaucracy was also kept with a minimum change.

It can be said that the political structure of the Qajar dynasty is a political structure that forms the king's center and this center, and the courtiers and princes, the chiefs of the tribes, rulers and governors, as rulers and local elites, arranged the main elements of the pyramid of power. On the other hand, absoluteness of Sultan and the idea of absolute dictatorship makes this political structure as firm and non-flexible, in spite of the tremendous changes that took place in the world during the Qajar dynasty, but Qajar rule keep aside themselves from them and rule in the old way, although structural weaknesses and the inability of the kings of this dynasty make their continuity with concern.

##### **4.1.1. Individuation and Political Absolutism (Absolute Autocracy)**

The important characteristics of Qajar political power were individuation and absolutism. Individuation means that political power never has the ability to withstand another's power in parallel. This individuation has a special position in constructing power that it is a fundamental principle in all institutions dependent on power (military-civilian, etc.), and all institutions have been emaciated in the presence of the only king. The Qajar political power

has certain characteristics that are unique in work and in pretense (individuation) that is why the king becomes the shadow of God, the little God, and eventually the god of the earth. There is no doubt that every political structure for survival, in addition to the scientific abilities to acquire and retain power and create the desirable social order requires the mental factors that make his naked power to legitimate authority.

These factors have different characteristics in accordance with different societies and type of political regimes and cultural context governing those societies.

Mohammad Hassan Khan Etemad al-Saltaneh writes in the book of the Khalse famous to the Khabname in this regard: Sultan is the shadow of God, whoever entrusted divine appreciation for this blessing, covered his body with the garment of honor and dignity and possessed the dignity in the government. His embryo enlightened him to the confirmation and prosperity of eternal life, after he chooses one breath (Etemad al-Saltaneh, 1969: 17). Based on this information, it can be found how the set of these beliefs has been effective in the legitimacy for the Qajar regime and its political power structure

Political absolutism is the most important and fundamental feature of the political power structure of Qajar. Absolute autocracy is a government in which people (governors) do not have the right to vote or any other contribution in the administration of the country. The unlimited power of the sovereigns legally so that are completely autonomous in their issue, the existence of focused and intense apparatus that suppresses any opposition, the old and exploitative system, and sometimes feudal relations are the characteristics of this government (Ali Babaei and Aghae, 1986: 40).

It is worth noting that the power of the Qajar king, with its pivotal characterization, was mechanically limited by forces within the structure of power and outside of it, such as the element of shari'a and its official institution i.e. the clerical apparatus (Malekom, 1988: 289).

#### **4-1-2- Lack of Institutionalization of Political Power**

One of the important features of the Qajar political system is the lack of institutional power in the central government. This problem of institutionalizing the power of the central government is existed in the early period of the Qajar kings and continued until the end of the era of Mozaffaroddin Shah.

Fathali Mirza's kingdom lasted thirty-seven years that the great part it was spent in fighting the rebels and the kingdom claimants and fighting with Russia in the northern regions of the country (Khorasan-Azerbaijan). The only worthwhile effort that in this period was done to

maintain military power of Tehran and its institutionalization was the foundation of Tehran's court.

Fath Ali Shah, during the last years of his reign (early 19<sup>th</sup> century), reorganized the state apparatus, he merged the named positions after having establishing the State Department in three internal ministries, the Ministry of Finance, and public benefits and thus created the first government delegation with four ministers. This delegation by supervising the Chancellor took the country's affairs (Shamim, 1963: 336).

In this period, the Fath Ali Shah administrative office not only did not expand that systems appeared in its organization, as Mohammad Shah Deputy and Mirza Aghasi, who had chancellor's occupation, were nominated without the title of Chancellor in an informal manner (Mostofi, n.d.: 45).

The issue of institutionalizing the power of the central government in Nasser-al-Din Shah's period, Mirza Taghi Khan Amir Kabir, his prime minister, followed by seriousness. His first step in this direction was to calm the country (Watson, 1977: 342).

The soldier's law of Binche determined how much tax of a district (state, city, or tribe) will be reduced for the number of troops that the district gives to army (Moein dictionary, 1984: 596). Therefore, Amirkabir after strengthening the military power of Tehran through the enforcement of the law of the soldier of Binche, as the lever of linking the various regions of the country to the center succeeded to execute the orders of the central government throughout the country and providing the ground for the reconstruction and modernization of the central government of Tehran.

After dismissal of Mirza Aqha Khan Nuri, Naser-al-Din Shah, on the proposal of Mirza Ja'far Khan Mashir al-Dowleh, a member of the group of five people who traveled to England in the era of Abbas Mirza formed a board consisting of the Interior Minister, the War, Finance, Justice and Duties in late 19<sup>th</sup> century and assigned the head of the board to Mirza Jafar Khan (Mostofi, n.d., V: 44).

Thus, the reforms of Naser al-Din Shah, after the removal of the position of the Chancellor, and the formation of the six-member board of government were not infrastructure or, in other words, structural, it caused only the formal expansion of the bureaucracy apparatus.

With these reforms, there will be no structures where the power of the kingdom by relying on it focused on power and in the executions to be the levers of applying that power. In fact, the organization of the state is a set of organizations that are interconnected and each of them embodies an aspect of power in self and the influences in that special field as executing lever of that power.

Organizational structures are the root or foundation of the nature of state power (power based on popular authority by collective agreement).

The reforms that had been provided the field of institutionalizing the power of the central government by Amir Kabir during the first period of Naser al-Din Shah's rule, during the second period, with the Sadarat of Mirza Aqa Khan Nuri declined of ancient elements of power. During this period, the king, also relied on the ideas of modern intellectuals tested various forms of council formation with titles, the House of Ministers, the Supreme Court, Kobra Council, the House of State Assembly - without considering the political conditions of that time.

#### **4-1-3 The Pattern of Political Power Distribution**

There were no predetermined and unchanged rules for the distribution of political power during the Qajar period.

This person was the king, which, according to Mostofi al-Mamalek, and optionally delegated the administration of a part of country to a person or gave the responsibility of an issue to someone.

Therefore, it should be said that the primary element of the transfer and distribution of power in the construction of Qajar politics was the king. Because he appointed the highest administrative office, he appointed governors of provinces and states. He set up the ambassadors and determined the payment of salaries and benefits to certain people, and, most importantly, determined the scope of power of each of the main elements of the power structure (Ehtesham al-Saltaneh, 1983: 124).

#### **4.1.4. Position of the Military Forces in The Power Structure**

The Qajar kings did not pay much attention to the creation of a modern military force that would be able to protect them from military strikes and internal insurgencies. The reason for this may be the presence of tribes and its fundamental role in the power structure, because they had armed forces that the government relied upon them had obtained the power and now by relying them could protect it. Of course, the wars between Iran and Russia clearly showed that these forces would not be able to cope with the regular forces of the powerful states, and the need for a uniform and centralized government was determined from that time.

Abbas Mirza, who himself closely monitored the ineffectiveness of the traditional forces of Iran. For the formation of regular armies did actions, including military experts from different

countries, the creation of weapon factories and the formation of the first regular military units, but with his death, his military reforms were forgotten and no longer followed (Keddie, 1984: 53-22).

Due to the lack of organized armed forces caused these forces did not play a role in the structure of Qajar power. In other words, military commanders did not have a role in the power structure because they had military positions, but their participation in power was for another reason, such as land tenure or the head of the tribe, so that many military officials without class or political status achieved these positions (The Cambridge History of Iran, 177-178).

#### **4.1.4 Influence of Aliens**

In 1804, the Russians began their attacks on the Caucasus region that was the Iranian government's harbinger, and annexed Georgia to its territory, Fath Ali Shah, who refused to lose the land that had been ruled for centuries over it fought with the Russians and hardly failed (Amiri, 1975: 3).

According to the Gulistan Treaty (1813) Iran lost many of its assets in the Caucasus, including Baku, Darband, Ganja, Georgia, and the shipping rights in the Mazandaran Sea, which was transferred to Russia under the same treaty. Iran also accepted a bad deal on customs tariffs. But perhaps the worst conditions in the treaty were the provisions of Article 5 of the Treaty, according to which the Russians considered Abbas Mirza as legal heir to the throne, and promised that they would help him if he had a dispute over the succession. Thus, the Russians obtained a useful tool for direct involvement in the power structure of Iran, in another war that happened between Iran and Russia (1826), the Russians seized other areas of Iran and obtained special rights in this regard, according to the Commerce Act. Also according to Article 7 of the Treaty of Turkmenchay (1828), the tsarist government committed to know Abbas Mirza and his children as the legitimate successors of the Qajar dynasty (Tajbakhsh, 1983: 224). The war of Herat Mohammad Shah, made Britain more sensitive to the fact that if Iran were completely ruled by Russia, with regard to the extensive activities of Napoleon at any moment, there would be a threat to India's serious risks, which was the centerpiece of Britain's presence in the region, therefore the country also increased its efforts to leverage the Iranian government and mysteriously increased its influence on the power of Iran, and in particular the chiefs of the tribes in the south and the rulers of the region (Tajbakhsh, 1983: 224-229).

The existence of two major powers in the vicinity of Iran and their expanding policies, sometimes faced with each other, actually created conditions where the power of the central government was severely weakened and they, by agreement and sometimes quarreling, determined the fate of Iran. Of course, the dual presence of foreign power in Iran led to a semi-colonial situation in the country. In such a situation, the formal rule of the Qajar era did not disappear, and the country was not colonized a special power, but foreign governments intervened in the decision-making process, relying on the weakness of the central government and the influence that they had gained through concluding contracts (Ashraf, 1980: 46).

### **5. The Development of Cultural Construction, Lack of Developed Political Construction and the Occurrence of Constitutional Revolution**

The corrective actions of the reformists of government and the reformist ideas of the intellectuals led to the development of the country's cultural and educational structure. This development, in turn, led to new political demands, such as the establishment of a parliamentary government and political democracy. In fact, the ideology of the Constitutional Movement of Iran, which was the result of the work of the intellectuals, was the political democracy and parliamentary system.

The reaction of the political system to the reformist ideas of the reformers has, over time, been associated with negative reactions and formal actions. Nasser-al-Din Shah first prevented the penetration and dissemination of any progressive thoughts and libertarian beliefs among people. During the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, with the character of absolute tyranny, the nation had no authority and power in the administration of the country, and obeyed its currents and orders.

The reformist efforts that took place during the fifteenth- year period of the coronation of Naser Al-Din Shah (1848-1896) were a passion, which led to the expansion of the bureaucracy.

Due to its tyrannical and non-flexible characters, the political system refused to accept these demands and, in a tyrannical manner, oppressed reformists, libertarians and mass movements. The Qajar political system resorted to force instead of persuasion. The cultural development was accompanied by great momentum, but the political structure remained traditional and closed. The contrast between these two areas provided the grounds for the collapse of the Qajar political system, which should not be ignored the financial crisis of state.

## **6- Conclusion**

The question posed here is what factors have been effective in the failure of the Qajar government regarding the constitutional movement? Here we can point to three factors: the "political legitimacy crisis", "the nature of the constitutional movement" and "the nature of the military power of Iran based in tribes system."

The political legitimacy crisis of the Qajar regime was primarily due to the excessive use of force in society. Force as causative agent of authority does not have legitimacy. Therefore, the Qajar political power after the use of force and the acquisition of power should limit its use sooner and in turn benefited from other factors of legitimacy, in particular religious legitimacy.

Of course, the crisis of the legitimacy of Qajar power was in some cases due to the lack of proper implementation of the work that belonged to it. In other words, it was caused by the inability of the functions of power. As stated in the previous sections, in general, the special work of the political power structure in Iran (Qajar period) was assimilation between old ways of governing with new political needs that associated with the transformation of the cultural structure-the creation of the security and the maintenance of justice-respect for religious rituals that once were the cause of his legitimate-preventing the disillusionment of the national capital of the country, and so on. However, ignoring any of these tasks or over-emphasizing on one and ignoring other factors undermined the legitimacy of power.

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