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Nationalization of the Oil Industry in Iran and the Fadaiean of Islam

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**Abstract** 

Nationalization of oil industry is a name given to the escalation period of the Iranian people' struggle for the nationalization of the oil industry. In its realization, a lot of groups were involved as well The Fadaiean of Islam. Findings of this research, which has been gathered using descriptive-analytic method, show that in the process of this national movement, The Fadaiean of Islam, provided grounds for the victory using both peaceful struggle strategies – cooperation with other religious groups and the National Front–and non-reconciling strategies including assassination of Hazhir and Razmara.

**Keywords:** The Fadaiean of Islam, The nationalization of the oil industry, Mosadegh, Navab Safavi.

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## Introduction

The group of The Fadaiean of Islam became into existence in 1945 with a declaration titled religion and revenge, and its goal was struggling against every kind of secularism (Maghsood, 2009, p.45). The Fadaiean of Islam established to struggle against the beliefs and propaganda of Kasravi (Modir Shanechi, 2005, p.50; Mozafari, 2010, p.77), and was the first political group in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that set its goal to establish an Islamic government and pursued this line of thought to its end (Averi, 2009, p.325).

This group which established the protection of the religious principles as its most important goal appeared in many historical junctures and had a great impact on the contemporary history of Iran. They started their work under the name of religion and established its movement in Qom, which was the little Kufie and the center of the religious authority and religious enforcement; but Ayatollah Kashani recognized them not only non-beneficial but also disruptive. Therefore, they took apart from the frosty and dogmatic atmosphere of Qom which was against their political and practical programs and came to Tehran (Movahed, 2006, p.140). There, they strengthened their activities with Ayatolllah Kashani in their center.

As Kashani and Navab believed strongly in pragmatism, so it was logical to apply for a change in religious authority and withdrawal of Broojerdi. Kashani-Navab line proposed the change of authority and succession of Ayatollah Kashani in June, 1950. But with decease of Ayatollah Kashani on September, 1952 the plot failed (Movahed, 1976, p.115).

## 1. The Fadaiean of Islam and the methods of their struggle against the Pahlavi's regime

The Fadaiean of Islam applied two method in their struggles against the Pahlavi's regime: peaceful and non-peaceful.

# 1.1. Peaceful methods of struggle

## 1.1.1. Consultation and political advice

Fadaiean of Islam initiated their political struggle against the Pahlavi government and its managers with consultation and political advice. Navab's negotiation with Ali Mansour, the governor of Azerbaijan, to release Seyed Hashemi; struggle against the foreign policies specially the subject of the Zionist occupational regime; warning about the poor condition of the country and inadvertence to islamic religious instructions while offering help (Abd -e-khodaie, 2002, p.205).

#### 1.1.2. Cooperation with the other adversaries

Regarding their struggling goal, Fadaiean of Islam tried to cooperate with other adversaries. Their cooperation with Ayatollah Kashani against Pahlavi's foreign policy, concerning the recognition of the Zionist occupational regime, was an instance of these activities (Amini, 2001, p.217). Ayatollah Taleghani also cooperated in some cases with the Fadaiean of Islam (Gheisari, 2006, p.36).

## 1.1.3. Propagation and revelation of Fadaiean of Islam

Propagation can be considered as one of the most important and most extensive of the Fadaiean of Islam, struggling method. Fadaiean of Islam of Qom with holding brief and also extensive sessions advertised revolutionism in the city (Hosseinian, 2003, p.299).

## 1.2. Non-peaceful struggling methods

## 1.2.1. Asylum and strike

There were other methods that Fadaiean of Islam applied to gain their goals. For instance, when Navab Safavi was in prison, after visiting him, this group took asylum there for 18 days. Consequently, the officials of the regime engaged with prisoners and Navab mediated and called it off. Also, the prisoned members of this group went on a hunger strike for 18 days and with deteriorating of their health conditions some of them got released (Gheisari, 2006, p.102).

## 1.2.2. Armed struggle

The armed struggle was another method of Fadaiean of Islam's struggling method and common ground among all these armed struggles was their advice and threats before any armed action. Among them Assassination of Kasravi, Hazhir, and Razara were notable (Favaran, 2010, p.427).

## 2. The Fadaiean of Islam and the nationalization of the oil industry

Analyzing the clergy function in this era, three policies are recognizable:

The first one was open-minded group with a modernistic view of religion and faith who tried to reconcile between knowledge and science. The second one, the political wing which is guided by Ayatollah Kashani, included Fadaiean of Islam, Assembly of Muslim Mujaheds and some layers of the middle class and merchants. Among them, Fadaiean of Islam with fundamental beliefs and political assassinations with Navab's leadership sought the

establishment of an Islamic government. The third one was the traditional wing of seminary with the authority of Ayatollah Broojerdi which defined their role out of the political activities and approaches (Abootalebi, 2013, p.25).

The most important activity of Fadaiean of Islam in the process of the nationalization of the oil industry can be outlined in tow steps: first they sent people's real candidates to parliament through assassination of Hazhir and then, with the assassination of Razmara they provided a background for the nationalization of the oil industry.

## 2.1. Fadaiean of Islam and their cooperation with National wing and Hazhir assassination

The close relationship between the court of the king and made the parliament chose him as the prime minister, but it rejected strongly by Ayatollah Kashini and Fadaiean of Islam (Mehdinia, 1997, p.52). In the process of Mosadegh and his followers' asylum in objection to the parliamentary election, which resulted in the formation of the National Wing, Hazhir was the negotiating officer on be half of the king (Abd -e-Khodaie, 2001, p78). From the beginning of their formation, The Fadaiean of Islam cooperated with them, but after Mossadegh' ministry, gradually, some conflicts arose in between (Modir Shanichi, 2011, p.50). Historian believe that Hazhir could play an important role in preventing independent non-courtier candidates from entering the parliament (Abd-e-Khodaie, 2002, p.115).

National Wing's candidates who were included among the first 8 candidates, before the box transferred were replaced by the government candidates. Opposition to Hazhir's government, in and out of the parliament, reached to a point that put him in a dead end of the resignation after just four months. But after a few days got appointed as the court minister.

The Fadaiean of Islam who opposed Hazhir's appointment, after Ayatollah Kashani called him "The Hidden Bahaie", sentenced him to death and Seyed Hasan Emami, four years after assassination of Ahmmad kasravi, got assigned to assassinate him (Golmohamadi, 2003, p.53).

#### 2.2. The Fadaiean of Islam and assassination of Razmara

Razara got appointed as the prime minister on 26th of June, 1950 A.H.S. (Abootalebi, 2012, p.54). He, in response to the National Wing members, who requested the nationalization of the oil industry, said that this is not possible in our country and we might not be able to cope with it and asserted that it is a big treachery, and this action in suppression of the movement of the nationalization of the oil industry got increased. Razmara involved in a series of covert negotiations with the dispatched representative of the British oil company and asked him to

deliver the company's proposal concerning the oil deal to the government of Iran immediately. And I the process of these negotiations, the devision of the oil income according to the article classification (50-50) were agreed by the both British and Iranian sides. Razmara insisted in the covertness of the agreement. After being informed about these covert negotiations of Razmara with representative of the British oil company, Navab Safavi, in a session including some of the National Wing members as well, said that Razmara is a British agent and must be eliminated (Abd-e-Khodaie, 2001, p.106). After the constant treacherous sabotages of Razara, the leaders of the movement of the nationalization of the oil industry concluded that the only barrier in its realization was Razmara. In this regard, Navab says that somewhere I was told that Razmara is a thorn in our way and. You kill him and we will establish an Islamic government (Khoshniat, 2006, p.28). In The Fadaiean of Islam's view Razmara opposition the nationalization of the oil industry was an evidence that he was an English agent (Abraphamian, 2013, p.102). Eventually Khalil Tahmasbi assassinated Razmara (Fateh, 2005, p.40), the prime minister of Iran at the time, in the Soltani Mosque (located in The Bazaar area of Tehran) on 16<sup>th</sup> of March, 1950 (Madani, Bita, volume 1, p.354). After legislation of the exempt from the punishment, 18th of November, 1952 (27th of October, 1952), he, in an interview with press said that his treachery to hometown was established by everybody. In opposing groups' opinion it was a great victory and could pave the way for the nationalization of the oil industry. As the audience were enjoying the assassination news in the oil commission with Doctor Mosadegh's authority was busy preparing and legislating the plan of the nationalization of the oil industry. Then some some candidates informed about the assassination wanted to leave the session, but locking the door Mosadegh asserted that nobody would leave the commission not until the plan done (Abrahamian, 2004, p.101). Inevitably the commission completed and delivered the plan to the parliament unanimously. The next day plan was received by the parliament, 24<sup>th</sup> of March, and was passed on 24<sup>th</sup> of March. With its passage another golden paper in the history of Iran was paged (the above mentioned: p.103).

#### **Result:**

From what happened it was revealed that The Fadaiean of Islam established in 1955 by Seyed Mojtaba Navab Safavi to struggle with the beliefs and propagandas of Kasravi and was the first political group in the 20<sup>th</sup> century to set its goal as establishing an Islamic government and embarked on that. This group which set the protection of Islamic religious values as its

duty involved in many important historical junctures and had a great impact on the contemporary history of Iran. After the World War II it turned into an active political force in the political scene of Iran and Ayatollah Kashani and Navab Safavi, believing strongly in pragmatism, had a great role in the nationalization of the oil industry. The most important important activities of The Fadaiean of Islam can be outlined this way:

The first step was assassination of Hazhir which let the people's real candidates enter the parliament. The second step was assassination of Razmara who was the only barrier in the way of the nationalization of the oil industry in the opinion of the leaders the nationalization of the oil industry movement.

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