Conditions of political development in Iran between 1941-1953

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Abstract

Mohammad Reza Shah had a long way to go before he became an alternative to authoritarianism for his father. And for this and other reasons, after September 1941 until the 1953 coup, Iranian society did not have a chance to expand, and Iranian society found itself in a situation where it could breathe new life into the vacuum of Reza Shah's dictatorial and repressive power; And political and social activities entered a new era. It is widely believed that one of the shortest periods in the history of Iran, in which relative freedoms were provided and, if continued, could lead to the political development of stability; Is the first twelve years of the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah. The present article intends to create opportunities and conditions for Iran's political development between 1953 and 1941, meaning the occupation of Iran by the Allies and the resignation of Reza Shah until the coup of August 19th, 1953. The research method is descriptive-analytical with emphasis on historical approach. The method of collecting information and data includes library studies and filing from reliable sources and written historical evidence. The results show that in the mentioned period, due to the vacuum caused by the fall of Reza Shah and the sharp decline of his tyrannical power, the inexperience of the young Shah, as well as the decline of the undisputed power of British colonialism, ideal conditions were provided for political development in Iran; But some internal and external factors hindered this development.

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Introduction

In rent-seeking states that rely on rich revenues from oil or other national resources, a kind of dictatorship is formed and there is no chance for political development. Iran during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah was no exception to this rule. Why political development does not take shape in such countries is related to many internal and external factors; Among these factors, we can point to the sharp differences and inexperience of intellectuals and the lack of cohesion and unity between organizations and factions active in the political arena, and finally the involvement of foreign powers in political underdevelopment.

In underdeveloped countries, there are typically two types of political stability, one resulting from the increasing participation of the people and the other through repression and coercion. The Iranian government, led by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, openly used the second model in 1953-1978 and, like his father in 1925-1941, tried to impose pressure on Iranian society for the second time through social levers. His government, like that of his father, Reza Shah, eventually relied on the military and oil revenues, and became even more closely dependent on one of the countries at the core of the fledgling power (the United States).

A decade later, the Shah's government turned Iran into a monarchical dictatorship based on the repressive power of the army and oil revenues. These were both sources of his dominance over Iranian society (Furan, 2007: p. 431). With the fall of the Qajar dynasty and the coming to power of Reza Shah Pahlavi, to some extent, the national will to achieve national independence was alive; Which, of course, did not have the power to prevent the occupation of the country by the Allies in September 1941. Also, due to Reza

Shah's inclination towards the Germans with the aim of escaping from the heavy domination of the Soviet Union and Britain, he was forced to resign and eventually leave the country. Iranian oil was of considerable importance during World War II and contributed significantly to the Allied navy against Hitler's Germany.

Oil became so important as a fuel for weapons and military equipment and the driving force of industry that fierce competition arose among Westerners for access to important oil resources around the world, especially in the Middle East. Contemporary Iran was influenced by nationalism in various forms, Marxist tendencies and Islamist tendencies in the face of tyranny and colonialism. Xenophobic nationalism, with democratic ideas crystallized in the doctrine of the National Front and Dr. Mossadegh himself, between 1953 and 1949 to realize the rights of Iranians during the nationalization of the oil industry; was a movement that, to varying degrees, confronted Britain as a symbol of colonialism on the one hand, and Mohammad Reza Shah as a symbol of traditional imperial tyranny in Iran on the other. In this sense, it should be considered a national movement in the evolution of Iranians' sacrifices in the Constitutional Revolution; Which, with the unification of colonialism and tyranny and the presence of a world power called the United States, plotted a coup d'état on August 19th, 1953, and thwarted nationalist efforts. The most important elections are from the fourteenth to the eighteenth term. Coinciding with the Allied occupation of Iran, the deportation of Reza Shah to Mauritius, the creation and repression of the sedition of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan and the formation of a national front and the struggle for nationalization of oil and the uprising of July 21,

1952 and finally the coup of August 19th. Which coincided with the dissolution of the parliament (Hemmati, 2012: pp. 25-25).

Dr. Mossadegh's worst mistake, is denying the World Bank's proposal for an honorable solution to the oil issue between Britain and Iran. The connection between the economy and politics in Iran is revealed in the context of the national movement with these statements, but Mossadegh and his supporters considered the national oil industry as the first step towards the democratic transformation of Iranian society. This is why, from the early 1940s, Mossadegh himself has always emphasized the widespread political importance of the oil issue to its limited economic effects (Katouzian, 2011: 225).

During the period 1943-1953, and especially during the period of Dr. Mossadegh as prime minister, many presses were published, some of which were in favor of the movement and some of which were considered as opposition. Nevertheless, one of the freest historical periods of the one hundred and eighty years of the press in Iran is the Mossadegh period; The freedom of writing, expression, thought and holding of gatherings, which is one of the components of a democracy and political development, took place during this period.

Despite the relatively open political atmosphere, the freedom of parties and the press, and the lack of experience and youth of the Shah in 1948-1941, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi could not openly put pressure on the National Assembly. During this period, the issue of oil was one of the issues that was the source of hidden and overt struggles between the legislature and the executive during the rule of the governments of the 1920s; And the delegates sometimes made valuable decisions about Iran's foreign relations with major governments, such as the rejection of the Ghavam-Sad Chikov agreement (oil concession to the Soviet Union) and the rejection of the Gass-Golshayan bill in 1949. And finally, these efforts provided the foundations and contexts that a year later led to the nationalization of the oil industry in Iran. In the meantime, the role of the parliamentary minority was very significant. It was in the shadow of their efforts, activity and courage that this anti-colonial movement came to fruition. It was from the struggles of the minority ¬ at the end of the fifteenth parliament that the National Front, as one of the most comprehensive and comprehensive political organizations in the country until then, entered the political arena of the country.

The following important events in the sixteenth parliamentary term (February 9, 1950 to February 19, 1952) had a profound effect on contemporary Iran:

- The resignation of the Saed government in April 1950
- The Cabinet of Ali Mansour, April 4, 1950
- The return of Ayatollah Kashani to the country
- Transfer of Reza Shah's body from Egypt to Iran
- Ali Mansour resigns as Prime Minister (July 5, 1950)
- Formation of Razmara cabinet (July 6, 1950)
- Proposal for nationalization of oil industry
- Government impeachment in parliament on oil
- Assassination of Razmara by Khalil Tahmasebi, a member of Fadaiyan-e-Islam (due to Razmara's opposition to the nationalization of the oil industry)
- The formation of Hussein Alaa's cabinet and the fall of this cabinet on May 6, 1951

- Prime Minister Dr. Mossadegh on May 22, 1951
- Approval of the law on the nationalization of the oil industry on April 4, 1950
- Law on the implementation of the expropriation of the Iranian and British oil companies and the nationalization of the oil industry, approved on May 10, 1951 (Katouzian, 2011: pp. 407-408).

With the exception of the newly formed National Front, the Tudeh Party of Iran was the most organized of the active political parties. This party was able to attract important sections of the urban workers, the new petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. Liberal parties formed an umbrella organization called the National Front. The group, led by Mohammad Mossadegh, launched a popular movement to nationalize Iran's oil industry. The formation of these secular and democratic institutions created a rare opportunity for the Iranian society to enter a new phase of political processes by using it (Mirsepasi, 2014: p. 150).

The Tudeh Party should be called the first organized, purposeful and planned party with the structure and scope of Iran; The methods of political struggle, influence among the working, market and rural classes, and in the academic title derived from Marxism "proletarian class" became another model of political parties and currents in contemporary Iran. However, the roots of the formation of this party's thought go back to the period of Reza Shah and even earlier to the period after the Constitutional Revolution (1906-1909). But the party's new program, structure, goals, and agenda must be attributed to the circumstances after September 1941; The shadow of Reza Shah's dictatorship and tyranny had disappeared from the country, and a period in Iran's political history arose that provided the

necessary conditions for development and political participation, despite the occasional pressures of Mohammad Reza Shah's government.

The Tudeh Party published its interim program in early March 1941. In this program, the necessity of the following was emphasized; Erasure of "the works of Reza Shah's dictatorship"; Protection of the constitution, civil liberties and human rights; Protection of the rights of all citizens, especially the rights of the masses; And cooperation in the global struggle of democracy against the savagery of fascism (Abrahamian, 2008: p. 347). What were the characteristics of the first 12 years of the second Pahlavi regime? Which despite its weaknesses and ups and downs, it was considered as a period in which minimums of political participation, freedom of expression, parties, associations, and activities of journalists and politicians from different backgrounds were formed. And has this short-term political development and modernity been distinguished from other periods of the Pahlavi era? In this article, an attempt has been made to analyze and describe this course.

Theoretical Framework

Samuel Huntington is a well-known thinker of development and modernization in Third World countries. He lists some characteristics for politics in Third World countries. Institutionalism, widespread corruption, unorganized violence at all levels and levels of society, the role of the military in political power, and the naked confrontation with political games are some of the characteristics that Huntington attributes to Third World countries. He has dealt with democratization in Third World countries. He considers the expansion of democracy to be dependent on economic growth (the formation of the mid-

dle class and the free market), the existence of a diverse social structure, and a culture of tolerance necessary for the acceptance and growth of democracy. In addition, it emphasizes the assistance and support of democracies (Huntington, 1996: p. 132).

He states that new social forces are emerging in Third World countries as a result of modernization. The modernization of a society requires the multiplicity and diversity of its social forces; Occupational, racial, and professional classifications are added to the existing kinship, racial, and religious categories. The emergence of social forces also leads to increased political participation. Because transformation has taken place in the desires and aspirations of individuals and individuals have found a new position in society. According to Huntington, social mobilization leads to political mobilization. That is, people want to gain a political position due to their social status. This increases political participation (Huntington, 1996: p. 143).

Huntington states that Third World countries lack institutions. "Social forces are strong, but political institutions are weak. In these countries, the legislature and the executive, public authorities and political parties remain fragile and disorganized. Government growth has lagged behind the evolution of society. Lack of development of political institutions in third world countries causes the political participation of citizens is not absorbed and directed. An organization or a political policy is to find a way to maintain social order and resolve conflicts and elect leaders with authority. This causes social and political chaos. The lack of strong political institutions also means that "common rules of the game" are not defined and implemented for actors. When a powerful organization and institution in a society does not define rules for the control and control of society and social groups, each group defines its own rules.

That is, in third world countries, each group has its own rules. The political arena is the confrontation of different groups with different rules. That is why the confrontation between political groups is naked. That is, the competition of individuals, families, religious and racial groups with each other is violent. According to Huntington, the level of violence in the social and political spheres increases when social groups do not adhere to common principles. The existence of violence undoubtedly leads to "political instability" (Huntington, 1965: p. 231).

Huntington addresses its priorities after outlining the characteristics and preconditions of democratization. In other words, Huntington seeks to implement the growth and consolidation of democracy in several stages so that its one-time entry does not cause chaos.

1- According to Huntington, the first and most important issue for Third World countries is the formation of a national identity. In his view, the formation of national identity does not mean the disappearance of sub-identities. Rather, sub-identities are one of the preconditions for the acceptance of democracy. According to Huntington, the formation of national identity takes precedence because national identity leads to a general consensus on the formation of a national institution. Until national identity is formed, it will not be possible to accept democracy. National identity and convergence, and the existence of common cultural and social values and elements, enable the people to come to an agreement on a democratic agreement. Therefore, national identi-

ty is important and fundamental in the age of multiplicity of identities. But there should be no inverted understanding of national identity. The formation of national identity does not mean the denial of sub-identities, but national identity means the preservation of sub-identities and the definition of common values for society; Common values that may exist in all subcultures of society.

2- According to Huntington, the second priority in the Third World is institution building. Since there is widespread corruption in Third World countries, illegal violence is taking place at all levels of society, and the confrontation of political actors is naked, we need an institution that can manage these issues. for example; Only a national institution and, according to Huntington, an institutionalized state can collect violence from the community. Of course, Huntington does not want any government to be formed, but he does say that government should be institutionalized in Third World countries. Otherwise, it will not be possible to grow and consolidate democracy.

3- The third and final issue for Huntington is increasing political participation. Huntington says political participation before the formation of an institutionalized government causes chaos. That is why political participation must be at the last stage, in addition to being one of the most important pillars of democracy. It also strengthens democracy and strengthens democratic institutions. Therefore, political participation is the last and most fundamental issue for the growth of democracy and political development.

The point of Huntington's thought about political development is that there are two dual interpretations of Huntington's thought. Some believe that political development is political stability for Huntington. Political stability that may be achieved in the form of different systems. Others, however, believe that Huntington means political development as well as the growth and expansion of democracy. As far as political development is concerned, Huntington has given his views on the spread of democracy in Third World countries.

In the end, it should be said that in view of the above issues, Huntington is one of the most important and serious thinkers of development and modernization, whose ideas can be useful for us. We do not have a national identity, we do not have a stable and institutionalized government, and our political participation is not conscious. That is why it seems that we seriously need the idea of this development and modernization thinker. Re-reading his ideas as well as formulating ideas of democratization based on ideas can be helpful (Varma, 1975: p. 98).

Conditions of Iran's political development in the period 1953-1941

The personality of the dictator Reza Shah, both as a father and as the king of Iran, had convinced the heir to the Pahlavi throne after September 1941 that the best model of statehood was the model of Reza Shahi. Despite the fact that most people were happy with his forced resignation in 1941, after his death in 1948, he was nicknamed Reza Shah Kabir by the National Assembly.

But Mohammad Reza Shah had a long way to go to become an alternative to autho-

ritarianism for his father. And in the critical situation of the country and the Pahlavi dynasty after the occupation of Iran by the Allies, he did not have the experience, power and confidence to play the role of a powerful king. For these and other reasons, after September 1941 until the 1953 coup, Iranian society did not have the opportunity to grow, and Iranian society was in a position to grow in the vacuum of Reza Shah's dictatorial and repressive power. Political and social activities entered a new era; And according to everyone, the first twelve years of the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, is one of the short periods in the history of Iran in which relative freedom and liberty were provided, and if continued, could lead to sustainable political development.

As the power of Reza Shah was divided into several layers after his departure from the country, the parliament was one of those parts or layers that inherited a part of Reza Shah's power. Throughout the first Pahlavi era, the legislature became a device for carrying out "monarchical orders." The court minister communicated the "royal orders" to the speaker of the assembly, and the assembly made the "His majesty's orders" in the form of approvals and legal bills.

Impeachment, overseeing the performance of the government, dismissal and installation of ministers, appointment of the prime minister, advising officials and statesmen and overseeing the performance of law enforcement and intelligence agencies and other duties that were legally the responsibility of the National Assembly; Throughout the sixteen years of Reza Shah's tyranny, were strange, unusual, and completely obsolete things. But all this changed with the collapse of Reza Shah's absolute tyranny. The National Assembly gradually regained the central and funda-

mental position given to it in the constitution in the post-Reza Shah era (Maghsoudi, 2012: p. 47).

In fact, after the fall of Reza Shah, the constitution was revived to some extent by the parliament, governments and political forces in various titles and forms, with intensity and weakness. And socio-political dynamics, if accompanied by national unity and cohesion and legalism and the maintenance of social order, and reached the stage of stabilization; The destiny of the country was moving towards real development and all-round progress.

What has been said about the National Assembly also applies to the government and the executive branch. In fact, the executive branch, the prime ministers and ministers, and the government as a whole, were in the hands of Reza Shah with tools and levers; To help him achieve his goals regardless of the analysis and critique of these goals.

But with the fall of Reza Shah, the executive branch gradually found its legal status. Concepts such as "joint responsibility of ministers", "cabinet" and "responsibility to the head of state or prime minister" found meaning. The submission to the court and the first person of the country gradually gave way to responsibility to the parliament and the cabinet. This development was so dramatic that some of the more independent and bony figures of the post-Reza Shah era, such as Ahmad Ghavam al-Saltaneh, were strongly opposed to any contact between ministers and government officials and the Shah's court and person. Ghavam al-Saltaneh, during his prime ministership, very seriously asked one of his ministers, who had contacts with the court, to resign immediately due to his unauthorized connection with the court (Aqeli, 1997: pp. 261-262).

In other words, after the departure of Reza Shah, the power concentrated in his hands was divided between several institutions, and the army, as the most important element of absolute monarchy, was in crisis, and the new king could not quickly take control of the situation; And in the country, under the Allied occupation, new centers of power were formed.

In short, these centers of power are as follows; King and court; Army and police; National Assembly; Government (executive branch, prime minister and cabinet); Political parties and groups and some influential personalities such as Ahmad Ghavam Al-Saltaneh, Dr. Mossadegh and General Razmara. Although the division of Reza Shah's absolute and centralized power into sub-powers could have been promising in the political arena, which it was, it also created problems for Iranian society. A society that was not deeply acquainted with the principles and concepts of freedom and political development and democracy and did not have a proper understanding of national goals and interests in this society; In a vacuum, an authoritarian power emerged from a period of chaos, instability, political incoherence, and a lack of centralized power in the country. And unfortunately, after the fall of a dictator in Iran, history has shown that chaos, chaos and disorder pervade the country. And the regression of this subconscious procedure requires the existence of a superior and regulatory power to establish order. What Huntington refers to as the lack of a legal entity called the state in Third World countries.

In the first months of the collapse of the dictatorship, dozens of political parties, groups, associations and political clubs were formed at the head of the country. The political spectrum of these political parties was very wide. On one side of the spectrum were court-affiliated parties, aristocrats, feudal lords, and conservatives. These parties were typically pro-British and skeptical of the Soviet Union and its socialist and reformist plans. For many of them, the most important mission was to fight the left, and especially the Tudeh Party. Another characteristic of "right" or conservative parties was their reliance on one or more political figures.

In the middle of the political spectrum were moderate parties and currents, independent and independent of foreign powers. The Intellectual Party, the Companions Party, the Nation Party, the Socialist Party, and the Democratic Party were examples of moderate parties.

At the point opposite the right currents, the left ones were located. Left parties were divided into several groups, factions and currents. But without a doubt the symbol of the left currents was the Tudeh Party. The only political party in the contemporary political history of Iran in the strict sense of the word a party. In a word, the Tudeh Party had everything a modern party and organization needed for political success and advancement. Including organization, organizing, worldview, program, congress, election of leader and secretary general, collective leadership, party organ, nationwide network cadre building in the country, cohesion, unity of command, focus (Maghsoudi, 2012: pp. 50-51).

Mohammad Reza Shah wanted to be a powerful monarch like his father and to control the situation of his country, government, parliament and political-social and even economic activities. But for the reasons stated, he did not have the opportunity until 1953, after the coup of August 19th. At the same time, mentally and psychologically, he lacked the self-confidence and bullying spirit of his father, and this is part of the reality that made

him a hesitant character, and avoiding facing crises; And one of the reasons he left the country on August 16 is due to the shaky spirit that was not present or was not able to make important and decisive decisions in those critical situations. He preferred to give up the Pahlavi dynasty and went to Iraq with Queen Soraya Esfandiari Bakhtiari and then to Rome, Italy.

And it must be said that his fear and apprehension had caused even many of his relatives not to consider him a man of hard days for the consistency of the monarchy. On the other hand, he avoided facing great personalities with charismatic and charismatic characteristics. And, of course, whenever the scales of power weighed heavily in his favor with the help of the levers of Pahlavi authoritarianism, he also exploits the most intelligently and politically. And it should be noted that on the political chessboard, he sometimes takes actions that minimize the risks and removes prominent and influential people and political elites from power.

He repeatedly took the elites out of the scene in a way that pitted them against each other, with the help of one. General Razmara and Ahmad Ghavam al-Saltaneh were removed from the Iranian political scene in the same way. Creating confrontation and tension between political elites and creating an atmosphere of pessimism in society towards the country's elites was one of the common methods used in the first twelve years of Mohammad Reza Shah's reign. Because confronting Ghavam, Dr. Mossadegh and General Razmara directly, was difficult and challenging for him, as he fled the country on August 16, 1953, in the first failed coup.

The Shah's political intelligence did not conflict with his wavering spirit; he sometimes replaced the elite politicians with his own tools and methods based on his political

sham. And sometimes in the face of the likes of Mossadegh, Razmara, Ghavam and Zahedi and Ali Amini resort to tactical retreat. These ups and downs are more evident in the first 12 years of his reign. And its culmination was the incident on July 20, 1952, and the removal of Ghavam al-Saltaneh within a few hours, as well as the retreat against Dr. Mossadegh's rightful request to hand over the Ministry of War (Defense) to Mossadegh himself. The Shah wanted to pit two great and experienced personalities and veteran independent and determined politicians to the sidelines, with the help of Ghavam, to marginalize Dr. Mossadegh. However, the popular support and fatwa of Ayatollah Kashani in support of Dr. Mossadegh and his opposition to Ghavam and the execution of Jihad led to the complete elimination of Ghavam, a veteran political figure.

The change in the country's political climate from a half-baked and, of course, stubborn democracy to the Shah's tendency towards dictatorship and tyranny that he created is explained as follows:

A change of monarchy in 1925 brought dictatorial forces to power. But the dictatorship did not last, and the tyranny that gradually (especially from 1933 onwards) replaced it, even destroying the elements of the dictatorship. From September 1941 to August 19th53, there was an opportunity to establish a weak and unrestrained democracy in society. The Iranian National Movement emerged to secure independence and consolidate democracy, and made great strides in the difficult circumstances of the time. But the invasion of internal and external enemies and the weaknesses and mistakes of the movement itself eventually led to the coup of August 19thth. From that date until 1963, a dictatorial regime ruled the country, with various classes (especially landowners and some con-

servative clerics) forming its social base. But from 1962 to 1979, the former regime became more authoritarian, largely due to land reform and the rapid growth of oil revenues.

As a result, it lost both its bases and its relative legitimacy. This fact, as well as international events (such as the Vietnam War and the Palestinian struggle), led the masses of Iranian fighters to undemocratic views, ideas and methods. As most of those who strongly condemned the former regime for violating the law and freedom and human rights, they themselves did not value these categories and values. The result was that the revolution that took place against the state as a result of the unification of all classes, that is, the whole of society, had very weak democratic and liberal foundations (Katouzian, 2015: p. 20).

There is a distinction between tyranny and dictatorship; tyranny is a radical and extreme example of dictatorship. The Shah was a dictator for ten years between 1963 and 1953, and after the uprising of June 25, 1963, he moved towards an absolute, authoritarian government, and finally an authoritarian monarchy. On the other hand, the Shah was considered a weak monarchy in the first twelve years of his reign, which resumed the process of his father's tyrannical rule after the coup d'état of August 19thth; And resumed his activities after 1953, when his father was forced to resign in 1941. It rapidly redeveloped and strengthened the three pillars of its government: the army, the bureaucracy, and the court support system; His reign, with a few differences in various respects, was practically a continuation of his father's method. While the father ruled in the age of fascism and the son was at the height of the Cold War. Mohammad Reza Shah realized Reza Shah's dream of developing a comprehensive government structure.

Of course, this dream was made possible thanks to growing oil revenues. Part of the increase was due to output growth - Iran had become the fourth largest oil producer and the second largest exporter; On the other hand, according to the 1954 agreement of the Oil Consortium, Iran's share of oil revenues reached 50% (Abrahamian, 2012: pp. 225-226). In any government where there is a tendency to use force and violence, the dreaded police force and the spy services under the command of one person who is the ruler or the king, the government is totalitarian or totalitarian. And it can also be called authoritarianism, whether it means an authoritarian government or a dictatorship.

Features of authoritarianism:

 A) Lack of traditional or legal limits to government power

 B) The extent of the arbitrary power used

In the ancient world, the type of government in the ancient civilizations of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Iran, etc., was authoritarian and only Greece and Rome were exempt from this general rule and had only transient dictatorships (Ashouri, 2009: p. 25).

But to compare and reveal the differences, it is better to give a glossary definition of dictatorship:

A dictatorship is a type of power that has several of these characteristics:

A) The absence of any law or tradition that restricts the actions of the ruler (or rulers) or that the ruler has violated with his unlimited power.

B) Gaining government power by breaking previous laws

C) Lack of rules and regulations for succession

D) to use power for the benefit of a small group

E) The obedience of the people to the power of the government only out of fear of it

F) Monopoly of power in the hands of one person.

G) The use of terror as the main means of exercising power Some of these measures are more general, as can be summarized as dictatorial traits in the absoluteness of power, the forcible acquisition of power, and the absence of regular rules for succession.

In recent history, dictatorships can be divided into individual dictatorships (as found in Latin America or Western groups) and totalitarian dictatorships (totalitarian) (Ashouri, 2009: p. 171).

Therefore, determining whether Mohammad Reza Shah was a dictator or a dictator or a totalitarian is a separate matter that must be addressed in the form of a dissertation or book. But according to what most Western historians and thinkers such as Marx, Hegel, Wittfogel and Aristotle have divided; The monarchies of Iran have been considered authoritarian regimes throughout pre-Islamic and post-Islamic history. Undoubtedly, the second Pahlavi regime is a continuation of the authoritarian regimes in the history of Iran.

Although the Constitutional Revolution has made constitutional monarchy a legal alternative to authoritarian and absolute monarchy; But Reza Khan completely violated the legal principle of constitutional monarchy and returned to the tradition of the kings of the history of Iran. Mohammad Reza Shah intended to rule with full authority like his father when the August 19th coup first brought him back to power; And after the uprising of June 6, 1963, he put aside all doubts and took over the authoritarian government. And the authoritarian regime, which is accompanied by the violation of individual and social freedoms, human rights, and by-

elections, opposition to democracy, and political development, was one of the main reasons for the opposition and fighters to confront and overthrow the Pahlavi regime.

The first Pahlavi and the second Pahlavi both had a project-oriented approach to governing and managing the country and did not seek to structure themselves by focusing on themselves. The forgetting of soft power in the state and the failure to employ large sections of society gradually became the government's political problems. The lack of familiarity of both Pahlavi's with the history of development, political history and political culture of the Iranian people provided grounds for the accumulation of problems. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was very studious and may have been familiar with the theoretical foundations of democracy, but he believed that Iran was not ready for a democratic system and that civil progress preceded democracy. Towards the end of his reign, he was forced to pursue political and civil liberalization. But this was itself a paradox of how a monarchy, ruled by one person, could legally and politically liberate politics (Sari-al-Qalam, 2018: pp. 153-154).

The Pahlavi government has always had a self-centered mentality in government for a monarch who was expected to rule alone after the Constitutional Revolution; This practice intensified after the coup of August 19thth in the person of Mohammad Reza Shah. The extent of the Shah's authority before the coup is in no way comparable to that after it, and perhaps the most important reason is that Dr. Mossadegh tried to force the Shah to reign alone and not to rule. The case of Dr. Mossadegh's resignation over the election of the Minister of Defense (who considered the Shah to have the right to choose the Minister of Defense according to his previous illegal tradition) was one of the confronta-

tions between constitutionalism and absolute monarchy.

It should be said that the decade of 1320, which led to the developments of 1332, was a period of coercion of authoritarian monarchy and constitutional monarchy (Sari-al-Qalam, 2018: p. 156). Finally, this coercion led to the isolation of the supporters of the constitutional monarchy, the leftists, the libertarians and the nationalist liberals, and ended with the victory of the supporters of the authoritarian monarchy, headed by Mohammad Reza Shah. In the one year he took office (the second term of his presidency after the uprising of July 21, 1952), Mohammad Mossadegh made many changes in the structures, laws and methods of governing. Iran had never experienced such a powerful prime minister and incompetent king. With Mossadegh's widespread popular support, he ignored influential individuals and currents in society, as well as the policies of foreign countries. He handed over the Ministry of Interior, Agriculture and Roads to non-religious people. He handed over the Ministry of Justice to an anti-clergyman. The Ministry of Culture was handed over to a supporter of the Tudeh Party. The granting of suffrage to women provoked opposition from the clergy. Mossadegh and his entourage practiced what they believed in, leaving behind nationalist and democratic figures at a time when the liberal third world was emerging. But the governance mechanism was not based on consensus building and marginalizes the tendencies of the government and sections of society (Sari al-Qalam, 2018: pp. 167-168).

The most important political event after the return of Mohammad Reza Shah was that he insisted on ruling and not monarchy (Sari al-Qalam, 2018: p. 173). But after the coup d'état of August 19thth, events took place in

the form of the Shah's government and the country's political scene, which indicates that the second Pahlavi government, like his father, adopted his authoritarianism, dictatorship or tyranny. All efforts by Iranians from the constitutional period to Mohammad Mossadegh to establish a republican system or constitutional monarchy in 1953 failed, and absolute monarchy and individual authoritarianism were extended for another quarter of a century.

Mohammad Reza Shah's political behavior these days shows that even at the age of 34 he was well acquainted with the concepts of elimination, monopoly, self-centeredness, marginalization of rivals, and concentration on power. Political stability in Iran is not the result of institutionalization, freedom of expression and political competition, but the elimination of rivals and monopoly power. After the coup d'état of 1332, Iran experienced nearly a quarter of a century of political stability of this example (Sari al-Qalam, 2018: p. 179).

Therefore, what comes to mind is that the most important change resulting from the coup d'état of 28 August was in the style of Pahlavi rule that led the Shah to the conclusion that he must seize power himself. From then on, the prime ministers and the cabinet were no more than ceremonial officials, although Fazlullah Zahedi, Ali Amini, and. Shahpour Bakhtiyar should be mentioned as somewhat independent prime ministers.

After 1953, the old politicians, the Qajar aristocracy, and the elders of politics resigned, and a new group that had to show their allegiance to the 34-year-old king gradually emerged in power. Mohammad Reza Shah, confident of US support and the purge of the army of non-indigenous forces, employed a set of managers in all national and military affairs and began the process of

modernizing the country. He took over the appointment of prime ministers and in many matters engaged in individual policy-making and guiding managers. With his anti-communist leanings during the Cold War, he won the support of one US government after another. Eisenhower, Johnson, Nixon and Ford gave their full support to Mohammad Reza Shah. Kennedy and Carter initially criticized him, but Mohammad Reza Shah succeeded in gaining their approval (Bill, 1988: p. 98).

John F. Kennedy called for more civil reform in Iran, but Mohammad Reza Shah wanted to move gradually and give priority to economic issues. Along with economic issues, Mohammad Reza Shah established the huge SAVAK security and intelligence apparatus with the help of the United States and Israel. Signed a substantial oil contract with a consortium of the British Oil Company and eight European and American companies. Iran's oil revenue increased from $ 34 million in 1955 to $ 437 million in 1962. With US military assistance of $ 500 million between 1953 and 1963, it increased the armed forces from 120,000 to 200,000 and increased military budgets from $ 80 million in 1953 to $ 183 million in 1963. (Sari- al-Qalam, 2018: pp. 182-183).

The direct result of the rise of the Shah's authoritarianism led to the security of the country's political space, the cessation of political development, the establishment of an intertwined relationship with the United States, and the emergence of predominantly left-wing guerrilla groups. And intensified pressure on liberal nationalist groups and the left, and the emergence of clerics under the banner of Islamic rule based on Shiite Islam and the recitation of Velayat-e-Faqih. Eventually, the post-coup events that resulted from the coup over the next 25 years led to the fol-

lowing and then the inevitability of the revolution. National disagreement in macro-political decisions; Violation of the constitution; Lack of attention of the Pahlavi regime to gradual reforms in the political and social dimensions; Political instability and the change in the approach of political groups from political competition within existing structures; To fight to overthrow the government and leave the government; Accumulation of problems and inability of the government system to respond convincingly to new requirements and public demands; Inefficiency and delegitimization and crisis.

Various definitions of the Shah's individual government have been made by scholars, Sari al-Qalam has described authoritarianism as a characteristic of the Pahlavi government. John Furan believes that in the 1960s the army was practically under the control of the Shah and that the army-controlled society through the government. For this reason, Iran was a royal dictatorship before it was a military dictatorship (Furan, 2007: p. 465); This point of view is a good indication of the exercise of power from the top of the pyramid (Shah) on the army and then the government, which was done with the aim of control. After the coup d'état of August 19thth, the Shah had transformed from a weak king into a monarch who drew the Iron Curtain around Iranian politics.

This Iron Curtain may have hidden social tensions and organized opposition, but it certainly failed to eradicate them. On the contrary, these social tensions continued and reached a point of explosion; Because the opposition, in spite of tight police surveillance of life, continued on their way to find new ideas and new ways of implementing their political development. In fact, this 25-year repression and suffocation gave rise to a

new intellectual class that presented very radical theories of the Tudeh Party and the National Front. Also, the irreconcilability of the revolution, which eventually led to the destruction of the imperial regime, was to some extent influenced by the views of this new generation (Abrahamian, 2008: p. 555).

Dr. Katouzian has distinguished between the two periods of dictatorship and tyranny, and considers the Shah's tyranny to be based on an increase in oil revenues, and has interpreted it as an oil tyranny after the uprising of June 5, 1963. John Foran called the development of Mohammad Reza Shah's time dependent development, while Abrahamian considered unbalanced or heterogeneous development as a prominent feature of the second Pahlavi period; And it is a development that has not paid any attention to political development at all and has been strongly opposed to it, and its focus and emphasis has been on focusing on economic and technological development; That Iran had become one of the most important markets in the West, especially the United States, for the sale of technology.

The main pillars of the second Pahlavi government for survival and exercise of individual sovereignty were based on four things:

1-Rich oil revenues

2- Army, SAVAK and other military and security agencies

3- Imperial court

4- State bureaucracy or administrative bureaucracy

Abrahamian did not include oil-rich revenues as institutions and pillars of dictatorship or authoritarianism and imperial tyranny; And Jan Foran has considered the imperial court as an institution in which three other institutions acted in the interests of the Shah-system, the royal family and the court (Foran, 2007: p. 462). One of the most important and

perhaps the most prominent developments after the coup d'état of August 19th, 1953 is the authoritarianism and self-centeredness of the Shah himself in the exercise of authoritarian monarchy; In a way, the common cause of enmity and struggle of liberal / nationalist political groups has been the left and the political clergy with the Pahlavi government.

With the difference that each of these three major political currents of the country wanted a kind of civil society and political participation and freedom and democracy; Which was severely taken from them by the coup d'état of August 19th, 1953, and it was after the coup that the society became disillusioned with the ideals for which it tried unsuccessfully. Utopia which multiple definitions were provided by political schools active in Iran. The nationalist / liberal intellectual current in the idea of achieving freedom and constitutionalism; Religious people returned to the teachings of Islamic law and left the left, sometimes eclectic and sometimes in the aspiration to achieve readings of Marxism and socialism in an unbelievable and extremely fragile alliance, raising the science of fighting the Shah's authoritarianism.
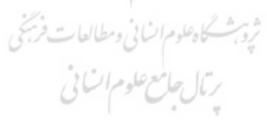
Conclusion

Despite the valuable opportunity that arose after the fall of Reza Shah's dictatorship for political development and the growth of civil society; For various reasons, political modernity did not take shape and the country fell back into authoritarianism (dictatorship and then tyranny) in a vicious cycle that preceded history in Iran. The following are the reasons for the bitter national defeat after the victory of the national movement and the cessation of political development. Disagreement over goals, values, interests, roles and norms, especially among the elite; Unbalanced society and lack of proper knowledge and under-

standing of the components and methods of achieving political development (democracy, freedom, continuous political participation and methods of political competition with tolerance, etc.); Weak and fragile and dependent economy and the longevity and traditional influence of the monarchy in the fabric of society, with the confirmation of the existence of limited and low-scope political development.

Iranian society in the period 1941-1953 was looking for an opportunity to achieve development and political participation, and by misusing political tools, as well as taking inappropriate and sometimes anarchist actions, provided the grounds for the failure of its ideals. Therefore, for political development, it must actively and consciously and purposefully provide the conditions for the emergence of the components of political development, and not wait for these conditions to be granted by the king himself or by foreign powers. The experience of this short period, despite the charms and successes that ultimately led to its failure, shows that there was no deep belief in the development of political development and stable political partic

ipation among political actors; And so, the society accustomed to tyranny and colonialism was not strong enough to take advantage of this situation and protect its freedom, independence and national identity.

As long as there is the structure of individual autocracy and authoritarianism, even if Mossadegh and Ghavam al-Saltanah want it, they will not be able to create a strong government that will guide and guard political modernity. That is, the tendency to use power and the naked and violent confrontation of the state and the government with the components of political development must be eliminated; And political activists in the context of an economically, socially and politically capable society to observe the rules and principles of pluralism and discourse interaction (nationality and religion). We did not have such conditions during that period, and society failed to learn and apply political and social education in the face of authoritarianism and the intervention of superpowers. Because maintaining political development depends on the active action of citizens and elites, not passivity and retreat in the face of anti-political development elements.

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