

Analysis of the First Pahlavi's Government Relations and the Seminary: From Interact up to Conflict

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Abstract: The relationship between religion and politics in Iran is one of the research topics which have allocated a wide range to it. The seminary has established the different patterns of the convergence and the divergence relation on behalf of religion and states a representative of policy in the history of Iran. The failure of constitutional and empowerment of state of Reza Khan is one of the examined sections of how of the relationship; this paper is an attempt to frame a theory of discourse and Organized in response to the question ((What factors have had an impact on the relationship between the Qom Seminary and the State in the years 1921 to 1941?)) the assumption of This article has based on this note that((In the beginning of his political life until 1929, there was an interactive relationship between Islamist discourses Ayatollah Haeri and archaism of Reza Shah due to the lack of coherence and lack of sufficient power in both the government and Seminary, but with focus on the power of Reza Shah, has created the conflict in the relationship; In this paper has discussed the main effective components in the convergence and the divergence of the two discourses.

Keywords: Reza Shah, the Qom Seminary, of discourse theory, Islamism, archaism

1. Introduction

The same time of the third coup in March 1920 in the Tehran, entered the new forces in the political arena and has created the hope which has begun the new period; the stage that has been hoped the wide range of traditional and modern forces and has accompanied with itself; The leader of the new period, was the Cossack and powerful leader who was located in the early days of the coup, Following coup state of Prime Minister of Syed Zia Tabatabai with all of his conceit; gradually Sardar Sepah as secretary of War was a member of all the cabinets after the coup and Then seized the prime minister to provide preliminaries and He would be King; The stage that Reza Shah play role of in politics of Iran has divided into two periods; The first, the period includes the coup to the change of monarchy and The second, the period of his reign, to occupation of Iran by Allied forces; the first period is the stage that Reza Khan enters the political arena And in the integration of forces, synchronization with influential person in the conspiracy of forces Indicate his intelligence; he was gradually able to dominate in the political arena

and this issue was the result of his various political alliances with the actors, especially the clergy in Iranian politics. However, along with the stabilization of Reza Shah of power, has started the period of the forced marginalization of synchronization and coalition forces; in this situation, has created the repression of a religious group and is being created the question what is the most effective components of the relationship of The Qom Seminary and the state between the years 1921 to 1941? In order to organize this paper, we discuss initially consider the study of the relationship between political systems and the clergy and the custodians of the Qom Seminary; after a brief mention of the formation of a the state of Reza Khan, We mention to the causes of change of the type in the relationship and finally we mention to the relationship of the plan in the two decades and why the interaction or conflict between the two institutions

1.1. The discursive Approach:

The term "discourse" that exists in some references of the 14th century has been derived from the French word discours [dis-koor] and Latin discurs-us

meaning conversation, dialogue, discourse, and meaning of words discurrer discussing and dodge, evade, delay and adore; discourse analysis has been used as a technical term in linguistics for the first time, by Seelig Harris and from that time until now, has passed through various phases (In this attitude neglect the power and ideology); from the analytical perspective, the concept of discourse has inspired from three epistemological principals that strongly influenced it's the conceptual aspects that Including:

1. Narratives of Jean-Francois Lyotard's
2. Stance of Richard Rorty's anti-fundamentalist
3. Stance of Jacques Derrida's Anti-Essentialism

Based on discourse analysis, it is possible the two types discursive change; the Change in discourse and the change of the discourse; change of the discourse is meant to comprehensive and substantive Fundamental transformation which is created by a change in the governing principles of a discourse; In other words, If the central core of discourse abolished, occurs the change of the discourse. One of the main conflicts in society and politics, is a struggle for meaning and a sense of belonging to a particular discourse; the society is replete with the discursive struggles in various subject fields; the purpose of the discursive conflict, is to achieve hegemony status; In fact, as David Huaart explains, the domination-seeking behavior is a kind behavior and action to define the semantics and the rules that make the discursive Identity (Garfinkel, H. (1967). This hegemonic behavior is required political boundaries between political forces that discourses struggle for meaning and consolidated of them together. The purpose of hegemonic behavior is to recognize the random elements in the political project and give meaning to them; Thus, the hegemony is been defined by fixing the relationship between signifier and signified, Based on the theory of discourse, Islamism of Reza Shah period is the discursive that partly is located at the center of the political action; In this discourse with a focus Ayatollah Haeri, Islam became a dominant signifier and Central; On the other hand, the first Pahlavi discourse is the discourse that ancient and Iranian identity puts more focus on the center of political action; In this discourse revolving around Reza Shah, the archaism become a

central signifier; Moreover, the belief in separation of aspects religion of the politics and society, unveiling, modernity, Iranian culture, nationalism and patriotism, militarism consist of the submersible signifier of the discourse(Keddie, Nikki R.2006); In this discourse with the concept of nationalism, which is interpreted as an imperial nationalism, patriotism and Nationality of feeling was further defined in terms of loyalty to the monarchy up to the country; In other words, special interest has been promoted as the purpose of this type of nationalism; After the failure of the revolution, After the failure of the revolution, the need for a central government with strong leadership, justified many the Clergymen of Qom Seminary in the accepting and cooperate with the state of Reza Shah, with the political-economic power and independence of Reza Shah were generally unresponsive to the Qom Seminary because archaism discourse of Reza Shah that with the discursive domination did not require to support of the interest groups; Now consider their durability and progress of the work was to marginalize other discourses. Furthermore, were examined to explain more about how of act of discourse of the first Pahlavi with the seminary from the 1920 to 1941 and also reasons for behavior change archaism of Reza Shah Discourse with Islamist discourse Ayatollah Haeri(Amuzgar, Jahangir (1991) .

2.1. Period I: the policy of convergence

In the 1920 occurred the two important events in the history of Shia of Iran that included

- 1) Reza Khan (Sardar Sepah) took power by coup and created the first Pahlavi discourse that began from the coup of 22February 1921 and continues until 1930 with the hostile behavior towards the Qom Seminary.

2. Ayatollah Abdul Karim Haeri Yazdi emigrated from Arak to Qom and consolidated Islamist discourses which were previously formed by constitutional scholars. At this point in history, both the mentioned persons, namely Ayatollah Abdul Karim Haeri and Reza Khan -Sardar Sepah- or Reza Shah act consciously in their work respectively on the "religious affairs" and the policy; with the arrival of Karim Haeri to Qom, the Islamism discourse was

organized toward greater unity and discipline; the Islam was the central signifier of Islamism discourses and by measures such as the establishment of the seminary, the forgotten and backward city of Qom became a major center of religious learning and gathering place for the marja of emulation and one of Iran's largest religious political center; the power of the Qom seminary attracted more and more attention of to the political system of Reza Shah time; hence, Reza Shah did not initially opposed to the Qom Seminary because considered the power of his discourse with the Islamism discourse; The policies of Reza Shah, who helped him in huge reform programs; In the following, It is further noted to the reasons of convergence of state of Reza Khan in the first stage of governance with the Islamist discourse.

A) Acceptance of scholars the exiled from Iraq:

Sardar Sepah's periods coincided with the deportation of some of Najaf's scholars to Iran and stay them in Qom; In fact, a considerable portion of the success of Reza Shah's discourse related to events in Iraq and the view of the Holy Shrines of Iranian scholars; Following the efforts of Scholars of Iraq in the liberation struggle of the country and the policy of the British Government in the governing of King Faisal in the Iraq, which was carried out with the agreement, the Iranian scholars did not consider it as formally. The Iraqi government deported two scholars; subsequently, the influential Iranian clerics of Najaf and Karbala came to Iran as a protest; in a telegram that Reza Khan- the Secretary of War- send to immigrant scholars and grand ayatollahs and say welcome them to Kermanshah; He wrote to them: I ordered to the commander of the army of West that will be granted these two days Who do not refuse to obey orders (Harris, David (2004).

C. the apparent dependence Reza Khan to religious rituals:

During before of the monarchy, Reza Khan tried to show a lot of respect for religious rituals. Malek o-Sho'arā Bahār writes in the book's political parties ((The tenth day of Muharram 1340 according to August 1921: The Kazakhs of mourning gang comes to the market with a special structure and Sardar Sepah, while undressed on his head and sprinkled straw on the head and was seen in front of the group;

Other Cossack officers moved in his back. The night of the eleventh of Muharram, the Cossack came into the market)). The most people have considered this action as demagoguery on that day and the socio-political conditions; but it seems that the attention of emotions of the Clergymen Seminary and the public was important to Reza Khan as politically.

E. the power and charisma of the clergy and particularly Haeri

From 1921 to 1936 (i.e. since the coup year to five years before the fall of the Reza Shah) Mr. Haeri was at the head of the Iranian Islamist discourses and as the primarily the political priest. During the first reign of Reza Shah, Clergymen and government of relations was so good due to the strong Islamist discourses and the power of the coalition strategy that if the government will prevent the programs and actions of some Clergymen, other clerics have overlooked the issue and or only mentioned for example, we can mention three examples: Uprising of Isfahan under the leadership of Haji Nurollah, Insulting of Ayatollah Bafghi and exiled him and finally apprehended and exiled Seyyed Hassan Modarres; Haj Agha Nurollah was a famous priest of Isfahan at that time and was the brother of Aghanajafi helped people; He with a group of people and another group of clergy and people of Isfahan went to Qom, where he resided; He argued that This Bully King (Reza Shah) is not suitable for us because he is heretic people. In this regard, he urged all clergymen who come to them; in this situation, it is important reaction of Ayatollah Haeri. The deceased Ayatollah Haeri, although its neutrality did not change from the first to the last stop of residence of Isfahan and other cities of immigrant clerics to Qom, In this regard, they were just celebrated from Clergymen; In the early formative years of the Pahlavi state, since there was almost positive view of the religion, so the look will be no problem between the two institutions; by the development of Qom Seminary and the presence of religious students and scholars who entered more in this area and administrative organization that was performed By Shaykh Abdul Karim Haeri that was effective between people so the openly oppose with this charismatic face was unlike the interests of the state

3.1. The second course: the period of conflict with Islamist discourses

Reza Shah from 1929 mean two years after the coronation that considers the foundations of their rule began its violent attacks on the clergy and limiting their influence; thus, gradually, some measures were taken to limit the Qom Seminary clergymen and religious students. Reforms is expressed in the following that it was performed in the Period of from 1929 onwards

A) A determine of the Religious Science Teaching Program in seminaries by State:

In 1931, teaching program of religious sciences at the Seminary which until then were made according to old traditions determined by the government and it turned out that the government intends to gradually make changes in the program of religious students and all of areas, each of which had its own program, is being coordinated by the changes

C-establishment of the new restrictions on religious courts:

In the December 1931were considered new restrictions Sharia courts and it was decided only the State courts and the Attorney General can refer the matter to court of religious and these references were limited to marriage, divorce and choose a safe and head for the orphans and widows; Moreover, in the March 1931while the law reform of documentation, the complaints handling related to advocacy letters, The property transfer and registration of certificates removed from duties of Sharia courts and was assigned to the courts of justice.

D) Establishment of regulation against the judgment of the clergy:

In January 1934 was adopted a law that It cause to that impossible the Clergymen activity on the judges. In the law was written: ((The judge must have a Bachelor from the law school of Tehran or schools or foreign schools; the Judges of the Court that no such license must pass a special examination in the Ministry of Justice.

E) Establishment of the new regulation of matters relating to marriage:

In August 1931, the marriage law was adopted in Parliament and was written on it and the registration centers marriage and divorce was mentioned on it,

Thus, Marriage and divorce came out from the monopoly of religious clergymen.

F) Establishment of the new regulation of procedure of management of endowments:

Of the important issues that reformed in the period was the procedure of management of endowments; the endowment was greatly expanded during the Safavid and it gradually declined after the invasion of Afghans and in the period of Nader Shah and Zand dynasty; in the Qajar era, People were again interested in the your property devoted to the development of Shiism and administration of the endowed property was upon Clergymen. On the third of January 1934, the government approved legislation to parliament that according to it was formed the governmental agency under the Ministry for Religious Affairs, After choosing the wrong people for the Presidency of endowments, Clergymen Protest, Directorate of endowments was important that it be provided as part of the revenue religious schools; In 1934, the eighty percent of the funding for religious schools and 30 Percent of the school trustee was provided rests with the Endowment.

2. Conclusions:

Features that had the first Pahlavi regime, was not something that the people would want it. In other words, the method of thinking of the first Pahlavi was in contrast thinking of people that the regime has led to the weakness and lack of support from the Institute; therefore we can say the Reza Shah of betrayed to the Iranian society was the reason of the weakness of the rule; The nature of Reza Shah of rule is unparalleled in terms of religious politics, in throughout history of Iran; The relationship between religion and the state has been in the history of pre-Islamic Iran and after it; During the sixteen-year period, has undergone a profound and fundamental change; Accordance with the aims of central government, the regime tried to bring under their domination the religious institutions such as other the cultural institutions and thereby reduce the dominance and influence of the clergy and religion By the total of modernist politics in the this period; Reza Shah is not only disagreed with the clergy and religious forces but also disagreed by any Islamic community center and religious organizations, Even

the schools and communities of religious education was declared as a center of foreign influence. ((The period of sixteen years of the Pahlavi regime can be regarded as a period of extreme hostility against the Islamic culture and institutions. Reza Shah by his politics tried to the Homogenization and it is natural which is opposed to the formation of groups and associations of people; Beginning of power of Reza Khan was simultaneously to restore stability and security in to the country that it encountered with the welcoming of religious scholars and religious scholars in the Najaf gave him the effigy of Imam Ali (AS); Reza Khan in the order to limit and control the clergy, established three educational institution : (reasonable and Real School), (Institute of Rhetoric) and (the organization of thoughts Education) from 1934 to 1938. By the activities of this Institute, practically until 1941, almost all Clergymen were under Reza Khan and they were independent, had migrated to the Najaf; discourse of attitude of Reza Khan was basically unified at this stage and due to decentralization of power in both the government and Seminary, This relationship was a convergence of and interactive songs; But gradually by the concentration of power in the institution, and the difference between the central slab, began the process of divergence in the relationship; In the second period, The first Pahlavi of discourse changed after consolidating the foundations of power and reduce the power of Islamist discourses, Finally tried by legislation removes clergymen from the scene. This discourse went as far as to target the central slab of Islamist discourse gradually pushed the discourse to the sideline. The first Pahlavi did not notice that despite the repression and deportation of the clergy, Religious organizations are active steadily and secretly far from the eyes of government agents working to attract students, continuously and permanently; Officials of strong educational institutions also continued to the religious training of clergy and seminaries and send their students to the remote villages. The government tried by implements programs to reduce the power of and influence of the Qom Clergymen in the society; Programs such as Testing of religious students, The law enforcement of

Alliance of clothing, establishment of Cultural and religious schools as governmental, Seize in the Endowment, Forbidden to wear clerical dress except by permit from the Ministry of Education, Establish philosophical and traditional schools, Institute of preaching; In addition extended West and Westernization of The rules and appearances in society ; In general, clergy and government relations in the era of Reza Shah Pahlavi was same the Qajar era, at the outset there was a positive relationship between them and then it was dark). The only difference is in the structure of Ghajar, the clergy had important functions in the judicial, legal, educational and religious affairs are sensible and (direct or indirect) play the role in the power structure; But Reza Shah in the process of secularization of the country, gradually denied all of them and not only remove them from power of structures in the society, But also reduce the influence of in the social and economic aspects of the highly; So that their existence was in danger; As a result the organization of Shi'a clergy in In the era they could to influence of public opinion due to the loss of many of its communication tools to the masses; Despite the fact that the clergy were extremely dissatisfied with the tyranny of Reza Shah and never accepted the ruling political order, Could not provide better plan of political ideology as secular and pseudo-modernism of his actions in the community and accordingly Could not or refused to to use his power and take over the leadership of the charismatic political change in society

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