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## The Emergence and Evolution of Political Parties of the Constitution: The First and Second Periods

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### Abstract:

The evolution of studies of political parties of constitution: The first and second periods show that the evolution of parties indicates that researchers' attitude to political phenomena also coincide with the evolution of political realities has been transformed, and the consideration of ideologies in the analysis of the parties have replaced with religious perspectives and anti-authoritarian and constitutionalism. Contrary to the first studies conducted about parties that had deep attention to party organizations and their ideologies, over time, the methods of achieving political power and achieving constitutional constitution in the first phase of examining a brief overview of different perspectives on parties separate from that is a way to get acquainted with the most important aspects of the life of the parties illustrates the fact that in the political sciences can refer to a new knowledge called "sociology of political parties"; a knowledge, which has placed a set of coherent insights and in practice undergone significant changes. The purpose of this paper is an overview on the emergence and development of political parties of the constitution, focusing on the first and second periods. Instead of examining the theory of all the authors that is about political parties of the constitution, it might be better to examine the evolution of views in this regard, and only to analyze the views of scholars who have specialized studies on the emergence and evolution of political parties in constitution specially the first and second periods.

**Keywords:** Political Parties, The Constitution, National Consultative Assembly, Constitutional Revolution, Interregnum

### Introduction

The 19- year periods of the Constitutional Revolution (1305-1285 AD) is the first experience of political forces' rivalry with each other to achieve political power and preserve

it. Under the influence of this political competition, the stability of the political system of Iran has undergone various fluctuations. In this paper, these fluctuations have been stu-

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died with regard to various indicators of political stability in the form of the emergence and evolution of political parties of constitution in the first and second periods, and the overall conclusion is that: Instead of political competition to be an effective factor in consolidating the political stability of the system led to its weakening. In other words, between the political competition and political stability during this 19- year period, the adverse ratio has been established.

Therefore, it can be said that the period of constitutional revolution (1305-1285 AD), based on various criteria and criteria, can be converted into smaller periods of time, and according to these criteria, several divisions have been done. For example, government cabinets or different periods of the National Consultative Assembly or the ups and downs of the press, etc., can be used in this division.

### **1. The first period of the formation of parties in Iran (constitution)**

#### **1-1-Associations in constitution**

The secret associations can be considered as influential factors in the formation of the constitutional revolution (Haeri, 1981: 54, 55). Their emergence time dates back to the late Nasser al-Din Shah monarchy and the early of the rule of Muzaffar al-Din Shah. The similarity of the secret associations that grew during the middle ages of Islam or the literary associations that grew during the reign of Fath Ali Shah was far more similar to Western political parties. But these associations gradually used the new nationalist elements to overthrow despotism (Lampton, 1996: 393). These associations were demanding reforms, and they tried to get together different groups, especially scholars and businessmen, and their desire caused succeed in the revolution. (Union, 2002: 117) All associations in the hidden space of the struggle

against the Shah's regime formed and the reason of hiding of the constitution of the associations was the fear of the government and the fear of imprisonment and murder, to the extent that even causes the formation of the secret association accompanied with great concern. (Kermani, 1992: 178).

After the secret association, the National Association was secretly constituted in Muharram 1302 with 60 members. The goals of the National Association had a revolutionary nature, and its members played an effective role in the constitutional revolution (Union, 2002: 119). The activity of the secret associations that had more organized form in the period of Muzaffar al-Din Shah than before the era of Mohammad Ali Shah and several associations were created. Associations played a major role against Mohammad Ali Shah until he was dismissed. In the month of Safar 1303 (May 1904), fifty seven progressive intellectuals who went to the National Library, were invited to a secret meeting in Tehran, where they formed the Revolutionary Committee. Malik Al-Mutakalemin and Seyyed Jamalodin Vae'z lectured at that meeting (Afari, 2006: 65). In the conditions of the conflict between Mohammad Ali Shah and the Assembly, the associations began to form armed groups. The activity of these associations became more important with the government's resistance to the parliament.

After the Constitution victory, many new associations were created and the activity of associations was expanding. Although the early associations were secret, and in particular some associations with pseudo-Marxist tendencies concealed their identity, after the Constitution victory, most of the associations were formed publicly and semi-publicly, and were often engaged in explicit activities with charter and statute (Adamit, 1991: 133-131). In this period, during a short period, the phe-

nomenon of association was motivated by any incentive. According to Kasravi, if at the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution, night letter writing was common and hundreds of people did that and everything they wanted, they wrote on paper and distributed, this habit replaced by play association at this stage. (Kasravi, 1991: 265). The associations that were most active in Tehran and Tabriz, had a radical and opposite effect on the first parliament. They acted as primary political parties and primary political tools to encourage popular participation. In other provincial centers such as Mashhad, Rasht, Esfahan, Shiraz, Kerman and later smaller cities, a range of associations often emerged with the least organizational experience. In some cities, they served as local associations with responsibilities in security, judicial and executive matters that they themselves established them (Yarshater, 1949: 68).

In a relatively comprehensive study about constitutionalist associations, Kharabi has listed the name of 502 official and informal associations by extracting the names of the Association from various sources, and especially the constitutional press, (Kharabi, 2007: 544-518). Kharabi examines these associations in a split into three groups:

The first category is the unofficial associations that have been formed since the constitutional movement's struggles and are constantly increasing; the second category are official associations that have apparently begun their activity after the adoption of the law of provincial associations; And the third is the opposition and active associations contrary to constitution that has been gradually created since Mohammad Ali Shah. (Lamp-ton, 1996: 393). Some scholars also consider these popular councils to be the head of the "Savitos of Russia," the peasants' councils and workers of the Russian Revolution (Afa-

ri, 2006: 61). These two judgments are not in contradiction with each other, and there are indications in confirming both patterns for the political structure of Iranian societies during the constitutional era. Among the forums, from the nucleus of resistance and armed operations and assassination to circles without constitutions was found for dialogue and close contact between people.

A year after the establishment of the first constitution assembly in August 1286 (August 1907), the first major political murder took place by a member of secret association. Amin al-Sultan was shot and murdered by a young man and a member of political associations called Abbas Agha. In the pocket of the killer, a paper was found containing this writing: (Abbas Agha, Sarraf Azarbaijani, member of the association, Federation of the nation, grade 41). At that time, it was not clear which association he belonged to, but the emergence of the term (Fadaei) and that at least forty other members in this forum were ready of the exchange of life against life could have had a profound effect since then, no one dared to openly oppose the assembly (Brown, 2001: 153). Heydar Khan Amu Og-hli later wrote in his memoir that the secret party of the Social Party of Tehran members voted for the execution of Atabak, and the executive committee had notified the verdict to the delegation headed by him (Ajudani, 2005: 426 and 427). This assassination, which apparently was done by Marxist groups, was in fact the beginning of terrorist acts by groups and parties; an activity that early expanded in a large number of areas.

### **2.1 Important criticisms to procedures of forums**

The first criticism was the involvement of associations in the work of the parliament and the judiciary. The associations allowed themselves to interfere in everything from the

price of alfalfa to collecting taxes, dismissing and installing ministers and rulers of judicial trials.

The second criticism was in the form of several extremist associations and their followers who set up a hideous conspiracy against the oppositions and the use of the means of community provocation and violence, and consider themselves separate from considering rituals with democratic dignity.

In this period, the spokesman about the association says: "There are numerous associations in the city, each of which interferes with the management of the affairs of the state. What is the right of them to write paper and pressure? It is close that the National Assembly is low in the midst of these pressures. (Adamit, 1991: 142-131)

### 3-1 Freemasonry

Although the secret associations of Mozaffaroddin Shah Era and after him are considered the first modern political institutions, it cannot be ignored the theory that the first secret political institutions in Iran in have been Freemasonry and quasi-Freemasonry institutions. The first secret and semi-secret official forum created in Iran is the Mirza Mokalem Khan's Freemasonry organization at the time of Naser al-Din Shah that is considered a structure adapted from the French Freemasonry legislations. Malekom Khan was an Armenian and educated in France, claiming that his father, Ya'qub Khan, became a Muslim, and he is also a Muslim. When he returned from France to Iran, he set up a Freemasonry station to use the term by his own claim. Apparently, the Freemasonry had no connection with European legislation, but Malekom was a member of the French legislation (real friendship). It was considered a branch of the grand legislation Orion. The activity of this organization lasted for two years, but the

clergy and the court doubted his activities. Eventually, in 1275 Lunar (1236 AD), Naser al-Din Shah prohibited Freemasonry activity, and Malekom was banished from Iran (Union, 2002: 120 and 121).

The role of Malekom Khan in shaping the constitutionality and constitutionalism is in a form that the less writing in this regard can be found and not mentions Malekom. There are a lot of debates about the real impact of Malekom and his relationship with Freemasonry. He is confirmed and criticized from different angles. Some have identified him as a dishonest person and consider a great relation between his personal interests and his political behavior. The story of the licensing of the Lottery Institute in Iran, and then his fraud from forgery of the document and the vulgar sale of the revoked license to an Englishman is, including the narrated stories about his fraud. Ajudani who portrays a kind of fraud in the political behavior of Malekom Khan believes that he has lavished in oppose with the government and for attracting the attention of the Shiite authorities of the era to the extent that he expressed their direct involvement in government matters as a necessity and by designing that the country must play a leading role in the constitutional revolution with the spirituality in the administration of the political system and the customary system (Ajudani, 2004: Section 16, Malekom's Myth).

Shajiei in his research on the history of political activity of the members of the Iranian governments over a period of more than seventy years from the beginning of the constitution in the fall of the Pahlavi regime, concluded that, during this relatively long period, Freemasonry more than any national party has had influence in Iran and the most history of membership of political personalities in Iran has been related to their membership in

Freemasonry. According to this study, ministers of the first constitutional government (1285 to the reign of Reza Shah), 42 percent were members of the Freemasonry. This figure comprised 5.37 percent of the ministers during the reign of Reza Shah (1925-1978), 5.23 percent of the ministers during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah (1941 to 1978). (Shajei, 1372: 452 and 453)

#### 4.1 Socialist parties

Parties originated from the communist movement were among the first political organizations that formed in Iran. The communist movement in Iran did not have a social and classical origin. There was no practical relationship between the Iranian elites and this school of thought. Group activity, called Justice, from Iranian workers and Azerbaijani and Baku residents is mentioned as the first attempt to create a political party based on Marxist principles (Nozari, 2001: 28-24). It seems that the Tehran Revolutionary Committee, affiliated with the National Associations that activated for the Consolidation of the Constitutional and Assembly, was a branch of the public who was associated with the Russian Social Democrats and his party. The organizations of the Mujahideen of Tabriz were created by Ali Messiou and his accomplices, in the ardor of Constitution, translated the statutes and social provisions of the Caucasus. In fact, the secret committee of the Mujahideen Party of Tabriz was the secret center. The center, through Russia, secretly imported weapons into Iran, and for a short time, armed many people. (Rafiee, 1947: 42-39) The Social-Democratic Committee of Iran or the people of Iran were superior to other organizations and associations, both in terms of opinion and in terms of clear goals and regular membership. And this was owed to relations with Russia and

the Social-Democratic Party. This association did not publicly promote its program, and therefore most of its members remained unknown (Union, 2002: 140). In the first year of the founding of this association-1905, its branches first established in Tabriz and later in other cities. After the establishment of the office in Tehran, the first measures of social party of public was bombing to Alaa al-Dowle's house, which Heidarkhan Amu Og-hli, the most important leader of the movement, carried out it (Ajudani, 2005: 413-411). Although in the new history of Iran, the political assassination office was opened by Mirza Raza Kermani and by the assassination of Naser al-Din Shah, political assassination in new meaning and by organizational organized way and its ideology is a legacy that from social organization of the people of Iran and the Caucasus led to political culture of Iran in this age (ibid., P. 426). Assassinations such as the assassination of Amin al-Sultan, the assassination of Muhammad Ali Shah and the assassination of Ayatollah Behbahani were among the assassinations of this group. Ten years after the proclamation of constitution, Ibrahim Monshi Zadeh, a leftist constitutionalist, created the Penal Committee along with others. The purpose of the committee was to assassinate and punish those who, according to the members of the committee, were considered traitors to the interests of the nation (ibid., P. 429). Heidar Khan became the first secretary of the Communist Party of Iran. As executive secretary of the organization, he linked the Democrats of Tehran with the Social Democrats of Baku, organized the armed volunteers and helped to form the first labor unions. The Armenian Dashnak Party did also coalition with the acknowledgment that Iran's Democrats are progressive forces (Abrahamian, 1997: 93-95). Although the activity of Democratic Par-

ty did not play a destructive role in the Secondary Assembly as much as the Social Democrats, they demanded the concentration of power and the separation of religion from politics, simultaneously engaging with scholars. Although prestigious clerics originally belonged to the Democratic Party, the party limited the entry of the scholars to the party and was subject their membership to the approval of the central committee of the party. Strong emphasis on non-religious politics, which contradicted the constitution, led to a lot of criticism against the Democratic Party, and the oppositions called them atheists and non-Muslims. (Afari, 2006: 347 to 349)

The old Social Democrats formed the party in 1906 (1285 AD). In 1299, the party was renamed to (the communist sector of Iran) its first major congress, whose members consisted of Azeris and Armenians, and a few months after Heydar Khan Amu Oghli, with the slogan of the National Revolution, assumed the secretary-general of the party. The party's preparations were previously provided in Tashkent (Turkestan Soviet Union). (Nozari, 2001: 28)

## **2. Parties in the second constitutional assembly and assassination**

By forming the second constitutional assembly, the parties were apparently formed in a normal and desirable manner of fractions within the parliament. In the second parliament, many considered the political solution of the country to form parties that expressed and defended their positions explicitly. However, during this period, the real government of party was not firmly established, and party structures were not institutionalized by parliamentary fractions (Azghandi, 2004: 302-303). But with a little more reflection, it seems that the parties in the second parliament seem to be the result of the processes

related to association's activities, rather than the product of parliamentary fractions. Initial steps in the formation of the Democratic Party that was product of the Social sect of Tabriz and Baku were taken before the formation of Second Parliament. Taghizadeh formed the Democratic Party in Tehran and the Iranian provinces in 1949 to succeed in the second parliamentary elections and the creation of a majority of liberal and left-leaning intellectuals. Many young radicals and high school students joined the party. But in the election, representatives of the Democratic Party did not achieve the majority in parliament and became a strong minority. The Democratic Party had a Social Democrats program and a large number of Social Democrats were member of it. They chose the title (Democrats) instead of (Social Democrats) from fear of reaction. Most of them in the parliament became known as public critics of constitutional rule. In this period, the Democratic Party also had several clerics.

The Moderate party was the second important party and major rival of Democratic Party in the second Assembly. The time of the formation of the Moderate Party is not clear, but some writers have said they have established it at the same time with the formation of parliament. The goal of establishing this party was merely opposition to the Democratic Party, and its leaders did not have a specific agenda. Instead of introducing a particular policy, they instead intended to deny the policies and programs of the Democrats, and the plan they had prepared was more in response to their attacks (Union, 2004: 344-340). The party politicians had controversial arguments, and their goal was merely to attract popular support that supported Democrats in the first months of the second parliament. They accused the Democrats to revolutionizing, anarchism, and even

espionage, and referring to the Caucasian activists of the party (Afari 2006: 338-352).

Thus, party activities in the second parliament more than is the result of the parliamentary factions were the continuation of the secret associations activity; and although the parties' moderate routines were led to the formation of Western-like parties and peaceful rivalries, hardliners did not accompany this flow, and these parties were practically exposed and concealed against each other, they were led to press conflicts and destroying each other, and eventually they took up arms in 1949 and subsequent years. The Democrats believed in the assassination of his opponents, and some of his leaders subsequently set up a penal committee. But this was not limited to the Democratic Party. Between the heads of the other parties, some tended to physical elimination of the rival. Political parties accused each other after each political assassination. (Abadian, 2004: 359-358) Assassination of Ayatollah Seyyed Abdullah Behbahani- The clergy of Constitutional Revolutionary in Rajab, (1909), and the accusation of the Democratic Party and Mujahedin of Heidarkhan Amu Oghli and Taghizadeh caused contributed to the market and the clergy against this party. This situation was generally effective in exacerbating space against parties. The assassination of Ayatollah Behbahani, which was carried out by Mojahedin Haydar Khan, weakened the Democrats' party and people condemned Taghizadeh who were the most prominent person in the party. He saw the danger close to himself, he immediately went from Iran. In response to this assassination, the moderate front of flow revenge against Democrats. Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan Tabrizi-Taghizadeh's nephew and Mirza Abdul Razagh Khan Hamadani, who were known as Democratic revolutionary elements, were

killed by Mujahideen Mouz al-Sultan. Subsequently, they also killed one of Heidar Khan's relatives. These assassinations caused the climate of terror among the people to be ruled. (Admit, 1984: 147)

### **3. Parties in the third, fourth and fifth periods of the National Consultative Assembly of the Constitutional period**

In terms of the institutionalization of the parties, the third assembly did not differ significantly from the second one. The Third assembly was opened during the First World War. The Democrats and Moderation was member in assembly, and there was disagreement and seizure among them. Although the smaller parties of the second assembly were not in this period, the division remained between the two main parties. This time, the Democrats were more numerous, and the moderates were divided into two categories: the Freedom Party and the clergy. The discussion of reaction and revolution was not discussed in this period, but there were differences in other forms. The allies' pressure and the mobility of the Allies caused the thoughts divided into two categories: the allies' supporters and axis's supporters.

The Democrats and the majority of the moderates were pro-Allies (Spring, 1982: 2, p. 41); and the minority of Moderates to Democrats in the third assembly demonstrated that the process of functioning of the parties without strong organization and proper organization and of course it does not succeed with open and transparent action, and vice versa, the process of party activities is more successful with authoritarian tendencies and the organization of closed and operational parties perhaps for this reason and because of the concern of the clergy from approaching to majority have had parliamentary socialist tendencies which went toward establishing an ex-

clusive monopoly. During this period, the clerical group of the parliament, by creating a faction under the name of the faculty, separated their account practically from the customary elites and formed a radical and right-wing minority. In response to this action, the customary and non-religious elites in the Democratic and Moderates parties acted to the creation of a joint faction against the conservative academic council, which, of course, was not lasting (Takmil Homayoun, 2008: 17). Apart from these important and influential conflicts, although the international environment and the conditions of the global war on the situation in Iran and the functioning of the third assembly were not affected, moreover, the function of the third assembly was weaker compared to the two preceding parliamentary (Kasravi, 1992: 326-336). The gradual collapse of political parties, the struggle between parties and political figures, and the chaos resulting from it, and the lack of a powerful political institution to govern the country provided the conditions for the intervention of foreigners and militaries. In the midst of this turmoil, the 1919 agreement between Wosugh al-Dowleh-President Al-Wozara and the British ambassador secretly in Tehran, which was revealed two weeks later, virtually dominated Iran under British rule, and then, at the height of Iran's chaos, the coup without resistance of March 1299, Reza Khan and 2000 Cossacks, supported by the British government, provided conditions for the complete collapse of democracy in Iran. Following this coup, about 200 prominent personalities were arrested, including the leaders of prominent parliamentary parties and representatives (Behnoud, 2007: 10-23).

With the formation of the Fourth Assembly (1922-1921), the Qawam al-Saltanah Cabinet occupied the government with membership of Sardar Sepah on the side of the Ministry of War. In the fourth parliament, the

remaining lawyers of the Democratic Party and the Moderates and a group of young politicians such as Teimur, Firoz and later also the late Hassan Modarres entered the parliament (Spring, 1982: 1, p. 57). During this parliamentary period, the press did not attack the foreigners, but brought the conflict to the internal front. On the one hand, the criticism and protest of the press and the self-defense of directors of press in the parliament is at King Abdul Azim and the Soviet Embassy. On the other hand, threats, betrayal, seizure, beating, landing, hand and foot and teeth broking of directors of press. Following the coup of Reza Khan, the dissatisfaction of the parliament, the government and the press with the minister of war was sharply exacerbated, but with Reza Khan's tricks, this did not have any effect; on the contrary, the military officials were threatening, and the minister of war were encouraged to attack the parliament and closing it and closing press. (Zaker Hossein, 2005: 36-65)

In the fifth parliamentary elections, the reformists and Democrats had vote, especially in Tehran and Reza Khan and others couldn't do anything. But with the intervention of the militaries under the leadership of Reza Khan in other cities of Iran, the elections were taken by the Ministry of War, and the involvement of the head of the armies ruined the election.

Representatives of the Iranian states in the fifth assembly formed the Party of the Modernist, and this party took the majority of the assembly (Spring, 1982: 2, p. 27 and 28). But the power of Reza Khan was not limited to this party. The organization of the forces inside and outside the parliament, including the armed forces under his command, had made him powerful against rivals who lacked a strong organization. The fifth parliament was the peak of the political struggle of Reza



Khan and Modarres. Despite the fact that Modarres had a minority faction in the parliament, continued his struggle with Reza Khan. In this assembly, there was no power for the minority parties in the extent of last periods. In the fifth parliament, the intention of Reza Khan was obvious to extinct the Qajar dynasty and the deceased Modarres also was concerned about the dictatorship of Reza Khan without giving credit to the Qajar king, and so he fought in any way possible with this effort. Sardar Sepah announced that he would be elected President of Iran before the start of the New Year of the last March 21, 192). This announcement and the action of Reza Khan caused the Qajar crown prince's greetings in Norouz not held (Avri, 1993: 507). Ayatollah Moddarres strongly rebelled against this demand of Reza Khan and ultimately prevented the changing of the royal system to republic system. Perhaps if an organization and a coherent organization were for the full consideration of this phenomenon was in authority of Moddares, all the conditions were properly considered, and in another way, with the suggestion of Reza Khan contacted and exploited, but Modarres seemed by preventing of being Presidency of Reza Khan is able to prevent his misuse of the power of the organization and the military under his command, he prevented the change. Although defeat of Reza Khan against the resistance of Moddares, the great victory of the opposition factions of Ayatollah Madrass with the presidency of Reza Khan led to the extinction of the Qajar dynasty and the reign of Reza Khan, and the correctness of this thought of Moddares was seriously suspected and as one of the mistakes of Modares was considered. However, the story did not end with the failure of President Reza Khan's plan, and he continued to work. After this important defeat against Moddares, Reza

Khan not was in peace and co-operation with him. He went to the deceased Moddares's house twice and repeatedly tried to demonstrate with Ayatollah Modares that he would then act on Moddares's opinion and abandons his past procedure. In these meetings, while expressing his services in the field of creating order and security in the country, he claimed he not trusts the king, and at any time king could be dismissed him. He had asked that Modarres to be agreed that he would take up the general command of the Shah in accordance with the constitution, with the parliamentary vote on the prime minister's side. With the consent of Ayatollah Moddares, the National Consultative Assembly in the 20th Rajab 1340 during the single unit assigned the commanding of all force to Reza Khan (Makki, 1980: 670-666). Interestingly, even the legal constitution of the single Article adopted by parliament provided the minority faction and Dr. Mosaddegh, as a lawyer, allowed Reza Khan by interpreting the constitution to be appointed Commander-in-Chief. Dr. Mossadegh stated that the constitution allowed the Assembly to assign the commander-in-chief, in some circumstances, to the person considered (Avri, 1994: 507). Reza Khan was very important for his next steps towards the support of constitutional clergymen-and Sayyed Abu al-Hasan Isfahani-from the influential clergymen of Najaf. Reza Khan, who had long been in good communication with these prominent clerics, went to meet Naieni, Esfahani, and several other scholars of Najaf after the extinction of event of Sheikh Khaz Al in the south. During his meeting with the scholars, Reza Khan interviewed them about the removal of the Qajar king and the reign of the kingdom, and promised them to execute the second principle of the constitutional amendment about observing scholars on the approval of the constitu-

tion (Haeri, 1981: 195 -190) These developments were the beginning of the complete rebellion of Reza Shah and the fall of constitutionalism in Iran. Reza Khan, with authority, controlled and continued the work of the Fifth parliament. For parliamentarians, the attendance of a minority of the parliament became more difficult each day, and the active supporters with Moddarres became less and less every day. The fifth parliament in a significant period of time did nothing but approve the actions that Reza Khan had already decided.

And eventually one day it was time to approve Reza Shah's reign. Ahmad Shah was discarded from monarchy on October 13, 1925, and on Dec. 12, 1925, the Constituent Assembly voted for the reign of Reza Khan. The directive had four opposite votes, nearly 30 people gave abstained vote and 115 gave consenting vote. (Avri, 1994: 509)

#### **4. The role of the clergy in the party organizations of constitutional period**

Certainly, the clergy played a decisive role in mobilizing the people in the Constitutional Movement. The presence of the clergy among the Mojahedin of the Movement, gave them the religious constitution to their movement and increased their confidence in the process of work. The role of the clergy and its related institutions, including the mosques and monarchs of preaching and speeches, was decisive for the mobilization of the people. At the outset, the role of the clergy in the formation of modern political institutions was also significant. The members of the secret societies were formed by the middle classes of the scholars. They encouraged people through pulpits to modernization to fight despotism and aggression (Lampton, 1996: 395-393).

Execution of Sheikh Fazlollah Nouri-e-Mujtahid, opponent of the Constitution, on

Saturday evening of July 13, 1909, two weeks after the removal of Mohammad Ali Shah and the constitutional remorse, in a public on Tupkhane square of Tehran, for the issue of the fatwa of murder of Constitutionalists are the most shocking events of the constitutional era. He was accused with a number of others to use all his effort in work with the Shah of Qajar to abolish the constitution and, according to a document sealed by him issued a fatwa for the murder of constitutionalists in the shrine of Hazrat Abdul Al-Azim (Brawn, 2001: 312). Sheikh Ibrahim Zanjani, a close friend of Behbahani, who later became the representative of the second assembly and joined the Democratic Party, was the prosecutor. He counted different relations of Nuri with anti-constitutional forces, and the jury strongly rejected Nuri. Nuri defended his actions and said that due to his privileged religious position, he has had the right to protect Islamic principles in any way that he considers correct. The execution of Nuri were apparently executed without a dramatic reaction and opposition, and said that one of the sons of Sheikh Fazlullah named Mahdi who was constitutionalist, supported the execution of his father. (Afari, 2006: 335) This strange phenomenon was the result of the conflicts that peaked during this constitutional era, and during hundred years after it in a variety of forms occurred in the elite community of Iran. Sheikh Fazlullah's beliefs were not in conflict with intellectuals, and practically his jurisprudential beliefs were often rejected by prominent clerics like Na'ini and Akhund Khorasani. According to a Kasravi's narration, his shaking execution for committing the murder of the Muslims" was confirmed by the authorities of Najaf. The constitutional scholars confirmed the allegations against Nuri and confirmed their condemnation. The telegraph lines between Te-

hran and Najaf were announced the day before the execution, so that anyone can seek Najaf scholars' point of view without paying the money about the death sentence of Nuri" (Kasravi, 1992: 66). There are doubts about such explicit positions against Sheikh Fazlullah among the scholars of Najaf; however, there has not been recorded a sign of opposition or sharp reaction of Shiite clerics to oppose this execution.

The controversy of Sheikh Fazlullah with the constitution was related to his beliefs about the relation between democratic freedoms and religiosity, and he has had significant reasons for himself. Naturally, extremist positions in defense of these beliefs led to proximity of the prominent clergy to oppositions and enemies of constitution, and his positions and actions may have been abused, but other personal reasons for his positions—such as his intense rivalry and other prominent clergymen, especially Ayatollah Behbahani, his livelihood and his relationship with the court, his intense persistence against all manifestations of modernity, including new schools and foreign language lessons and physical chemistry, and so on, opposition to Taxation (Kermani, 1992: 262-255) and things like that are controversial and there is serious doubt. Meanwhile, over time, not only the other charges, but also the serious mistakes of Sheikh Fazlullah and the various views of other Shiite clerics and authorities about his performance were faded and execution of this powerful publicly cleric, merely changed to the apparent manifestation of the contradiction between the traditional clergy of Shiites in Iran and customary intellectuals. But the struggles during the Constitutional Revolution not restricted the execution of Sheikh Fazlullah Noori. Just one year after the execution of Sheikh Fazlullah Noori, in the month of August 1910, Ayatollah Seyyed

Abdullah Behbahani, revolutionary, political clergy and constitutional advocate, and critic of Sheikh Fazlullah and his associates—who played an active role in customary procedures of the constitution was assassinated.

Famous people associated with leftist parties and intellectuals like Taghizadeh and Heidar Khan Amu Oghli were accused this assassination. This assassination was another heavy blow that intensified the distance between clerics and non-religious intellectuals. If the execution of Sheikh Fazlullah not led to many reactions and differences, the assassination of Behbahani had a profound impact on the beliefs of the elites about the parties, and in particular the Democratic Party, as well as the people's beliefs about these kinds of activities. The chaos within the political groups and associations, the accusations and destructive struggles of the political groups were all in a way that removed a large part of the clergy from the customary political institutions and the secular parties of the constitutional revolution. Constitutional scholars, in this context, found Iran's new system contrary to their expectations against their waiting in many respects. Khorasani and Mazandarani's telegram to Nasser al-Molk, chairman of the second parliament, shows the scholars' unhappiness to the constitutionalists and the manner of the second parliament as well. In that telegram, the scholars with reference to the freedom of the press, complained about lack of control over publishing material related to religious issues. They also expressed their unhappiness about the non-religious political figures, heavy taxes, the non-release of political prisoners and other cases. (Haeri, 1981: 159)

### Conclusion

The study of the emergence and evolution of the political parties of constitutionalism dur-

ing the first and second periods during the constitution periods reaches us to the following results:

1. Instead of during the 19 years constitution revolution, 10 two-year parliamentary periods to be formed and 19 years, assembly to be established, parliament's life reduced to 7 years and for 12 years, one of the main components of the constitution was off. A 12-year-old closure of part of constitution compared to its 7-year setting shows a major political instability.
2. During the first and second periods of constitution, 30 short-lived cabinets were established, and perhaps in total, the number of three times of the number of cabinets (90 times) was restored, so that the first 13 people during the period, forty times reached the ministry's official position. This indicates a rapid and unprecedented shift in key executive authorities, shows a major indicator of instability.
3. In addition to the interregnum, two coups occurred during this period, which led to a change in the norm of the rule.
4. During the Constitutional Revolution, there were countless number of speeches, writings, conciliation, strike, violent conflict and demonstrations against the government.
5. All of these cases are mainly affected by two types of competition: identity and non-identity. Political identity competition (such as attempt to reject monarchy, the elimination and dismissal of scholars from the field of politics) led to severe instability (from war and massacre); non-identity political competition – ie competition over the conduct of the state and the implemen-

tation of politics - led to change in executive authorities and minority policies.

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