

## Analysing and Evaluating Pahlavi's Purification in Iran in Line with the Jihad-e Tabyin Discourse

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(Received: 28 May 2022- accepted: 5 September 2022)

### Abstract

Imam Khomeini was worried about the project of Reza and Muhammad Reza Pahlavi's purification since the victory of the Islamic Revolution. It was an essential historical and media project by groups and currents opposed to the Islamic Revolution. They were trying to rebuild Pahlavi's image in the minds of the masses by using the opportunity created after the revolution and **presenting** a new vision for today's youth in future generations. Examining this project's scope in the Islamic Republic is based on historical documents using a descriptive-analytical method. The present study aimed to review Imam Khomeini's warnings about their goal (creating a new plan like Anushirvan) and analyse and critique some of the prominent historical examples of the project. We critique both currents, whether the revolution companions, who provided the ground for purification with their imprudence in their statements, or the currents opposing the Islamic system, who entered this project with a previous plan; knowing and examining both currents can help in deepening such research, in refining domestic historical sources and preventing the spread of the purification process.

**Keywords:** Distortion, Purification, Historical Sources, Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, Muhammad Reza Pahlavi.

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### Introduction

The importance of the purification project can be studied in two ways. The first is from the revolution's second phase statement; in the past years, they had less attention and shortcuts to this project, which has a complex process, and severe historical work was not done in expressing the oppression and crimes of the Pahlavi era. In the second phase, we should publish the weaknesses of historical documents and appear the betrayals of Reza and Muhammad Reza Pahlavi. The second is "Jihad-e Tabyin." Ayatollah Khamenei considers Jihad-e Tabyin a definite and urgent duty (Khamenei. Statements, Bahman 1400).

Our most critical mission today is to express the past regime's crimes and reveal Pahlavi's true face to the people, especially the youth who did not experience that period. It should be noted that the revolution's enemies are trying to purify the Pahlavi regime in various political, social, historical, and especially economic dimensions; we can defeat the enemy in implementing its sinister plans with Jihad-e Tabyin. It seems that if we fulfil our duty today in Jihad-e Tabyin, we have fulfilled our duty in the revolution's second phase. Therefore, all revolution's sympathisers should take Jihad-e Tabyin seriously and take action to prevent Pahlavi's purification. Ayatollah Khamenei, the leader of the Islamic Revolution, referring to the dangers of the Pahlavi purification project, pointed to the explanation of this issue under the historical distortion project and considered it to be the purpose of questioning the principle of the Islamic Revolution:

“For several years, an insidious movement has started to purify the Taghut regime, the Pahlavi regime. I wish there were something for purification; it cannot be purified! Those who write things about their personalities try hard to cover their actions, but at the same time, they have to admit something. ‘A corrupt, weak, dependent, deviant, extremely unpopular, and extremely self-serving regime is defensible?’ ‘Is Howeida defensible?’ ‘Is Muhammad Reza defensible?’ Well, you haven't seen that period. A movement was shaping in this field and aimed to change today's youth idea to say, "Wow! They were not bad people; the situation was not bad, so why did you revolutionise? It all comes back to questioning the revolution; these are being done from outside” (ibid., among the students in Imam Khomeini's Hosseiniyya on 97/03/07).

The following article, while reviewing Imam Khomeini's historical warnings about the Pahlavi purification and creating a new plan like Anushirvan, based on historical documents, has investigated some cases of Pahlavi purification in domestic sources.

Explaining and multiplying the criticism model used in this article will protect the audience from false historical events' profound and unconscious influence. Extending such research will refine domestic historical sources and prevent the spread of the purification process. Purification is not related to today's era; it flowed differently and widely before the revolution. Especially regarding Pahlavi I's performance, although after the Mordad 28 coup, there was a relatively open space for some criticisms, precisely at this time, some intellectuals praised Reza Khan in their works. For example, the author of "Millennium Secrets"<sup>۱</sup> has defended Reza Khan's performance in his book introduction, "Accusing the times is but excusing ourselves." (Hokmizadeh, 1322: 12/5-6)

Imam Khomeini also, in the book "Kashf Asrar"<sup>۲</sup> - introduction (Khomeini, 1944 AD/1323 SH: 12-14) and text - while repeatedly addressing Reza Shah's crimes, in the end, he invited the writers and the press to investigate Reza Khan's performance and publish his courageous actions (cf. *ibid.*, 422-423). The issue of purification is not limited to the Pahlavis but includes the agents and governing bodies affiliated with the Pahlavi. The confrontation of Allahyar Saleh, the leader of the National Front of Iran, with Ali Akbar Khan Davar's action is an example of this purification process. In addition, Saleh, without considering the presence of a referee in the guise of the founder and agent of the illegal Pahlavi regime, with one-sided praise of his legal record, acquitted Reza Khan and showed the face of "Anushirvani Adel" from him! (Ruhani, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 3/69-70).

Considering the historical background and the vast dimensions of the Pahlavi purification project and the impossibility of comprehensively examining it in one article, the present study aimed to investigate and analyse the Pahlavi purification in some internal charters of the Islamic Republic era by citing some examples and historical evidence. Although it will involve some limitations and annoyances, examining the issue of Pahlavi purification in domestic charters is necessary for many proportions. The unmeasured and contradictory results of insiders are far

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۱. "Millennium Secrets" was written in 1322 and was published as a supplement to the weekly Parham (Ahmad Kasravi's press organ) in 36 pages.

۲. After Hakimzadeh's book was widely reflected among the people and elite and seminary circles, the Imam stopped the lesson and started writing "Kashf Asrar" after observing the influence of some students of Feyziyya from this book (cf. Ruhani, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 1/54). This work was published on 15 Rabi al-Thani 1363, corresponding to 20 Farvardin 1323, without mentioning the author's name, in 428 pages by Islamiyya Printing House. In later times, this work was republished in 341 and 336 pages.

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more dangerous and harmful than the baseless lies and distortions of the sworn enemies; [because] the future generation, trusting and confidence in the correctness of the insider's reports, will set it as a criterion and rely on its authenticity (Ruhani, 1995 AD/1374 SH: 55-56).

### 1. Imam Khomeini and Pahlavi Purification Project

In Mordad 1357, the founder of the Islamic Revolution, in a message addressed to the Iranian nation, warned against the distortion of the movement's history by biased people, and to prevent this trend; he invited committed and trustworthy writers to write (Khomeini, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 3/435). Ten years later, the Imam was still worried about the distortion of the Islamic Revolution; he wanted Sayyid Hamid Ruhani, on 1367/10/25, to criticise the wrong practice of dependent and distorting historiography, accurately record historical events as they are, explain the goals of the people's uprising and express the history by masses of suffering people (ibid., 21/240). On Mehr 5, 1358, the Imam openly criticised the performance of some nationalist currents in the period after the Islamic Revolution victory and cited their media attack on the performance of the Islamic Revolution courts and the trial of the Pahlavi leaders as examples of their purification and against nationalism (ibid., 10/143-144). In the year 64, while predicting the Pahlavi purification and expressing the necessity of reflecting on their fifty years of crimes, Imam said:

“Go and get the 50-year-old crimes of this father and son never to make them a fair Anushirvan!” (A group of authors, 378:18-29). Also, Imam Khomeini (the year 1367), in a letter addressed to the then president, named Sayyid Hamid Rouhani's letter "A warning to all those whose hearts beat for Islam and revolution," and he considered the contradictory context in the educational system of the Islamic country of Iran caused surprising and regrettable. He strongly requested the President and the Chairman of the Supreme Council of Cultural Revolution to be appointed "Responsible for Dealing with These Matters" to inform him in all such cases. In the end, he asked for the follow-up process report (ibid., 297). Considering Imam Khomeini's warning to the Iranian nation to prevent Pahlavi purification in contemporary historiography, we mention and examine some cases in our paper:

### 2. Pahlavi's Purification in Razm Ara's Book "Murder Secrets"

Muhammad Turkaman wrote in the book "Secrets of Razm Ara Murder" under the title "Policy Implementing of All Forces Destruction": To continue their domination over Iran and countries with similar conditions

using the weaknesses of the mentioned nations, the British rulers have benefited from creating differences, spreading cynicism and mistrust, and destroying active human forces with each other. In the framework of the policy mentioned above were imprisoned and exiled Haydar Khan Amu Ughli [communist], Mirza Kuchak Khan Jangali, Khalu Gurban and Karim Khan, Eshghi and Haj Nurullah and Modarres, Teimurtash, Sardar Asad Bakhtiyari and Davar, Hajir, Razm Ara, Dehghan and Dr Zanganeh, Dr Sayyid Hassan Fatemi, Khalil Tahmasebi and Nawwab Safavi and Dr Musaddigh. Ayatollah Kashani was isolated, and Muhammad Reza Pahlavi was sacrificed. The policy of destroying forces by each other and turning the country into a desert devoid of human capital has been the primary goal of colonialism in our country for many years (Turkaman, 1989 AD/1370 SH: 25).

Turkman put the "Victimisation of Muhammad Reza" in quotation marks and pursued several vital goals at the same time:

1. He has introduced traitorous elements such as Nasereddin Shah, Muhammad Reza Shah, Hajir, Razm Ara and similar people from the internal, national, elite, and insider forces and Iran's human resources, pretending that they are among the most valuable resources of Iran. This level of purification that corresponding and traitorous figures such as Muhammad Reza Pahlavi and Razmara are introduced as national elements and servants, despite a large number of their betrayal documents, is astounding.
2. The second act of the Turkaman purification scenario is his try to put martyrdom of national and religious heroes of Iran, such as Sheykh Fazlullah Nuri, Sayyid Jamal Asadabadi, Mirza Kuchak, Nawwab Safavi and other militant leaders whom all perished by the colonialists parallel with the timely removal of corresponding and traitorous elements such as Razm Ara, Hajir, Mansur and Muhammad Reza Pahlavi.
3. Turkaman has inculcated that nothing can be done by the hands of independent and free nations, and he has introduced them as a superior power with absolute power. He claims that some people like Muhammad Reza Pahlavi were also victims of the plans, plots and conspiracies of foreigners to establish this wrong and colonial mentality in the society, which according to history, no success can happen in Iran without foreign intervention and Iranian people cannot do anything (Ruhani, 1995 AD/1374 AD: 59).

### **3. Pahlavi's Purification in the Book "Alif Lam Khomeini."**

The book "Alif Lam Khomeini" was written by HedAyatollah Behbudi

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and published by the Institute of Political Studies and Research (affiliated with one of the official institutions of the government). This work has been introduced as the book of the year of the Islamic Republic of Iran, despite having definite historical errors.

### 3.1. Cleaning and Refining the Pahlavi Face

Along with a series of illegal and undocumented narratives, the author of *Alif Lam*, referring to Imam Khomeini's meeting with Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (on behalf of Ayatollah Borujirdi), presented a fabricated and inconsistent narrative of the imam's thoughts and political life and implicitly introduced Imam admirer of Reza Shah.

He writes in a part of "Alif Lam Khomeini":

The king sat down. Khomeini respected him, and probably after the preliminary talks and giving a description of the bitter events of Abarqu, he said to Muhammad Reza Pahlavi: "[Your father] gave this stray group<sup>۳</sup> and locked them in the barn. Even now, the people of Iran expect the same from you." Shah sighed and said that you should not compare now with that time. At that time, all the ministers and all the dignitaries of the country obeyed my father. They did not dare to transgress. Now even my court minister does not listen to me. How can I do this? (Behbudi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 161). In criticising the above claim, it should be mentioned that Reza Shah was indebted to the Baha'is, and they played a significant role in his rise to power. The Bahais discovered Reza Khan Mirpanj, introduced him to Ardeshir Jey and paved the way for the coup d'état on the third of Isfand 1299.

Second, Reza Shah, contrary to the claim of the author *Alif Lam*, not only never oppressed the Baha'is, but they had a high position during his reign. Habibullah Khan Ayn al-Malik, Majid Ahi, Sultan Yusuf Khan, Colonel Shuauallah Alaei, Major Sani, Ali Muhammad Khan Muwaqqar al-Dawlah, etc., were Baha'is. They held various positions in Reza Shah's regime (Sadeghi, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 109-112).

Following the coup d'état of 3 Isfand 1399, one of the prominent Baha'i leaders, Ali Muhammad Khan Muwaqqar al-Dawlah, was elected as the Minister of Public Works, Trade and Welfare in Sayyid Zia's cabinet. "This position was given to him because of the Baha'is services in the victory of the coup." (Shahbazi, 2003 AD/1382 SH A: 28)

Reza Shah's peace of mind towards the Baha'is was such that he appointed Major Sani'i, a first-class Baha'i, as the adjutant of the crown prince (Shahbazi, 2003 AD/1382 SH B: 1/56). Author *Alif Lam*'s unfamiliarity

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<sup>۳</sup> . They mean the Bahais.

with Imam Khomeini's life and political thought has led him to wrongly think that Imam Khomeini, like some non-divine political leaders, based on his character of personal revenge and grudge, permitted all kinds of cruelty and aggression and inhumane treatment of the Baha'i group. He agreed with Reza Shah's action to lock them in a cage; therefore, he ordered and demanded the same violent method from Muhammad Reza Shah! While Imam disagreed with inhumane and unruly behaviour towards the criminals who committed any crime, cruelty and betrayal - even unbelievers and atheists - and considered it against Islamic laws and human standards and condemned it. Supposedly, if Reza Shah had tied Bahai to a stall, in Imam's belief, his work was unacceptable and was a crime. He would never order others that inhumane behaviour.

This article distorting the Imam's face indicated him as a praiser of an inhuman and disgraceful crime of Reza Khan, a bully and a murderer. It is claimed that the Imam has reminded and even recommended the continuation of the black life of Reza Khan to his criminal son Mohammad Reza! Prettifying the wretched face of the first Pahlavi, on the one hand, and covering up his obvious secret with the Baha'is and their common master is only part of the criticism of the statements mentioned in the book "Alif Lam Khomeini." As it has been said, the author, in the continuation of Reza Shah's purification, has prettified the ugly face of Pahlavi II and made him innocent and self-righteous and not have the necessary authority, and even his court minister did not listen to him. Examining the documents left by Pahlavi shows that Muhammad Reza Shah, like his father, was indebted to the Baha'is and trusted them more than anyone else to protect his throne.

The use of some well-known Baha'i figures and Baha'i descendants at the top of the Pahlavi government structure and the interior of Pahlavi II's court shows the inaccuracy of the author *Alif Lam's* claim:

People like Howeyda (Loved Prime Minister of Shah), Hujabr Yazdani (a famous investor), Thabit Pasal (Director of Radio and Television of the Shah regime), Farrukh Ru Parsa (Minister of Education in Howeyda's Cabinet), Dr Shahquli (Minister of Health, Baha'i Muezzin), Timsar Ayadi (Special physician for the King), Parviz Thabeti (Head of the Third Department of SAVAK), Asadullah Saniei (Minister of War) and Hushang Nahavandi (President of Shiraz University and Tehran University). The complex and continuous relations between the Pahlavi court and the Baha'i sect have been studied in detail in various scientific sources (Kazemi, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 681-702; Bahmani, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 317-328).

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### 4. The Induction of Law-abiding Pahlavi Agents

HedAyatollah Behbudi, referring to the illegal action of the regime in shutting down the parliament and making legislation in the cabinet, the then head of the Supreme Court of the country introduced the Pahlavi regime as a law-abiding person and wrote:

In the absence of the legislature, the government proposed and implemented its bills in the form of an "Approval Letter," and in this way, it legislated in practice. The relevant authorities knew that this was unconstitutional. The then-head of the Supreme Court had privately informed the prime minister. He said: "Be careful... if you bring these ratifications to my side, I will not accept them because those are inconsistent with the constitution. The approval letters should not be such that someone complains and goes to the Supreme Court." He told Alam that until this method is exposed, I will also ignore it, but if this goes to the Supreme Court, this legislation in the government will be condemned (Behbudi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 201). As can be seen in the mentioned text, the author, relying on some oral quotes from a range of Pahlavi agents, including the memoirs of Alinaqi Alikhani, the minister of economy for seven years of the Shah's regime, has put forward some content to purified the Pahlavi agents.

Relying on an unsupported oral quote, the author insinuates that the head of the Supreme Court at that time was a law-abiding person who was sensitive to protecting Iran's constitution. Then, he dared to threaten the Prime Minister in preserving the law, that if the cases related to the illegal approvals of the government are referred to the Supreme Court, he will oppose them and condemn the wrong procedure of the government! If the head of the Supreme Court had an independent view and protecting the nation's fundamental rights was essential to him, why didn't he take action before the people complained to the court in the shadow of the government? Did he ignore their wrong procedure? Using these false and unbelievable narratives will purify the face of Pahlavi agents who are against the law.

Interestingly, the primary source of this claim is the book "Economy and Security; Alinqi Alikhani's Diary" compiled by Hossein Dehbashi and published with public funding by "The Organization of National Library of the Islamic Republic of Iran." (Dehbashi, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 157-158)

### 5. Purification of Reza Shah and Distortion of the Beating Ayatollah Bafqi Incident

Behbudi, in narrating the hijab discovery of the Pahlavi court women in the shrine of Hazrat Masumeh (AS) in Nowruz 1307, relying on weak oral



reports (including the interview of Esmat al-Muluk, the fourth wife of Reza Shah), blames the protesting and committed clerics for this inappropriate action. This level of distortion by Reza Khan is rare and strange. The author reduced the discovery of the objected hijab to the falling of a veil from the head of a court woman and known it as the result of Esmat al-Muluk's negligence. At the same time, relying on the book "Oral History of the Islamic Revolution" written by Gholamreza Karbaschi, he is claimed that Sayyid Nazem Tehrani, the preacher of the shrine ceremony, after seeing the state of this woman covering the court, has insulted the women of the court! Further, relying on the words in the mentioned source, he claimed that the presence of women with white veils in the shrine is considered a sin! According to the author, although the court women left the shrine after commanding the virtues of the Bafqi, the domineering report of the officers caused Reza Shah to be angry, and he moved towards Qom. He has presented a biased account of the incident without mentioning the quality of Reza Khan's rude, impolite and unprecedented entry into the shrine of Hazrat Masoumeh (AS)! (Behbudi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 62-63). Some early sources explicitly refer to Reza Khan's wife and the women accompanying him without hijab. The quality of Ayatollah Bafqi's commanding virtue and the kind of violent confrontation Reza Khan had with him are detailed and utterly contradictory to Behbudi's narrative.<sup>۴</sup>

It is interesting that Behbudi, who had used weak sources and incorrect narrations in part of his writing while knowing other sources with correct narration, refrained from writing the story's truth. For example, the fourth volume of Makki's 20-year history reflects the description of Reza Khan's atrocities against Bafqi. Still, he ignored Makki's narration not to disturb his false narrative, but he referred to the same source in the following! (cf. Makki, 1995 AD/1374 SH: 4/263-267; Behbudi, 2017 AD/ 1396 SH: 64).

Hossein Makki's book, published in 1361 and one of the vital sources of Pahlavi history, stated, "Members of the Pahlavi family, which included Reza Shah's wife, came to Qom and sat in the pavilion above the mirror porch without a full hijab. Their action attracted much attention in such a way that people protested them. They considered women's hijab in a holy place disrespectful to Hazrat Masoumeh, but no one dared to step forward and attack them (ibid., 282).

The problem is not Ismat al-Muluk's being without hijab, but Reza's wife's hijab was such that it caused a long-term public protest. They didn't

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<sup>۴</sup> . Cf. Unknown, 199A AD/1373 SH: 35 & 36/69-73; Unknown, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 13/19-21; Buhlul, 1379: 14 and 15; Goli Zawwareh, 1998 AD/ 1377 SH: 199/40-42; Unknown, 2016 AD/ 1395 SH: 53/180.

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change their hijab, ignoring the protests and reminders. Ayatollah Nuri Hamedani from the Qom authorities and one of the experts in the translation technique, has reflected the details of the story as follows:

"The members of Reza Khan's family, including his wife (Muhammed Reza's mother), came to Qom and sat in the pavilion above the mirror porch without hijab (their heads and faces were seen). This matter drew attention so that people protested them, and many said that if they were not ashamed of the people, they should at least be ashamed of Hazrat Masoumeh. Finally, the voice of the people's protests gradually rose (Nuri Hamedani, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 1/238).

Interestingly, in one of the historical sources published by the same publisher of *Alif Lam Khomeini's* book, the story of the hijab discovery in the shrine, based on the reports of the British Embassy, contradicts Behbudi's narrative. In that report, we read:

"According to the report of the British Embassy in Tehran, this evening (Isfand 29, 1306), Queen Ismat al-Muluk Dawlatshahi, the wife of Reza Shah, arrived in Qom to visit the shrine of Hazrat Masoumeh. He entered the crowded shrine and sat in the first row. But instead of the traditional hijab, he was wearing an abaya, and his head and face were visible to other pilgrims" (Mahbubi and Ariyanfar, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 7/571).

In *Alif Lam Khomeini's* narration, both the women of the Pahlavi court who removed the hijab were purified, and his person was purified. Instead, Sayyid Nizam Tehrani and Ayatollah Bafqi, who forbade vices, were guilty.

### 6. The Claim of Imam's Offer to Protect Shah!

The writer of *Alif Lam*, in an insufficient and incorrect narration of the meeting Suleiman Behbudi (representative of the king) with the Imam, has stated:

"Behbudi greeted the king and said a little about the system of lords and serfs and expressed the king's words that what we want to do is legal. We do not take properties by force; we buy. Ayatollah said it is not permissible to buy other people's property by force, but our fight is not about these things. But I have to say two things: the Shah was supposed to stop saying black reaction, but he repeated it. [!!!] Then, Alam said that the government is not the leader in this matter<sup>Δ</sup>, but the person of His Highness is the leader. It was better Alam had come forward in this case, to if there were a blow, the king would not be hit [!]" (Behbudi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 236).

Following the referendum announcement on the six articles, the king

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<sup>Δ</sup> . He means that the division of the lands.

sent Suleiman Behbudi as his official representative to Qom to explain his motivation to the scholars to hear their views and to associate them with the king's referendum as much as possible. In this meeting, the Imam recounted what he clearly stated in the declaration he issued after the session and listed some clauses from it. However, according to the author *Alif Lam*, the main problems that the Imam raised in the forum with Suleiman Behbudi and argued with the Shah about were two things:

First, the Shah did not utter the word "Black Reaction"! Second, Alam should offer the referendum instead of the Shah; if people disagreed with the Shah's proposal, the "Shah does not hit."

*Alif Lam*'s writer claimed that the Shah did not accept these two articles desired by the Imam! Imam declared the Shah's referendum was illegal and a commandment, and he struck the first blow to the Shah himself! In this passage, the author has implied that the Imam considered himself an example of a black reaction and suffered from that word! Second, the Imam was a friend of the king up to that point! He could not suffer the king's defeat in the referendum; therefore, he has insisted that Alam accept the referendum responsibility to the "King Is not Hit"!

Sayyid Hamid Ruhani writes:

"I remember that in Isfand 1341, to intimidate the Imam and force him to back down, the Shah's regime distributed an insulting letter against him with the fake signature of the "Iranian Women's Organization" in Qom and posted it on the walls of the alleys and streets of Qom. In that announcement, they used the most disgusting, ugly and shameless statements to the Imam". The next day, Imam Khomeini, in his speech at the Great Mosque on Isfand 29, 1341, said:

"If they curse me, 'Why are you sad?' 'Why are you worried?' 'Why do you collect papers?' 'Am I higher than Ali (AS)?' Muawiyah cursed Ali for several years on top of the pulpit, and he was patient" (Khomeini, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 1/163).

This is one of the characteristics of that great man of history whom people chose as Imam and leader. He was a perfect man who loved people, knew them as confidants, and talked and moved with them. He was stubborn and uncompromising in the face of enemies, tyrants and dominants. He rejected any dialogue and engagement with the enemy inside and outside the border and did not make it permissible (Ruhani, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 93-94). In other cases, the author tried to present a biased and purifying account of the actions and positions of the Shah in the form of ambiguous literature (Behbudi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 232).

### 7. Evolution Theory and Attribution of Accepting Pahlavi Rule by Imam

The evolution of Imam Khomeini's political thought theory is one of the passageways for entering distortion in the teachings of the Islamic Revolution and Pahlavi purification. In some sources, with selective interpretations of some Imam's statements, it is induced that the Imam had accepted the principle of the Pahlavi monarchy before the uprising. This interpretation, ambiguously and without distinguishing between proof and evidence, legitimises the monarchy principle from Imam Khomeini and other Shia scholars (Moghaddami Shahidani, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 199-252). For example, Emad al-Din Baghi writes in Imam Khomeini's entry in the *Shiism Encyclopaedia*, citing parts of the book *Kashf Asrar*:

“In his first political work called *Kashf al-Asrar*, the belief in the clergy's interference in politics and government is obvious, but there is an ambiguous image of how it can be seen. The principle of monarchy has been accepted, but it should combine with the opinion of the scholars and has a kind of supervision by them” (ibid., 276).

In this discussion, the author attributes a jurisprudential opinion to the "Performance" of a despotic sultan or the "Attacks" made on that autocratic performance. At the same time, the views and theories of a jurist are based on his jurisprudence principles, not external factors such as the opinion or performance of people in political and social fields. If Reza Shah was not an autocrat, 'wouldn't the Imam have believed in the necessity of exercising jurists' supervision over the government?' Or 'Did they not establish a religious government based on the theory of Velayat-e Faqih?'

The author continues: “Until the uprising of 1342, the principle of monarchy was accepted as a government system. At the height of the conflicts in 1342 and 1343, his opposition to the Pahlavi regime gradually became more apparent practically” (Khorramshahi and Fani, 2001 AD/1380 SH: 7/276).

Considering the Imam's role as a revolutionary leader, the lack of necessary conditions to make fundamental changes in the political system has caused the Imam to postpone the announcement of an alternative to the monarchy until creating the appropriate conditions. It does not mean acceptance of the monarchy, and his criticism of Pahlavi is a criticism of the monarchy. ‘Relying on which evidence does the author claim that, theoretically or legally, the principle of monarchy was accepted by the Imam until 1343?’

Apart from his statements in the manuscript's text available in the Yazd Ministerial Library (in which the opposition to the Pahlavi monarchy and

the necessity of the divine uprising are mentioned)<sup>۹</sup>, the Imam, during the years of struggle, repeatedly stated the irrationality of the monarchy regime. Therefore, in his opinion, monarchy is rejected from an intellectual and philosophical point of view. As a mujtahid of political thought and a divine philosopher, his theorising was based on his philosophical foundations, not that his ijthad was passive and influenced by the external environment.

The great leader of the Islamic Revolution is an active theorist, and his theory precedes political action no later than it. However, he should not specify it for the benefit of the campaign. Concerning the political thought of the Imam, he had a stable political idea, and what changed was related to his political opinions. Therefore, the traces of the government formed in 1357 can be found in the book *Kashf Asrar*. Imam Khomeini says in this book: “A council of religious mujtahids is formed who know God's rulings and are just and are free from whimsy and are not contaminated by the world and its leadership and have no intention other than the people benefit and the execution of God's commandments; and choose a righteous sultan who does not violate God's laws and refrains from cruelty” (Khomeini, 1944 AD/1323 SH: 234). It shows that Imam has a specific definition of the government; the government should be selective and religious mujtahids should make a choice. What has been definitively accepted by the Imam is the existence of the government, not the legitimacy or consent to the monarchy! Imam believes that we must maintain the existing system to prevent chaos as long as a better government is not formed. Simultaneously, it affirmed that the royal system has no legitimacy and is an example of tyranny (ibid., 235).

Regarding attributing the acceptance of the monarchy principle to the Imam and expressing some of his theories in opposition to the Pahlavi monarchy, Emad al-Din Baghi seeks to induce a kind of paradox in the Imam's statements. On the one hand, he has no problem with the monarchy, but on the other hand, he does not reflect the Pahlavi monarchy. He claims that this paradox will be resolved after the suppression of the uprising in 1342 and the exile of the Imam: “The principle of monarchy as a government system is accepted until the uprising in 1342, but it did not reflect the Pahlavi monarchy from the very beginning of its creation. While in Iranian society and among its political forces, there is no reason to negate the Pahlavi monarchy completely. At the height of the conflicts of 1342 and

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<sup>۹</sup> . This text, which was written on 15 Ordibehesht 1323 / 11 Jumadi al-Awwal 1363, is referred to as the most historical document of Imam Khomeini's campaigns in some sources. To read the text of the document, see: Imam Khomeini, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 1 / 23.

1343, practically, his opposition to the Pahlavi regime gradually became more apparent. However, theoretically and legally, he still thinks the same about the monarchy principle and does not say anything against his previous opinion in the book *Kashf al-Asrar*. After the suppression of the Khordad 15 uprising and the exile of Imam Khomeini in Aban 1343, this paradox will be solved and unified” (Khorramshahi and Fani, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 7/276). To prevent social collapse and system disruption, the Imam temporarily accepts the royal government until an upbeat version exists and creates conditions for forming the desired government, not as an ideal or reformable one. Because he repeatedly states the illegitimacy of the monarchy, and naturally, the paradox is depicted where, despite all these statements about the tyranny and illegitimacy of the monarchy, they attribute the acceptance of the monarchy to the Imam! And assuming that the Imam accepted the royal government model in the twenties, he has a specific definition for it; the summary of his opinions is necessary to negate this government model! Because, in his view, righteous scholars should determine the sultan:

“We don't say, and we didn't say that the king should be a jurist or know the preamble obligatory. The king can be a military man, but he should not violate fiqh, the country's official law. The first condition of the king is that he does not allow himself to violate the law and should be obedient to the law” (Khomeini, 1944 AD/1323 SH: 295).

Naturally, when an assembly of jurists select the ruler, he will be the executive arm of the jurist, and in such a situation, he will carry only the name of the Sultan! Therefore, by carefully rereading Imam's discussions in the book *Kashf Asrar*, it is clear that there is no paradox in his opinions, and we are not facing a fundamental intellectual evolution or change. Of course, the development of political thought does not involve falling into the abyss of metamorphosis or paradox. Such theories have been reflected in the works of some domestic and foreign scholars in various ways; they have fallen into the trap of the idea of "Evolution or Transformation of the Imam's Thought," and they have claimed that he believed in the discourse of "Reformism" until 1348 and later It has entered the "Subversion" phase! In the end, they conclude that "His political action until 1348 is reform, and after that, it is analysed in the context of the revolution discourse." (Lakzaei, 2010 AD/ 1389 SH: 23/77-99) Apart from those mentioned above, in the documents left by Imam Khomeini, there are signs of his determination to overthrow the regime long before the author's desired date. Among them is his letter to Ayatollah Saedi in 1347, in which he introduced that the only way to save the country was overthrowing the

regime and blamed some religious men for not using the opportunities to change it.<sup>Y</sup>

### Conclusion

According to this paper's documents, the acquittal and purification of the Pahlavi regime's leaders and agents have been widely circulated in sources published inside the country and have severely attacked the historical mentality of today's and tomorrow's audience. Naturally, suppose the Iranian questioning audience does not reach the depth of Pahlavi's tragedies; therefore, they cannot find a valid reason for the occurrence of the Islamic revolution or the continuation of its support. The damage in the historical mindset of today and the future generation is to create doubts about the causes of the Islamic Revolution and the efficiency of the Islamic Republic, including the results of the purification project in Iran. The particular task of purification is to create a context for comparing the performance of the Pahlavi regime with the Islamic Republic, shifting the position of the traitor and the servant in the public mind, and finally, inducing the inefficiency of the religious system. In the present study, relying on historical documents, the vast dimensions of the implementation of the Pahlavi purification project were introduced in domestic charters to provide the context for this question. Despite the timely reminders and historical warnings of Imam Khomeini and the Supreme Leader, especially his recent views on the explanation of Jihad, 'Why have the elites of the society and especially the cultural institutions of the Islamic Republic remained silent regarding this bitter and historical event?' The reflection of false information about the disasters of the Pahlavi era and the lack of criticism will lead to the consolidation of incorrect propositions. Despite this, the audience unfamiliar with historical issues cannot and should not be blamed for the effectiveness of these distorted sources. Now that the purification of the agents, especially the two Pahlavi kings, has been noticed by the opponents of the Islamic system as a historical-media project, and its scope has spread to internal sources, the necessity of scientific confrontation with this phenomenon has become more apparent.

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<sup>Y</sup> . In his letter dated Aban 14, 1347, addressed to Martyr Saeedi, the Imam wrote: "Our righteous predecessor lost a strange opportunity when the evil predecessor [Reza Khan] left and after were also missed opportunities until these calamities occurred. Until then, there is no good hope for evil" (cf. Imam Khomeini, 1934 AD/1313 SH: 2/208).

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