

## CHAPTER II:

# THE FORMATION OF MOSSADEQ POLITICAL CAREER

### Mossadeq's background

Mohammad Mossadeq was born on 20 May 1882 in Tehran. His Father “Mirza Hedayatollah Vazir Daftary” was the previous grand Vazir (chancellor) of Iran. His father was from “Mirza Mohsen Ashtianis” family who was the head of Ashtiani dynasty. This family was reputed and modernist in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His mother's, Malak Taj Khanum Najmolsaltaneh, grandfather was the “Shah Fath Ali, also she was the sister of “Abdolhossein Khan Farmanfarma” the head of “Farmanfarma” dynasty. She was the cousin of the “Shah Naserdin”. Mossadeq was born in the era of the “Shah Naserdin” monarchy. He was playmate with “Salarol Saltaneh” the son of the Shah of Iran.<sup>1</sup> Mossadeq did his early education in Tehran. He was 10 years old when his father died and the Shah Naserdin titled him “Mossadeq al- Saltaneh”. He always reminded his father with respect and affection,<sup>2</sup> but his mother's influence on him was deep and durable. She had an exceptional morale and strong will in which Mossadeq had been speaking of her wisdom even in his public speeches and debates. He always remembered her advice that, “The value of people in society is based on the

hardness which they tolerate for people”.<sup>3</sup> She had an active role in Mossadeq’s private and public decisions until her death in 1932. She remarried another two times after Mossadeq’s father death and gave birth the children whom all of them became reputed. Sometimes after the Shah Naserdin assassination, Mossadeq was appointed as the state accountant of Khorasan state when he was just 14 years old. State accountants were high-ranking state functionaries whose duties included investigation about statehood and provincial accounts and issuing financial directions. Short time after the formation of political school in Tehran, he left his governmental employment for his intense interest to learning new sciences, so, he started his education in the political science school. Leaving the governmental post, he wrote in his memoirs:

“At that time nothing was important for me more than increasing my Knowledge day by day. Two things caused to dispense with governmental position. One, I was going to leave myself from the employable responsibility for better educating. Two, there was a strong advertising against “Mostowfi” (traditional tax collector and accountant) which had been worsening day by day and I wanted to come out myself from this ring. The reason of these advertising was the point of regime revival that needed new formations. Old civil servants should be substituted by new employees”.<sup>4</sup>

Mossadeq got married “Zia’osaltaneh” at the age of 19. “Zia’osaltaneh” was the daughter of “Seyyed Zeinolabedin”, the sister of Seyyed Abolghasem and Seyyed Mohammad and the aunt of Seyyed Hassan Emami whom of all them were “Imam Jomeh” (head of the Friday prayer). She died two years before Mossadeq’s death. He was always reminding her as a person who had the most influence on him after his mother. He says, “She was a faithful wife who was tolerating all my problems”. They had five children by the name of “Zia, Ashraf,

Ahmad, Gholam hossein, Mansoor, Khadijeh (his youngest daughter who was in psychotic hospitals of Switzerland till the age of 20). All of them have died. <sup>5</sup> Mossadeq was growing in a special atmosphere. At first he was educated among an official elite and after among the new politicians who were opposed with the Shah Naserdin for his trade concessions to Europe. Regarding this point, we can understand the future political program of Mossadeq.

Mossadeq was a child when the “Tobacco Movement” (Reji) started in 1890-1891. Increasing public dissatisfaction led to a mass movement. This crisis resulted in selling of tobacco concession by the Shah Naserdin to the British Major Talbot. Talbot was going to gain 50 years exclusive concession of tobacco in the face of paying 25000 pounds to the Shah and 15000 pounds as the annual rent plus 25 percent of its profit to Iran. <sup>6</sup> It was the first time that Qajar despotic monarchy retreated on the people’s wills. Mossadeq was always dissident with any kind of concession vest, which was usual in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, whether it would be concession of shipping right or exploitation oil concession of North Iran to the Soviet Union or the 1933-oil concession to British company or fishery concession of Caspian Basin to the Russian company. The Reji event and objection on granting of exclusive concession of tobacco trade to a foreign company led to gathering all dissident forces with despotism and increasing domination of European powers on Iran. That was a unique success in Iran’s history. In the long history of Iran, killing of the Shahs, assassination, coup were not rare. In addition, there were precedents of strong-arm transformation of government through tribal and military upheavals. It was a momentous time in Iran’s history that an organized public movement could success in such an important case and persuades government to retreat. Victory of the movement made the smooth for more extensive strives against oppression and overthrowing absolutism and establishing a constitutional polity. That event counts as the beginning of the national movements of Iran. After two decades, the movement could define its aim, which

was establishing a democratic government like the Western European governments. The assassination of the Shah Naserdin by one of the Seyyed Jamaledin Asad Abadi's followers in 1896 was the chief event between the "Tobacco Movement" and the "Constitutional Revolution". Some of close relatives of Mossadeq including his uncle Farmanfarma and his brother-in-law "Seyyed Abolghasem" the Imam Jomeh prayers were some of the movement leaders.<sup>7</sup>

The "Tobacco Movement" and in the aftermath of it the "Shah Naserdin" assassination were providing the ground for a political revolution. The middle traditional class became an extensive national class, which economically, politically and ideologically had been separated from the ruling class. In addition, the new intellectual class that was affected by constitutionalism, nationalism and secularism was rejecting past, questioning present and seeking for a new attitude towards future. These two classes in spite of their differences had been attacking one goal and it was the government. Each of these classes had constituted their organization, communities, hidden and semi-hidden political parties. Both were aware of the "Qajar's" bankruptcy, unreliable morality, official inefficiency and military incapability. Therefore, revolution just needed final shock. As a result, the economic crisis of the early 1905 was the final stroke. Bad harvest throughout the country and the sudden setting of trade and the war of Japan and Russia resulted in escalating foodstuffs prices in Iran. Promptly, the economic crisis led to public objection in which every one was harsher than the other did. At last, culminating in August of 1906 the Revolution occurred. Thus, the "Shah Mozafaradin" signed the pronouncement of "National Consultative Assembly" formation. After the "Shah Mozafaradin" approbation with establishing a "Constitutional Government" in 1906, an assembly of national leaders specified the quality of Majles election. The first Majles was just for legislating and it had a classic-guild aspect,<sup>8</sup> but in the second Majles all men were enfranchised.

Mossadeq was elected for the Majles as the noble's representative of Esphahan, but his credentials was objected in verification section because he was not 30 years old, the necessary age for being representative of the Majles, so, Mossadeq dispensed with deputation before bringing up in the Majles. At that time he was a member of advancing association of "Jamaat Adamiat". The association had some relations with freemasonry. Freemasonry movement was related to some Iranians in the mid of 19<sup>th</sup> century and through it social and political values of Europe came to Iran in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> The freemasonry stance on the Constitutional Revolution of Iran was exactly that one on the "Great Revolution" of France. Many of great and harsh revolutions had relationship to freemasonry. For instance, "seyyed Jamaledin Asad Abadi" was one of the freemason pioneers in his time or "Seyyed Hassan Taghizadeh" was freemason not during the "Constitutional Revolution" but after it. After 1940s, freemasonry became a dirty term in Iran's politics. Although, it had some reasons maybe true or untrue, but when the enemies of Mossadeq found his short membership in freemason association of the "Jamaat Adamiat" one year after his death, attacked him and called him a British agent.<sup>10</sup> Mossadeq was in this association for a few weeks and after he joined the other association of "Jameh Ensaniat" which Ali Akbar Dekhoda was one of its active members. The association was a hard-line revolutionary organization which had some guns and Mossadeq was elected as its deputy, but after a while he renounced it. His uncle "Farmanfarma" was the "Vali" (governor) of Azarbaijan and it was simultaneous with the first period of the Majles and Mossadeq was the Acting Minister of Azarbaijan in Tehran. After his father's death, he became the advisor of his uncle "Farmanfarma".<sup>11</sup>

## **The First Iranian Doctor in Law**

Mossadeq was going to Europe from Russia for continuing his education in 1908. He registered in political science school in Paris. After some month for some nervous and slight illness and according to doctor's recommendation, he left education for a short time and returned Iran. That time, Constitutionals had conquered Tehran, deposed the "Shah Mohammad Ali", and exiled him abroad. Mossadeq after complete recovery returned to Europe, but this with his wife and his three children and his mother. His mother was ill, so, they went to Switzerland. His mother had dedicated herself to veil (Hijab) but his wife did not believe to veil.<sup>12</sup> His children school was in Neuchatel and he after finishing his exams came back Neuchatel in Switzerland. He started working in the office of a lawyer of that city by the name of "Jane Rouleh" after his bachelor. Simultaneously, he wanted to become a citizenship of Switzerland but his mind changed. His dissertation was pioneering for its in-depth study of Shi'a Islamic law in a European language, and rendered many Islamic legal terms for the first time into French. Later, just one day before the World War I, after gaining his PhD in law at Neuchatel University, He returned Iran with his wife and one of his sons, Gholamhossein and left his two elder children in school in Switzerland.<sup>13</sup> Now, he was being called Dr .Mohammad Khan Mossadeq al-Saltaneh, and after eliminating the Qajar's titles, he was reputed just with the name Dr. Mohammad Mossadeq and he was the first Iranian doctor in law.

Although Iran was in an unpleasant situation but Mossadeq was proud of his new unique title that caused his priority to others. On the verge of the World War I, Iran's government had announced its neutrality but practically it was under domination of Russia and Britain and nationalists and radicals from different political spectrum were advocators of Germany. In those days, Germany had dealt with a great publicity throughout the Middle East for not being a colonized power

in the region as Britain and Russia. The alliance of Germany and Ottoman and achieving some small victories had increased German's allure. German spies and the most reputed of them "Vasmus" organized Iran's nationalists especially in the west and centre and south of the country. <sup>14</sup> There was a remarkable pressure on Iran for disregarding its neutrality policy and entering the war for the Allied Forces, but conservatives disagreed with the view. "Democrat Amiun" (Public Democrats) whose spokesperson was "Mirza Hassan Mostowfi Al Mamalek" was companion towards German, but in their belief there was no advisable for Iran to join the war. Some of the nationalists and hard-line democrats under the leadership of "Nezam'olsaltaneh", "Mirza Mohammad Ali Khan", "Soleiman Mirza" and "Seyyed Hassan Modares" constituted a "provisional government" in the west of Iran in Kermanshah. This group was called "Mohajerin" (migrants) because they had migrated from Tehran to Kermanshah, which was the seat of government.

Mossadeq participated in none of these activities, but later he joined to the radical faction of Democrat Party which many of its leaders including "Soleiman Mirza" were the members of the "provisional government". In the mid of 1914, Mossadeq accepted the invitation of Mohammad Ali Forughi for teaching as a professor in law and political science school. This school formed just for training new diplomatic staffs for foreign affairs but after the "Constitutional revolution", it found a university aspect. <sup>15</sup>

### **Serving for Government**

In 1915, when Mostowfi Almamalek was Prime Minister, Mossadeq was elected by "Majles" as one of the parliament members for the five members' commission in "Finance Ministry". At the time, Vosughol Doleh was the minister of Finance Ministry. The members of this commission should control and observe

the budget that specified for different governmental parts.<sup>16</sup> It was a hard task in a country which took pains of a chronic budget deficit. At the same time, his uncle Farmanfarma appointed as Prime Minister. Farmanfarma was insisting of Mossadeq to accept the post of Finance Ministry, but Mossadeq believed he could not serve in a cabinet, which his close relative was the director of government. Mossadeq left Iran to Switzerland in 1919. He stayed in Europe until collapsing the “Vosugholdoleh” cabinet because of his antagonism with the 1919 Accord. During his one and half year’s residence in Switzerland and France, he had many objections to the 1919 Accord through declarations to the “League of Nations” and European newspapers. He had said about the extensive opposition of the Iranians against the 1919 Accord, which finally abrogated:

“...The Shah Ahmad was taken to London for approving and endorsing the Accord for this reason they formed a meeting. In spite of foreign minister insistence and threats of previous viceroy for its approval, The Shah Ahmad spoke even no word of it in his official speech. At the time, I was in Switzerland and heard someone about the Shah action. He had told: “I have been invited, so I should thank but I cannot talk about the accord which has not been endorsed by the Majles.” This negative resistance caused to follow the Shah by the Iranians. So, Britain disappointed of this accord and the Shah had to relinquish the throne for the interest of his country.”<sup>17</sup>

The main point of the 1919 Accord was consisted of monitoring Iran’s Army and Finance Ministry by British councilors. Britain was insisting on it for it had been committing to giving a loan for the sum of 2,000,000 million pounds to Iran and helping Iran in consisting railway, revision in tariffs and collecting war indemnity from third party. Instead, Iran had promised about the exclusive

concession of arms safeguarding for military training and official advisors. This accord had signed by “Lord Corson” and “Vosughol Doleh”.<sup>18</sup>

According to all radical and intellectual politicians, this event had been changing Iran to Britain’s protégé. This kind of thinking was irritating Mossadeq so much as he decided to be citizen of Switzerland. Nevertheless, the downfall of Vasugholdoleh cabinet changed everything. After down falling of Vosgholdoleh cabinet, Moshiroldoleh formed new cabinet and introduced Mossadeq as a new “Justice Minister”. At this time, Mossadeghq was in Switzerland, so he set out toward Iran from Marseille port by ship. He entered Shiraz through Bombay because Caucasian ways were unsafe. In Shiraz, he accepted to be the governor of Shiraz because of public request. He remained in the post from the mid of October 1920 until May 1921. He has said about his appointment as the governor of Fars:

“My entrance to Shiraz was simultaneous with some insecurity in some parts of Fars, especially in Abadeh of Shiraz. Farmanfarma the governor of Fars had resigned and government had proposed this post to everyone, ... different classes and parties went to telegraph office and requested my appointment as the Shiraz governor from the then Prime Minister Pirnia Moshiroldoleh. He telegraphed me to suggest my conditions for tenure of this post ... I telegraphed the government if influential men of the province be committed not to be taking anything from anyone and not to give me anything. I want no money no army, and from 6000 thousand tomans monthly provincial salary I just take 2000 thousand tomans for my personal expenses and some provincial entertaining ..., government thanked me in reply of this telegraph and I started my work.”<sup>19</sup>

Dr.Mossadeq stayed in this post for about six month and did chief services in establishing security and prohibiting of feudalists and local influential shakedown.

In the March 1920, Seyyed Zia and Reza Khan did a coup against Qajar dynasty. There is no doubt that British officers in Iran took part in the coup. Perhaps it can be claimed the coup was going to compensate the Lord Corson's defeat in 1919 accord. Colonel Smias and Major-General Ironsides played important roles in the coup. The leadership of the coup was Reza Khan Mirpanj the chief of Cossack Brigade; they came to Tehran from Qazvin and did the coup. A day before the coup Seyyed Zia paid 2000 tomans to Reza Khan and distributed 20000 tomans between two thousands Cossack forces under the rule of Reza Khan. Seyyed zia was a 30 years old journalist who had been publishing "Raad" newspaper. He had received a share of 130000 Sterling, which British government paid to Vosudholdoleh, Nosratoldoleh, Saremoldoleh. Britain had paid this amount of money for approving the 1919 accord. "Raad" newspaper had supported intensely from this accord.

At the time, Cossack Brigade and Gendarmerie were two main armed forces in Iran that were competitive. Gendarmerie was dominant on Tehran and if it was coordinated for coup, there was no need to deployed 2000 Cossacks from Qazvin. Although, Gendarmerie Forces did not shoot even one bullet, because they were aware of an imminent putsch. Immediately, after the coup some of the conservative and constitutionalist politicians such as Farmanfarma, his son Nosratol Doleh and Modares the religious leader and democrat politicians were put in jail. At this time, Mossadeq was the Fars governor. He heard the news of the coup from the Shah Ahmad for the first time. The Shah Ahmad telegraphed him and asked to cooperate with the coup government. But Mossadeq refused. New Prime Minister Seyyed Zia telegraphed him and informed to need men like him, he should be supported by them and underscored if someone was going to obstacle on the way of new regime, there would be a bad end for them. Mossadeq did not reply that telegraph. Instead, in a telegraph to the Shah Ahmad, he announced his resignation but three weeks later, it was accepted. Later on new government of

Seyyed Zia issued Mossadeq's detain order, and so he took refuge to Bakhtiari Tribe until removing the danger. The content of published announcement by Seyyed Zia and Reza Khan nationalistically was unique in Iran's history. Those declarations caused to know Seyyed Zia's innocence of previous faults about the 1919 Accord by intelligentsia especially at the time of his prime ministry for the abrogation of the 1919 Accord. It is noticeable that Britain did not object to the unilateral abrogation of the 1919 Accord. Norman, the Then British ambassador in Iran praised the coup in his official reports and regretted of later Seyyed Zia collapse. Seyyed Zia was only three month as premiership then; he left Iran for twenty years after his down falling.

After collapsing the Seyyed Zia, Ghavamolsaltaneh appointed as prime minister and formed his cabinet. He defined Mossadeq as the Financial Minister in June 1921. Mossadeq conditioned his acceptance on ousting Amritage Smith from the financial advisory of treasury government of Iran. But, Reza Khan, the powerful secretary of war, anticipated and took the post of financial advisory for himself. Mossadeq appealed the Majles specific powers for three month in which he could do his official financial reforms and after three month would present his reform program to the Majles and approbation of this reform program would be with the Majles. <sup>20</sup> Majles accepted this suggestion reluctantly. As soon as Mossadeq started his work and reduced or canceled the salaries and allowance of the Royalties, the Shah Ahmad, the court and most of the parliament representatives raised against him. Many of his relatives and friends who were from the Royalties cut off their relations with him. Finally, Ghavam's cabinet lost its publicity among the above persons for Mossadeq's reforms and resigned in the January 1922 and Moshiroldoleh was defined for forming the new cabinet.

The new Prime Minister, Moshiroldoleh, requested Mossadeq to accept the governance of Azerbaijan, which was unrest after the coup of Major Lahuti.

Mossadeq again conditioned his acceptance on non-interference of Reza Khan as the secretary of war, he wanted the province army under his control, and hence he could secure Azerbaijan. In addition, in spite of the Soviet Union embassy objection Mossadeq executed Iran's rule over Russian nationals in Tabriz. Despite the 1921 accord on abrogation of Iran-Soviet Capitulation, the Soviet was going to implement the accord. At the time, Mossadeq's neural illness appeared again. He believed this time it was for the region weather, physical weakness and stress. It was appeared through gum bleeding. Therefore, he had to stay in a village and talked to nobody even a word.<sup>21</sup> During the time, Reza Khan broke his promise and took the control of region army. As a result, Mossadeq resigned from the governance of Azerbaijan in 11 July 1921. He returned Tehran. Eventually, the administration of Mostwofial Mamalek defeated for Modares maneuvers. Mossadeq in the new cabinet of Moshiroldoleh (his second cabinet in 1923) appointed as foreign minister for almost 4 months. During his short tenure of foreign office, he resisted on Britain's pressure for achieving some of the Persian Gulf islands like Abumusa and Sheikh Shoaib. Formalizing the trying of the Russian nationals in Iran's courts and based on Iran's rule was his other actions especially he did it before during his governance on Azerbaijan. He was also trying to compile a codified law for foreign nationals.

### **Mossadeq in the Fifth and sixth Majles**

In the subsequent of Reza Khan's agitation and stirring for seizing the position of prime ministry, he staged some artificial demonstrations and making insecurities in Tehran and other cities. In due to these events Moshiroldoleh resigned and everything provided for his prime ministry. In the October 1923, the Shah Ahmmad issued the decree of Reza Khan's prime ministry and he himself dispatched Europe through Iraq.<sup>22</sup> In February 1924, the fifth Majles opened and

Mossadeq as Tehran's representative elected for the first time. Perhaps it was the most suitable work for his morale at that time.

The fifth Majles started in a critical period. Qajars became discrediting, had no social dignity among the people, and were criticized because of the country backwardness. The Shah who was weak preferred to flee of country problems and stay in the south of France. The traditional and old rule of Qajar dynasty was decayed, decomposed and crumble without initiative. The army, senior officers, authors, poets and intelligentsia were seeking for transforming and modernization and had a revolutionary bias. Cleric and religious system was afraid of any modernization, because they were thinking modernization would demolish religion and Islam and would shake their power basis. There were democrat constitutionalists between those two groups who were classified to two groups: the first group was following Seyyed Hassan Modares, Malekol Shoara Bahar, Ashtiani, and ... whom all of them were in the Majles. Their power basis was strong in cities and from 1922 raised against Reza Khan. The second group was consisting of democrat politicians, political leaders, and the people who were following new and modern thoughts such as Mostwfial Mamalek, Moshiroldoleh, Motamenal Molk, Taghi Zadeh and Mossadeq.... Reza Khan during his tenure of prime ministry used them as advisors to keep them quiet.

Reza Khan who was thinking of a dictatorship regime had the army at his back. At first, he set forth the subject of changing monarchy to republic. From March of 1924 vast demonstration of different classes began in Tehran and because of harsh clashes between demonstrators and Cossack Forces under the chief of Reza Khan, the case of changing regime canceled. After defeat of the proposal of republicanism, Reza Khan had been trying to depose the Shah Ahmmad and transited the monarchy from the Shah Ahmad to himself legally. In

this order, he arranged a conspiring single article about the breaking down of Qajar dynasty to bring forward in the Majles.<sup>23</sup>

The way for posing and approbation of the single article about transition of the monarchy had been providing. State-run terrorists had surrounded around the Baharestan square and police agents had been controlling the Majles. After, “Vaez Qazvini” assassinated at the end of the assembly meeting in November in front of the Majlis building.<sup>24</sup> He was killed by mistake instead of Malakol Shoara Bahar who was opposed with the revision of the constitution in the secession on the date. That assassination terrified the representatives so much some of the pro Reza Khan Representatives monitored officially the meetings.<sup>25</sup> In such a condition on 9 November 1925 the single article of dethroning the Shah Ahmad posed and the changing of the constitution suggested. In that meeting, some of deputies had speeches in the opposition with changing the constitution. Modares at the beginning shouted thunder like and said; “If you bring hundred thousands vote, your work is adverse to the constitution” and left the Majles. In addition, Taghizadeh another opponent representative addressed the Majles shortly, politely but harsh and ended his speech with this hemistich: “No need to explain what is clear”. In addition, other representatives like Dolat Abadi and Hossein Ala spoke against the proposal. Mossadeq also read a comprehensive speech in the opposition with the proposal and the results due to the suspension of constitutionality and establishing the dictatorship regime. After arguing of the thumbs up and down deputies, Mossadeq as the thumb down deputy spoke about increasing of the proposal bill and changing the constitution with the nation and country expedient and it’s paving the way for dictator regime and said:

“I swore to great Koran not to betray the country and the nation on the representative’s presence. At the time, of swearing, I was Muslim and now I am Muslim too.... I am what I was and today I have to say my opinion about what is

against my country expedients and not to withhold my comment for protection and duration of my country, nation and Islam. People know my idea is not by whim but is by reason and faith. In addition, this is not the day of personal opinions and if someone to be found to withhold his state, national and Islamic comments, (in my opinion) he is humble, inferior, wicked and disgraceful person and deserves to die. First, it is necessary to say my belief about Raisal Vozara and then about the Qajar kings and at last about the principals of the constitution. I should state my disappointment of the Qajar dynasty for not having any service, any assistance to this country, which I can defend them here and I do not suppose anyone here to be opponent to me”. Then, Mossadeq added: “he intended Mr.Ziaedin arrested me and imprisoned. I am not defender of these people and those who are not towards their country’s interest and do not have courage of protection their country. These persons use the country in good situations and would be absent in bad situations. I am not defender of such persons whether they would be my true friends or relatives or higher than them.” He continued about Reza Khan and stressed “however from the time of his staging power, security has come back to the country and his services are obvious to everyone. I, myself, am eager of such a person by the name of ‘Reza Khan Pahlavi’ to be in the country for protection and safeguarding of me, my family, my relatives. Mr. ‘Raisal Vazara’ has been necessary for the security and comfort of the country during the recent two or three years, we could think of essential matters of the country”.

He pursued his speech about constitution and comment:” the constitution changing or revision in the constitution, we should consider its effects on the Interior and the foreign affairs. ... Mr. Raisal Vazara is the indisputable and certain candidate. Okay Mr. ‘Raisal Vazara’ will be the king and seize the throne. Is there anyone to tell us today in the twentieth century that the king of a constitutional country is responsible? If we say this, he will be the king – All men are educated persons – the kind of responsible king. Nobody can say: The king is Prime Minister (Raisal

Vazara), ruler, and everything. This is total Fascism, absolutism, and dictatorship. We say the Qajar Kings were bad, corrupt, and opposed with freedom. They were reactionary. In a constitutional country, Prime Minister (Raisal Vazara) is important not the king. Only king can appoint the prime Minister after the confidence “Vote of the House”. When we accept Mr. Raisal Vozara’ (Prime minister) as the king he will interfere in the country affairs like now, we will have many troubles. He will be the king, the prime minister, and the commander in chief of the armed services. If my head would be cut, my body would be torn to pieces I cannot accept these changes. Today, after 20 years and a lot of bloodshed I cannot accept again my country retrograde and move backward. ... So, why you killed many people by the name of “Freedom”. It would be better from the first to say you were lying and did not want constitutionality “Freedom”; there is a stupid and ignorant nation who must be humanized by club. Why we bothered them and tried for 20 years? “.

At end, Mossadeq said; “If the constitution would be unstable and weak, the country has been devastated and it is not desirable. I do not consider the constitution as a divine law, which would be unchangeable, but I know it as a human law, which is changeable. Now, I say it is necessary but is not immediate to change a constitution, which protects our independency and our nation and Islam.”<sup>26</sup>

At last, a single article approved as follows: In view of the dissatisfaction of the Qajar monarchy and the complaints of this family and due to the superior interest of the country as the most important duty of the Majles, we make the following decision:

Single article: **“The National consultative Assembly” by the name of Nation prosperity declares dethroning of the Qajar Monarchy and transfers the provisional ruling in the extent of the constitution and country laws to “Reza khan Pahlavi”. Determining of definite government is based on the view of the ‘Constituent Assembly’ which is formed for changing the Articles 36, 37, 38, 40.”**

Finally, the single article approved with 80 ayes, 5 noses, and 30 abstentions. Thus, the “Qajar Dynasty” dethroned after 134 years. On December 6, The Majles was inaugurated by Reza Khan’s speech. It was formed by Mostasharol Doleh as the chairperson for 5 sessions, changed the articles 36,37,38,40 of the complementary constitution, and transferred the perpetual monarchy to “Reza khan Pahlavi” and his dynasty. The Iranians believe Britain has been preparing “Reza Khan” for the role of an autocratic king from the 1921 Coup. In fact, the “Pahlavi Monarchy” was the result of disintegration of Tezarian Russia and changing Britain as the only dominated power in the region, defeat of the 1919 Accord, mutual distrust in the Qajar court and England court, the danger of communism spread.

After the sixth term election of the Majles in July 1926, Hassan Pirnia (Moshirol Doleh), Hossein Pirnia Dr. Mohmmad Mossadeq and “Seyyed Hassan Modares” were elected as the representatives of Tehran. Despite of solidifying of the shah Reza’s absolute rule Mossadeq had no fear of expressing the truth in the sixth the Majles and had been continuously defending of Iran’s political and economic independence. At the time of introducing the cabinet of “Mostowfial Mamalek” (September 1926 – June 1927) Mossadeq opposed with the attendance of vosughol Doleh who was the concluder of the 1919 Accord in the cabinet and also his proxy in the parliament, Massadeq introduced him as a traitor element to the nation and an alien puppet and added;

“.... statistics of the granted concession to foreign countries in the absence of the parliament clears well that the transaction of Iran’s natural wealth in the constitutional era has been done by jobbing of vosughol Doleh [...] Mr. Vosughol Doleh accomplished the contract without the Majles approval before going off to wrong .... Mr. Vasughol Doleh knew whether the country would flourish by other nations and was it in the Iranian interest or not. Every nation would invite foreigners to their country if slavery were good no nation wanted to be free from slavery after heavy wars and strong bloodshed and casualties... Mr. Vasughol Doleh didn’t refuse to do anything in achieving the 1919 Accord even the hidden and without trial murders....” Next, Mossadeq requested punishment for Vosughol Doleh, addressed the Raisal Vozara, and said: “... Persons like Mr. Mastowfi al Mamalek has to observe punishment and retaliation principals for going away traitors”<sup>27</sup>.

Mossadeq in a hard condition and threaten atmosphere of the sixth Majles had been criticizing the Shah Reza because of his suppress of dissidents and critics. In the session on 1 April 1927 in his kick off speech, he said: “... One of these days, I honor to meet his Majesty and I have the honor to inform it is better when the Shah goes somewhere people see him. I had the honor to inform that military forces irritate people and it is expending a lot of money for them. In fact, His majesty is not becoming significant ...”

Then, he addressed the representatives and stated; “The Shah is an irresponsible person, recommends them to express and say their ideas, and believes. Lawyer is the representative of nation. Well if the shah did not really want the representatives to comment so, the Majles was not essential. Consequently, there is the Majles for a lawyer to tell his subjects and ideas in the

parliament, according to the constitution, Shah are the first person in the country, he is above the law but he has no responsibility...”

Although, the bill of Ali Akbar Davar who was the Justice Minister was for modernizing of the Judiciary system, Mossadeq’s disapproval had some reasons. Indeed, Mossadeq agreed with the reform of Iran’s Judiciary system but he disagreed with the suggestive ways in Davar’s measure. Mossadeq’s main object was on recruiting French legal councilors that had been anticipated in that measure and based on it those councilors should compile and offer the draft of reforming Iran’s Judiciary System in a short time. Meanwhile, he emphasized on the cultural disparities pointed out that mechanical planning for a social institution by the importance of Judiciary System by French civil councilors who had no information about the past and the present needs of the country neither can be successful nor would lead to success except failure and frustration. In addition, Mossadeq was opposed to complete suspension of the Judiciary System, which was suggested by Davar. In reply to the thumbs up representatives with Davar’s bill, he said:

“..... People: our judiciary is the consequents of the Constitutionality and dissolving it, is impossible and makes the judge position unstable. If you weaken judge every day, the work cannot go on, if there are four bad judges, it does not mean that the others three are corrupt.... Mr. Judiciary Minister sent a message to me that the salary for everyone who wants to be the chief of Supreme Court is 750 hundred tomans. If you accept the job, your salary will be 1000 tomans.” I replied: You listened to none of my beliefs and views and I have no belief to your reforms, so, if I accept to come to judiciary Ministry, I have been coming just for money and of course I take 800 tomans more than the Parliament. If, I come there for money, tomorrow, I will issue a wrong judgment....”<sup>28</sup>

Massadeq , also , was dissident with the proposal of jail building and repairing the royal Palaces and remarked to eliminate the censorship budget, at first, and remove the guard men on gateways because they disturb the internal travelers then build up the jails like European jails.

## **Opposing to Railway Bill**

For explaining about the reasons of Massadeq's opposition with the railway bill, first we should consider the effective factors on Iran's railway plan and then explain Massadeq's views about it. Three factors including strategic factor (defending the country), economic factor (International transit and commercial transaction), internal transportation, and communication factor should be considered for planning of a comprehensive railway. Also it should be noticed that for international connection the comprehensive railway should join important economic cities to two "Free" areas. At the time of preparing Iran's railway plan, important cities of Iran from the point of population and economic situation – except Tehran – were consisting of Tabriz, Esfahan, Mashhad , Kermanshah , Rasht. The plan did not connect the above cities to each other. This railway had been beginning from "Khormusa" in the end of south in the neighboring of Iraq boarder which was strategically quite damaging and had been ending to "Bandar Gaz " in the end of north which had no connection to nowhere. Hence, this all over railway could not reply the circumstances of foreign transit, domestic economy, internal and external connection and it was not strategic. During recent 2 centuries, The open gateways and ports of Iran to abroad had located in the north and north western of " Tabriz " and "Bandar Anzali "(the end of commercial shipping of the soviet).

In the opinion of political and economic expertise's, the strategic goal of this plan was to cut retreating line and attack on any army which is going to attack defense boarders of India through "Turkistan of the soviet" and "east of Khorasan.". Iran's railway with its defined path was the shortest and the most confident way for dispatching military to the Persian Gulf and to South – Eastern of the "Caspian Basin" in "Gorgan" for confronting with Russian forces. England was dominant on seas, so, it could reach its military forces in a short time from south to north through this railway and forced enemy to retreat and so defend India in "Mashhad – Harat" area. Creation of all over railway in an extensive and mountainous country like Iran, which had no suitable roadway, and without taking foreign loan was one of the old wishes of the Iranians. It had such a great deal of importance which any opposition with it was seen same as the opposition with national interest. Therefore, when Dr. Massage objected to this plan in the "National Consultative Assembly" he was criticized and blamed for his opposition with reforms. However, he said his opinion and view and was considered betrayal to the country.

Finally, his attempts and the minority of his advocators in opposing to this plan led to fail and the "National Consultative Assembly" approved the bill. After 13 years, during the Second World War, British and Russian military forces invaded Iran, used this railway for 5 years, carried hundreds of artilleries from "Bandar Shah" (now Bandar Imam Khomeini) to the soviet, and after eroding it called Iran's railway "Victory Bridge". The building of Iran's railway had strategical aspect for the Allies. The published documents in the recent years show the strategic importance of Iran's railway and the invasion of 25<sup>th</sup> of August, 1941 for sending off Germans had been just a pretext. The main goal of the Allies forces was just having a strong point in the beginning of Iran's railway for protection of Iran's oil installations and transporting artilleries to the Soviet. This case has been discussing in Bullard's negotiations with Ameri who was the minister of Manson Cabinet 3 weeks before the invasion to Iran on 3 August 1941. Fifteen years after

approving the railway plan, again Mossadeq as the first representative of Tehran described the catastrophes of a dictator regime and said:

“.... I remember “Sardar Sepah”, the then “Raisal Vazara” was in my home” with the late “Moshirol Doleh” and “ Mostowfi al Mamalek” and “Dolat Abadi” and “Mokhberol Doleh” and “Taghizadeh” and “Ala” he said that England brought me to power but they don’t know to whom are working. At that time, I could not tell anything, but days make it obvious that the same person who staged him to power took him from power because he had no interest for them any longer. Our dictator made ammunition and railway for the Allied with our money...”<sup>29</sup>

Later years Mossadeq in the response of “The Shah Mohammad Reza’s” Criticism of him about the railway bill said: “...Everyone votes to this bill, has betrayed the country, but these expressions did not impress the pro forma lawyers, also made the late Shah angry and the Assembly approved the government state. In the second session on March 1926, I said; for creating railway, there is no more two ways: the international transit, which takes us to paradise and strategic one that takes us to hell. The reasons of our bad luck were also in the way, which the late Majesty had built...There was no reason for making a railway in this line just a strategic use...”<sup>30</sup>

Massadeq suggested building a railway from west to East in which joint turkey in north – western to Hindustan in the east. This railway was cheaper and internationally and internally could transport more load and passengers. However, his suggestion was left unheard. When the government obligated using French cap or Pahlavi cap instead of traditional cap or head band, Mossadeq didn’t come out of the house (for) eight month, because using traditional cap was customary.

Mossadeq was one of a few of persons who were against the “Shah Reza’s way of taking veils”.<sup>31</sup> In August of 1927, the sixth parliament ended and Mossadeq was aware of not being allowed to enter the next term of parliament by the government. The sixth term of parliamentary elections were held all over the country, although, election fraud had been done extensively by the government except in Tehran. Government could find nothing in Tehran because of extensive political awareness and participation of the people in the election. Nevertheless, this time government was powerful enough to hold sham election in the capital. In the last days of the sixth parliament, Mossadeq took the opportunity to present basic documents denoting of the government interference in the six term of parliament election and anticipated the escalating of these interferences and election frauds in the next terms.<sup>32</sup> Of course, during the next fifteen years nobody heard anything of Mossadeq because he was living in his cold isolation.

Tehran’s election was an important matter which governmental authorities had given a lot of attention to it. “Teimur Tash”, the powerful Minister of the Pahlavi’s court, conferred about the way of announcing the results of Tehran’s election. In Teimur Tash’s belief, the government must nominate six of twelve Tehran’s representatives and the people can nominate the other six. His suggestion for six national nominees included “Modares, Moshirol Doleh, Mostowfi Al Mamalek, Taghi Zadeh, Motamenal Molk and Mossadeq”. Of course Mossadeq’s answer to this suggestion can be guessed unsaid. Regime did not want to loose its credit and authenticity at once. “Moshirol Doleh” and “Molamenal Molk” was elected in the way however, “Motamenal Molk had not nominated himself and did not agree to participate in these rigged and pro forma elections. But Madres and Mossadeq had nominated themselves but did not elect. “Modares” said to the brigadier general Dargahi the Police Chief of the country: “Suppose those fourteen

thousands who had voted me previous term had been changing their ideas about me, but where is the vote I put in the polling box for myself?”<sup>33</sup>

## **Opponents Fate of the Reza khan Regime**

After a short time “Mostowfi al Mamalek” died. “Moshirol Doleh”, “Motamenal Molk”, Dolat Abadi”, “Bahar”, “Firuz Abadi”, “Kazerooni” and the others renounced from politics, but ‘Bahar’ was prosecuted and imprisoned and was exiled till 1935. Taghizadeh came to terms with government and nominated as the Finance Minister. In 1933, as he said later, he had to sign the new oil contract and finally he himself chose the exile and stayed in England until 1947.

In the same year, he became the chief of Iran’s legation in London. However, Modares neither surrendered nor said nothing. In 1928, he was arrested, beat up in which he became unconscious. After he was put in a Middle ages prison in “Birjand” and after was transferred to Kharf. In 1938, he was removed to a house in “Kashmar” and was poisoned by the Shah’s order; however, according to a narration he was imprisoned at first and then was garroted while praying. This was the fate of the opponents. Nevertheless, the fate of politicians, army commanders, intellectuals who supported the “Shah Reza”, surrounded him, or paved his way for reaching power were not better than the dissidents were. “Teimur Tash” was abdicated disgracefully, was tried and imprisoned and before his conviction period was murdered in jail. “Nosratol Doleh Firuz”, the senior and powerful child of Farmanfarma had been drawing to court from the Ministry and after trial convicted for 3000 Tomans embezzlement and at Last was stifled in his home by the police agents. “Sheikh Khazal” was suffocated on the food table. “Davar” was forced to suicide the major general “Amir Tahmasebi” was assassinated in Lorestan. “The brigadier “Dargahi” was stepped back and the Shah

himself beat up him and put in Jail. The major –general “Airom” could flee the country before arresting. “Sardar Asaad Bakhtiyari” (the previous Sardar Bahador) who was commander of the Armed Services before and the “Shah Reza” was one his graded officers along with “Solatol Doleh Ghashghae” who were murdered in prison “Farokhi Yazdi”, one of the first advocators of Reza khan, imprisoned and was murdered. “Asadi” was hung on the unproven charge of stirring the people of Mashhad to revolt for mandatory using of foreign cap instead of Pahlavi cap for men. The major general “Jahanbani” was imprisoned and all his relatives had to change their last name from "Jahanbani" to "Shahbandeh". Bahrami, Hedayat and Forghi lost their credit. The shah became an absolute and autocratic ruler who was completely in the line of despotism. He became the last victim of his self - built system, because he also could not recognize good from bad.<sup>34</sup>

Mossadeq was forty-five years old that stepped aside political and social life for an indefinite time. He would well aware that he could not do anything so retreated quickly and came back to his private life. He was not from the kind of whom choose the martyrdom way but was not ready to compromise on his beliefs and faiths. During 1927-1941, he was completely far from politics and society. When the Shah was dominated all over the country, Mossadeq was quiet; he was a local migratory and a quiet insurgent. He was imprisoned and exiled in 1930 because he did not want to affect of being something else. He was cautious even about not being told his name in the public view. However, he had excited about the concluding of the 1933 oil treaty, but he spoke no one except "Moshirol Doleh" and the negotiation also was done by Moshiral Doleh's initiative. He, himself said that he was concerned and excited those days in which every day was expecting to come after him and take him for the treaty.<sup>35</sup>

His more concern was not for dieing but for contemptible and dishonorable death. However, he was naturally acquired on the nervous disorder and that had been leading to physical disorders. The mental and identical facts, nervous disorders and the full terror and horror environment, boosted his intolerability. At the time, he lost his mother whom he had a deep dependence to her. His position had been changing from a respected and successful dissatisfied in the previous regime to a hermit villager who was passing his days in full concern of a disgraceful death. He had lost the world he had been living from his birth and this was more than losing power, credit and social influence. Almost all of his friends, relatives even his enemies had been killed, imprisoned or exiled. There was no Modares, no Motamenal Malk, no Moshired Doleh, no Mostowfial Mamalek, no Samsam or even Davar, Teimur Tash, Nosrat Miraz any more. Indeed, a civilization had been exterminated. Another time, his mouth bleeding started. He cured in Tehran and the bleeding stopped but again it started vehemently. He went to Germany for remedy in 1926. Doctors examined him medically and confirmed no problem even write a prescription. The mouth bleeding stopped but superficially, its direction had been changed. Mossadegh writes in his memoirs in 1955: "In this Jail, observation of those much blood in my urine has made me concern."<sup>36</sup> Also, he died finally because of stomach bleeding, the kind of nervous bleeding.

In 1940, Mossadeq was arrested. His house was searched for any document even about complaint of inflation, but nothing found. He said to the Brigadier – General Mokhtari that he could not hold him under detention without any accusation. Nevertheless, when he found to be imprisoning for indefinite period in Birjand jail without any accusation, he lost his control and insulted the portray of the Shah Reza which was on wall. He said not to be submissive himself in such a lawbreaker and illegal country. They took him in a car and transferred him to new domicile. He tried to end his life through using many anti-pain and soothing pills.

However, the way of Tehran- Mashhad was uneven and made him to vomit and pills did not absorb. Therefore, he was transmitted to a hospital in Shahrud unconsciously and rescued him from a certain death.<sup>37</sup> He tried to suicide once more in the station – post in desert, but the governor of the prison was caring him so much even for his shaving in the morning he was present himself. Mossadeq in the absence of the governor of the prison who was sick went on hunger strike but after 10 days and returning of the governor of the prison and his request for breaking his strike, he ended the hunger strike .Mossadeq’s wife and children were upset about his life not from his side but from the government side. Another time, Mossadeq found a chance. Ernest Prone, a citizen of Switzerland and the close friend of the Prince Mohammad Reza, went for remedy to ‘Najmieh’ hospital. Mossadeq’s mother had endowed this hospital and Dr. Gholam Hossein Mossadeq, Mossadeq’s son, was the director of the hospital. He accepted no money for Prone’s remedy but requested him if it was Possible to do something for his father because of his influence in the court, through his friendship with the Prince. As a result, they transferred again Mossadeq to Ahmad Abad and he was put under surveillance. Along with the Shah Reza’s resignation in the September 1941 and amnesty announcement, the limits on Mossadeq also were taken. However, two years prolonged for him to set aside the displeasure period of his diplomatic isolation and restart his political activities. Mistreatment of the regime with Mossadeq had unpleasant effect on his family especially his smallest daughter“Khadijeh”. Her mental disorder and never got rid of it. Perhaps, she was like his father, but the fear of murdering his father in prison was dominated on her in which once she was going to throw herself on the passing car of the Shah Reza. She was under cure in one of the psycho hospitals in Switzerland until 1941.<sup>38</sup>

## **Mossadeq's literature**

In 1914, he published an article over legal limitations in some lawsuits and a small book about principles of “Capitulation Contract”, or trial of foreign nationals residing in Iran according to their laws. Article of was written based on European legal procedure, however, it was discussed nowhere. Mossadeq proved that limitation of execution was in the interest of all suitors and was compatible with spirit and texts of Islamic Jurisprudence. Way of writing the article was so desired and its subject was new in Iran.

However, Capitulation in Iran was published by his own expense and distributed it freely. It had been written to legal documentary language and had a special message and political aim of the author. For instance, its first part had been specified to domestic legal rights of every European country, legal rules were divides in two parts: Private and public rights. Public right is the one that is relating and preserving relations between states and their nations separately. This right has classified two groups of political and penal rights. Political rights are divided to basic and official rights and a Penal right is consisted of special penal rights and Penal trial principles. Clarifying these classifications, Mossadeq states two instances, the first one indicates his Courage and Cuteness. Iran's Constitution states in its 15<sup>th</sup> article that, “no property can be expropriated unless religious verdict permits.” Then, Mossadeq asks, “What is religious verdict?” Is that means whenever government wants to expropriate a private property for public interest it has to permit religious judges? And answers “ No, but a law should be adopted so that it would not be against religious injunction and government can enforce owner to sell his property whenever it is in Public interest without asking religious Judges. “ This example had not been accidentally chosen but Mossadeq intended to pave the way for nullifying capitulation Contract of the Nineteenth Century.

Justifying the Capitulation in the nineteenth Century, it was being said that Islamic laws and judges could not punish European Christians. Therefore, if a new penal law would be compiled based on this contract and concluded residing European in Iran, there would be no reason for maintaining of Capitulation contract. In 1923, when Mossadeq became Iran's foreign minister suggested this solution for Capitulation problem. In the Second and third part of the article, it is discussed about precedent, meaning and application of Capitulation contract in Ottoman empire and Iran from one hand and Britain ' France and Russia, the main European Powers, from the other hand. Especially it is stressed on its precedent importance.

The forth Part- amendment –indicates Mossadeq's main reasoning. He believed that when residing foreigners would be out of that country laws, it would be an insult to people of that country and their religion and traditions. From other hand, nullifying capitulation contract needed to amend existing laws in which European powers accept that their nationals should be subjected to Iranian laws. Mossadeq's reasoning has been in favor of Islam not against it, because non-Muslims would not have enjoyed of transnational rights in Muslim countries. In addition Shari's laws flexibility in basic laws and subjects, it is referred to legal amendments in many traditional societies from Turkey and Tunisia to Japan and Bulgaria, Also it referred to two European clear- minded including Edmond Bark.

In the last part of article – Conclusion- he wrote; "Islam is in danger and we see it will be weaker every day, if we would respect Islamic principles, the Christian states could not Subjugated Muslim states. Insisting on anti-Islamic laws is religiously banned. Our public and private laws should be amended such that to be integrated with existing needs and we can abrogate Capitulation Accord with its help. "This small book was unique both in method and style. He was completely aware of tantalizing nature of his reasoning and debate. So, he wrote humbly. "I

said whatever was useful and I don't claim my words are correct. " Any way, his last sentences express his status compactly. He said that they had been between two adversaries. Perhaps, internal adversaries (clergymen) interpreted my words in favor of European states, for I have educated in Europe. External adversaries (European Powers) conceived that my words are in favor of Iran and Islam survival.

"I am stuck between two adversaries and I appeal public to probe my righteousness. With slight contemplation, we can realize the book effect on embodying Mossadeq's first standpoints over Iran's issues and progress and modernity. He believed to integration of values, techniques and European and Iranian thoughts like Japan. Through this approach Iran could release of backwardness and save its values simultaneously, because sheer emulation had no result. This view was with him till end of life and caused left and right semi-modernists and retrogressive looked him as an alien."

### **Dr. Mossadeq's Article**

In 1923 Majlis education Commission was formed and Mossadeq was member of it. Commission duty had not been precisely specified. However, it should be initiator and supervisor of cultural and instructive activities in the direction of new scientific and research. One of the most useful works of this Commission was embarking on translation different courses from European languages to Persian one. At the time, he wrote and published six articles about law, constitution and public finance. In one of the articles over "European Parliaments Role in specifying Budget and Expenses ", he examined in compressed rules and principles of it in Britain, France and Germany. The main

part of this article is about specifying budget and expenses under parliament especially Majlis deputies not Senate deputies.

In short article of “Citizenship in Iran,” Mossadeq has studied related laws to foreign nationals citizenship in Iran, which had been approved by the Shah Nasser-e-din and was being executed in the first Pahlavi era. “Important principles of Civil and Trade Rights in Iran, Mossadeq discussed law procedures like civil rights, marriage, family law and inheritance and trade rights in Iran from the time of Islam entrance till beginning constituency and some years after constitutional movement. Above articles was published in 1926 in “Ayandegan (Future) magazine”. Long article of “Election in Europe and Iran “is more basis on articles and has dealt with Parliamentary laws and analyzing them. It also, has suggestions over amending election laws in Iran. Mossadeq’s main suggestion is about; a) Need to suitable election based on voting to party candidates however, his words about party politics was just a wish. b) Voter has to be literate. Again, in 1941 he Paid attention to this point. In the eleventh point of suggestive list for amending election, it has been said, “Entrance of literate voters in the Poll booth and entrance of literate individuals with illiterate voters if literacy would not be condition of electing, is contingent on a literate one does not write for two illiterate one. In deed, Mossadeq was going to have a real democratic supervision and its development not restricting it. “Election Issue” has been composed in one introduction and six chapters, and has been studied and expressed election laws in Iran. This article has been published in the fourteenth period in October 1944”. Proposal for amending election laws” was in the 14<sup>th</sup> Majlis and also was published in “ Ettellat “ newspaper in 1944.

In the sixth Majlis (1925-7), Mossadeq refused to have loyalty oath to the Shah and the Constitution, and did not do it until end. In fact, his attitude in this period was in one direction with his political views in practice regarding to his

book about “Capitulation in Iran” in 1914. His unsuccessful attempt in compiling new penal laws at the time of Foreign Ministry is an example of this attitude. Mossadeq and individuals as Mostowfi and moshiroldoleh who were like him had no fear of thoughts despite clergy system and they were not enchanted by them like modernists and left and right semi-modernists. Mossadeq’s understanding of Iranian and European societies was a realistic and rational one. He believed that progress and development is possible when it causes a comprehensive transformation one of its main aspect of this attitude was solid belief to Freedom, law and democracy. For social, economic and technical progress, people’s belief and cooperation should be there. Mossier’s emphasis on being Iran Islamic during his several speeches in the sixth Maglis and later in the fourteenth Maglis was regarding to this point.

### **Dr. Mossadeq’s Books**

“Capitulation and Iran” by Dr. Mossadeq is a book which was written after publishing news over abrogating capitulation in Ottoman Turkey in October 1914 and for informing Iranians of negative results of such a law and encouraging Iran’s state to nullify Capitulation. Mossadeq wrote this book after studying and surveying international accords between Europe and Turkey states. This book was published in 5000 volumes in 1914. He wrote in a page of it that it was free and its publishing right and translation is free.

“Scientific Magazine” was established and published by Haj Mirza Yahya Dowlat Abadi’s suggestion and with cooperation of Firuz Nosratol Doleh, Ghafari Zakao-Doleh, Mohammad Ali Nezam Mafi Salar Moazam, Musa Sheibani Zakaol Saltaneh and Mossadeq. According to Mossadeq it was stopped for social instability after 10 or 15 numbers. “Testament in Islamic Law – (Shia)” is Ph D thesis of Mossadeq in French, which was written in 1914. Some parts of this

disquisition were translated by Ahmad Matin Daftari, Ali Motamedi and Nasrollah Entezam and Published in Tehran in 1923. “Government Responsibility for Illegal Acts of Civil servants in doing their duties and Rule of non-surrounding (political) state criminals” is an essay by Dr. Mossadeq in French for taking certification in Paris Political School. “Shares Company in Europe” is another book by him, which was written after Ardashir J’s statement, representative of Indian Zoroastrians in Iran, over not publishing any books about trade companies in Iran. Therefore, Mossadeq started to study different European Countries laws. This book was published in 103 pages in November 1914. Again, he wrote its publishing right and translation and sale is free.

“ Order in legal Courts” : It was result of expansive legal studies of Dr. Mossadeq which was for prompting his teaching qualification in Political Science school in request of Dr. Naser and respect to him and students of that school .It was compiled in more than 1000 pages in August 1915. Mossadeq was not interested in using foreign language and writing, but because of the World War I and censorship, he wrote it in French .He wrote it was free and publishing right and translation is free. “Brief of Parliamentary Rights in Iran and Europe for Deputies of the fifth term of Majlis”: This book was published in 72 Pages in 1923 and again its publishing right and translation and sale was free. “Financial Principles and Rules and Laws in Foreign Countries and Iran before the Constitution and Constitutional Period”: Dr. Mossdeq wrote it when he was under control in Ahmad Abad. Its Preamble was written by Ezatollah Sahabi and introduction by Ali Akbar Shobeir ; Nejad Mossadeq’s motivation of writing this book was to render some of his information and experiences over financial issues to public .Its Publishing and sale right and translation was free .First , it was Published in 1925 and then in 1998 by Farzan Publisher in Tehran. “*Mossadeq’s Memoirs*” was written by Dr. Mossadeq and whit his son preface Gholam Hossein Mossadeq, and elaboration of Iraj Afshar. It was translated to English by Dr.

Mohammad Ali Homyun Katouzian in 1985 and its eight publish was in 1996 by “Elmi” Publisher.

“Letters from Ahmad Abad 1956-1966” has been written by Dr. Mossadeq and gathered by Fariba Amini and has been Published by Express Publisher in Washington 2004. “Dr. Mossadeq’s Speeches in the Sixteenth Term of Majlis” by Mohammad Turcoman in two Volumes has gathered “His Letters”. “Mossadeq’s Correspondents” has been compiled by him, also has been published in 10 Volumes by Dr. Mossadeq’s Publisher in Paris in 1966. “Oil Documents”, also by his publishing is about the then government in 1961. “Powers, Reforms and legal Measures of Dr. Mossadeq” has been gathered by masood Kuhastani Nejad. Iraj Afshar has gathered “Friends Letters”. One does not write for the illiterate one. In deed, Mossadeq was going to have a real democratic supervision and its development not restricting it. “Election Issue” has been composed in one introduction and six chapters , and has been studied and expressed election laws in Iran. This article has been published in the fourteenth period of Mossadeq’s deputation and in “Ayandeh” magazine third period of October 1944. “Proposal for amending election laws” was in the 19<sup>th</sup> Majlis and was published in “Ettellat” newspaper on 13/04/1944.

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22. For knowing more about the quality of seizing power by Sardar Sepah refer to Mohammad Taghi Bahar, “*Tarikh-e Mokhtasar-e Ahzab-e Siasi, Engheraz-e Qajarieh*”, (Tehran, Amirkabir, 1984), Vol.II , pp.33-65 and see pp:33-65, Also Yahya Dolat Abadi, “*Hayat-e Yahya*”,(Tehran, Attar, 1982), ed.3, Vol.4, and pp:318-350
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