

Analyzing the effective factors in the failure of the constitutional revolution based on the structure-agent model

Analizando los factores efectivos en el fracaso de la revolución constitucional a partir del modelo estructura-agente

Hossein Siamian Gorgi¹

Ahmad Bakhshaishi Ardestani²

Mohammad Toheed Fam³

Recibido: 2 de septiembre de 2023 Aceptado: 30 de noviembre de 2023

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33110/cimexus180204>

RESUMEN

La revolución constitucional, como movimiento político y social, fue uno de los acontecimientos más importantes de la historia política de Irán, que logró reducir los cimientos del poder absoluto de la monarquía en Irán a una monarquía constitucional y conducir a la formación de instituciones administrativas y civiles y cambios en la estructura social de acuerdo con sus objetivos, es decir, la libertad. La justicia y la independencia deben ser enajenadas. La pregunta que nos viene a la mente al estudiar este hecho histórico es ¿por qué esta revolución no terminó y fracasó? En este sentido, utilizando la teoría estructura-agente, algunos factores del fracaso del flujo constitucional se dividieron en dos categorías, internos y externos. Por lo tanto, el propósito de esta investigación es investigar y analizar el papel de los factores internos y externos en el modelo estructura-agente de forma descriptiva-analítica. Los hallazgos de la investigación indican que a nivel de la estructura interna, factores como la debilidad de la estructura y organización administrativa, la lucha de los príncipes por ganar el poder y las diferencias y heterogeneidad entre los constitucionalistas, por un lado, y por el otro, en el plano externo, factores como la dependencia de los agentes y la evidente injerencia de Rusia e Inglaterra conducen al fracaso de la revolución constitucional y a que no se alcancen sus objetivos.

Palabras clave: Revolución constitucional, Modelo estructura-agente, Teoría de Giddens, Intelectuales

¹ PhD student, Faculty of Political Sciences, Central Tehran Branch, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran. Correo electrónico: mosane447@gmail.com

² Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Political Science, Central Tehran Branch, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran. Email: ba.ahmed89@yahoo.com

³ Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Political Science, Central Tehran Branch, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran

ABSTRACT

The constitutional revolution, as the most extensive political and social movement, was one of the most important events in the political history of Iran, which was able to reduce the foundations of the absolute power of the monarchy in Iran to a constitutional monarchy and lead to the formation of administrative and civil institutions and changes in the social structure in line with its goals, i.e. freedom. Justice and independence should be alienated. The question that comes to mind when studying this historical event is why this revolution did not end and failed? In this regard, by using the structure-agent theory, some factors of the failure of the constitutional flow were divided into two categories, internal and external. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to investigate and analyze the role of internal and external factors in the structure-agent model in a descriptive-analytical way. The findings of the research indicate that at the level of the internal structure, factors such as the weakness of the structure and administrative organization, the struggle of princes to gain power, and the differences and heterogeneity between the constitutionalists on the one hand, and at the external level, factors such as the dependence of agents and the obvious interference of Russia and England lead to failure of constitutional revolution and not reaching its goals.

Keywords: Constitutional revolution, Structure-agent model, Gidden's theory, Intellectuals

INTRODUCTION

Iran's constitutional revolution in 1905 AD was one of the most important events in the contemporary history of Iran, with which the foundation of the new history of Iran, the old and old Qajar system, the unwillingness of the kings for economic reforms and political changes and the lack of concern for social changes based on internal and external developments, provided the ground for the Iranian constitutionalism movement. This movement was the historical break point between the past and the new era of Iran, which started with the Reji incident and reached its peak with the granting of tobacco concessions to Talbot during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, and for the first time in the modern history of Iran, led to a coalition of three influential groups (ulama , merchants and people) against the authoritarian policies of the monarchy, which resulted in the cancellation of privileges and the breaking of the spell of fighting against tyranny (Shiroudi, 2017: 2). Although the constitutional revolution came to fruition after a relatively short period of people's struggles, but after a while it was caught up in adversity and failed to achieve its goals. This movement, which, according to the famous words, was considered the beginning of Iranians' struggle to achieve freedom, the rule of

law, and the realization of political and civil rights, despite the struggles of different classes in that era, it failed to realize the aforementioned goals, and the forces of despotism finally destroyed this movement. Considering that during the time period of the constitutional revolution, Iran had been integrated into the world system for some time, so it is impossible to understand its internal developments without understanding the external developments affecting its failure. In this way, with a general look at the internal and external situation of Iran at that historical moment, we explain the developments of the constitutional revolution. Therefore, the purpose of the current research was to find the root cause of the failure of the constitutionalists to achieve their ideals and the plans of the constitutional government. Due to the simultaneous attention to internal and external elements and, most importantly, the possibility of interaction between the structure-agent elements, the constitutionalists approach can analyze the political developments of Iran during the constitutional revolution and the reasons for its failure, possibly better with regard to the aforementioned components. Therefore, in the first part of the research, while referring to the fields of the formation of the constitutional flow in relation to the research topic, in order to prove the hypothesis and explain the factors affecting the failure of the constitutional flow, using the theoretical foundations of the structure-agent, it is divided into two parts; structural and agent. In the section of structural elements, the three parts of the bipolar structure of the system, the role of Russia and England and the weakness of the Iranian political system in that period have been mentioned, and the section of agency elements has been mentioned in four main parts: the role of traditional princes, the differences and lack of homogeneity of the constitutionalists, the resignation of the clergy, the role of anti-constitutional factors, the inability of westernized intellectuals, and the role of Russia and England in continuing the constitution were discussed.

RESEARCH METHOD

Thought and constitutionalism, with all its successes and failures, have had a lasting impact on Iran's political and social developments and will maintain their importance until the unknown future. Regarding the constitutional movement, many works have been published, some of which are related to the thoughts and intellectual developments of the constitutional movement, and some of them have dealt with the memories of the men of that era in the history of Iran. Here we have benefited from some research related to constitutional developments, but what distinguishes this research from recent researches is the investigation of the causes of the failure of the constitutionalists from the point of view of structure-agent, which has not been addressed in other researches. Therefore, this research, using documentary-historical sources and within the framework of the structure-agent theory, tries to examine

the causes of the failure and failure of the constitutional process in the two axes of structure and agency, along with its related subsets.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the discussions of political sociology, the explanations are usually structural and focused on the role of cause and effect of certain social relations and relationships, and structural explanations are associated with some kind of causality, and against them, there are volitional explanations that focus on the determining role and social choices of elite actors (Parker, 2008: 54). Therefore, the ontology and epistemology of the concept of structure-agent emerge based on distinct positions.

Structuralism

The view of structuralism compared to structure-agent gives superiority to the structuralist and seeks to explain political and social events and processes based on the functioning of social and political structures. In summary, there are two general views of this theory:

- a. Being influenced by social, political and cultural structures; In other words, human knowledge is an effect, social, economic structures, etc. are a cause (Aron, 1998: 174). Also, according to Althusser, there are three structural levels in every society: political, economic and ideological; these three levels of “social formation” create structures and influence other phenomena (Aron, 1998: 174).
- b. The structuredness of language (both objectively and subjectively) and the effect of this structuredness on the way people think. Therefore, structuralism is the same theory that refers to the lack of human agency in the face of social, political laws, etc. In general, structural explanations are helpful, but they ignore the role and influence of elites’ actions in the field of politics or consider them small and unimportant (Parker, 2008: 54).

Volitionism

Voluntarism is exactly the opposite of structuralism. If structuralism is an imported concept, volitionism is an insider explanation and an internal product that focuses on social institutions, human agency, and the rich fabric of social and political interaction; That is, structures as the product of voluntary action are imagined (David and Stoker, 2018: 312). Since voluntarism is opposite to structuralism, both views have a simple and single-cause view of the relationship between structure and agent. This is while the structure theory has combined these two in a beautiful and creative way and freed itself from various critics of the method.

Structure-agent theory

The theoretical basis of this article is the structuring theory of Anthony Giddens. This theory tries to negate the distinction between the structure of the agent in the views of structuralism and voluntarism and emphasizes the interaction of these two concepts and their dialectical relationship. Unlike the above theories, Giddens believes that both theories are wrong, because social phenomena do not have a linear relationship with each other, nor is the cause of their occurrence the same phenomenon, but most social phenomena have different causes. Therefore, the starting point of Giddens' discussion is to involve the structure and agent in the explanation of social phenomena, without considering one to determine the other. In fact, in this theory, the interaction between the agent and the structure causes the actor to be placed in the field of activity, and the results of his action are caused by his individual action and the structural contexts of the individual's action (Gramian and Pourgoshchi, 2014: 134). The concept of structure-agent is related to the questions of power, causality and political explanation, therefore it is placed in the center of the philosophy of social and political sciences. Different positions regarding the structure and agent reflect the knowledge of various fields of knowledge (Gramian and Pourgoshchi, 2014: 134).

In the definition of agent and structure, two ontological criteria can be considered:

First, they should be imagined as independent and inexhaustible entities; second, to establish theoretical relationships between agent characteristics and structure, it is necessary to define them as variables. The importance of Giddens' theory is that in order to overcome the duality of micro and macro level, he suggests that agency and structure are considered as different aspects of all social actions and believes that separating these two is an analytical distinction and not a real one. In this perspective, social structures are both coercive and the result of the individual's actions at the same time. According to Giddens, making is both "compelling" and "enabling." Structure limits a person on the one hand and allows him to act on the other hand. According to Giddens, agency means the things that the agents do actually. Agency is related to the events that the person is the cause of. An event that would not have happened if the individual did not intervene (Giddens, 1984: 9). According to Giddens, agents have the ability and power to influence the social world. The actor has limitations, but this does not mean that he has no choice and is not effective. Structure is also the rules and resources that enable the existence of similar recognizable social practices in different times and places and give them a systematic form (Giddens, 1989: 17), but the structure exists only in the actions of human agents and through them. In general, in this research, based on Giddens structure-agent theoretical framework, the structural and agency fields of the constitutional event have been studied. The theoretical

assumption of this article is that without the influence of structural factors (weakness of the political system and economic structure) and agents such as the struggle of princes to gain power and differences between constitutionalists and at the external level factors such as the dependence of agents and the obvious intervention of Russia and England at the same time this historical failure didn't happen. In fact, the bipolar structures of the world and the weakness of the political structure of the system have caused changes and at the same time these actions have affected the social structure and they have led to failure in front of these actions. In the continuation of the discussion, the structural and agency factors of the failure of the constitutional flow are examined.

THE CAUSES AND GROUNDS OF THE FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT

The constitutional revolution is one of the most important events in Iran's contemporary history, which contains a lot of precious experiences and provides many lessons for future generations. From the early years of the Qajar dynasty, and especially after the humiliating end of the Iran-Russia wars, the Iranian people gradually got to know the western civilization and realized their distance from the western societies. Naturally, finding a solution to compensate for this gap and return Iran to its original and worthy place of civilization and historical dignity became the most important concern of Iranians. While the authoritarian system was recognized as one of the factors of backwardness by the Iranian society and its reform was part of its national concern, Western colonialism gradually dominated this authoritarian system and imposed its colonial rule through it. In this way, the domination of colonialism was added to the other causes of the backwardness of the society, and the inefficiency of the political system to overcome the deterioration of the situation became more and more obvious. Therefore, the Iranian nation saw the solution in limiting tyranny. The result of this national solution; The revolution established constitutionalism and the Iranian nation was able to force the tyranny of several thousand years, which was caught in the clutches of colonialism in those days, to sign the limited and conditional nature of its power. It is hoped that in the light of this action, one of the important obstacles to progress will be removed and by removing other factors and shortcomings of the social, cultural, and economic structure, it will pave the way for the realization of a worthy Iran.

CAUSES AND GROUNDS OF FAILURE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

According to the components of structure-agent theories, it seems that the structure-agent approach due to the simultaneous attention to the social

structure and the agent and most importantly the possibility of interaction between the elements of the structure-agent can better understand the political developments of the country at the stage of the constitutional revolution and why it failed according to the above components. Therefore, in this research, using the integrated approach of structure-agent and according to the mentioned components, it is possible to identify the structural elements affecting the constitutional failure in the three main parts of the polar structure of the international system and the weakness of the political and economic system in the constitutional period, and the agency elements in several main parts. As well as the role of traditional princes, he categorized the differences and lack of homogeneity of constitutionalists, the resignation of clerics, the role of anti-constitutional factors, the inability of westernized intellectuals, and the role of Russia and England. According to the theory of structure-agent, mutual interaction between the structure and agent is always necessary for the emergence of a historical phenomenon. Therefore, in order to find the answer to the reason for the failure of the constitutional movement based on the structure-agent theory, here we have classified two categories of structural and agency factors, and for each category we have considered subcategories in order to get to know the factors affecting the failure of the constitutional movement, which will be mentioned in the rest of the research.

Structural factors of constitutional failure in Iran

In examining the structural causes of the evolution of Iran during the constitutional period, on the one hand, the inconsistency and conflict of the existing factions in leading the movement, each of which had a specific goal and destination, and on the other hand, economic inequalities, poverty, and social gaps caused their coalition to break and eventually fall apart. In the following, we will discuss the political and economic reasons.

Weakness of the political system

Iran has been experiencing a complicated situation since the time of the constitution. The weakness of the central government, the increasing interference of foreign governments, the instability of the government and parliament, financial problems, frequent famines, and the existence of some riots and unrest were among the issues that made the situation complicated. The closing of the first parliament, the Russian ultimatum and the dissolution of the second parliament, the First World War and the closing of the third parliament, the formation of the immigration government, the creation of the punishment committee, the 1919 agreement and the 1299 coup were among the events after the formation of the constitution was until the opening of the fourth parliament. The consequence of the First World War for Iranians was

chaos in the country, which, along with the pressure of foreign powers, fueled a long-lasting gap in the field of Iranian politics. In such a situation, in the field of analyzing the structural causes of the failure of the constitutional movement, experts in this field put forward several important factors, they mention the weakness of the political system, such as the chaos and confusion of the political system, and the weakness of the economic structure in the form of the absence of a centralized economic structure. From another point of view, which is mostly presented from the point of view of religious scholars, the main reason that was put forward after the revolution in the explanation of the failure of the constitutional revolution is that the constitution had a religious foundation and people came to the stage in obedience to the clergy. When this movement went astray, Sheikh Fazlullah Nouri became aware of this before everyone else, and then with the withdrawal of clerics from this movement, the people also became discouraged and it fell into the hands of secularists, freemasons and liberals, and finally led to the formation of the Pahlavi dynasty (Omrani et al., 2017: 113).

The weakness of the economic structure

If there is economic prosperity in a society due to economic prosperity, it is likely that the active social gaps in it will turn into passive gaps, and on the contrary, if poverty and inequality spread in the society, the passive social gaps are prone to become active social gaps. Therefore, the absence of a centralized economic structure in the constitutional era is always one of the reasons for the failure of this trend (Omrani et al., 2017: 111). The beginning of the First World War led to a decrease in customs revenue and the lack of financial resources weakened the power of the gendarmerie and delayed the payment of gendarmes' salaries (Sinai, 2012: 78). Therefore, political thinkers consider financial and economic problems as another factor of the decline of constitutionalism and consider its effect in disrupting the parliament to be more important than all other factors (Asadi Zeidabadi and Moradi Khalaj, 2021: 85). In general, by examining the structural factors in the internal political, economic, cultural and social dimensions, it can be said that just as the external structure resulted in the strengthening of intellectuals, constitutionalist clerics and businessmen, this factor in the country caused the nationalistic feeling to increase the economic dissatisfaction of the people, the increase in the dissatisfaction of merchants and marketers due to the decline of the domestic economy, unequal treaties, and the increase in the feeling of hatred towards foreigners, prevailed for many reasons, such as the direct and clear help of the Russians to the elites. As a result, the legitimacy of the ruling elites decreased and the cultural, political and economic elites strengthened. On the other hand, during the post-constitutional changes and Russian support to the ruling elites, especially Muhammad Ali Shah and some of the princes and

princes of tribes, it strengthened the ruling elites against the constitutionalists and weakened them, and the military intervention led to the defeat of the constitutionalists, and the complete failure of its goals in this period became historic.

Agency factors of constitutional failure in Iran

Internal factors

Among the influential agency factors in political regimes such as the authoritarian and weak Qajar kingdom, the ruling elites including the king, chancellor, crown prince and courtiers are considered to be the most important agency factors. Among the ruling agents, the king personally holds all the power; the constitutional agents influenced the failure of the constitution to establish a national army in two ways. One group by not knowing the position of the army in the new government and another group by knowing the effect of the army in increasing the power of the king and as a result endangering the constitution (Sinai, 2012: 76); therefore, the political structure leads to the monopoly of political, military and to a large extent economic power in the hands of the Shah. According to the aforementioned sources of power, the effectiveness of the Shah compared to other ruling elites is very high, and the effectiveness of other ruling elites (except the Shah) is very low and limited to their field of activity and to their direct subordinates. The ruling elite organization is one of the other factors that should be considered. Due to the weak bureaucracy and the lack of proper communication channels, continuous and fast communication between the ruling elites was not established. More importantly, in the political sphere there was a completely arbitrary and top-down relationship, headed by the king himself and then the chancellor. Therefore, the relationship was completely one-sided, dominant and from above, and this type of relationship was scattered all over the country; that is, the rulers of the regions in the region had the same position as the king in the center. Another feature of the network of relations of the ruling elites of the Qajar era is the feature of people who are known as the ruling elite (the feature of groups in network analysis). Two criteria determined the appointment of rulers of different regions; first, the dynasty; Many government positions were granted to the Qajar princes, and there was always competition among these princes to be close to the source of power, that is, the king himself, and any means were used, and secondly, the sale of positions, ransom, and bribery; some government positions were sold or handed over through ransom and bribery. Therefore, this type of political system led to the elites' network being completely hierarchical and everyone trying to get close to the Shah, which strengthened the Shah's power in the political sphere compared to other ruling elites.

Role of traditional princes

Although the constitutional revolution is considered a turning point in the history of Iran, among its results, we can mention the occurrence of differences and conflicts between its supporters and opponents, especially among the Qajar dynasty. As an example of one of the influential princes in this historical period, we can mention Salar al-Dawlah, the third son of Muzaffaruddin Shah, who ruled the west of the country for many years and rebelled at every opportunity at the behest of pro-constitutional or anti-constitutional groups, so that at three different times after signing the constitutional decree acted in defiance, revolt and rebellion in order to obtain the throne and take over the kingdom of the country from the hands of his brother Mohammad Ali Shah and the constitutional revolutionaries. In this way, due to his influence in the western regions of the country, Salar al-Dawlah brought tribes along with his wishes. Therefore, the western tribes of the country played a central role in Salar al-Dawlah's rebellion (Parvin, 2015: 43). The main goal of Salar al-Dawlah's rebellion was to gain power, so in 1325 AD he started a rebellion and with the help of the nomads, he started a movement against constitutionalism that surprised the government and the parliament. The powerful and large elots and nomads of this region, who were under the unquestioning orders of their Ilkhan, also made the situation in favor of these groups. People like Salar al-Doleh were trying to challenge the constitution with the help of nomads and tribes. After that, the issue of government and Shah in numerous telegraph to different cities of Iran asked them to remove the tyranny of Salar al-Dawlah. Sources contemporaneous with the event refer to the main role of Il Kalhar in solving the rebellion of Salar al-Dawlah, and as a result, he was defeated by the forces of Il Kalhor and government forces and became a refugee to the British consul in Kermanshah. In Tehran, it was only the mediation of the mother and son of Salar al-Dawlah and scholars such as Mr. Behbahani and Tabatabayi with Mohammad Ali Shah that saved Salar al-Dawlah. It seems that the reason why the Shah forgave him was that he wanted to keep him in front of the constitutionalists and use him as a trump card. For this reason, later in 1326 A.H. that the king closed the parliament and his power increased against the constitutionalists, and with all his persistence he exiled him to Europe (Melekzadeh, 2007: 260).

Differences and lack of homogeneity of the constitutionalists

Another reason for the failure of the constitutional revolution is the disharmony and lack of empathy among the constitutionalist forces. These forces did not come to the field with a single goal and the same motivation. As mentioned, on the one hand, the title of the constitution was a vague idea from the beginning that came to languages and minds from a foreign culture. so

that everyone had a different interpretation of it; Therefore, it was natural that after the victory, these different interpretations and goals could not be implemented together; And on the other hand, there were clerics who came to the field in order to limit the power of the usurping monarchy and with religious and religious slogans, based on the Qur'an and Sunnah, which had the power to move the people, and on the other hand, there were intellectuals present in this revolution that can be said that they were considered good carriers of western ideas. Many of them did not know anything other than imitating the appearances of Western culture and European traditions, for example, we can mention Akhundzadeh, who, while oozing with Iranian nationality, nationalism and patriotism, was in the service of Russia, the enemy of Iran, and in his writings he praised Russia and openly criticized the Islamic religion and beliefs of the people and considered religious beliefs as factors behind the backwardness of the people and emphasized on imitating the West. Other intellectuals were Mirza Malkam Khan Nazim-ud-Doleh and Sepehsalar, who were more or less similar to each other in these aspects (Jamshid, 2012: 178). Therefore, it will be natural if it is said that one of the factors of the constitutional failure was the inconsistency and conflict of the existing factions in the leadership of the movement. In fact, "different factions in the constitutional era each pursued a specific goal and destination, and their common point was the negation of the existing situation. These wide differences made their coalition fragile and caused it to fall apart" (Malekutian et al., 2004: 49). The constitutional movement was based on the expedient coalition of secular intellectuals and scholars; but this expedient coalition was too unstable to institutionalize change and achieve a balance between anarchism and royal authoritarianism. Therefore, the endless clashes between the forces active in the constitutional movement caused Iran to be placed in the cycle of tyranny, chaos and tyranny, until at first, as a result of the non-conciliatory policy of the elites, Iran was in the orbit of anarchism and then in the pursuit of a powerful government, in the orbit of Reza Khani's tyranny placed and there is no room left for the growth of participation and competition (Khaldipour et al., 2021: 130).

Withdrawal of clerics from the constitution

Following the approval of the constitution, which was compiled using the constitutions of Belgium and France and signed by the king, the aims and nature of the different factions were gradually revealed. Some emerging newspapers attacked people's religious sanctities; As a result, a group of clerics of Tehran led by Sheikh Fazlullah Nouri, in order to face these movements, criticized the constitutionalists and gathered in the shrine of Hazrat Abdul Azim (AS) and demanded a legitimate constitution. This can be considered as the starting point of the separation and distancing of a group of scholars from the

constitution, the opposition of Sheikh Fazlullah Nouri being the most prominent among them. With the revelation of the western nature and basis of the constitutionalist thinking, as well as the consideration of the constitutionalists and foreign supporters of the constitution, he called for the adaptation of the constitutional laws to Islam, and in response to those who called him an autocrat, he said: I do not deny the National Assembly in any way, but I consider myself more than anyone in establishing this foundation. I want the National Assembly which is based on Islam and does not make laws contrary to Sharia (Malekutian et al., 2004: 41).

The inability of westernized intellectuals

In the absence of scholars, a number of Westerners - in practice - took over the leadership of the constitution. In this way, the constitution, which was born with religion and the efforts of religious scholars, ended up being ruled by secularism, and its religious aspect was forgotten under the shadow of westernization. The blind and superficial imitation of intellectuals of this era of Western civilization, their trust in colonialism, disregard for traditions and religion in Iranian society, and finally their lack of popular base made them unable to be worthy guardians for the continuation of the constitution. The above factors can be attributed to the spread of slander and slander against the benefactors and sympathizers of this movement by the press of that time, the lack of a coherent leadership and the differences of the clergy - which the enemy instigated and intensified, social tensions, differences and divisions among the people who were initially constitutionalist. Then it was dragged into verbal fights and bloody street conflicts, the influence of autocratic and dependent elements in the movement, the chaos of the situation and hunger and disease, the increase of the oppression of the rulers despite the inability of the constitutional government to create security; He added that in general, it caused widespread dissatisfaction in the nation and provided the ground for the re-emergence of tyranny. One of the reasons for the failure of the constitution in the domestic sphere is the lack of necessary infrastructure for this purpose and he believes that: "From the beginning of the constitutional movement until the issuance of the decree of constitutionalism by Muzaffaruddin Shah and from the beginning of the great sit-in in Qom and the garden of the British Embassy until Shah Qajar's approval of constitutionalism about a month has been spent, and in this short period, none of the necessary intellectual and cultural infrastructures have been realized in our country. So this is also one of the reasons for the failure of the constitutional movement and it was a false expectation that this movement would eventually win." He considers the reasons for the failure of the constitution from the foreign sphere apart from the differences between the constitutionalists and the joining of some Qajars to this movement for hypocrisy and profiteering, the British government's turning its back on this movement, and finally the suppression

of the constitutionalists with the help of imperial Russia (Gramian and Pourgoshchi, 2014: 136).

The role of anti-constitutional factors

On the opposite side, that is, the anti-constitutional camp, were the ruling elites and large landowners. Foran believes that the biggest allies of the government in the constitutional revolution were the landowning classes and the country's "nobles" in general. Also, the abolition of transfer of land revenue in the first parliament of 1907/1286 removed the entire landowning class of the country from constitutionalism (Foran, 2012: 272). In this way, the landowners took a position against the constitution from the beginning, as mentioned in the economic structure section, this group was close to the court and had many interests in the authoritarian structure. The most important source of power of this group was economic and they did not have a coherent and extensive network of relationships. On the eve of constitutionalism, this group became a political elite and tried to support the court and tyranny, because they saw the only way to preserve these interests was to be with the ruling elites. Considering that the big landowners did not have an ideological conflict with the ruling elites and the preservation of their interests depended on joining them, it can be said that the relationship between the big landowners and the ruling elites was more of the "agreement" type and with the constitutionalist groups more of the "conflict of interests" type. Ideological conflicts within the first category between intellectuals and businessmen became visible after the realization of the constitution. The common enemy (the ruling elite) was weakened and the goal was accomplished. Therefore, the ideological conflict between the intellectuals and the clergy and businessmen became visible; this issue caused the disintegration of the coalition and the withdrawal of some clerics from the pro-constitutional front or joining the anti-constitutional front and led to the regaining power of the ruling elites. Therefore, although both groups of clerics and intellectuals had a common primary goal, they looked at it from completely different and contradictory perspectives. Despite the ideological conflict between the two groups, as long as the authoritarian Qajar government was in progress and the struggle for the establishment of a parliamentary system continued, the constitutionalist clerics and intellectuals were on a united front. (Ajudani, 1387:126). But after the implementation of the constitution and the establishment of the first parliament, especially during the amendment of the constitution, contradictions were revealed. The ruling elites took advantage of this constitutional-legitimate bipolar atmosphere and shut down the parliament. With the formation of the second parliament, the conflicts increased; because with the revelation of the deep differences and contradictions of intellectuals and clerics, as well as the entry of elite and big owners, the conflict of interests and ideology spread and as a result, the conservative faction gained strength.

External factors

The polar structure of the international system is one of the effective material elements in Iran's foreign policy. Since national units do not have the same power in the international system, a hierarchy of power is evident in the context of the international system. In this case, the international system is interpreted based on different points of view, such as hegemonic system, unipolar system, multipolar system, etc. (Hill, 2017: 95). This component was one of the influential elements and bases in the developments of the constitutional period in the shadow of the international polar system, which Iran was not far from its effects and was affected by it at different levels. The political system of Iran during the Qajar period coincided with the entry of western countries into the field of domestic politics. Iran was neither an independent country nor an annexed country under the protection of another country, but it was always in the crosshairs of Russian and British colonialism and imperialism. Russian position towards the constitution was clear from the beginning. Considering Muhammad Ali Shah's closeness to Russia and also the Russian political system, this country was against the constitution; But Britain's position was ambiguous at best and clearly hostile at worst (Foran, 2012: 283). Among the effective factors in the failure of the constitutional revolution, foreign interference can be mentioned, including the interference of Russia and England in the developments after the signing of the constitutional decree in Iran, among which the destructive role of Russia due to the numerous issues that will be mentioned below is one of the other prominent factors. Therefore, in examining the causes of constitutional failure, the role of foreign factors should not be ignored, because the alliance of the Russian and British powers against the ever-increasing danger of Germany and the subsequent division of Iran in the agreement of 1907, as well as the occupation of Iran in the First World War by the conflicting powers, can be undoubtedly factors of constitutional failure. With the beginning of the First World War, the number of foreign forces increased rapidly and Iran became the war scene of the warring states. The legacy of the First World War for Iran was famine, hunger, illness and finally the death of many people, as well as the poverty and distress of the survivors. In this situation, it was possible for the people to neglect the thought of their revolution and even many people attribute all these calamities to the constitution.

The destructive role of Tsarist Russia and England

Although the constitutional movement witnessed the rise and fall of three parliaments, three kings and about 30 governments, and he was able to end the 130-year-old Qajar dynasty and their rule, but he failed to prevent Russian and British interference in Iran. Therefore, it is very important to know

the politics and goals of foreigners in the constitutional revolution, because at this critical moment in Iran's contemporary history, the intervention and influence of foreign countries changed the course of the revolution. In such a way that it can be imagined that if there was no intervention of foreigners in the constitutional revolution, the fate of the revolution would have changed. In the meantime, Russia should be considered as one of the biggest actors in Iran's political scene during the constitutional revolution, this country always tried to reach the warm waters of the Persian Gulf, it considered Iran as a region for economic exploitation with great facilities and tried to use it against British interests in India should exert pressure; therefore, the constitutional revolution, which was considered an uprising against this policy and a move towards a democratic national government, threatened the interests of the Russians in Iran. For this reason, the Russian government supported autocrats and opponents of constitutionalism. Supporting the return of Mohammad Ali Shah and announcing an ultimatum to Iran to expel Morgan Shuster, openly opposing the reforms of the constitutionalists and creating disruption, insecurity and political instability are examples of the Russians' opposition to the constitutional revolution (Institute of Political Studies and Research, 2010: 4). In this regard, after the death of Muzaffaruddin Shah and the coming to power of Muhammad Ali Shah, who was also an opponent of the constitution, the Russians were used to strengthen the new Shah in his enmity with the parliament and the constitution day by day, until Muhammad Ali Shah removed Mushir al-Dawlah from the chancellery, and called Amin al-Sultan (Atabek Azam), who was the chancellor of the dictatorship period, from Europe to Iran and made him chancellor. But after some time Atabek Azam was killed by a young man named Abbas Agha Tabrizi. Another effective factor in Russia's opposition to the revolutionaries and taking overt and hidden measures to defeat the constitutional movement can be seen as the root of Russia's granting of multi-million loans to Iran, especially the second loan, which turned Iran into an economic colony of Russia in such a way that in return Iran's customs administration was given to Russia with the exception of Fars customs and Persian Gulf ports. During the following years, Russia's hostility towards the constitutional revolution continued, and finally, when the constitutionalists decided to strengthen themselves against the overt and hidden threats of Russia and Britain and their internal elements, they used some foreign advisers to regulate the affairs of the country, with a three-part ultimatum based on the resignation of Morgan Schuster, they were faced with the commitment that no foreign advisers would be hired without the consent of Russia and England, and the payment of compensation to the Russian forces, and then the Russians' action to occupy Anzali and Rasht. The failure of the Iranian government to respond to these demands within 48 hours led to the occupation of the major part of the country by Russian and British forces, and the second term of the parliament ended on December 24, 1911, and the era of the constitutional revolution also ended.

CONCLUSION

Iran's constitutional revolution in 1905 was one of the most important events in the contemporary history of Iran, which came to fruition after a relatively short period of people's struggles, but after a while, it was caught up in adversity and failed to achieve its goals. Undoubtedly, various factors were involved in the failure of the revolution that had taken place, and all the future goals and plans of this revolution are aimed at establishing a government within the framework of the law, reducing the power of the king, equality, freedom, security, justice and economic prosperity that the people and leaders wanted it not to be realized and in a short period of time the routine of the past would be stable and strengthened. The results of the present study showed that despite the fact that the constitutional movement could lead to the formation of a democratic government in Iran; however, from the very beginning, it faced basic problems and obstacles in both the structural and brokerage sectors. According to the analysis based on the structure-agent model, the structural factors effective in the decline of constitutionalism include the weakness of Iran's political system and economic system at that time, and the presence of factors such as class divisions, institutional weakness of merchants and businessmen, intellectuals with little influence and the lack of homogeneity among the constitutionalists at the agency level led to the failure of the establishment of the constitutional government. In general, based on the results of the research, in addition to the weakness of the country's political structure, in the failure of the constitutionalists, financial and economic issues and problems, differences and separation between scholars, the king, the influence and colonial policies of Russia and England, the inability of different classes and the ignorance and unwillingness of the constitutional agents were also effective, which were identified as important and major reasons for the decline of constitutionalism.

REFERENCES

- Ajudani, M. (2008). *Iranian Constitution*, Tehran: Akhtaran Publishing House, 6th edition.
- Aron, Raymond (1998). *The basic stages of the thought process in sociology*, translated by Baqer Parham, Tehran: Scientific and Cultural Publications, 4th edition.
- Asadi Zeidabadi, M., & Moradi Khalaj, MM (2021). The causes of constitutional decline from the point of view of Majdal Islam Kermani, *Iranian History Magazine*, 14(2), pp. 71-96.
- David, M., & Stoker, J. (2018). *Method and theory in political science*, translated by: Amir Mohammad Haji Yousofi, Tehran: Strategic Studies Research.

- Foran, J. (2012). *Fragile Resistance: The History of Iran's Social Developments from the Safavid Period to the Years After the Islamic Revolution*, translated by Ahmad Tedin, Tehran: Rasa Cultural Services Institute, 13th edition.
- Giddens, Anthony (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley University of California Press.
- Giddens, Anthony (1989). "A Reply to My Critics", in D. Held and J.B.Thompson(eds.)
- Gramian, SS., & Pourgoshchi, MR. (2014). Globalization and Iran's positions from the perspective of structure-agent theory, *Globalization Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 6th year, number 16.
- Hill, C. (2007). *The changing nature of foreign policy*, translated by: Alireza Tayyeb and Vahid Zaguri, Tehran: Research Center for Strategic Studies. Institute of Political Studies and Research (2010), *Dunya Ekhtad* newspaper, publication date 05/13/2010.
- Jamshid, B. (2012). *Iranians and modern thought*, publisher: Farzan Rooz publishing house, 4th edition.
- Khalidipour, Yazdan and Akhwan Kazemi, Masoud and Sadeghi, Seyyed Shamsuddin (2021). Analysis of the constitutional movement in the framework of the theories of transition to democracy: the compromise elites, *Journal of Political Sociology of Iran*, 4(4), 127-151.
- Malekutian, M., Haqit SS., Bezik, M., Farati AW., & Hosseinizadeh SMA. (2004). *The Islamic revolution and why and how it happened*, published by Maarif Publishing House, 45th edition.
- Melekezadeh, M. (2007). *History of Iran's Constitutional Revolution*, Volume 2, Publisher: Sokhn, 1st edition.
- Omrani, A., Kushki, A., & Ansarifard, H. (2017). Social gaps and political instability in the constitutional era, ethnic gap, *Iranian Political Society Quarterly*, 1(4), pp. 105-136.
- Parker, J. (2008). *Shkharbandi*, translated by Amir Abbas Saeedi, Tehran: Aghah Publishing.
- Parvin, Nader (2015). *The rebellion of Salar al-Doulah and the role of Ayl Kalhor*, *Historical Studies Quarterly*, No. 15.
- Sinai, V. (2012). Investigating the causes of the failure of the constitutional movement in establishing a national army in Iran, *Political Quarterly*, 34(3), pp. 61-80.
- Shiroudi, M. (2017). *Iran and contemporary Islam*, published by Khorsandi, 1st edition.