



International Journal of Political Science  
ISSN: 2228-6217  
Vol 13, No 3, Sep 2023, (pp. 1- 17)

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## Nazmiyeh (Police) and its Place in the Ideology of Reza Shah's Government

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Received: 15 April 2023 ; Accepted: 18 Sep 2023

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### Abstract

Reza Shah's government can also be considered a government based on an ideology. This ideology has different components and at the same time, based on it, various institutions were created during Pahlavi's rule. Accurate knowledge of the Pahlavi government, especially in the era of Reza Shah, is obtained with a correct understanding of this ideology. Therefore, the state of the Pahlavi government is "linked" to this ideology in a very fundamental way. Looking at its situation, the three most important elements in it were considered the main ideological components of the government, which are: "authoritarianism", "monopolism" and "personalization of power". Of course, nationalism and antiquarianism can also be added to these. In this research, the focus is on the political components of the government's ideology. In sum, according to these three components, the ideological characteristic of Reza Shah's government can be considered as "concentration of exclusive personal power". In the meantime, the military institutions, which Reza Shah had placed the main support of his power on, played a very important role in the continuation of the government and the implementation of its ideology. The "police" was one of the most important of these institutions, which was completely at the service of the "person" of Reza Shah, and before and after he reached the throne, he fulfilled his wishes completely. This article seeks to understand the "problem" of the "police" in the ideology of the government with a descriptive and analytical method. And at the same time, its most important findings are that the "police" based on the principle of "concentration of exclusive personal power", was one of the main tools for creating order and suppressing Reza Shah's opponents. The most important result of this research is that the police played a role in establishing the "concentration of exclusive personal power" mostly by "suppressing and censoring the press", "dominating the elections and parliament" and "suppressing the opponents of the king". And this act was exactly based on the ideology of Reza Shah's government.

**Keywords:** Authoritarianism, Monopoly, Ideology, Reza Shah, Personalization of power, Nazmiye) police)

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## Introduction

Military institutions can be seen as a clear manifestation of authoritarianism in Reza Shah's government, and authoritarianism is the most central issue in its "ideology". Hence, when a discourse is addressed in the field of "ideology" of Reza Shah's government, its appearance in various institutions will make its understanding and its fruits and disadvantages for the political structure of that government more visible. One of the main foundations of Reza Shah's government was the army and troops, and in addition to the military institutions, and the transformation process that existed before that, the police "institution" took on a new, modern and orderly form during this period. This institution paid attention to urban affairs and the creation of order in the cities, and was widely involved in the suppression of government opponents, and it was considered one of the most important and effective "institutions" of repression in Reza Shah's government, and it was also considered as its intelligence organization. The roots of this institution can be traced back to the Qajar era, and with Naser al-Din Shah's desire to create new military institutions. However, since many new institutions did not take off much in that period, its modern appearance was postponed until the creation of uniformed troops in the era of Reza Shah. In this research, along with a brief review of the background of this military institution in the Qajar era, the basis of the discussion is what position the "police" had in the ideology of the government. The main hypothesis of this research is that "police" was an important manifestation of "authoritarianism" in the ideology of Reza Shah's government, and one of the main tools for creating order and suppressing the opponents of Reza Shah's "person".

## Background

Many researches have been done in the field of police and in general, military forces and army, at the given time point, the most important of them are mentioned. Mohammadi Barzegar and Heydari Nezhad (2021) deal with the origins of the police in the Naseri era and the role of Count Demont Fort in creating the modern police system in Iran has been investigated, and he can be considered the founder of the modern police in Iran. Rahimikia (2020) pays attention to the impact of Naser al-Din Shah's trip to Europe, and the desire to establish a modern and efficient Western-style police force in the country, and deals with the role of Count Dumont Fort and his problems in establishing the police. Ahmadabadi and Mousavi (2018) address the issue that some of Reza Shah's modernist actions and reform programs were pursued by relying on the military forces, including the police, and were not compatible with the general culture and beliefs of the people; It got a negative reflection in the society and faced popular resistance. Ahmadabadi and Rajabi (2017) investigated and studied the evolution of the police in the first Pahlavi era from the time of the March 1920 coup to World War II. Ahmadabadi and others (2017), in their research, are looking for a methodical cognitive presentation of the police organization in the first Pahlavi period and investigating the actions of police chiefs in this period. Ahmadabadi and Mousavi (2016) have described and analyzed the training of police forces and its results in the first Pahlavi period. Amin Sarmi (2016) addressed the issue that, by developing relations with other countries and getting to know their culture, as well as doing things in a consultative manner, new models of the police department were formed and fixed structures and organizations like the Ministry of

Police were established. Jafari and others (2016), using the theory of institutionalism, have analyzed the process of Reza Khan's ascension to power, among them, institutions such as the army, the National Council and some political parties have been of interest to them. Savaqib and Hadi (2015) are looking for a methodical cognitive presentation of the traditional organization of Qajar dynasty city administration and investigating its most important police positions, including the governor, the sheriff, and the police officer. Rezai Panah Izadi (2013), in his research, seeks to show the roots of Reza Shah's discourse, especially in the years 1921 to 1926, in the thought of the modernists of the constitutional era. Navakhti Moghadam and Avarian Asl (2008), in their research, try to explain the ideological foundations of the Pahlavi regime's cultural policies. Assef (2005) has studied and analyzed the nationalistic ideology of the Pahlavi government and its evolution during the rule of this dynasty.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Some studies, the main basis of what can be called the ideology of Reza Shah's government, search more than anything in the category of nationalism. Although, nationalism plays an important role in the formation of the foundations of Reza Shah's government; But, above all, this idea is needed in identity issues, and when the viewpoint is focused on the political institutions of this government, another perspective should be opened to understand the ideology of this government. On the one hand, this approach is based on the political structure of this government, and on the other hand, it has caused an important part of the processes and performance of the government to return to it directly. The institutional point of view can create a perspective that fits the

issue of the legitimacy of the government as well as the state of the political structure of Reza Shah's government. In the meantime, the ideology of the government, as the linker of the various elements of this government, creates a strong connection between them and contributes to the unity of the government to a great extent. At the same time, this ideology has a discursive nature, and at the same time, it creates a special semantic system in the continuity of the mentioned one-handedness.

One of the important aspects of the Pahlavi ideology, which was very evident until the end of the Pahlavi rule, was the personal aspect of this ideology and its complete dependence on the Shah. As such, naming it as Pahlavi can confirm such a statement. This personalization of power was more than anything associated with total authoritarianism, which sought to monopolize power during almost the entire period of Reza Shah's rule. Therefore, the three main characteristics of the ideology of Reza Shah's government can be considered as authoritarianism, exclusivism and personalization of power. The characteristics that gave meaning to the institutions of that time, which were mostly new or constructed like the police, and determined its functions. The functions that most of all helped to strengthen the concentration of Reza Shah's exclusive personal power.

### **Authoritarianism**

Authoritarianism expresses the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, which is more or less permanently based on the use of force rather than on persuading people in society (Dormagen and Mushar, 2010, p. 97). Authoritarianism should be seen as a characteristic of a government in which individual rights and freedom are completely under the control of the government, and at the same time, affairs are in the hands of small groups of leaders or

influential people (Rafael, 1999, p. 124). In authoritarian political systems, society members have a passive attitude towards politics and power, and the authoritarian government welcomes it (Dormagen and Mushar, 2010, p. 80). Based on this, as much as possible, the people of the society define themselves apart from the social status in the society.

### **Exclusivity**

The monopoly of the political structure should be considered as the main tool to prevent participation in power and politics. This feature is fundamental in bureaucratic authoritarian governments. In such governments, the monopoly of the political structure exercises power through the bureaucracy, and by suppressing or assuming vertical dominance, it causes the channels of access to the political arena for everyone, especially the mainly opposition political parties, to be blocked. Also, through the bureaucracy, attempts are made to impose authoritarianism on the society through repressive measures (Alizad and Hemati, 2017, p. 6).

### **The personalization of power**

Researchers have examined the personalization of power above all in the patrimonial political system, where the government is basically the personal and private domain of the ruler. In this system, the ruling political power depends on its military force. In this type of system, the administrative system generally eliminates the separation of private and public spheres, which is characteristic of rational bureaucratic systems (Abbaszadeh Marzbali, 2014, p. 81). Here, the ruler in this system undisputedly exercises personal power at different socio-political levels and does not see a specific limit and source to answer for the exercise of personal power (Geravand et al., 2017, p. 7). The ruling person was considered the source of law and therefore beyond and

superior to all laws and responsible only to God, and the ruler did not have to consult with anyone in matters of taxation or the use of the country's resources. The government was considered the property of the ruler (Vincent, 2011, p. 84). One of the characteristics of patrimonialism is militarism. Therefore, patrimonialism is a type of traditional authority, with a large army bureaucracy that is devoted to the ruler (Mousavi, 2011, p. 324).

### **Reza Shah's government as a regime with the concentration of exclusive personal power**

Since the constitutionalism movement, Iran's political system has been in the process of concentrating power sources, and despite movements towards parliamentarism and distribution of power, it has mainly moved towards the creation of absolute power (Bashiriyeh, 2001, p. 39). One of the important demands, before and after the constitution, was to strengthen the government and centralize power. One of the most important actions in this field was the writing of the constitution, which determined the order of exercising power centrally. However, the events after the constitution became such that this constitutionalist authoritarianism became a kind of exclusive centralized personal power and this issue became the focal point of the ideology of Reza Shah's government. The idea of a powerful government, replacing constitutionalism as a successor of the state, could build the foundations of the new Iran and make ideals available (Shariati and Abbasi Shahkoh, 2018, p. 88). Following that, all the institutions of the new political system found meaning around this component and helped to strengthen this feature. The idea of a powerful government was formed. The ideology of Reza Shah's government, on the one hand, emphasized national homogeneity and consistency, and on the other hand, followed

European-style modernity and modernization (Ghani Nejad, 2010, p. 35). Reza Khan, after the 1920 coup, himself caused this idea to emerge. Since that time, Reza Khan's government was considered as the only way to save the country. The association of the newly established institution of the uniformed army with it provided the basis for the personalization of political power in the sphere of Iranian politics. It should be kept in mind that, until 1926, the relationship between the government and the society in Iran underwent a fundamental change, and with the increase in power sources in the central government, the authority of the government increased, and the army played a vital role in creating this transformation. So that later, as a military institution and effective in Iran's political and social developments, the army became a competitor of individuals and civilian institutions, the government, parliament, and politicians (Ostovar, 2017, p. 28). Reza Shah's administrative apparatus, a military and bureaucratic government, institutionalized political authoritarianism in a short time based on Iran's historical conditions and the confiscation of tools and institutions resulting from new models. This was done for the Shah personally, at the individual level, and for the political system at the institutional level (Alizad and Hemati, 2017, 11).

One of the socio-political characteristics of this era was the personalization of power. Although personalization is one of the characteristics of the patrimonial system, it was strongly manifested in Reza Khan at the beginning of his rise. This personalization was accompanied by the concentration of power, and after the coup of 1920, it was formulated in the form of an absolute government. With the rise of Reza Khan, a major transformation took place in the construction of the Qajar power, the historical structural conditions and

crises, how the Qajar power and the court were built, and the process of constitutionalism and international developments provided the necessary grounds for the success and advancement of the policy of power concentration in the absolute Pahlavi government; which was completed with legitimacy in the form of Reza Shah's nationalism and antiquarian ideology (Mirahmadi and Jabari Nasir, 2010, p. 185). To these issues, it should be added that what happened in Reza Shah's government shows that the quasi-bureaucratic order also tended to become personal. Reza Shah practically ruled in the same traditional, simple, and one-man style in the political sphere. (Yavor, 2014, 94-95)

#### **Military institutions and authoritarianism in the era of Reza Shah**

Reza Khan, rightly, made one of his main points of support for the military force, because the military, the most loyal forces in the society, were to him. This loyalty and, at the same time, Reza Khan's mutual assistance to the military force under his command led to the formation of a strong bilateral relationship, one side of which was authority and support, and the other side was obedience and obedience. This relationship showed strong stability in the turbulent situation where unstable political coalitions and shaky cabinets dominated the political arena and could shape the future of Iran, a future that Reza Khan undoubtedly belonged.

Based on this, Reza Khan owed his political existence more than anything to the military. Therefore, he relied on the new army he had formed and considered strengthening the military forces and maintaining their loyalty as one of his main duties (Khalilikho, 1994, p. 145). Reza Khan, while relying on the army, strengthened and ruled the authoritarian system by doing the following things. Weakening

the power of nomads and at the same time strengthening a special type of land ownership; Creating the spirit of militarism, expanding the security forces and promoting the suffocation system; limiting individual and social freedoms; the establishment of state monopolies and the increasing growth of modern bureaucracy; Insulting and threatening productive and motivated statesmen; and not curbing bribery and administrative corruption (Tonekaboni, 2015, pp. 2-3).

The creation of a new army, as a historical necessity for the establishment of internal order as well as security, maintaining territorial integrity, preventing the claims of ethnic groups, and creating national unity, was an answer to the will of the elites who were looking for a powerful and centralized government after the First World War. Therefore, during the period of Reza Shah, the army became a very large, complex, and powerful organization, which was completely at the disposal of the Shah himself (Akbari, 2005, p. 206).

Reza Shah used the army, both before and after his reign, for all-around domination over various areas of society, and its negative side was in the guise of military rule and repressive measures (Atabaki, 1385, 143). Therefore, in many cases, there was no clear boundary between personal and institutional power in this period, and the basic way of exercising authority was based on the will of the king more than anything else. It was the case that the army in Iran was not only one of the pillars of the absolute government and an institution for applying force within the framework of the law, but also a tool for concentrating power sources, maintaining the Pahlavi regime, and suppressing its internal and political opponents. This was a task that the Iranian armed forces, including the army, gendarmerie, and police, should perform according to the division of labor between themselves and the

strength and volume of the opposition's protests (Youssef Jamali and Bijani, 2014, p. 76).

The historical course of the formation of the new army in Iran was such that, in December 1921, Reza Khan created a commission for the future organization of the army by merging the gendarmerie and the Kazakh division. The final report of this commission was the basis of Reza Khan's order to form the army in 1921. After that, he deployed five armies in the important states of the country 1. Central army (Tehran) commanded by Brigadier General Morteza Khan Yazdan Panah; 2. Northwestern Division (Tabriz) commanded by Brigadier General Ismail Khan Amirfazli; 3. Lashkar Gharb (Hamadan) under the command of Mir Panj Amir Ahmadi; 4. Southern Army (Isfahan) under the command of Mirpanj Mahmoud Ayram; and 5. Lashkar Sharq (Khorasan) under the command of Mir Panj Khazai (Kroin, 1998, p. 201). This army, while enjoying a new organization, benefiting from new training and modern weapons, put an end to centripetal movements and local rebellions in Iran in about a decade. It also expanded the authority and influence of the central government, by disarming the public and establishing arms monopolies, at the country level (Youssef Jamali and Bijani, 2014, p. 76).

The origins of the police in the Qajar era

The police was not a new institution in the military structure of Iran. Relatively consistent efforts were made in the Qajar era, especially during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, to create new arrangements in this institution. This was the police hierarchy in the first years of Qajar rule. At the head of this traditional structure was the governor or the sheriff, and then there was the lord, who was the head of a district in the city or the elderly man of the village (Varahram, 1987, p. 83). However, the history of creating new police organizations goes

back to the early Naseri era. For the first time, Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Nizam established the Khufiyyeh organization in order to ensure the security of the city and ordered to establish several guardhouses in the streets of the city. Mirza Hussain Khan, the Sepahsalar, by employing a number of soldiers, reactivated the garrisons of Amir Nizam's time and he also used the title of Nazmiyeh for the first time (Miri, 2004, p. 341).

In the meantime, after Naser al-Din Shah's second trip to Farang, Count Dumont Fruit was hired as the chief of police. And in July 1900, the first sign of the police organization was installed with the title of Jalila Nazmiyeh Office of Dar al-Khilafah and Taqbaliyeh at the beginning of Almasieh [Bab Homayoun] Street (Seifi Qomi Tafreshi, 1983, p. 55). Naser al-Din Shah was personally present on the opening day of the Dar al-Khilafah Order, and from the same day, people became familiar with the word police (Mohammadi Barzegar and Heydarnjad, 2021, p. 10). This is how Etimad al-Sultaniyeh brings this matter up in the systematic history of Naseri; According to His Majesty's will, the police department was established by Amir Kabir [Kamran Mirza] under the leadership of Count Dumont Fort in Dar al-Khilafah (Etimad al-Sultaniyeh, 1988, vol. 3, p. 2022). Count's intention was to establish a powerful police force like in the West, but the traditional structure of the Qajar government prevented the progress of such an administration at that time (Rahimikia, 2019, p. 13). In 1901, in order for the police department to have written laws and for people and police personnel to be aware of the duties of the new department and to find out the limits of the police's authority, Count wrote the booklet of Count, which had an introduction and 58 articles or chapters. In its introduction, it included the duties of the police and laws regarding conspiracies against the royal

family, acts against chastity, crimes against the state and religion, theft and insulting government officials, as well as the duties of employees and servants (Mohammadi Barzegar and Heydarnjad, 1400, p. 12). According to the booklet, the police department is the executive department, and it is entrusted with the supervision of the implementation of all the laws imposed by the government on the police department (Etehadieh, 2016, p. 141). This law, although if implemented, order could prevail in the capital; However, since this organization was not very compatible with the conditions governing the country, in practice, it could not create the necessary organic relations with the entire bureaucracy structure; And also, it did not get the necessary support from other institutions, so it failed (Shahesvari and Gaidari, 2019, p. 48). Nazmiyeh included about 400 policemen on foot and 60 policemen on horseback (Mahboubi Ardakani, 2537, vol. 2, 140-141).

One of the next attempts to create a national military police force was made after the restoration of the constitution and in the second National Assembly. The approval of the law establishing the state gendarmerie by this parliament (1911-1908) was, in a way, the most stable plan to modernize the armed forces headed by foreign officers (Piri, 2015, p. 25). With the rise of Reza Khan, he took this force under his control. On December 6, 1921, he says about this; Considering that the current gendarmerie has become a military unit for some time and foreign advisors should not interfere directly in military affairs, unlike before. From today, I take the gendarmerie administration under my direct control and officially announce the situation to the public (Alibabaei, 2009, p. 152). Thus, by his order, Colonel Mohammad Dargahi, who later attained the rank of Brigadier, took over Shahr bani from Swedish General Westdahl on May 21, 1923 (Saifi Qomi

Tafreshi, 1988, p. 67). And so, the gendarmerie became a part of the army and it was a basis for creating a uniform army (Bahar, 1997, vol. 1, p. 137). On this basis, Reza Khan merged the Kazakh Division, the Gendarmerie and the Central Brigade, each of which had a school before the coup (Safaei, 1976, p. 12). Malik al-Shuara Bahar considered the creation of an effective police system under the supervision of the Shah as a necessity for the stability of the government (Bahar, 2007, vol. 1, p. 180).

### **Institutional police emerged from the authoritarian ideology of Reza Shah's government**

The focus of the ideology of Reza Shah's government was the concentration of his exclusive personal power. Such an ideology needs institutions that can widen its scope of action and be like a tool that strengthens its foundations. Such a situation was an important contradiction. On the one hand, the nature of the institution is that they are public and impersonal. Such a situation is more important, especially for the military institutions that form the coercive power of the government. Now, in the era of Reza Khan/Shah, military institutions were placed in the service of his wishes. It should also be kept in mind that, during the last hundred years, the military has played an influential role in changing or maintaining the monarchy in contemporary Iran, and in a way, they have played a decisive role in Iran's political developments (Azghandi, 1997, p. 65). This role is very prominent, especially in the last years of Qajar and in the process of changing the monarchy to Pahlavi and in its continuation during that period. Military institutions, in an obvious way, play roles, which are mostly derived from Pahlavi's authoritarian ideology. In the meantime, one of the old and reconstructed institutions, which for the reasons that will come, has an important role in this field, is the police. Thus, the police should

be seen as a manifestation of the personal part of the ideology of Pahlavi. The very deep connection of this institution with the person of Reza Shah was such that it was in the service of the person of the Shah rather than his public duties. It was like that, in those days, the officers always considered their important military jobs to be more dependent on the influence of their friends and relatives in the court or in various ministries. From the early 1920s, this tradition continued to a large extent, but in comparison with the important and determining criterion of political loyalty to Reza Khan, it was of relatively little importance. The latter attribute was generally the criterion for obtaining a commanding position, the most important of which was usually and naturally given to his former Cossack comrades. In the new army, the individual political reliability of each officer was considered vital to his advancement. However, whenever he was suspected, he was immediately demoted and fired or even arrested (Cronin, 2004, pp. 70-71).

During the time of Brigadier General Dargahi, the general system of the national police organization was approved, and according to it, the General Police established the city police organization at the same time as the employment law came into force (Seifi Tafreshi Qomi, 1997, p. 110). In this period, the police organization in Iran included two departments, security and police. The security department was a type of law enforcement organization in the roads and non-urban areas, and the police was the organization responsible for maintaining public order and security in the cities. The central police organizations were as follows: (central administration, police administration, supply administration, prison administration and inspection administration). The central office was divided into departments, cabinet, political department, records department, health department. The



investigation department was formed from two investigation departments and the police training department. The duty of the department was to carry out inspections. The prison office had two circles. Jail Department and Criminal Records Department. This circle was formed from the branches of physical examination, fingerprinting and photography. The police department had offices, vehicles and 14 commissariats. The supply department also had 10 branches, 4 of which were the office branch, the current branch, the reserve branch, and the secret branch (Zandiyeh and Yousefi, 2014, p. 55).

#### **A brief look at the performance of important police chiefs**

After Dargahi's presidency, in 1302, this department turned from an official organization that maintains order and security and enforces laws and supports the people and public guardian against civilians, criminals, and law-breakers into an organization of suffocation, terror, and repression that deals with law-breaking. During this period, Shahr bani expanded the scope of its activities in Tehran and other parts of the country and did not spare any efforts in line with Reza Shah's wishes (Ahmadabadi and Rajabi, 2017, pp. 53-54). Dargahi carried out Reza Khan's orders without fail and was an effective arm to make them come to fruition, and he was one of the closest people in Reza Khan's circle to him. Also, Dargahi's actions laid the foundation for the beginning of tyranny during Reza Shah's period. His course can be examined in two phases. In the first stage, his efforts were planned by creating a police government to bring Reza Shah to the throne. In the second stage, in addition to obeying the orders of Reza Shah, he was able to establish himself in the society with the support of relying on the person of the Shah (Ahmadabadi et al., 2017, p. 16).

Another important police chief was Ayram. He had gained the confidence of Reza Shah in various ways, in such a way that he had become the first trusted confidant of the Shah. Many people, from parliamentarians and ministers to first-class dignitaries, avoided him and were upset. There was a fear among everyone that Ayram would make a case for them, because he was very vindictive in this work and Reza Shah acted based on his reports (Qudsi, 2000, p. 96). During the Ayram period, a special circle was formed under the title of political administration. Ayram's travels in Europe, as well as his experiences of observing the police systems of dictatorial states such as the Soviet Union, Italy, and especially Germany (Gestapo), had a great influence on his decision to create a political administration (Khajeh Nouri, 1979, p. 147).

Also, Fazlullah Zahedi, during his police directorship, transformed the secret organization of the Swedish period, which was renamed to the political department during the Dargahi and Kopal periods, into the intelligence department (Jahed, 1931, p. 134).

#### **The police, a repressive institution in the service of the Shah's agenda**

The police, above all, served Reza Shah's wishes. Reza Shah, who leads the way of modernity through the hard path of command and to a large extent with violence and repression, and also, in order to maintain his total authority, he needed a coherent and loyal structure to help him in these fields in various ways. The creation of new institutions in Iran, while defining a new structure for the authority of the government and forming a new judicial system, was directly managed under the supervision of the Shah and, above all, responded to the personal requests of the Shah. One of the most important issues that helped the king in expanding his authority was creating fear

among people. Meanwhile, the police played an effective role in creating this terror. The security information system, which before that was a less important part of the police and police organizations, expanded more during the Reza Khan period, and its operational scope overshadowed the police activity and made it a part of his general operational and executive policies. The creation of terror created by the police and its security information system suppressed any opposition to the unprincipled government and removed it from the political and social arena of the country (Ahmadabadi and Mousavi, 2015, p. 139).

One of the important offices that had a high position in Reza Shah's regime was the political police. Iran's political police became organized with the purpose of visualizing and informing and embroidering people. The police chiefs, who were initially the head of a social institution, gradually gained so much power due to Reza Shah's unwavering support that they made decisions for all civil and social institutions. Their influence was extended in people's daily life. One or more secret agents were assigned to each of the senior officials and MPs, who were required to prepare and send a report of their movements, meetings, telephone calls and calls to the police every day (Ahmadabadi et al., 2017, p. 22). During Mokhtari's time, the political police department, which had been established since Ayram, the previous police chief of Reza Shah's time, became very strong. The political police department had four hundred members and many informers. After the political police department, the prison department was one of the most active general police departments (Shabaneh, 2010, p. 44).

Of course, in the meantime, it should be kept in mind that, regarding the type of police repression, two types of personal and institutional repression can be mentioned. Both of

these, ultimately, depended on the will of the king and fulfilled it. Although these repressions were various and diverse, three important examples of its personal and institutional types can be mentioned for a more accurate understanding of the issue: one is the press, the second is the suppression of government opponents, and the other three are the category of the National Assembly elections. In the issues related to these three issues, the Reza Khan/Reza Shah order played a decisive role, and the political and intelligence circles of the police, in a special way, by entering into these issues, provided exactly the needs of Reza Khan/Shah.

During his tenure as prime minister, Reza Khan used his affiliated newspapers to achieve his goals. Among other things, to get the police out of the hands of the Swedes, he forced some of them to attack the police forcefully, and those newspapers also asked the government board to pay attention to the police situation as soon as possible and appoint a competent person. With this background, Reza Khan was able to remove Westdahl from the police chief and appoint Brigadier Dargahi (Maki, 1979, p. 246). During his reign, Reza Shah was very sensitive to the contents printed in the press. This issue caused him to officially hand over the supervision of newspapers to Shahr bani. After that, the press managers had to get permission from the police and the press inspection to publish any article (Mousavi et al., 2001, Document No. 4, p. 46).

In this regard, a directive from the police was sent to newspaper managers based on three principles; 1. The editor of the newspaper was ordered not to publish the newspaper any day in the morning or evening without the knowledge, warning and permission of the branch officials. 2. All printing presses were warned to keep printed newspapers every day so that the police would allow them to be

published. 3. All printing presses and newspaper managers and typesetting rooms were warned not to type any news or article without the signature of the censor officer and if there is an urgent need to seek permission from the slave press branch. As such, a newspaper that acted contrary to this, such as an education magazine, was collected and handed over to Shahr bani for publishing an article (Bayat and Koohestani-nejad, 1993, p. 380). The behavior of the government and the police towards some of the newspaper managers was so harsh and harsh that they eventually died in prison after enduring a lot of suffering and for a long time, no one had the right to mention their names. Among these directors, was Farrokhi the director of Tofan newspaper (Sadr Hashemi, 1982, vol. 1, p. 30).

During the period of Reza Shah, various tools were considered to dominate the parliament, the most reliable of which was interference in the election process. This method was used in villages before 1926. During the election process of the fifth term in 1923, the military commanders sent certain people to the parliament. But in Tehran, until the reign of Reza Shah, the government could not seriously interfere in the election process (Aqli, 1990, p. 129). For example, in the circular that was addressed to the governors of the North, East, West and South states on the threshold of the 8th Majlis elections, that Reza Shah's dominance over the government had reached its full extent; According to His Majesty's orders, in the part of the election of the 8th cycle of the selection of representatives for the National Council, it is necessary to declare that, according to the form that has been sent, the necessary seriousness must be applied to elect these people to the Parliament. His Highness is interested that the separate persons mentioned in the letter should be elected at any cost. If there is a slight delay in the execution of orders, it is

obvious that His Majesty's reluctance will be blamed. In the fourth paragraph of this uniform, the role of the police is mentioned, which will be in coordination with the Ministry of Interior, in the matter of elections (documents of the elections of the National Assembly during the first Pahlavi period, 1999, p. 66). In this case, we can pay attention to the speech of Yahya Dolatabadi, who writes about the representatives of the seventh term; The representatives of the 7th parliament and beyond, without the first exception, must obtain the consent of the Pahlavi court. And it was heard that they should secretly pay a certain amount to the court minister (Teimurtash) and accept the condition that they vote for any bill that comes to the parliament from the government without objection. Then their names are included in the list of representatives in that period, by determining from which place they are selected and that list is given to the police of the center and provinces, they also have their duties determined and everything is in their hands and the special staff they have. At the time of the election, the police set up a printing office, write and present thousands of papers according to the government's list, and they are given by the leaders to the people to put in the election fund (Dolatabadi, 1957, p. 404).

Other methods of dominating the parliament include intimidation, deprivation of immunity and arrest of the representatives on the pretext of conspiracy against national security by the police. Although, since the 7th term, no representative of the Shah's opposition entered the parliament, and based on this, the foundations of Reza Shah's authoritarianism were strengthened. In spite of this issue, the government took away the immunity of the representatives from the eighth term and put this issue on the agenda of the parliament as the final

solution of the Shah to suppress the opposition (Sheikh al-Islami, 1989, vol. 1, p. 22).

Suppression of the opposition was one of the important tasks of the police, who did it exactly in line with the Shah's personal agenda. After reigning, Reza Shah violated the freedoms specified in the constitution and expanded the political police throughout the country. He shut down party and political activities by the police force, and only a few groups had little activities secretly (Mulai Tavani, 2002, p. 68). At that time, in the order of Tehran, some secret writers and people with a bad record were engaged in Chinese conspiracy against others. Their duty was to collect any kind of news related to politics and present it to their boss, who was the trusted party of the police chief. He also collected these reports, which were more than hundreds every day, and sent them to the police chief. At this time, there was no monitoring of these reports and there was no criterion to determine their authenticity. Therefore, people's reputation was easily subject to the desires and intentions of such people (Shahabadi and Rajabi, 2016, p. 134).

One of the methods of controlling the opposition was to infiltrate among them. As during Mokhtari's time, Shahr bani had penetrated even into the families he considered necessary. Therefore, the nobles understood that they should consider Shahr bani as a dangerous device. Reza Shah always wanted everything from Shahr bani (Political Studies and Research Institute, 2005, p. 731). Also, it can be added to this issue that, during that period, there were countless innocent people who spent years in Shahr bani prison due to vague and unfounded reports and accusations (Matin Daftari, 1992, p. 160).

## Conclusion

The main feature of the ideology of the government in the era of Reza Shah can be seen as the concentration of exclusive personal power. By rising to power after the March 1920 coup, Reza Shah relied on the military and by creating uniformed forces and rebuilding institutions such as the police, he put them in the service of his goals to achieve power. These institutions, while having public functions, such as creating security and repelling riots and rebellions that plagued the country for several years; All of them were in the service of Reza Khan's personal agenda and along with other factors, they played a very prominent role in his way to the kingdom. Meanwhile, the police, more than any military institution, was at the service of Reza Khan/Shah.

The different military institutions that came into being during the era of Reza Khan/Shah did not have the same functions. The uniformed army, more than anything else, focused on the suppression of centrifugal forces and rebellions in the corners of the country, or the gendarmerie dedicated to the security of the roads. The function of these military institutions was above all general and in a way in the service of the country, which ironically, was the subject of the attention and welcome of many political and intellectual elites of that time, but the function of the police institution was dual. On the one hand, he paid attention to the establishment of order in the city and had a public aspect, and on the other hand, he was in the service of Reza Khan/Shah and he specifically focused on suppressing his opponents and had found a distinct personal aspect. In this context, it can be said that this institution was well under the authority of Reza Shah, with the censorship of the press, strict control of the Shah's opponents and in some cases their elimination, dominance over the

elections and control of the parliament, strictness in matters such as banning the hijab and uniform. And therefore, both in his public work and in his work for Reza Shah, he was fully in the service of Reza Shah's authoritarianism.

The formation of this institution and its developments in the era of Reza Shah clearly show that the police was an important executive arm for the Pahlavi authoritarian ideology and helped a lot to concentrate exclusive personal power in the era of Reza Shah. This was done in the police, and in the field of political issues, mostly by suppressing and censoring the

press, dominating the elections and parliament, and suppressing the opposition. This institution, in a specific way, had taken a step in a path that only led to the wishes of the Shah. Therefore, as the powerful arm of Pahlavi's authoritarian ideology, it helped a lot to monopolize power in his hands. As it can be said, if this institution did not exist, or if it did not act like this, Reza Shah could not have such a powerful and complete control over the internal situation of the country.

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