The Iranian Press and Modernization Under the *Qajars*

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To My Wife
For Her Love, Patience and
Encouragement.

Without Her,
I could not finish
This Work

Acknowledgment

There are two great features in my academic life that are so significant to me. I am and I will be always indebted to them. First, my wife with her love, patience, great support and encouragement that she has always given me in all these years. Indeed without her I could not continue my studies. Second, Professor Annabelle Sreberny that she was my supervisor and indeed my best tutor as well as a best friend. Without her intellectual guidance, command and advice, supervision and views, and actually her respect and attitude I could not finish my academic studies. Indeed my special thanks and gratitude belongs to her.

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ABSTRACT

The main aim of this thesis is to examine and evaluate the role of the press in the process of modernization of Iran during the *Qajar* period in19th century, which contributed to the triumph of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution in the early 20th century. Examining this process in its historical context reveals the many stages through which Iran passed and which brought about a range of positive and negative consequences. The significance of the consequences of what took place in the nineteenth century can be seen in the modern history of Iran. This century saw the consolidation of Western hegemony and the beginning of the classical age of imperialism. Many non-Western countries found themselves coming under the control of one or another of the European powers. At the same time, a great deal of the social, political, and economic transformation and modernization within these countries was taking place under the system of European colonialism. The specific effects and consequences of this transformation differed from one country to another. While direct contact with Western powers was facilitating the process of change in some countries, in others, such as Iran, this process was facilitated by different types of contact. Iran was not subjected to any direct Western military colonialism in its history, but rather it was, in many respects, under the influences of Western ideological and political hegemony. During this period the Iranian press played a crucial role in the introduction of Western ideas which contributed to the political development and modernization of Iran. The Constitutional Revolution was indeed affected by these ideologies. Without the introduction of modern ideologies by the Iranian press, published inside or outside the country, the modern political structure of Iran could not have developed during the early 20th century. Through a rigorous and detailed analysis of three influential newspapers, published at different times within this period, this research, firstly, reveals that the foundation of the Iranian press in 19th century was implicitly part of the very process of change itself and, secondly, identifies and evaluates the various forms of contribution that these newspapers make to the process of modernization and political development of Iran.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This study concerns the contribution of the Iranian press to the process of modernization during the *Qajar* period in 19th century Iran. In the introduction to this study, a brief overview of the research, the focus of the study, the research rationale, the aims and objects of the research and finally the general structure of the study are covered.

Preliminary overview

Modern communication systems, including the press, were established in Iran in the 19th century as a result of direct and indirect contact with Western modernization. The focus of this study is to ascertain the role played by the press in the Iran's social and political development during this period. Historically, the process of modernization could be said to have started some time before the foundation of the Iranian press itself. Taken within its historical context, this process of modernization was to pass through a number of different stages of development, each bringing distinct influences to bear on the country. The significance of the consequences, which took place during the nineteenth century, can be seen in the modern history of Iran. This century saw the consolidation of Western hegemony and the beginning of the classical age of imperialism. Many non-Western countries found themselves coming under the control of one or another of the European powers. At the same time, European colonialism also introduced large-scale of social, political and economic changes within many of these countries. The results and consequences of this transformation were to differ from one country to another. Whilst the direct contact of the Western powers was the main facilitator in this process of change, the case of Iran is somewhat different. Throughout its history Iran has never faced direct Western military and colonial intervention. But it was, in many respects, under the influences of Western ideological and political hegemony. According to Abrahamian (1982), the impact of the West's influence on Iran can be traced back to the beginning of

the nineteenth century, when military pressure from the Russians, and later on from the British, resulted in the acceptance and imposition of a series of humiliating treaties on the country. The military defeats suffered by Iran during this period were to prove a major blow to the existing *Qajar* monarchy (1797-1925). This situation led to the first significant step towards development and modernization: reform of the army. The process of reform did not stop at this stage. The necessity for development and change was strongly felt in many other areas. As a result of army reform, the government sent a number of Iranian students abroad to study modern sciences and technologies such as military science, engineering, gun making, medicine, typography and modern languages. This process began in 1811 when the government sent two students to England. Three years later this figure was increased to five. Indeed it was one such product of this education system, Mirza Saleh Shirazi, who was to establish the first Iranian newspaper in 1837, shortly after his return from abroad. In 1851 Amir Kabir established the first secular school in Iran *Dar al Fonun* (Abode of Learning) and succeeded in encouraging a group of European tutors to accept posts on the teaching staff. Amir Kabir was the reform-minded prime minister of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848-1896), the fourth monarch of *Qajar* dynasty and was to play a large part in the introduction of modernization to Iran.

In the nineteenth century many other non-Western countries were undergoing a similar process of change. In Egypt, for example, the reforming Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Pasha was conducting experiments with certain aspects of the so-called 'traditional society'. His efforts were based on a perception of Western society and its operation as adhering to notions of logic and rationality in contrast to the fixed and unchangeable rules and customs of the traditional society (Mitchell, 1991). This process has been well documented elsewhere in the world. (see Wilkinson, 1991 on Japan)

In all these countries the process of development and change did not assume any one single shape. It varied from the technological to various philosophical and ideological forms. In fact most of the pioneering reformers were aware of the superiority of the Western industrial technology but also, and perhaps more crucially, they emphasised the adoption of certain political and ideological ways of living which were the inheritance of the European Enlightenment. Generally speaking these included the notion of conducting

life and ordering the world on the sole basis of reason and rationality. This situation involves the abandonment of all ways of thinking which owe themselves to what Weber called the sense of the 'traditional' (Honigsheim, 1968). Between these new technologies and the new disciplines of the self, modern communication would come to play an important role as a catalyst and a mobilising force in the process of reform and change. In purely technological terms I refer here to such innovations as telegraphy and the printing press. The development of these forms of communication were to prove vital for any country wishing to move towards what might be termed a 'modern' state of development. The appearance of newspapers was not just a 'sign' of some form of social change, it were also implicated in the very process of change itself. This fact will form the starting point for this study. Moreover, Iranians who had travelled to, and been educated in, Europe saw the benefits and importance of introducing certain aspects of Western society into their own country. This course of action involved combining both the technologies and the notions of rationality associated with Western political forms. These individuals successfully lobbied to introduce change into Persia (as Iran was referred to in the West at the time) and their efforts culminated in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1911.

This study analyses the part played by the Iranian press in this process and assesses the significance of its contribution. Whilst the circulation of journals published by pioneers such as Mirza Malkum Khan was limited, their contents give us a very clear picture of the reformist currents at large in late 19th century Persia. By analysing this material we are able to gain a better understanding of the complex process of social and political transformation which falls under the label of modernization and political development.

Research rationale

This study is an historical exploratory-explanatory, quantitative-qualitative, content and discourse analysis of the Iranian Press during the *Qajar* period (1797-1925). The main aim of this study is to examine the role and contribution of the press in relation to the political development and the modernization of Iranian society, a process which

was to culminate in the triumph of the first Iranian revolution: The Constitutional Revolution.

The importance of the Constitutional Revolution lies in its democratic and humanistic characteristics which aimed to provide equal rights in political, social, religious and legal realms for all Iranians. It was a popular struggle for liberty and the rule of law against despotism and tyranny. This revolution was "one of the most singular of all democratic revolutions" (Yapp, 1977, p.8). As Afary noted "the Constitutional Revolution was not only a political revolution- where one set of elites replaced another- but also a social and cultural revolution with significant grassroots dimensions" (Afary, 1996, p.3). Although this Revolution was achieved between 1906 and 1911, a long path of struggle had to be trod until this period. In this study the part played by the Iranian press in this struggle will be examined. The press was not just an observer passively reflecting the political and social situation of the country. It occupied a much more active and crucial role in the movement as a whole. This role was a very significant one for two reasons. In the first instance, the press in 19th century Iran was the only tool of modern communication which provided the people with information and ideas on a regular basis. Consequently it gradually replaced the pre-existing older and more traditional modes of communication. Secondly, many intellectuals and revolutionaries, both religious and secular, expressed their views and ideas through the press. Iranian newspapers during the 19th century, especially the ones that were published in exile, were full of articles dealing with political and social aspects of the period. It will be argued that the study of the press during this period is not simply a study of the development of the Iranian press itself. Rather, it is an investigation into the history of the struggle for social and political change in Iran; a struggle in which the press was one of the key instigators.

This research requires analysis of the Iranian press published during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Emphasis will be given to the introduction of modern ideas by the press which contributed to the process of political development and modernization of the country. The study faces some difficulties and limitations in its methodological procedures, particularly in regard to the collection of articles from newspapers which, as they were published almost 100 years ago are practically unobtainable. This limitation

affects the study in such a way that it has to concentrate on the available newspapers and documents related to the *Qajar* period. It is for this reason that the choice and concentration on a select number of newspapers is justified.

In most countries there are certain newspapers which represent the generally held social and political viewpoints of the majority of people and are therefore regarded as the most influential newspapers in the country. Iranian newspapers during the 19th century are no exception to this fact. Study of all of the newspapers published in this period is not possible in this research due to the limitation of time and shortages of financial funds. Therefore, it seems advisable to study samples of these newspapers and to thus achieve the aims set out for this thesis.

Aims of study

The main aim of this study is to examine the contribution of the Iranian press to, and their possible role in, the process of modernization and political development that took place in Iranian society during the 19th century under the *Qajars*. Furthermore, the study will assess the contribution of this process to the eventual instigation and success of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution in the early 20th century. One way of looking at this subject is to examine the different types of social and political discourses used by the press in introducing these new and modern ideologies into Iranian society. Attention must also be given to the social and political issues which Iranian intellectuals sought to introduce into the country in order to enhance the process. How were these issues publicised among the people and what role did the press play in the making these issues public?

In 19th century Iran, the political discourse of Iranian intellectuals, as I will discuss in Chapter Six, was mainly built around three essential issues: 'Iranian nationalism', the implementation of 'law and order', and the 'freedom and rights of individuals'. The issue of 'nationalism', for instance, gave rise to the intellectual discourses on 'identity', 'language', and 'history'. The main outcome arising from the debates on 'law and order', and the 'freedom and rights of individuals' were, the 'Parliamentary System', 'The Constitutional Law', and the rise of the 'Iranian Nation-

State'. These issues will be highlighted in this study for their importance in contributing to the overall process of political development and modernization in the country. A whole host of different periodicals contributed to the dissemination of these ideas amongst the people. 'Mediated ideas' became the key elements for the awakening of the people. The modern communication tool in the form of the press was the key element in activating the process of intellectuality in Iranian society. This movement in turn accelerated the process of social and political change and, practically speaking, was the catalyst for the victory of modern ideologies over the old and traditional system; a truism borne out in the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution. In brief, the study of these issues, how they were presented in the Iranian press, and their impact and contribution to the modernization of the country will constitute the main focus of this research.

Structure of study

Chapter II presents the theoretical frameworks and the basic structure of this research. This chapter presents two groups of theories that are useful for our discussions. The first group are general theories of 'media and development' based mainly on 'diffusion theories' developed by social psychologists (e.g. McClelland, 1953; Lerner, 1958; Hagen, 1962) which suggest "that the development process starts with the diffusion of certain ideas, motivations, attitudes, or behaviours." (Tehranian, 1977, p.23) (see also Mohammadi, 1975; Tehranian, 1981; Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1985) . The second group deals with theories of 'modernization' particularly in connection with the process of political development in society.

Chapter III presents the research methodology followed in this thesis. This methodology is based on content analysis using quantitative techniques of the selected newspapers published during the *Qajar* period (1797-1925). This highlights the extent and the level of contribution which these newspapers made to the process of modernization and political development within country. This study also uses discourse analysis as a qualitative methodology to focus on three main aspects: the language of writing, the style of writing, and the use of different meanings within the written text. In order to clarify the subject matter emanating from each of the three selected newspapers,

the important social and political symbols, as well as relevant paragraphs and sentences, will be highlighted so that the texts are placed in context. Secondly, the process of producing the meaning of each symbol, and the development of different ideas around the same symbol, will also be discussed. Finally a comparison is drawn between the contrasting social and political discourses employed by the various newspapers.

Chapter IV deals with the history of Iran under the *Qajar* monarchy and its political and social structure. A brief history of the Constitutional Revolution provides a better understanding of the general social and political situation in Iran before and after the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution and offers a clearer indication of the changes undertaken between these two periods of time. These issues, in conjunction with an examination of the various discourses of the press, provide a holistic view of the circumstances which contributed to the modernization and political development of the country.

Chapter V provides a brief history of Iranian journalism by examining the background to the art of news writing in Iran, the pioneer Persian newspapers and the emergence of Iranian press proper in the 19th century. This chapter analyses the reasons behind the formation of an Iranian press in exile and the differences it exhibited in comparison with the domestic press. The status of the press during the *Qajar* monarchy is divided into three distinct periods: the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848-1896), the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah (1896-1907), and the Constitutional Revolution period (1906-1911). In my study of these three periods I focus on their differences according to the numbers of papers printed, the variety of their subjects, their distribution throughout the country in relation to their place of publication, and their power relations in the society.

Chapter VI gives an overview of the rise and formation of the Iranian intellectuals as a distinct group in the 19th century, their contribution to the emergence of the modern media system in Iran and their role in Iranian society as a whole. This chapter also pays attention to the political discourses of the time among the Iranian intellectuals, as well as the similar discourses raised by the press in relation to the country's political development.

Chapter VII is the core chapter of this research. It presents a case study of the three selected newspapers: *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh, Qanun,* and *Sur-i Israfil.*

Chapter VIII is the conclusion which summarises all that has been discussed in the entire thesis. It also contains the main general points of the study and suggests some other possible research subjects for further study and analysis, particularly in relation to the period under examination, as well as the succeeding period.

Chapter 2

Media and Modernization: theoretical frameworks

Introduction

The principal aims of this chapter are to develop a theoretical framework and to explain the basic structure through which I conducted this research. This chapter analyses the internal and external factors which contributed to the modernization and political development of Iran during the 19th century. For this purpose it focuses on two groups of theories, both of which play key roles in my discussion. The first group is made up of general theories of 'media and development', and is mainly based on the 'diffusion theories' developed by social psychologists. These theories suggest "that the development process starts with the diffusion of certain ideas, motivations, attitudes, or behaviours" (Tehranian, 1977, p.23). The second group is made up of theories of modernization, particularly in connection with the process of political development in society.

Theoretical frameworks

The process of change and development in society is usually affected by both internal and external factors. Literacy and intellectual development are examples of internal factors, whereas the introduction of new ideas through different channels such as 'travellers' and 'printed matters' is an example of an external factor. The absence of any one of these factors can slow down, suspend, or prevent the process of social and political change within society. On the other hand, the combination of both internal and external factors can enhance and speed up this process.

The process of change and development in 19th century Iran reflected the contribution of both factors. It was not only the introduction of new and modern ideologies from the Western world, but also the establishment of new educational institutions, the rise of literacy and the growth of an intellectual class which was to change the political landscape in Iran forever. However, in such a process it is very

difficult to identify and evaluate the effectiveness of any one single contributory factor. The Iranian press was, for instance, both a factor of change and a modern tool of communication. It was both a tool for the introduction of new ideologies into the country and also a modern product which became a symbol of social and political change in the country. From the first days of its foundation, this new channel of communication was not just presenting news and introducing new ideologies from the modern world but was also involved in the internal political discourse that was raised by the Iranian intellectuals. Hence, the press is a very good example which illustrates the importance of both the internal and external factors in bringing about the social and political development of the country.

As has been stated, in order to analyse the process of social and political change in Iran during the 19th century, it is necessary to look at both the internal and external factors that affect this process and to study their impact on the society. There is no doubt that any given society cannot exist in isolation from other societies. Any social, cultural and political act in a given society has the potential to affect, transfer, and interact with other societies. This potentiality makes the process of understanding, adopting and accepting new ideologies and technologies much easier and in some ways acts as a necessary element in order for development to take place. For instance, people not only admire the notions of democracy, freedom and equality, but are actively prepared to fight and struggle to achieve them. These concepts, when practised in a given society, become desirable acquisitions for others not living under such conditions.

What has been said above provides a suitable background with which to construct a theoretical framework for this study. The process of social and political development in 19th century Iran could not have happened without internal struggles. At the same time the external forces of change also contributed to this process. The combination of these two factors ended in the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution, which can be seen as the peak of this political development in 19th century Iran. In the next section some related theories of 'media and development' and 'modernization' will be overviewed. In later sections, both the internal and external factors that contributed to the process of change in Iran will be examined.

Media and development: An overview

In sociological studies the three factors of economic, political and communications are considered to be the main key in the process of change and development in society (Tehranian, 1977). These factors are mainly based on the process of change that Western societies underwent when they made the historical transition from agrarian to industrial modernised society. Historically, in the study of Western European countries we may discern a sequence which began with an economic change quickly followed by political and communications development respectively. This experience has very rarely been true, or followed in the same order and progression, in colonised and non-Western countries.

Although economic and political factors are important in the process of change and development, media and communication play a vital role in this process not only in the advanced and developed countries, where the technology of communication is so highly developed, but also in less developed countries, where the modern system of communication is not so well established. How does the media play such a role in society? What are the 'media indicators' which show the progress and development of a country? The following discussion will deal with these core questions.

The debate regarding the role of the media in developing countries has been developed in two directions. In the first instance the mass media is seen as playing an autonomous role in the generation of social change and development (Lerner, 1963; Pool, 1963; Schramm, 1964; Lerner and Schramm, 1967; McQuail, 1972; Elliott and Golding, 1974). Secondly, and in complete opposition to this view, the mass media and communication system are seen as a dependent variable in the process of social change in society (Hamelink, 1983; Schiller, 1989; Tomlinson, 1991). Both approaches to the role of media in society have their importance in sociological studies as well as in communication research. To develop the ideas of these two perspectives, Lerner's thesis on the role of media in the process of political development and the structuralist thesis on 'media imperialism' will be discussed. Finally and after dealing with both internal and external factors of change the proposed model of this discussion will be presented.

Lerner's Thesis

In his famous work *'The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East',* Daniel Lerner (1958) tried to find an answer as to the question of how communication operates in modern societies, and how its role can be applied to the Third World Countries, particularly in relation to issues concerning political development and modernization. His thesis briefly states that specialization in different fields is necessary for the operation of modern industrial and business entities. Modern and industrial nations rely on a particular type of rationality and also on particular forms of specialized information. It is emphasized that the 'bare facts' and 'updated information' are needed primarily to allow decision-makers to make effective rational decisions. According to Lerner's thesis, the best production of this raw data is provided by the 'free market system', and as some scholars believe (e.g. Merrill, 1981) a free market of information and ideas is the best supportive way towards political and economic development in all countries (Meyer, 1988).

From his study of the six countries of Iran, Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan in the Middle East, and the 1600 interviews which he conducted, Lerner developed his thesis about the trend of modernization in these and other similar countries of the Third World. What he observed was that a traditional life style was being supplanted by modernization coming from Western Europe (Lerner, 1958). The 'change' in these countries was evaluated in relation to three elements, urbanization, literacy, and mass media (Schramm, 1964).

Explaining this thesis in more detail will help us to develop a viewpoint from which we can analyse the change which took place during the 19th century in Iran. With this aim it should first be noted that Lerner's thesis exhibits two main patterns: historical and psychological. The historical pattern explains the process of change through the three phases of urbanization, literacy, and mass growth. Urbanization produces a complex network of skills and resources that characterize a modern industrial economy. Within this urban matrix the other two phases, literacy and media growth are developed. Lerner saw a close reciprocal relationship between these three phases. Within this historical

process, urbanization will encourage literacy to serve the necessities of the industrial society. The ability to read enables the learned people to fulfill the varied tasks required in a modernized society. Lerner suggests that it is not until the third phase that the society, because of its advanced industrial development, begins to produce mass media such as newspapers, radio, and television. He explained that this condition would, in turn, further accelerate the spread of literacy throughout society. From this he concluded that institutions of participation would begin to emerge, eventually leading to the full development of society for the benefit of all. That is what we see in all advanced modern societies (Lerner, 1958).

Lerner claimed that a psychological pattern lies behind the historical pattern. He suggests the necessity of a person having a 'mobile personality' in order to participate in a developing society. The key concept for this phenomena is 'empathy', meaning "the ability to project oneself into the role of another" (Elliott and Golding, 1974, p.5). But the mobile personality is not the only element to emerge in the social dynamics of development. He suggested a second element, 'the mobility multiplier', i.e. the mass media. Lerner explains that earlier experiences can be multiplied by mediated experience which is spread through mass communication. According to Schramm:

> This is the dynamic of social development as Lerner sees it: a nucleus of mobile, change-accepting personalities; then a growing mass media system to spread the ideas and attitudes of social mobility and changes; followed by the interaction of urbanization, literacy, industrialization, and media participation to bring this modern society into being. (Schramm, 1964, p.47)

Thus, Lerner concluded that 'the great multiplier' in the process of development which can spread ideas, knowledge and attitudes immeasurably more widely and quickly than ever before is mass communication (Lerner, 1958).

This thesis has two particular attractions which make it relevant to Third World Countries. Firstly, it tries to unite the macro-level approach to development which attempts to explain the interrelationships between urbanization, literacy, communication and development with the micro-level approach which claims that it has found "a process that takes individuals from a traditional to a modern worldview" (Meyer, 1988, p. 34). In Lerner's approach, this modern global view was extended by an increased level of

'empathy' (Lerner, 1958), or, according to Frey, 'cognitive flexibility' that makes individuals accept change and adopt the rapid process of change (Frey, 1973). Secondly, the ability of the communications system to enhance the development of countries especially those in the Third World and to increase the level of political participation and social cooperation which is required for the national welfare of the country. (Meyer, 1988).

In addition to the above two attractions, the strength of the Lerner thesis lies not only in the fact that he developed a theory that is able to explain how the modern communication system could cause 'personal and social mobility', thus activating the process of change in society, but also that he placed modern mass communications at the centre of this whole process. It is argued that mass communication can help to increase the level of political participation, social cooperation and "to build the consensus necessary to create a single nation" (Meyer, 1988, p.35) from "previously isolated or uncoordinated elements of the traditional society" (Frey, 1973, pp.381-2). These arguments can be useful in analysing the process of social and political change in 19th century Iran. The development of the new communication system in Iran was the basis for the spread of different political ideologies which could enhance the process of change in the country. More elaboration will be made concerning this point (through the use of Lerner's thesis) later on in this study.

Although Lerner's thesis has its strengths, especially when we wish to analyze the role of mass media in promoting literacy, enhancing national education and instigating the process of modernization in the Third World, it does however exhibit certain weaknesses. Its main problem relates to the way in which Lerner was looking at the role and the importance of the mass media as a key factor in the whole process of development. Development projects that are based on this thesis look to the Western mass media as a template of modernization, and as a result, rely heavily upon Western communication hardware such as radio, television, films and satellites. Unfortunately such facilities, as Meyer has noted, are, for the most part, not to be found in the developing countries because of their severe logistic and resource problems (Meyer, 1988). Another sophisticated problem is that Lerner's thesis is more concerned with the 'raw facts' and

the 'amount of information' disseminated by the mass media than with the interpretation of those facts and how they flow in different societies. Furthermore, the three stages in the process of change characterized by urbanization, literacy and media growth have not necessarily followed the same order in the developing countries as that propounded in his thesis. In some developing countries such as Iran, even during the time of the late Shah and prior to the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, the growth of the communication technology did not occur as a result of the increase in the level of urbanization or literacy. This was in complete contrast to the path of development that took place in Western countries.

Indeed Lerner's thesis has also been attacked by structuralists such as Galtung (1971) and Schiller (1976) for problems of both a practical and a theoretical nature. But in spite of what has been said about the weakness of the Lerner's thesis it should be emphasized that although its applicability may be doubtful to the period of and beyond the 1950's, it is certain that it is highly relevant to an analysis of Iranian society during the 19th century when the modern tools of communication (the press) enter the country for the first time.

The Structural thesis

The core idea of the structural thesis is based on the notion of 'Cultural and Media Imperialism' managed by the West. Briefly, this thesis holds that the "Western media serve as a vehicle for Western values, Western norms and Western culture" (Meyer, 1988, p.64). Along with the expansion of media technology, Western culture, ideas, entertainment and values are carried out to developing countries, creating new images of life that are different from the traditional and indigenous one. These images of Western life lead, as Meyer has stated to, "social, political and economic change in the Third World through the demonstration effect" (Meyer, 1988, p.64).

The idea of the 'modern world system' (Wallerstein, 1974) of political-economic power which divides the world into two parts, 'centre' and 'periphery', is central to this thesis. According to this model the developed and industrialized Western countries form the 'centre'. They dominate the global capitalist market economy within which the

developing countries who are seen to occupy the 'periphery' in the sense of their distance from the locus of economic, technological and political power (Tomlinson, 1991). The core countries of the North are seen to dominate the allocation of human and natural resources as well as the highly sophisticated information technology. This establishes an unequal world communications system to the detriment of the South. In such a model the international communication system and technology are seen as agencies for the promotion, protection and extension of the modern world system of the capitalist countries (Schiller, 1976). Therefore, the Third World countries do not have the control over their economy and political development which the concept of 'national development' implies (Schiller, 1973, 1992). This situation introduces the idea of the 'dependency' of the developing countries on the modernized developed countries. When the culture of the West dominates the world by the use of its communication technology and highly developed information system there is no choice for the Third World but to attempt to maintain its independence and indigenous culture in order to offset the onslaught. In this case, messages disseminated by this media are not seen as a 'mobility multiplier' for progress and development as was recommended by Lerner (1958), but as a 'cultural invasion' such as that referred to by the structuralists.

Although the idea of 'cultural and media imperialism' dominated communication and cultural studies in the 1980s, this idea could not entirely negate the role of the media and communication in the development programmes in Third World countries. One reason for this is that the structuralist argument concerning the function of the Western media is based on the notion that this media is acting as an agent for the dissemination of Western culture. However, this claim cannot be entirely supported for, as Meyer suggests, the media "show little or no evidence of behaving in the way in which the structuralists maintain" (Meyer, 1988, p.88). Another important point which weakens the structuralist thesis is that there is no logic behind the rejection of all messages which are disseminated by the Western media. Not all of these messages are rooted in the imperialist behavior of the North against the South.

Moreover, the 'centre-periphery' model itself cannot be seen as the only form of relation regarding the flow of news and information between the North, as a 'centre', and

the South, as a 'periphery'. The regional and intra-peripheral news relationship, for instance, "supports the view that there is no single centre, and changes under way in world power and economic relations will continually modify this reality" (McQuail, 1994, p.180).

On the other hand, there is some evidence that 'media-cultural invasion' can sometimes be resisted, rejected, accepted or redefined by people according to their national or local culture and experience (McQuail, 1994). The different evaluation of news media, the variation in semiotic decoding according to culture and receiver (Liebes and Katz, 1989) and the foreign cultural content, as Biltereyst (1992) has noted, may be received and interpreted with a different, more distant attitude than national media culture. This point weakens the structuralists' argument that the media relationship between the North and the South is one built solely on the notion of imperialism.

What is more, the ideas of freedom, democracy and human rights, for example, cannot be rejected by the developing countries simply because they have emanated from Western sources. These concepts are based on human experiences which cannot be limited to space and time. However, it is true that the flow of information and news is mainly directed in one way from the North to the South. At the same time, it cannot be simply said that people in the South unquestioningly adopt and accept everything that is disseminated by the Western media. The existence of the 'selection' factor in human experience shows the ability of humankind to make differentiated choices of 'rejection' or 'acceptance' of alien culture and ideologies.

In this section the two kinds of approaches to the role of media in society, particularly in connection to issues of development and modernization, have been closely examined. Both approaches have their strengths as well as their weaknesses. So far I have attempted to cover the main points in each of these approaches in order to enable the construction of a model which fits this study. Before presenting the suggested model it is now necessary to look at the internal and external factors of change and development as previously mentioned.

The internal factors of change

It is extremely misguided to attribute all the social and political changes occurring in Iran as emanating from one single source such as the economic factor. Although the economic situation of Iran in 19th century played some role in changing the demographic shape of Iranian society, this factor alone was not the main cause of change in the country. Having said that, it is not possible here to count and study in detail every internal factor that contributed to the modernization and political development of Iran during the 19th century. In view of this, emphasis is given to the following four factors as being of prime importance in their contribution to the process of modernization and development in Iran: the 'psychological factor', the 'educational factor', the 'social factor', and the 'communication factor'. These factors have been identified as a result of the social and historical study of the Iranian situation during the *Qajar* period. There is no doubt that some other factors affected the process of change in Iran, but for the most part, these can be seen as merely overlaps of the above mentioned main factors. All of these factors individually and collectively contributed to and affected the development of the country. These factors, for more clarification, are shown in Figure 2-1.

Figure 2-1: Model for the internal factors of social and political change in Iran during the 19th century.
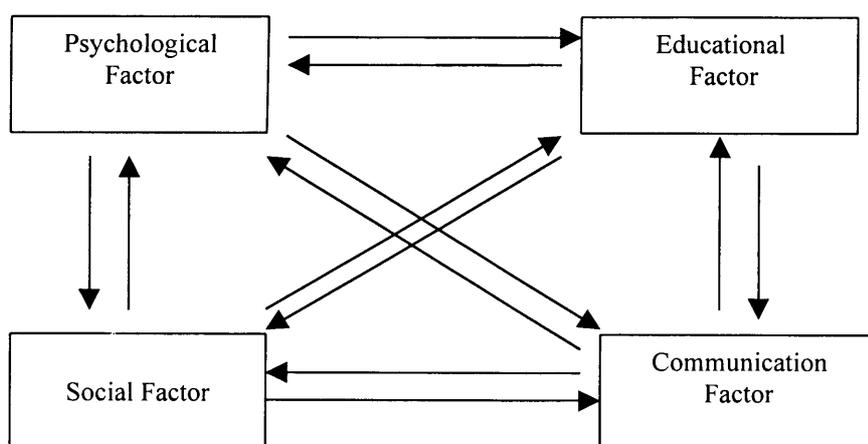
The term 'psychological factor' refers to the general feeling in the government, as well as amongst the people of Iran, following the country's defeat in the war with Russia

(1804-1813 and 1826-1828) (Behnam, 1997). This defeat resulted in a huge loss that pushed the government to reconstruct the whole army by using modernised armaments and educating its personnel. This was the first step towards the modernization of the country. As a result of this step, in 1819 Prince Abbas Mirza started the wholesale reform of the army. Furthermore, in an attempt to safeguard and bolster these reforms, he began sending Iranians abroad for studying. This attempt was continued by Mirza Mohammad Taqi Khan Farahani, better known as Amir Kabir (The Great Lord) who became *Amir-e Nizam* (Lord of the Army) and *Sadr-e A'zam* (Prime Minister) in 1848. To cut all imports of foreign arms Amir Kabir implemented an extensive programme of reforms to the standing army. He established fifteen factories for the production of cannons, light arms, uniforms, epaulets and insignias, woollens, cloth, calicoes, carriages, samovars, paper, cast iron, lead, copper, and sugar (Abrahamian, 1982). Although few of these initial attempts were to continue for very long, their importance as the first steps towards the modernization of Iran should not be ignored or underestimated. Indeed the project of sending students abroad to study was one of the more successful of these early modernising projects. Mirza Saleh Shirazi, the founder of the first newspaper in Iran and one of the key players in the modernization of the country, was one of the first students to be sent abroad at this time.

Moreover, the psychological factor was not only limited to the Iranian failure during the war with Russia. In comparison to the Western countries, Iranians had usually felt that they were retarded and backward. This feeling became a psychologically motivating factor for certain movements, such the Constitutional Revolution, in that social and political calls for progress and modernization were firmly rooted in Western culture and ideologies (Ziba Kalam, 1998). The influence and importance of this factor still exists even today in 21st century. Although a multitude of contributory factors might be considered important in the present day movement towards freedom, democracy and the adoption of a civil society under the government of President Khatami (1998-...), the psychological factor, especially when it is connected to the glorious past of Iranian history, remains the most significant and overarching form of influence over the progress of development.

The 'educational factor' is related mainly to the role of the newly established educational institution of *Dar al-Fonun*. It played a significant role as the first modern university in Iran and is responsible for educating the first generation of Iranian intellectuals. The role of both factors will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six of this study.

The social factor is mainly evidenced in the physical demographic changes that occurred in Iranian society during the 19th century. Throughout this century the social mosaic of the country became much more complex than during the previous century. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

What is referred to as the 'communication factor' is the role of the press as a modern tool of communication and the fact that it was founded as a result of contact between Iran and the Western society. This study draws particular attention to this factor especially in relation to the introduction of modern Western ideologies into Iranian society through cultural exchange. Therefore, the role of the press, especially in connection to the 'external factors' of development, will be studied later on in this chapter.

The above model explains the significant factors that were involved in the social and political development of Iran and their inter-relationship with one another. For example, the psychological factor encouraged the government to activate the educational programme in the country which was consequently to prove helpful in the formation of the intellectual groups and the establishment of the press (these two groups themselves being an example of social and communication factors respectively). These factors did not function separately in society. Their relationship to each other is shown in the same Figure 2-1. There is also a linear relation between these factors as regards the temporal consequences, which put them in order with each other. Figure 2-2 shows this relation. This figure shows that the foundation of press in Iran was not simply a spontaneous act. It came into being only after a long series of circumstances and other factors had been put into place. The psychological factor was the starting point for the modernization of Iran. This in turn activated the educational factor which began by sending students abroad to study and eventually resulted in the foundation of *Dar al-Fonun* the first modern

educational institution in the country. The foundation of *Dar al-Fonun* and the expansion of the educational programme contributed to the rise of Iranian intellectuals and the increase of literacy in the country. Finally, the formation of a modern intellectual set in Iran hastened the rise of the modern press in the country. The rise of the press enhanced the process of change in Iran by adopting various roles in society.

Figure 2-2: Relationship between the four internal factors of change during 19th century in Iran.

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┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│              │      │              │      │              │      │              │
│Psychological │─────▶│ Educational  │─────▶│Social Factor │─────▶│Communication │
│   Factor     │      │   Factor     │      │              │      │   Factor     │
│              │      │              │      │              │      │              │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
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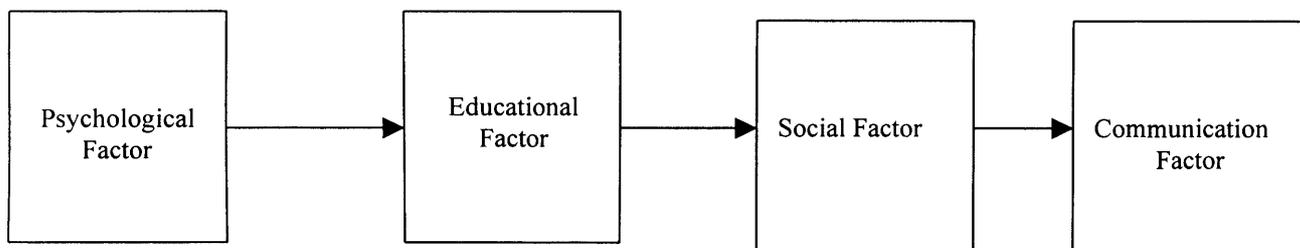
The external factors of change

The external factors of change relate to all those elements coming from outside the country which contributed to the modernization and political development of Iran. Identifying and counting all these factors is not an easy task. Therefore, only those factors that are most significant to the process of change in Iran will be discussed here. All these external factors work via the existence of some kind of contact between various elements inside and outside of the country. The most influential point of contact to affect the process of change is that which existed between Iran and the West during 19th century. This contact manifested itself in different forms and can be divided into main two kinds: direct and indirect contacts (Figure: 2-3) (for more information about models of direct and indirect effects see McQuail and Windahl, 1981).

Figure 2-3: Different forms of contact as external factors of change

in Iran during the 19th century.

The External Factors of Change

(Different Forms of Contact)

1-Direct Contacts	**2-Indirect Contacts**

1-Travellers to Europe

2-Students who studied abroad

3-Intellectuals in exile

4-Foreigners in Iran

1-Transformation of new ideologies by press

2-Translation of different books
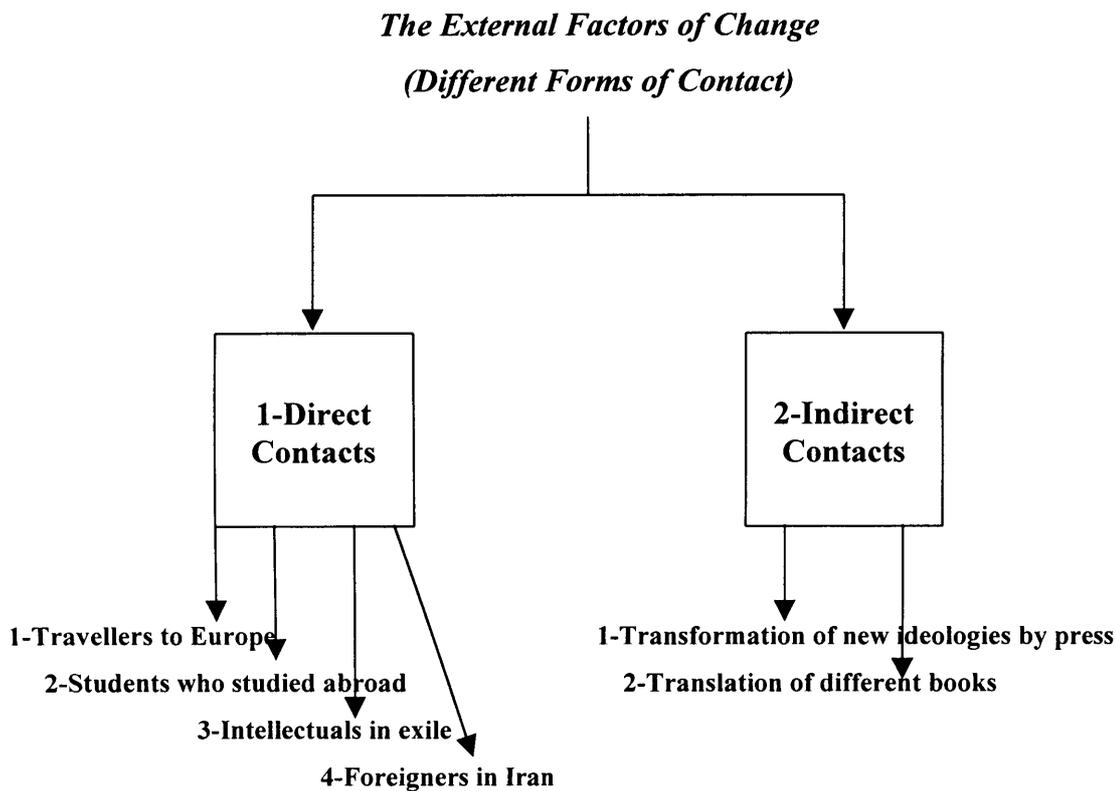
The role of the above mentioned external factors and their methods of contact will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 when Iran under the *Qajar* dynasty, Iranian journalism and the Iranian intellectuals are overviewed respectively. Here a brief account of these factors and their role in the process of development in Iran will be provided.

Interactions of Iran and the West

The 19th century is significant because it marked the starting point of contact between Iran and the West. This contact was to have far-reaching consequences for all aspects of Iranian life; social, cultural and political. Iranians who travelled to the West, or

became familiar with the ways of life in various Western countries, realised the benefits of modernization and were consequently made aware of the backwardness of their own society by comparison (Behnam, 1997). Generally speaking, these Iranians noticed the notions of freedom, democracy and the rights of people in these countries and were made all the more conscious of their own country's lack of social and political rights. They noticed the limitation of government power and the existence and implementation of law and order in the West. Iran, by contrast, was seen to exhibit the rule of tyranny and absolute power, a lack of order and an absence of law. Ziba Kalam, the contemporary Iranian political analyst, has explained this phenomenon. He states that:

> For the first generation of Iranian intellectuals, thinkers, and reformists the West became a pattern and a model for progress, and a means of removing backwardness, tyranny and absolute power from the country. The political thoughts, rationality, humanism, and Western liberalism became a ray of hope and a supportive element that could help them in their demands for the reform and modernization of the country. The establishment of a constitutional government, and indeed the Constitutional Revolution itself, was to be the ultimate achievement and final outcome of such social and political change and development in Iran. (Ziba Kalam, 1998, p.115)

The above-mentioned developments could not have taken place without the various forms of contact direct and indirect that were established with Western societies. Travellers to Europe were amazed by the modernization of these countries (Ashuri, 1999). On their return home some of them wrote interesting books that explained the way of life they had seen in Europe. These travel books became an important means by which Iranians became familiar with different aspects of modernization. More elaboration on this issue will be given in Chapter Four when the issue of social and political change during the *Qajar* period will be dealt.

Another form of contact was the students who were sent to Europe by the *Qajar* government in order to study foreign languages and modern sciences. They returned to the country and took up influential positions in society from which they could affect a process of change by introducing and implementing the new ideas and modern thoughts that they had learned whilst studying in the West. Mirza Saleh Shirazi was one of these students, and it was he who founded the first Iranian newspaper in 1837. This event in

itself shows how much Western technology and the modern means of communication had amazed and convinced this student that he must publish a newspaper similar to those he had seen in the West. If the project of sending students abroad was to have only one outcome, then the foundation of the press in Iran can be seen as its major contribution to the history of the modernization and political development of Iran (for more detail see Chapter Four).

The role of Iranian intellectuals in exile will be discussed in Chapter Six of this study when the issue of Iranian intellectuals will be discussed as a whole. Here it is worth mentioning that this role is closely connected to the method of communication used by these intellectuals to communicate with Iranians from exile. Moreover, the press was the mode of communication chosen by the intellectuals to air and exchange their ideas with other Iranians inside of Iran. Many of the newspapers that were published outside of the country, such as, *Akhtar* (1875-1895) in Istanbul; *Qanun* (1889-1890) in London; *Sorayya* (1898-1899) and *Parvaresh* (1900) in Cairo; and *Habl al-Matin* (founded 1893) in Calcutta (Browne, 1914/1983) were founded by these intellectuals. The importance of these newspapers and their contribution to the process of change is part of our main study, which will be discussed, in different chapters throughout the course of this thesis.

The term 'foreigners', as used in this study, does not refer to individuals, such as diplomats, who travelled to Iran or stayed for a period of time in the country. Although these people had an impact on the country, their role is beyond the scope of this present study. What is addressed here is the mark left by those foreigners who travelled to Iran for the purpose of teaching. Amir Kabir, the Prime Minister of Nasir al-Din Shah, invited most of these foreigners to teach in the new educational college of *Dar al-Fonun* and it was through the work of these teachers that the modern sciences were taught in Iran. Many of the government officials and students who were to become influential in the process of modernization of Iran studied in this college.

The introduction of new ideas and modern thoughts was brought about mainly through the printed material of books and the press. During the second half of the 19th century, almost 150 European books were translated from French, English, Germany and Russian. Almost two thirds of these were university books covering a multitude of

different subjects such as the military, medicine, history, language, economics and geography. Most were used for teaching purposes at the *Dar al-Fonun* college. The rest of the translated books were travelogues (ten in total) such as the 'History of Iran' by Sir John Malcom the first British ambassador to Iran. Others included stories such as 'The Measurable' by Victor Hugo as well as some social, political and philosophical books from the likes of Rousseau, Descartes, and John Locke. These translated books had an immense impact on Iranian society (Nateq, 1988). They introduced different ideas, and the Western way of life into the country. Besides these translated books, the role of the Iranian press, (operating both inside and outside the country), was also to have a highly significant impact on society. This was due to its ability to publish news reports and analyses that were topical and sought to introduce the new Western ideologies to the country. The main concern of this study is with the contribution of the press to the process of political change and development in Iran. This fact will be discussed in more detail throughout later chapters, particularly in Chapter Seven.

Although the process of interaction between Iran and the West took place through various external factors, the press was the main mediating factor in this process as a whole. The press became the bridge between Iran and the West in the introduction and transfer of different modern ideas. This role placed the press in a very significant position in the process of change and development in Iran. At the same time as the Iranian press transmitted Western ideas into the country, they also succeeded in activating the internal factors of change inside the country. Figure 2-4 shows the role of press as a mediating element between external and internal factors of change.

Figure 2-4: The press as a mediating element between the internal and external factors of development.
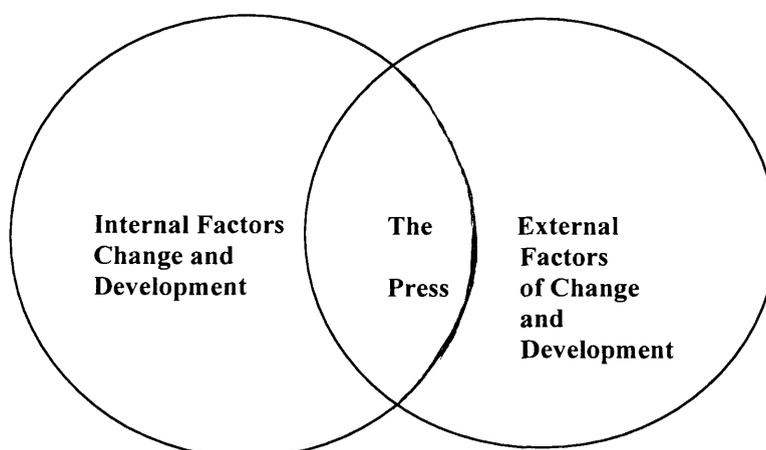
The theoretical framework of this study can be ascertained from what has been said thus far. Briefly, the process of modernization and political development in Iran was affected by two different sets of factors: internal and external. The role of these factors has been explained briefly in the foregoing discussions. Further detail and discussion of this role will be provided in the remaining chapters of this thesis. Now, however, it is time to explain the proposed model of this study, which is based upon what has been discussed so far.

The suggested model of study

The proposed model is based on the theses of both Lerner and the structuralist approaches to the role of the media in the developing countries. This model does not follow these theses completely nor does it reject them totally. Rather, it uses elements of these theses to build up a model for this study. Before proceeding with a detailed explanation of this model, there are some points which should be clarified at this juncture. These points will assist in establishing a clear picture of the model to be presented.

Firstly, the role of mass communication in developed societies is not necessarily similar to that which exists in developing countries. By this I mean that the power relation and structure between the communication network and authority system, or other social and political forces in developed countries, differs from that of developing countries. These differences, moreover, will alter the level of media influence in these societies.

In the second instance, as discussed previously, the debate regarding the role of the media, especially in developing countries (Lerner, 1958, 1963; Pool, 1963; Schramm, 1964; Lerner and Schramm, 1967; Millikan, 1967; McQuail, 1972; Elliott and Golding, 1974; Schiller, 1973, 1992), has been progressed in two different directions. On the one hand, the mass media, as claimed by Lerner (1958), is seen as having an autonomous role as a generator of social change and development. On the other hand, as stated by the structuralists, the mass media is seen as a dependent variable in the process of social change in society, and as a result can cause the country to be more dependent on outside influences thus retarding the process of development. Media imperialism in this case is

pushed by the developed and industrial countries onto the less-developed and backward nations. Both approaches to the role of media in society have their importance in sociological studies as well as in communication research. These suggestions appear contradictory but in fact turn out to be complementary. Indeed it does appear that these two approaches are not entirely irreconcilable as Teheranian has noted "if we consider development as a dialectical process of social change in which to have an effect every idea or experience transmitted by mass media must have its counterpart in social reality" (Tehranian, 1977, p.46).

Thirdly, although the structuralist thesis argues that the role of media in society has to be re-evaluated (e.g. Schiller, 1989; Tomlinson, 1991), "media remains one tool for implementing change in 'developing countries'" (McQuail, 1994, p.84). It has been realized that much greater significance should be given to the local power structure, traditional values and economic forces, and it is in relation to these factors that the role and achievements of the media should be assessed. As McQuail has noted, the role of the media in developing societies, as opposed to societies where modern elements such as secularism, materialism, and Western individualism etc. are present, has less rather than more potential to influence change. He emphasized that "for media to be effective, other conditions of modernity may also have to be present" (McQuail, 1994, p.353). In other words, the power of the media cannot be effective unless the other elements of power in the form of the social, cultural, and political structure exist.

The above-mentioned three points form the main body of the suggested model in this study. In brief, this model suggests that because of the complexity of power relations among the economic, social and political factors that exist within society, the role of the media, as an autonomous role for the generation of social change and development, has to be adjusted accordingly. What is meant here is that the media is not the only factor which needs to exist in society in order to instigate a movement towards development and modernization. However, it can contribute vastly to the establishment of such a movement as well as activating the other relevant factors. On the other hand, rejection of the role of the media in the process of change and the evaluation of this factor as merely an instrument under the control of the developed countries who wish to impose their

culture on the less-developed countries, also has to be re-evaluated and adjusted. Although the cultural hegemony of the North over the South can not be underestimated, this reality can not always be regarded as a purely negative phenomenon. There are many Western social, political or cultural issues which can not be rejected simply because of their association with the West. The idea of freedom, democracy and civil society is not limited to Western societies. These concepts grow from human experience. They should and can be utilized by all without in any way damaging or neglecting indigenous national cultures and ideologies. Both Lerner and the structuralists go too extremes in laying out the workings of their respective models. One represents a very Western and alien model to the development of the less-developed countries, whilst the other is too indigenous and too internal in orientation. What I suggest here is a mixed model of both theses which will take parts from each to form a new model for this study.

The suggested model for this study is one that looks to the internal and external factors of change and development as necessary elements in the process of modernization. The absence of either of these factors will prevent, delay, or suspend the introduction and maturation of this process. On the other hand, the co-operation and the co-existence of both factors will enhance, encourage, and increase the speed of this process in society. What is necessary here is to establish a bridge between the various elements acting both inside and outside of the country. The Iranian press as one form of modern media could, at least in 19th century Iran, play the role of a bridge in the process of the development and modernization of the country.

Having discussed the importance of both the internal and external factors of change, especially the role of the media in the transference of modern culture and ideologies, the question then becomes, how does this transference take place in society? And how can the process of change be started? The following two theories of diffusion and modernization will help to provide a clear answer. The diffusion theory will tell us how modern ideas could be transferred to other societies, and the modernization theory will explain the social challenge between 'tradition' and 'modern' in society which is necessary for the process of change and development. First, we will start with diffusion theory.

Theory of diffusion of innovation

This theory is mainly associated with the model of innovation diffusion first developed by Everett Rogers (1962, 1969, 1976). It evolved initially in relation to farmers and members of the rural population who were the target for most efforts at innovation diffusion. According to McQuail and Windahl these efforts were first made in the United State in the 1920s and 1930s and became a popular project for development programs in developing countries. It was not only agricultural programs that were evaluated in connection with this approach, but also health projects as well as issues in social and political life (McQuail and Windahl, 1981).

The main idea of this theory is that there is a continuing need to replace an old method of life with a new and modern one. This need is felt in both developing and developed countries alike. In rural areas, where this theory was first tested, the farmers were influenced by the introduction of new ideas disseminated through the modern mass media such as the radio. By external stimulation (e.g. the broadcasting of radio programs) a new society will emerge which gains its new position from external aid, knowledge and the introduction of new ideas (Elliott and Golding, 1974). In this regard, if modernization is seen to be simply a diffusion of Western social and cultural ideologies, then it is the mass media that can provide the important channels of diffusion and the powerful tools needed for development and change (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Mohammadi, 1994).

It is necessary to examine this theory in some detail in order to see the kinds of processes that are suggested in order to facilitate the diffusion of ideas in society. In their studies, Rogers and Shoemaker (1973) have suggested four distinct steps in an 'innovation-diffusion' process. These steps are briefly summarized as *Knowledge, Persuasion, Decision,* and *Confirmation.* In this process an individual firstly becomes aware of the existence of the innovation and obtains some 'knowledge' about it. This individual then, by the 'persuasion' process, forms a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards the innovation. Next, the individual makes a 'decision' whether to accept or reject the innovation. Finally, the individual seeks reinforcement for his or her attitude towards the innovation by 'confirmation' of the decision he or she has made, unless this

decision conflicts with a new message concerning the same innovation (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1973).

Diffusion of ideas and innovations normally involves the use of various communication sources such as mass media, promotional materials, agencies of change, and informal social contacts. As a result, different sources may have different diffusion abilities. The importance of these sources varies at different stages as well as performing different functions in different societies. For instance,

> Mass media and advertising may produce awareness and knowledge, official agencies at the local level may persuade, personal influence may be important for the decision to adopt or not and experience of use may provide a main later source of confirmation or otherwise. (McQuail and Windahl, 1981, p.54)

One of the best examples of the diffusion of innovation is that of Western modernization into non-Western countries. Countries such as Iran have benefited from this phenomenon. The diffusion of modern social and political ideas, in various different forms during the 19th century in Iran, helped the people to move from the traditional stage to a modernized one. In this process of development the tools of modern communication played a vital role. The emergence of the modern media not only helped the people of the world to increase their knowledge, but also introduced their various cultures and ideologies to each other. Diffusion of these cultures and ideologies could not have been possible without the use of the modern communication system. It is obvious that in the process of social and political change in developing countries the mass media is an important tool of this change and development (Rogen, 1976). However, other sources and elements of change also played a role in this process. In 19th century Iran, for instance, the press was not the only instigator of social and political change. Sources such as personal contacts, the translation of Western literature and the learning of different sciences through study at the European universities also contributed to the developmental process. However, all these sources can themselves be seen as by-products of the influence of the modern communication system that was affecting the world on a global scale.

By the diffusion of various Western social, cultural and political ideologies into Iran, mainly through the modern press, the process of change began to replace traditional life with a modern one. However, the diffusion of these ideologies alone was not enough to produce such monumental change in the society. It becomes necessary at this stage to follow all the steps, as was discussed in the theory of diffusion, to complete and fully understand the effect of the diffusion of this innovation. The traditional way of life was a system established over centuries and had its roots and guardians in the country. It was obvious therefore that the supporters of the traditional system would be resistant to the changes being introduced by the advocates of the modern system. The challenge and dispute of supporters of the old and traditional system against the modern life could not be avoided at this stage. The press also played a vital role in this process. The political discourse of the press was directed towards supporting the modern political and social life and showing that the old system was outdated and contained many weaknesses. The challenge between the 'traditional' and 'modern' elements of society is best shown through the modernization theory which will be discussed in the following section.

Theories of modernization

Modernization theories can not be easily separated from development theories, as they are in a sense two sides of the same coin. The terms 'development' and 'modernization' have been used both synonymously and as having different meanings. Although both terms refer to economic growth, a distinction has also been made "to apply the term 'development' to economic growth processes and 'modernization' to various socio-cultural processes concomitant with them" (Berger, Berger, and Kellner, 1973). However, the approach of each to the process of change in society is somewhat different. While theories of development are indeed shaped mostly in relation to the process of change in developing countries, theories of modernization were originally developed in the West. The West, as the birthplace of modernity meant that all modernization theories were formed specifically in relation to Western societies and their process of change. That is why, when modernization is mentioned in regard to Third World countries, it is seen in terms of the Western conceptualisation of this phenomenon. Moreover it was thought that

the modernization theory implied the setting up of Western institutions in the Third World countries whereby the same effects would be created as had been created by the founding of these institutions in Western Countries (Benard and Khalilzad, 1984). Theories of 'modernization', however, especially those which are advanced by sociologists and political scientists, analyse the process of development in the increasing differentiation of the structures and functions in different societies (Tehranian, 1977). Or, as Giddens has seen it, the process of compression of time and space (modernization) that leads to higher levels of productivity in different areas of technologies (Giddens, 1991). In this case, time-saving and space-shrinking technologies, especially in the areas of transportation and telecommunications, have prepared the ground for the diffusion of modern ideas, technologies and organisations from the Western countries to the rest of the world (Tehranian and Kia Tehranian, 1997).

With respect to the various approaches to modernization, the concern of this research is the social and political modernization that was inspired in 19th century Iran and its affect on Iranian society. The economic development of the country at that time was not so significant as to warrant mentioning here. That is to say that, even though some steps had been taken towards the economic development of the country (such as importing some factories), the actual process of economic development (with regard to the use of national resources on an international basis so as to benefit from the global network of business e.g. the economy of oil) did not start until a few decades after the collapse of the *Qajar* dynasty. Therefore, I will focus on political modernization and its process in Iran during the 19th century.

Political modernization, in its general definition, is characterised by "the weakening of traditional elites and the traditional legitimation of rulers by the establishment of some sort of ideological and often also institutional accountability of the rulers to the ruled who are the holders of the potential political power." (Eisenstadt, 1973, p. 24). In this process the system of elections is the most significant indicator in assessing the progress of the modernised society. Indeed the culmination of this process is in "the participation of the ruled in the selection of the rulers" (Eisenstadt, 1973, p. 24).

In its social and cultural manifestation, modernization is characterised by an expanding differentiation between the cultural and value systems such as religion and ideology. In this regard secularization, the weakening of traditional cultural elites, the spread of secular education, the emergence of secular intelligentsia and the rise of various professional groups are the main elements (Shils, 1958).

To better analyze the process of social and political modernization, especially in the developing countries, it is necessary to look at the existing culture of that particular society and the worldview of its inhabitants. To better achieve this aim it is important to study the process of change itself and how it proceeds in a given society. The process of change cannot proceed without a mediated environment existing between the old and the new cultures and ideologies of a society. The development of this environment will not be possible without the establishment of a systematic and coherent dialogue and discourse between the carriers of the old and new cultures. This dialogue will also not be practicable or achievable without a proper means of communication. Development in all its dimensions, whether economic, cultural, social or political is embedded in the means of communication utilized by societies. Moreover, although communication and development are different they are not separable but are interrelated terms. Development, in all its dimensions, is communication, and communication is development (Mowlana, 1996).

Communication exercises the main role in bringing the 'traditional' and 'modern' elements together for the purpose of debate or dispute. This debate or dispute may spread throughout all aspects of life. On some occasions however the process of change does not lead the country on a path towards progress and development. In such a condition increased dependency might be the case for a given country. However, the key elements here are represented by the twin concepts of the 'traditional' and 'modern' which have to be clarified in this discussion. Before clarifying this matter it is necessary to look at the context in which this discussion should be delivered

Context of discussion

Practically all societies are composed of people who do not necessarily all think or act similarly to one another. The differences in their understanding, evaluation or behaviour are seen as natural and in the sociological scope as a necessity of existence. Various elements, internal or external, can effect the level and operation of these differences. If most of these differences exist smoothly within a society there are certain others that take the form of challenge and dispute. The history of humankind is never devoid of the experience of such challenges, either methodologically or ideologically. In the process of this challenge the debate around the issue of past and present or old and modern occupies a central position.

Historians look at the past as a fact that cannot be denied even though it can be evaluated differently. In this perspective 'tradition' is not only the existence and continuation of the past, but is also a reality that is practised in every day life. The culture of a society is no more than the integration of its past and present in a movement towards the future. Within this view, new ideas for life and culture cannot be developed except within the context of specific historical experiences. The nature and boundaries of culture and tradition are grounded in experiences that characterize national culture and indeed the nation itself.

From a sociological perspective, the interaction or conflict between internal and external forces affects the level and the scope of change and alters the amount of challenge between various sections of society. In this process of change and development it is not necessarily implied that the 'old' will be replaced by the 'new' or that 'tradition' is always in conflict with 'modernity' (Finkle and Gable, 1971). In some instances dynamic interactions within the same society, brought about by internal forces, can create change and development, but not necessarily in the same manner as that followed by Western countries. It is necessary, for the development of a basic theoretical background, that the notions of 'tradition' and modernization' should be defined properly.

Generally speaking, theoretical enterprise cannot take shape without defining its related terms. Defining something, especially in social science where different aspects

and dimensions need to be considered, is a very complex matter. Regarding the area under consideration here this attempt takes on even more complicated dimensions. One of the difficulties here is that the definitions of 'tradition' and 'modernization' as developed in Western countries are not necessarily applicable to developing countries. This matter is much more complex than can be discussed here. To simplify things it is helpful to note that the rejection of traditional thoughts and disciplines simply because they dominate the past is not 'modern' (Mowlana, 1996). On the contrary, the adoption of new technology and the acceptance of new ideologies do not necessarily mean that the traditional status of society becomes automatically changed to a modernized one. This is a situation evidenced in most developing countries. The time factor in this process is much more important than the process itself.

Within this context and by realizing that modernization could have many different manifestations in society, depending on whether it is based on traditional or modern forms of life, defining both concepts becomes a necessity in order to establish a comprehensive model for our study.

Defining 'tradition'

'Tradition' in its very orthodox definition "is anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past" (Thompson, 1995, p.184). Or, as Max Weber has defined it, simple fidelity to the past (Laroui, 1976). But this so-called fidelity to the past is not so simple. Rather, the complexity of 'tradition' is no less than that of 'modernization'. Whatever 'tradition' means, the 'traditional society' is characterised as a primitive, static, backward and irrational society. Therefore, most classical social theories see the development of modern societies as based on the destruction of tradition (Thompson, 1995). However, to explain how new ideas can replace and transform old ones it is useful to know how tradition exists among societies.

Tradition, in all its dimensions, is associated with the belief and practice of people in their every day life. What makes the idea or belief an old one, as opposed to a new one, is the time factor on the one hand and the rationality of practising or believing on the other. Rationality is one of the most important elements in the formation of modern

society. In his analysis of 'tradition', Laroui has distinguished two forms of tradition: 'conscious traditional' and 'unconscious traditional' or 'ideological tradition' and 'structural tradition' (Laroui, 1976). The 'conscious or ideological traditional' means those elements, which are consciously accepted and become part of the dominant ideology and culture of a society. 'Unconscious or structural tradition', on the other hand, may be defined as traditional matters which are not necessarily dominant elements or an inseparable part of the existing ideology and culture. The failure and success of the process of modernization depends greatly on the extent of the existence of these two types of tradition. The clash between 'modernity' and 'tradition' is more identifiable where modernity tries to impose itself in the forbidden area of ideological and conscious tradition. Otherwise, the area of 'unconscious traditional' may easily become subject to the ideological invasion of modernization. If this were not the case in the process of modernization this process would have very little success in any society. The amount of resistance or acceptance of social and political change is largely related to the conditions and the validity of these elements in society.

However, tradition also exhibits various different aspects in society. In his very distinctive study of 'modern' and 'tradition', Thompson has distinguished between four different aspects of traditions: the 'hermeneutic aspect', the 'normative aspect', the 'legitimation aspect' and the 'identity aspect' (Thompson, 1995). For the purpose of this study into how modern ideas challenged the traditional aspects of Iranian society during the 19th century, it is useful to overview these four aspects of tradition.

The 'hermeneutic aspect' is viewed as a set of daily life assumptions transmitted by individuals from one generation to the next. The importance of this aspect has convinced some hermeneutic philosophers, for example Heidegger (1962), to emphasise that all understanding is actually based on presuppositions or assumptions that form part of the traditional aspects of the society to which we belong. According to this meaning, the Enlightenment can not be assumed to be the antithesis of tradition but is to be seen, on the contrary, as one aspect of tradition. The impact of the era of Enlightenment on the non-Western world, at its most basic level, is as an era of change in regard to social assumptions. Thus in contrast to the Western world, the effect of the Enlightenment on

the non-Western societies was as an antithesis of tradition and a sign for modernization and change in these countries. One reason for this phenomenon is that those advancements of the Enlightenment which were introduced to non-Western societies, such as rationalisation, secularisation, freedom and democracy, were very different from those that existed in their social and political life at the time. These assumptions were in conflict with the traditional aspects that were dominant in these countries. In my case study of the Iranian press and the intellectual trend among educated Iranians during the 19th century, the assumptions of the Enlightenment era were seen as prerequisite elements for the modernization of the country. However, problems arose because of the conflict between these assumptions and the traditional aspects which dominated Iranian society during this period. This will be elaborated further when I analyse this phenomenon in more detail.

The 'normative aspect' is "that sets of assumption, forms of belief and patterns of action handed down from the past can serve as a normative guide for actions and beliefs in the present" (Thompson, 1995, p.185). All Islamic beliefs, for example, can be classified under this heading. This aspect is traditionally grounded in certain practices that shaped the unquestioning behaviour or belief of people.

The 'legitimation aspect' provides another meaning of tradition which can "in certain circumstances, serve as a source of support for the exercise of power and authority" (Thompson, 1995, p. 185). According to Thompson, in his analysis of how the legitimacy of a system of domination can be established in a society, Max Weber has claimed that three rational grounds exist: 'legal authority', 'charismatic authority' and 'traditional authority' (Thompson, 1995). In the social structure of Iranian society, different forms of all the three grounds of authority can be seen in the form of the ideological domination practised by both state and religious authorities. Systematically and over a long period of time these three grounds of legitimacy become 'ideological' in order to establish or sustain the relations of power in society.

In the case of Iran, the authority of the Shah in the political system was portrayed as a divine authority and furthermore the Shah was described as the shadow of God on earth. However, the religious authority based on Islamic theology is centred around the

idea of *al–Mahdi*, the hidden Imam in *Shi'hism*. *Shi'hism* is the main Islamic sect amongst Iranians and it became dominant in the Iranian society during the *Safavid* dynasty (1500-1722). According to this idea the *Ulama* (Islamic scholars) occupy the position of general agents of the Hidden Imam (Dorraj, 1990) and because the Imams were appointed by God as successors to the Prophet and as rulers of the *Omma* (The Muslim Nation) having complete religious authority over the people, the *Ulama* are the executive agent of the *Imam*.

Finally, the meaning of the 'identity aspect' of tradition is based on two types of identities: 'self identity' and 'collective identity' (Thompson, 1995). Different characteristics and values may effect the establishment of self and collective identities. Over time, these characteristics and values become inseparable from the people. Collective identity, which refers to the individuals within a political or social group, may be more sustainable than self-identity because it is bonded to a set of readily identifiable collective feelings and beliefs. Therefore any change in the collective identity becomes difficult. This assumption can be used as a basis for an analysis of the collective beliefs and social behaviour of Iranians, especially during the 19th century when the social and political movement toward modernization and development started. It was the dominance of these beliefs in society which hindered the struggle of the Iranian intellectuals to replace the old ideas with modern ones.

With this analysis of tradition the practical difficulties of changing society can be better understood. Any source of authority that is related to the traditional aspects may become a source of resistance to change and development. In a very conservative and traditional society, such as that which existed in Iran during the 19th century, this can be a tremendously difficult problem. The complexity of this situation has affected the understanding of the concept and the process of modernization in Iranian society and has helped the emergence of the concept of 'Westernisation'. This is a concept that is used to reflect what is seen as the detrimental effect of Western 'cultural imperialism'. Any signs of change that did not fit into the existing ideological and social patterns were claimed to be 'strange', 'non-familiar' and 'Western' because it was claimed that they had been transferred from the Western world. The attack on modernization under the banner of

Westernization in Iran had occupied many religious and traditionalist activities during the last two centuries. Assuming the 'West' or the 'Occident' as an 'other' (Boroujerdi, 1996) and its modern ideologies as strange and rejected ideologies gave rise to the movement against the modernization referred to as a sign of *Gharbzadegi* (Westoxication). Later on this movement was used as a strong tool of uprising during the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

Defining 'modernization'

"Modernization, or the Western style of development" (Mowlana, 1996, p.98) gains its meaning from the historical context of the West itself. In a general sense modernization means development but not just economically, as development usually means, or industrialisation, as is the case for the leaders of developing countries (Palmer and Stern, 1971). It also means development in all economic, social and political dimensions (Eisenstadt, 1973) with an emphasis on the use of rationalization in the building of a society. Indeed, modernization is an abstract word whose actual meaning is usually shown through the other elements of life. It is through this comparison that the difference between old and modern appears. Without traditions modernization may not be imagined. That is why when we define 'modernity' and 'modernization' we have to define tradition as well.

Modernization especially in Western countries also implies the process of change toward modernity. According to Mowlana:

> This assumption encompasses, among other things, industrialisation in the economy; secularisation in thought, personality, and communication; the development of a cosmopolitan attitude; integration into the world culture; and rejection of traditional thoughts and technologies simply because they dominated the past and thus are not "modern". (Mowlana, 1996, p.96)

In non-Western countries the concept of modernization and the modernization process took on various meanings and procedures. Different meanings and theories of modernization had different impacts in different countries. It is the case that the necessity of adopting modernity was not only realised by these countries themselves, but was also pushed and encouraged by Western powers. According to Pye, the adoption of a global

nation-state system by all countries during the last century was one way of 'modernising' the world and of having a unifying model of governing a country (Pye, 1966). According to this view most of the early efforts of colonial power can be seen as an struggle for the establishment of the nation-state system as a fundamental basis for the diffusion of the modernization phenomenon throughout the rest of the world. This phenomenon according to Giddens "has long participated in that reflexivity characteristic of modernity as a whole" (Giddens, 1990, p.72).

Beside the nation-state system there are also other components of modern life which, according to Berman, are characterised as industrialisation, urbanisation, bureaucratic structures, population growth, new systems of communication, new forms of power and class structures and a world capitalist market (Berman, 1983). All these characteristics can be categorised under the concepts of social, economic and political development. In a broader social context modernization also involved a democratisation of society. In the last decades the logic that socio-economic development was seen as a prior necessity for democracy has been reversed. In the new logic democracy can help development and modernization (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1998). According to such logic the growth of civil society and development of human resources are seen as part of the development process. However, accepting

> 'Human development', instead of simply economic development, and the importance of women's participation and activity in new measures of development all imply a more inclusive and holistic notion of development with implications for political and cultural participation. (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1998, p.185)

Modernity in the case of Iran

The project of modernization in Iran did not properly follow either the 'economic', 'social and political', or 'human development' models, nor a combination of these elements. The attempted modernization of the army by the *Qajar* government did not really signal the adoption a 'new way'. It was not rooted in deep rationality and so did not start the process of change in the society. That is why this attempt was relatively short-lived, as mentioned previously.

Indeed, all the attempts undertaken by the *Qajar's* towards modernization including the forms of education (*Dar al-Fonun* college), communication (telegraphy), or economics (different factories) did little to help establish a modernized country. The main reason for this is based on the logic that was mentioned previously. In the eyes of the *Qajars,* and as a result of contact with the West, the adopting of new technologies was seen as the first priority in the modernization of the country. The foundation of the press by the government was actually seen as a positive move in this direction. Therefore, we notice that the governmental press during this period could not play its role in the development of freedom and democracy which is seen as the fundamental role of the modern media in society. Rather, this press served as a tool for the maintenance of dictatorial and powerful governments by acting as a propaganda weapon in the defense and justification of their actions.

But what was seen as 'modernization' was viewed differently by the Iranian intellectuals. Intellectuals who became familiar with the Western countries evaluated this phenomenon differently and suggested a model which was mainly based on notions of 'human development' and a 'democratic government'. In the eyes of these intellectuals 'political development' was the main priority for the establishment of a modernized country. The foundation of an independent press by these intellectuals can be evaluated in this direction. Therefore, the independent press dealt seriously with the human issues of 'freedom', 'democracy', 'law and order' and 'participation' as fundamental elements for modernization.

The conflict between the two methods of achieving modernization, the 'technological and economic development' model versus the 'political and social development' model, as advocated by the government and intellectuals respectively has still not ended to this day. In this regard the debate which started in the last decades of the 19th century, is repeated strongly in the last years of the 20th and in early days of 21st centuries. Nowadays, the main strand in Iranian discourse is the same as that which started 100 years ago. Indeed it has yet to be rectified conclusively or even satisfactorily at either a conceptual or methodological level. The discussion raised by the independent newspapers during the 19th century about the priority of political development in the

process of modernization is still carried on by the liberal newspapers against the more conservative and fundamental newspapers in Iran. This situation supports the accuracy of the allegation that sees political and social development as a first priority in bringing about modernization in Iran.

What has been said in this chapter supports and develops the main model proposed by this study for looking at the process of change in Iran and the role of the press in this process. The existence of both internal and external factors of change was necessary for the development of Iran. The contact between Iran and the West and the introduction of new and modern ideologies enhanced and speeded up this process. The press, as a modern tool of communication, played a vital role in the introduction of these ideologies to Iranian society. Through the diffusion of these ideologies into Iranian society, the necessity for 'social and political development' became a necessity for the Iranian intellectuals. The rise of the political discourse amongst Iranians during the 19th century can be seen as a result of the various forms of contact with the West as well as the introduction of modern ideas by the Iranian independent press. All this had its impact on the Iranian society. The Constitutional Revolution of the 19th century Iran is the actual result of such a process which was a great achievement for Iranians in regard to the political modernization of the country.

At the end of this chapter some important points should be clarified. Firstly, this research is not meant to be a historical study of the *Qajar* era or of the Constitutional Revolution. It is an attempt to illustrate the contribution of the Iranian Press towards the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution with respect to the latter's ideological and socio-political dimensions i.e. enabling the masses, intellectuals etc. to come to grasp the key concepts of a new system; namely, rule of law, Parliamentarianism, elections, democracy, freedom and so forth.

Secondly, by referring to the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution, I am not proposing that the Constitutional Revolution was a success in all fields, rather, I am describing what came to be and the modifications and developments which ensued. It would, of course, be naïve to suggest that there existed no weaknesses or faults whatsoever.

Thirdly, one must note that Iran's situation at the time differed vastly to that of the West. Hence, theories applicable in Western societies, e.g. theory of modernization and media development, give rise to differences with respect to its implementation in Iranian society. This does not mean that the above theories are inapplicable to Iran but rather, that one must scrutinize the internal and external circumstances of 19th century Iran and discover how the latter can blend with the theories. The new method of communication (the press) was founded in the traditional society and it was a totally new mode of communication (compared to traditional ways of communications) and so it subsequently gave rise to substantial changes within society, namely the introduction of novel ideas and relatively modern concepts. If the effect of the media on society and the relationship between media and development, especially after 1950's, have been put in question and re-evaluated, such an issue would have been very small scale indeed in 19th century Iran, not least because that the press was the only modern tool of communication that could assist the people with different news, modern ideas, new concepts and political discourses. But without doubt, and as will discussed later on, the media had its effects on society.

Finally, concerning Lerner's thesis on media and development, it must be pointed out that just because his theories may possess inadequacies when observed within different times and societies, one should not categorically rule out its application in 19th century Iran. Actually the press at that time could possess a great effectiveness on people and could contribute to the process of change in society through its various characters (new method of communication, usage of simple and popular language, introducing modern concepts and ideas, critiquing the government -in the case of independent press- and its political views and discourses). In general the contribution of press in the process of social and political development is connected first to the ideas and mind of the people and thus presented by means of social and political structures. In this study, what is emphasized is the fact that the media is able to participate and contribute to the above type of development, which - according to Lerner's thesis - could be strongly applicable to a society such as 19th century *Qajar* in Iran.

In the next chapter the research methodology used in this thesis will be covered.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will present a comprehensive account of the research methodology that will be followed in this thesis. This methodology is based mainly on content and discourse analysis. Using quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, the content of selected newspapers published during the *Qajar* period (1797-1925) will be examined in order to assess their contribution to the process of modernization and political development within Iran.

Due to the nature of this research, documentary and historical analysis will play a crucial role in providing the material with which to engage in a detailed debate on the subject matter. Hence, historical analysis will also be used as an appropriate method in addition to the two other methods of content and discourse analysis. Regarding quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, it has to be said that both have their strengths and weaknesses in relation to sociological and mass communication studies. Therefore, in order to build up an understanding of the background to the argument, the differences between these two types of method will be outlined briefly in this chapter.

Purpose and research questions

The main purpose and the essential question of this research, as has been stated previously, is to examine the contribution of the press in the process of political and social change and development in Iran during the *Qajar* period, with special consideration to the period of the Constitutional Revolution. This study also proposes a wide range of hypotheses to which it is attempts to find answers. The main hypothesis is that most of the ideas regarding social and political development and modernization were transferred into the country through a variety of different means. The press played a central role in this process. This arose from the fact that, for the most part, newspapers at

the time were mainly published by people who had spent time in European countries or who were at least familiar with these countries and their progress. It assumes that the early Iranian press had the most important role in this process because it occupied a leading position from which it could create a suitable environment for the transference of these ideas from the West into the country. In this way it could introduce these new ideas into the political discourse of the society. The real role of the press was as the medium of communication between the European and Iranian communities. The following points are elaborated on concerning the above main question and hypothesis:

- The modern press is a Western product and its foundation in
  Iran was the result of the interaction between Iranians and
  Western culture.

- Iranian public spaces prepared a suitable environment for the
  creation of a public sphere by bringing different modern social
  and political concepts into the discourse of the society before
  and during the Constitutional Revolution. The Iranian
  independent and non-governmental newspapers, before and
  during that period, contributed to the creation of this sphere and
  the rise of this discourse.

- The process of social and political change in Iranian society during
  the 19th century was due to the notion of cultural globalization
  and the influence of Western Liberalism.

- The introduction of modern ideologies and Western
  modernization into the country was brought about mainly through
  the following three channels:
  1-The press.   2- Books, especially the translation of basic books
  introducing these ideologies.   3- People who had traveled to

Europe, become familiar with Western modernization and
attempted to introduce this phenomenon to the country.

- The private and non-governmental newspapers started the real
  discourse concerning Western modernization and introduced
  the Western model of development, with all its ideological
  concepts, to the society.

- Western Ideologies and liberal ideas, introduced by the Iranian press
  before the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution, had their
  impact on the formation of the Iranian Parliament, the
  Constitutional Law, and the rights of the people in the form of
  election and freedom of opinion and speech.

Methodology

In the following section a comprehensive account of the research methodology followed in this thesis will be presented.

Quantitative and qualitative discourse

. Since the 1960s a debate has raged concerning the relative merits of quantitative or qualitative analysis in sociological studies. Supporters allied to one group have persisted in attacking those of the other. While some quantitative analysts such as Berelson (1952) assume that all other types of content analysis are inaccurate, qualitative analysts such as Burgelin (1972) condemn their detractors for their lack of understanding of the research traditions.

Before dealing with the main arguments it is important to see what effects these different schools, or techniques, have had during the years since their inception.

Quantitative analysis

Content analysis is essentially a method which is based on using a quantitative technique for the analysis of the content of any communication: "It is [a] statistical technique for obtaining descriptive data on content variable. In other words, the quantitative approach substitutes controlled observation and systematic counting for impressionistic ways of observing frequencies of occurrence" (Pool, 1959, p.8.).

Although definitions of content analysis vary, even amongst quantitative analysts themselves, it is generally agreed that any quantitative content analysis is based on counting and recording units (words, sentences, paragraphs, etc.) and context units (the size of content e.g. sentence, paragraph, article, page, paper, etc.) (Berelson, 1952; Pool, 1959; Holsti, 1969).

The mere presence or occurrence of the content characteristics or symbols and their frequencies are not the only concern of content analysis. The absence of these characteristics has also crucial importance in this method. Therefore, the term 'frequency' and 'non-frequency' content indicators for quantitative and non-quantitative, a non-statistical variant of content analysis, were employed to describe the role of the presence or absence of the content characteristics or symbols. Pool has briefly indicated the differences between these terms:

> We employ the term 'non-frequency' to describe the type of non-quantitative, non-statistical content analysis which uses the presence or absence of a certain content characteristic or syndrome as a content indicator in an inferential hypothesis. In contrast, a 'frequency' content indicator is one in which the number of times one or more content characteristics occur is regarded as reverent for purposes of inference. (Pool, 1959, p.10)

Regardless of any of the weaknesses that exist in the quantitative and non-quantitative techniques of content analysis, it seems that the study of different samples of newspapers should be given more attention. The above mentioned techniques are applied in order to discover the 'attention' and the 'direction' of the various newspaper writers in relation to the situation of Iranian society that existed at the time of writing. In this case, recording the frequency of certain political and ideological symbols (or ideas) with attention to the absence of all or some of those symbols may be the only way of

discovering the direction of these newspapers towards introducing these same ideas (symbols) into the society.

There is however no doubt that these techniques can not individually satisfy the purpose of this study nor will they fully support my argument. Qualitative content analysis, especially the discourse analysis of the content of these newspapers with connection to the quantitative technique, will further serve this purpose. It will also help to provide an essential means of analysis with which to examine the validity of the hypothesis.

The quantitative technique used in this study will focus on three things: firstly, defining the categories and the units of analysis, secondly, counting the units and thirdly, recording the context units. To find out the most suitable units for analyzing the content of the selected newspapers chosen for this study, it is important to look at and examine similar research that has been carried out over the past years. 'RADIRR' is a project which analyzed 9 'prestige papers' from 5 developed countries over a sixty-year time span (Pool et al., 1952). For such a large project Pool (1952) suggested a list of different symbols and terms that could be used to characterize different ideological, security, doctrinal aspects, etc in these papers. Pool had counted seventy-two ideological terms which reflected the main political, social, and cultural symbols he encountered during the course of his research. The significance of this study is that most of the important ideological symbols were identified, categorized, and counted as indicators for political modernity. Terminology such as: 'democracy', 'freedom', 'equality', 'free speech', 'reform', 'free press', 'censorship', 'progress', etc. are the most useful terms for this study which seeks to analyse the most frequent social and political symbols to occur in our selective newspapers.

Through a detailed examination of the list of ideological terminology developed by Pool (1952) I have developed relevant social and political symbols for modernization in this study, which will be regarded as specific categories for analysis. Each one of these categories will have its sub-category as shown in the following figure (3-1):

Figure: 3-1: Ideological terminology developed as an indicator for political modernity in the analysis of the Iranian newspapers during the _Qajar_ period.

Freedom and the Rights of Individuals	**Representation and Election**	**Law and Order**	**Nationalism**

Categories

Sub-Categories

Liberalism   Parliamentary System   Constitutional Law   Language

Secularism   Groups and Parties   Governmental System

History

Feminism   Justice and Order

Nation-State
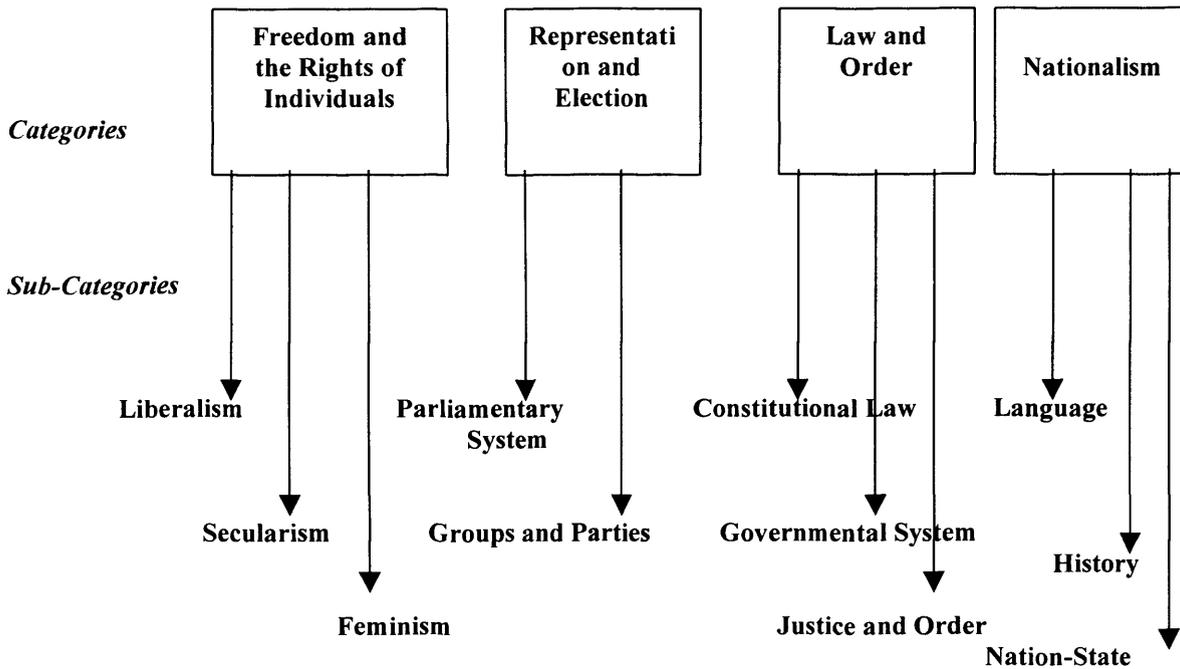
During the first stage these symbols (categories and sub-categories) will be counted, and in the second stage all related context units, in this case the sentence, will be identified. Finally within this context the orientation and direction of these newspapers will be examined.

The main reason for using such a procedure is that the above political and ideological symbols are the main symbols, which can be regarded as representative of a modern society. These are clearly identified from the similar list that was developed by Pool (1952) as mentioned before. Analyzing these words (symbols) in the context of the selected newspapers will supply us with the political agenda of these papers. This in turn will tell us how they attempted to communicate with the society and consequently establish the appropriate grounds for change and development in the social and political status of the country. Therefore, the results arrived at by using the quantitative technique of recording the frequency of the occurrence and the absence of these symbols will find

their logical meaning in later discussions concerning qualitative analysis. Thus by using these two methods our analysis will be completed.

Qualitative analysis

This section will focus briefly on the application of the qualitative method of analysis and the main ways in which it differs from the quantitative method.

'Meaning' plays a central role in qualitative and structural analysis: "Central to the structuralist approach is the assumption that [there] are codes, 'systems of communication conventions which constitute the rules for organizing different meaning'. In this case, language is a code which regulates the combination of sign-vehicles in a grammatical unit and signifies a meaning" (Curran, 1976, p.8). According to this method, reality cannot be understood by quantification as is claimed by the quantitative method. It is argued rather that the quantification method presents the world merely as 'appearance' and not as a reality. "Fundamentally, qualitative researchers seek to preserve the form and content of human behavior and to analyze its qualities, rather than to subject it to mathematical or other formal transformations" (Lindlof, 1995, p. 21).

In contrast to quantitative methods, qualitative research methods "do not rest their evidence on the logic of mathematics, the principle of numbers, or the methods of statistical analysis" (Anderson and Meyer, 1988, p.247). Finally, the inadequacy of quantitative analysis, as Siegfried Kracauer the German sociologist and cultural critic believed, stems from the method itself: when the meaning of the texts are broken down into quantifiable units (words, expressions, statements, etc.). By doing this analysts are, to his way of thinking, destroying the very object they are supposed to study the meaningful whole of the text itself (Larsen, 1991).

Triangulation can be used to avoid the weaknesses of using any one of these techniques in isolation. One of the assumptions of triangulation, or the use of multiple methods, is that this method provides more valid results than a single research method (Jankowski & Wester, 1991). It is actually the fundamental assumption of all triangulation "that the weaknesses in each single method will be compensated by [the] counter-balancing strengths of another" (Jick, 1979, p.604). It can be said that, these two

methods, by the use of triangulation, are not just completed but are actually overlapping as Caws has said:

> Quantitative and qualitative do not divide up a territory, they both cover it, overlapping almost totally. But one is basic and the other optional. Every thing in our world is qualitative; but virtually everything is capable of generating quantitative determinations. (Caws, 1989, p.26)

Therefore, the triangulation of these two methods cannot be avoided due to its many advantages. In addition, discourse analysis will also be used comprehensively. In this relation, analytical discussion based on concepts emerging from the study of the available documents (e.g. newspapers) will be reported.

Discourse analysis

As stated, the discourse method of analysis will be used in this research in a comprehensive way. Therefore, a detailed study of this method is required here to explain this methodology and its application to the thesis.

Discourse analysis is a kind of qualitative methodology, but one which focuses mainly on the semiotic study of the text and talk (van Dijk, 1985). This method of analysis emerged as a new transdisciplinary field of study between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s in disciplines such as anthropology, ethnography, stylistics, semiotics "and other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences interested in the systematic study of the structures, function, and processing of text and talk" (van Dijk, 1991, p.108).

Nowadays, discourse analysis has become gradually accepted as an alternative or addition to classical content analysis (Krippendorff, 1980). In communication research the study of the news stories and reports in the press is one of the major aims of discourse analysis. Through this method, different theories can be developed for several levels or dimensions of discourse which are beyond the classical linguistic and semantic distinction between the form (*signifiants*) and meaning (*signifies*) of signs. Current discourse analysis however is much more complex and developed in terms of the study of the text through its examination of different linguistic and stylistic types and the level of the media content. This complexity is not limited to the analysis of the text itself, but is also related to the relation between the structures of the text and the analysis of its

cognitive, cultural, social and historical context. To clarify the matter further it is necessary to provide some further explanation of the workings of this method of analysis.

'Language' occupies a central position in media discourse analysis. In this kind of analysis both the semiotic form of language and the use of language, especially in connection with other aspects of society, form the central focus of study. According to Brown and Yule, the function of language, in both 'transactional' (the expression of content) and 'interactional' (expression of social relations and personal attitudes), is significant in media discourse analysis (Brown and Yule, 1983). Communication without spoken or written language is not possible and both these forms of expression cannot exist without society. However, society and language are not just connected to each other, but also interact with, and reflect changes occurring in, one another. In reality, this interaction has always occurred but on different levels and in different directions.

Another important factor in media discourse analysis is the relationship between the 'text' and the 'context'. The complete analysis of written forms of communication (the text) is not possible without looking at the environment and the circumstances in which the text was written and the language used (context). Texts in different political and social environments and contexts will be written differently and also read differently by diverse readerships. Discovering the relation between the text and context in any written language is the most important point in the process of discourse analysis. Although "text-as-meaning is produced at the moment of reading, not at the moment of writing" (Fiske, 1987, p.305), the importance of discovering regularities and describing the data involved in the text can not be underestimated in this method of analysis (Brown and Yule, 1983). This has been summarised by Brown and Yule thus:

> The discourse analyst treats his data as the record (text) of a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of communication in a context by a speaker/writer to express meanings and achieve intentions (discourse). Working from this data, the analyst seeks to describe regularities in the linguistic realizations used by people to communicate those meaning and intentions. (Brown and Yule, 1983, p.26)

This study will use discourse analysis to analyse selected newspapers by focusing on three main aspects: the language and the style of writing, the use of different meanings

for various political and ideological symbols within the written text, and the different social and political discourses presented by each newspaper. This study will also focus on the historical, social, and cultural context of the period under examination. As we shall see, different newspapers display different kinds of presentation with specific styles of writing in the pursuit of certain aims and objectives.

Procedure of the study

The procedures which will be followed in this analysis are as follows:

1-Identifying the 'topic' (category and sub-category)

In the chosen newspapers under examination there are no specific, or at least very few, 'topics' related to each news story or report. The texts are mostly written in narrative form, but the "topic-shift" (Brown and Yule, 1983, p.68) can be identified from the "common theme" (Katz, 1980, p.26) of the selected sentence (units of analysis as has been mentioned before).

2-Recording the 'theme' of sentences

Every sentence has a theme. This theme is recognizable from the meaning of the sentence itself and the related sentences that precede or follow it. Recording the theme of each sentence by selecting all sentences related to a specific topic will be the first step in this process.

3-Classifying the 'sentences'

According to each topic (category and sub-category) the related sentences will be classified and their attention and direction towards different social and political symbols (the same topics) will be studied.

4-Analyzing the process of producing the meaning

In this step the processes of producing the meaning for each identified social and political symbol, within the collection of various related sentences written about the same symbol, will be analyzed. The analysis of this process will also show the actual meaning of each symbol, its mode of presentation and the general idea to be extracted from these sentences.

5-Comparing different texts

Finally, the differences between the selected newspapers studied will be shown. The comparative study of these papers, focusing on the usage of the selected symbols, the process of producing the meaning for each symbols and the political discourse around each symbol, will show the differences between them and the extent of their contribution to the process of modernization in the country.

Documentary and Historical analysis

Even though it is now the age of electronic media, written documents are still of prime importance in indicating the function of organizations, groups and individuals. They are important because "they are the 'paper trail' left by events and processes. Documents indicate, among other things, what an organization *produces* and how it *certifies* certain kinds of activities, *categorizes* events or people, *codifies* procedure or policies, *instructs* a readership, *explains* past or future actions and *tracks* its own activities" (Lindlof, 1995, p.208).

Documents, when related to events, offer a large amount of information for analysis. In the case of this research, Iranian newspapers will be the primary documents (primary source of data) of analysis. These will then be combined with a series of secondary documents (secondary source of data), which are defined as, all material written about the same period in the past or present time.

Historical analysis mainly deals with the study of documents which remain from the past and might have a connection with the present and the future. Analyzing the content of Iranian newspapers, in relation to the events and processes which contributed to the political and social change in the society, will be a part of the historical analysis which complements the quantitative, qualitative and discourse analysis.

The historical method of analysis also has a number of weaknesses. One of these is the danger of misinterpretation of the data. But, in spite of this weakness, historical analysis is the only proper method of inquiry available in certain sorts of social research (Kerlinger, 1967). Looking at a number of different documents, especially the secondary

sources of data which are mainly discussing the same issues, can help to reduce this weakness.

Samples of Newspapers

The numbers of newspapers published during the *Qajar* period (1797-1925) exceeds one hundred in total. In order to best achieve the aims of this study one would ideally look at all these papers and analyze their contents. However this is not possible due to lack of time and resources. Therefore, the study of a selected sample of these papers to which can be regarded of representative of the newspapers of this period appears the best way to achieve the aims of this research. In order to select the most suitable samples and to minimize mistakes, the study of the press in the *Qajar* period is divided into three parts. One appropriate sample of newspapers for each part is chosen for analysis.

The first part represents the first decade of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign (1848-1896). From this period *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* (founded in 1851) is chosen. This was an internal, governmental, publication and also the first modern newspaper (chronologically it was the third paper to be published in Iran after *Kaghaz-e Akhbar* and *Zararit Bahara*). *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was a well-known and famous paper which covered the *Qajar* government's activities as well as many social, culture and political issues for a long period of time.

The second period represents the last decade of Nasir al-Din Shah and the first years of Muzaffar al-Din Shah's reign (1896-1907). The chosen paper is *Qanun* (founded in 1890- ended in 1898), an external, non-governmental publication and the most popular and influential newspaper at the time.

The third part represents the time of the Constitutional Revolution (1906-1911). For this period an internal, private, independent, and revolutionary paper by the name of *Sur-i Israfil* (founded 1907) is chosen.

According to various analyses and studies (e.g. Sadr Hashemi, 1985; Browne, 1913; Aryanpur, 1993; Afary, 1996), *Qanun* newspaper published in London during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, and *Sur-i Israfil* paper, published mainly in Iran during the

time of the Constitutional Revolution were the most popular, most influential and most important papers in the country. They engaged with the pertinent social and political issues of the day and contributed to the openness of political discourse by introducing modern and Western ideologies to Iranian society. Therefore, the entire issues of these newspapers will be studied by analyzing the different social and political aspects covered by each of them. It is important to highlight the differences that existed between the various private, independent and governmental newspapers. *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh,* as the first proper governmental newspaper occupies a central position of importance. Furthermore, it existed for a long period of time and covered many issues of concern for the government of *Qajar.* In this respect it provides an indication of the governments attitude towards various political and social issues arising in the country at the time.

Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh can be seen as an example of the modern European press. Historically, one can differentiate between two genres of modern newspapers within Western societies especially in nineteenth century Britain. These comprise the 'high-bourgeois' and 'commercial' presses. The 'high-bourgeois' press existed from about 1850 up until the turn of the century when liberalism had triumphed a progressive capitalist class had emerged and technological professionalism had been elevated to such an extent as to facilitate the rise of a national press of high information quality.

The 'commercial' press of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century - when the early modern press was founded, replacing the previous handbills, pamphlets and newsletters - was not associated with a single source of production but was, rather, a compilation that was produced by both printer and publisher. This attribute was, also, seen in official and governmental newspapers resulting in the press becoming a voice of authority and a tool under the control of the state. From about the mid-twentieth century, the commercialization of the newspapers became the most feature of the press, focusing mainly on profit and advertising revenues (McQuail, 1994).

It is evident that the modern European newspaper which had become the main pattern for the Iranian press to imitate during the mid-nineteenth century was neither that

of the 'high-bourgeois' nor the old commercial one which had existed during the seventeenth century. In actual fact, it shared styles of both patterns. *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, which was published for twenty years - from 1851-1871 - is a typical sample of a state-governmental press that resembles seventeenth century patterns of the modern press. This newspaper, however, became an example of national press, possessing informational characteristics that were similar to those employed by the 'high-bourgeois' press - which existed from about 1850 to the turn of the century, in Europe. This newspaper resembled Western papers, of that time, with respect to size, quantity, divisions of sections such as editorials, news from East and West etc....

Table 3-1: List of newspapers to be analysed

Name	Founder	Frequency	Founded	City
1-Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh	Amir Kabir	Weekly	1851	Tehran
2-Qanun	Mirza Malkum Khan	Monthly	1890	London
3-Sur-i Israfil	Mirza Qasem Khan Tabrizi	Weekly	1907	Tehran

Chapter 4

Iran under the Qajars:
Social and Political Change

Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the social and political situation during the *Qajar* dynasty (1797-1925) and to examine the process of change occurring in Iran at this time. The 19th century occupies a position of extreme importance in the history of modern Iran. It was during this period that Iran became aware of the process of modernization which was under way in certain Western countries at the time. This situation lead to increased contact between Iranian and Western societies and resulted in a realisation, by both the people and the government, of the need for change and development. Consequently this led to a number of attempts throughout this period by various governmental and non-governmental agencies to bring modernization to Iran. For the purpose of this study it will be necessary to provide an overview of these various attempts and to examine the factors (as discussed in Chapter Two) which were to play a significant role in changing the social and political landscape of the time.

Iran in the 19th century

Iran, until 1935, was known as Persia in the West. It was a country possessing more than 4000 years of history and which, up until some twenty-five hundred years previously, had commanded a vast empire. Since its foundation Iran has witnessed a succession of great dynasties such as *Achamenids* (500-330 B.C.), the *Sassanians* (A.D. 226-650) and the *Safavids* (1500-1722).

The word Iran means land of Aryans. The Aryans were the people from whom the language, culture, and ethnic characteristics of most of the people of Europe were derived (Croselose, 1947, p.10). It is generally believed in the territory of Iran that the Aryan

people emerged from Iran as an indigenous group with their own specific language and culture. Since its establishment, the dominant people in Iran have been the Aryans, even though, the country as a whole contained many different racial and cultural strains. Later, the invasions of Persia by the Greeks, Arabs, Turks and Mongols gave rise to various other racial and cultural identities within Persian society.

In the nineteenth century the social mosaic of the country became much more complex. This was as a result of the emergence of a number of different social, cultural and ethnic groupings. In addition to this the country's physical demography also played a large part in influencing its social structure. Iran is a vast land (628,000 square miles, six times the size of Great Britain) with a large central desert (almost 50% of the country is desert), a shortage of rain fall (10 inches of rain per year) and varying, formidable mountain ranges (the *Zagros*, the *Alborz*, the *Mekran*, and the *Upland*). This situation fragments the population into secluded villages, isolated towns and nomadic tribes. (Abrahamian, 1982, p.11). At the beginning of the 19th century, the population of the country was estimated to be about 10 million. Almost one third of the population lived in the desert and the rest lived in some eighty towns and nearly 20000 villages. There were only eleven cities in the country at the time. Of these, only *Tehran, Isfahan and Mashhad* contained more than 25,000 residents. The rest could be described as being little more than big villages. Out of the total population of the country almost 3 million lived in the desert, 1 million in the cities and the rest (6 million) lived in the villages. Most of the desert inhabitants were nomads, who were divided into 16 major tribal groups. Each group consisted of different tribes, sub-tribes and majority camps (Issawi, 1971; Bahrier, 1971; Abrahamian , 1982).

Most of the towns, villages and tribes were isolated from each other, being self-contained, self-sufficient and predominantly self-governing (Lambton, 1954; Abrahamian, 1982). As a result, communication between these various settlements was virtually non-existent. It is therefore not surprising to learn that there was no contact between these inhabitants and the outside world. Iran at the beginning of the 19th century was not only a country which was externally isolated from the outside world, but one

whose people were internally isolated from one another. In the following section we will look in more detail at the political economy of Iran during the 19th century.

Generally speaking, Iranian society was traditional and deeply conservative devoted to its *Shi'i* faith and the preservation of Islamic values (Avery et al., 1991). Religion played an important role in the life of the people. The religious leaders were not only the main source of religious education but also the main reliable source of information concerning everyday activities. The ethnic mosaic of the country was composed of a variety of different religious groupings. Whilst the majority of the population belonged to the Twelve- *Shi'ah* branch of Islam (as is the case today) there existed a number of non-Muslim religious groupings such as Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians.

Socially, Iran was a diversified mix of social units consisting of tribes, villagers and urban dwellers all with differing cultural backgrounds, languages and dialects such as Persian, Turkish, Kurdish and Arabic. The Persian language was spoken by less than half of the population. Because of its diversity in ways of life, religions, cultures, habits and languages, Iran during the 19th century could be described as a 'communal diversity' (Abrahamian,1982, p.18).

Politically, absolute monarchs with minimum government institutions ruled Iran. The Shah, although limited by the *Shari'ah* and a considerable body of customary practice, was the absolute ruler of the country. His order was the law, his wishes were commands, his words were the truth and he was the shadow of God (*Zellollah*) on earth. There were no political parties, no social and political organisations and institutions, no rights for the different groups in society, no political security and no opposition to stand against or question the actions of the government. People were seen as a herd of sheep that always need a shepherd. It was not until the mid 19th century that a modern system of government would begin to emerge in Iran. The influences of the West were essential in the establishment of the new system. These influences were to manifest themselves directly through the different political and economic pressures exerted on Iran by both Britain and Russia and indirectly through the influential accomplishments of European economic, social and political ideas and techniques. The establishment of the printing

press, particularly in exile, also played an important role in the introduction and circulation of Western ideas in the country. Iranians living in Europe or returned émigrés also contributed to this flow of information and ideas.

Economically, Iran was an agricultural country with no signs of modern industry. Indeed it is spurious to talk of an overall Iranian economy as no such thing could be said to exist at the time either on an international or even regional level. Trade was mainly local and conducted with poor communication facilities. Most agricultural products were for local consumption. During this period, as Yapp noted, Iran was at the pre-industrial stage with no more than eight miles of working railway by the year 1900 (Yapp, 1977). The economic situation of Iran during this century was similar to the economy of a poor and backward village, but with a population of five million rising to ten million.

The trails and caravan routes were the only means of transport and communication until the last decade of the 19th century. This situation was to change in the late 1880s when both Britain and Russia began to increase the volume of their internal trade and services within Iran. Consequently new means of communication were introduced into the country in order to facilitate this expansion. The process of change continued at speed with the introduction of the first motorcar to Iran in 1912 and, most significantly, with the construction of the Trans-Iranian Railway during the 1930s. This growth in transportation saw the construction of a large number of roads in order to connect the main cities. As a result of this change the rate of urbanization increased, causing more cities to expand, in particular, the capital city Tehran. (Tehran, from the *Qajar* dynasty until now has been the capital city of Iran)

The first step towards using the modern communication systems in Iran was the foundation of the press in 1837 and the establishment of the telegraph line. Telegraph technology was brought from England to Iran in the 1850s during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah. The first line was established between *Golestan* Palace and *Lalezar* Garden. The Iranian telegraph system which was actually a branch of the Indo-European telegraph line spread in the early 1860s not to serve the country, but to facilitate British control over India. In the 1880s Iran was well equipped with telegraph lines connecting the country

with various parts of the world as well as different cities within the country (Fisher, 1968; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Mohammadi, 1994).

The development of the telegraph system was of considerable importance for the Iranian government during the *Qajar* dynasty. Aside from being connected to many places both inside and outside Iran, the Shah now had an increased capacity with which to control the country. This was achieved by the ability to obtain daily reports on the various activities occurring within the country. The telegraph system was also responsible for helping to establish daily newspapers in Iran. The first daily paper, *Khulasat al-Havads* (Summary of News), was founded in 1898-9. It was essentially a summary of telegraphic news (Browne, 1914). This was made possible by tapping into the foreign news, which came in over the wires from Reuters on route to the Indian press (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Mohammadi, 1994, p.45).

Iran has never been an isolated country in the truest sense of the word but it was only with the advent of the 19th century that Iranians began to deepen, enhance and extend their relations with the outside world. These relations were to become of prime importance in the historical development of Iran. From the middle of this century, Iranians became closer to other societies that were not politically, socially, culturally and economically similar to them. It was primarily during this century that Iran became familiar with the notion of Western modernization and consequently began to instigate its own programme of social and political development. It was also during this period that Iran was to face the most important changes to its social and political structure. This dramatic change occurred with the Constitutional Revolution (1906-1911) which saw the country transformed into a centralised state with a Western style of government consisting of a prime minister, government ministers and a parliament.

How did this change take place in Iranian society? What factors were important in causing this change and development in the country? How was the political development process started and what factors enhanced and influenced its course? Finally, what role did the various internal and external elements play in the country's social and political modernization programme (as discussed in Chapter Two), and to what extent did these

elements influence the events and course of the Constitutional Revolution? These are some of the questions which will be addressed in this chapter.

Iran and the retardation phenomenon

Iran, during the 19th century, exhibited two main fundamental differences from the preceding centuries. Indeed the extent and speed of these changes can be gauged by comparing the *Qajar* period with the *Safavid* period (1500-1722) which was not very far from it. Firstly, under the *Qajars*, Iran's relationship with the powerful countries of the time, Britain and Russia, was one which placed Iran in an unfavourable and servile position. Moreover, this relationship was not only heavily weighted to the advantage of Britain and Russia, but placed Iran in a detrimental and constantly disadvantaged position. This contrasted sharply with the state of affairs under the *Safavid* dynasty which saw Iran emerge victorious from many of its confrontations with the powerful countries of the time. It was also under *Qajar* rule that Iran ceded part of its territory to Russia. This was the first time in the country's history that land had been lost to the Russians and the situation was further compounded when a weak and inefficient Iran could do little to prevent the British from occupying and controlling part of its territory. Secondly, with the continuing progress of the modernization programme in most Western countries Iran's relationship and position vis-à-vis the West began to evolve and take on new characteristics. During the Mediaeval period Iran, and indeed the rest of the Islamic world in general, had a superior and more highly developed system of education and civilization than the comparable models in the West. From the beginning of the 18th century this situation began to change as the West superseded the position of dominance held by Iran and the other Islamic countries. This resulted in a huge shift which saw the West assume the mantle of the superior and modernized world and relegated all others to the position of backward, inferior and undeveloped. Iran was no an exception to this phenomenon.

During the second half of the 19th century, when contact between Iran and the West increased, Iranians became fascinated with the Western way of life, and more aware of their own backwardness by comparison. Over the course of time this awareness was to lead to an evaluation and assessment of the Western way of life in comparison with that

occurring in Iran at the time (Kermani, 1984). This gave rise to a situation which saw intellectuals occupying opposing positions regarding the acceptance or rejection of Western modernization in Iran. Further elaboration on this point will be given in Chapter Six when the work of certain Iranian intellectuals will be reviewed.

However, this retardation phenomenon did not merely manifest itself as a mood amongst the people but more importantly as a concrete social reality which was to have far reaching implications for the whole of Iranian society. Some indicators of this phenomenon will be reviewed here.

Firstly, the illiteracy of Iranians was the most obvious retardation phenomenon in the 19th century. The rate of literacy in the country during this century was less than 5% of the total population of urban settlers (Bahrier, 1971). Furthermore, this literacy level was limited to three groups: the court people, the clerics, and the merchants of the bazaar. This does not mean that all the people in these groups were literate. It means that the literacy phenomenon in the country was limited to these people. The system of education was strictly traditional and Islamic in character and carefully managed by the Muslim *Ulama* (Avery et al., 1991). It is therefore perhaps not surprised to learn that no modern schools existed in Iran up until the end of the 19th century. It was only near the end of the *Qajar* period that a number of, mostly private, initiatives were instigated in an attempt to create a modern schools system. The schools which did appear were largely influenced by earlier foreign-inspired models such as those of the Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians (Avery et al., 1991, p.178). Only at the end of this century did Iran have 20 elementary schools and one high school (Sultanzadeh, 1985). This situation indicates the many difficulties and problems that Iran was to face in its attempt to introduce a meaningful system of reform and change to society. In such circumstances there was no need for an absolute government such as the *Qajar* to obstruct the process of change. The high rate of illiteracy within the country was to act as the main barrier to any proposed reforms. This situation was compounded further by the superstitious nature of the people. Thus the picture we get of Iran at the end of the 19th century is of a traditional society living in relative ignorance due to the presence of high illiteracy rates and the age-old influence of superstitious beliefs.

Secondly, the social and political structure of Iran, especially during the first half of the 19th century, was the other key element in the retardation of Iranian society. The tribal system of the *Qajar* dynasty was reflected in all the social and political actions undertaken by the government. The rule of the country's regional governors over their various administrative areas reflected the Shah's system of absolute ruler on a small scale. This system of government was heavily influenced by the tribal system and created a situation where the Shah was the head of the country and the people were seen as his *ra'yyat* (subjects). In such a system there was no place for social and political institutions. Consequently, freedom is virtually non-existent, with the system revolving around the principles of the favour of the Shah and the subjection of the people. Therefore the concept of the freedom and rights of the people held little meaning. As a result of such system the civic administration of the kingdom had been quite rudimentary (Avery et al., 1991, p.156). For instance, no permanent ministries or designated offices for the high officials of state existed (Avery et al., 1991, p. 158). A further example of the operation of this system can be seen in the status and workings of the positions of *Sadr-e Azam* (prime minister) and *Vazir-e Azam* (Grand Vizier, who acted as a middle man between the Shah and his subjects. Although both posts existed in theory during the first half of the 19th century, in reality as Malcolm has noted, it became extremely difficult to describe the exact functions of these prime ministers (Malcolm,1930, pp.435-6). This was in stark contrast to the situation during the *Safavid* period (1500-1722) where the role and duties of the prime minister were clearly laid out. He confirmed all the officials appointments from the highest rank to the lowest; he administered the state finance and controlled all the operations with regard to revenue; he checked the legality of the procedure undertaken by all the officials in relation to state foreign policy including negotiations with ambassadors, the signing of treaties, etc. (Minorsky, 1943, p. 115). The corresponding duties of the same officials during the *Qajar* dynasty was, as Malcolm (1815) has noted, dependent on how much of their sovereign's favour and confidence they enjoyed and also on the King's own indolence or competence. They were at the mercy of royal caprice and preoccupied with waiting on the King and the intricacies of private intrigues; their lives and property were always in peril. (Avery et al., 199, p.158).

If such a situation existed for the prime minister then the position of the ordinary people by comparison must have been intolerable. The lack of social security arose not only from the rudimentary system of government but also from the absolute power of the King himself. The right of the people was not permissible if it was against the will of the King.

Thirdly, the class differentiation among Iranians mainly was no more than the power-holding classes of the bureaucracy, court and royal family, the tribal leaders, the landlords, the merchants and the *Ulama*. Although there were a large number of farmers who worked on the land, usually these lands belonged to the above same classes. Within these divisions there were no social and political groups and parties, no formal organisations and institutions with dissenting voices and new radical ideas. Iran during the first half of the 19th century was a traditional society ruled by people whose interests lay in holding power, maintaining their position and continuing the same way of life that had been passed down from their ancestors.

Fourthly, the country lacked intellectual development throughout all levels of society. During the first half of the 19th century there was little room for the inspiration of an intellectual movement in Iran. This situation was mainly due to the tyranny of the rulers, the level of literacy and obviously the lack of contact with the outside world. As a result of this situation Iranians had little knowledge of the progress and change occurring on the other side of the world. The contacts and relations with other cultures and ideologies can significantly affect the inspiration of thoughts and intellectuality. Indeed, if new ideas were developed at all among the educated elite they very rarely went beyond the limits set by the existing social structure. Therefore any change suggested by these intellectuals, in the realm of modern thought and new ideas, failed to serve society as a whole. This situation was to change from the mid 19th century onwards when Iran began to engage in contact with the West, resulting in the introduction of a secular system of education into the country and the establishment of the first modern college, *Dar al-Funon*.

It was the establishment of increased contact with the West which was to ignite the process of change in Iran. This statement will be elaborated later on in this chapter. Before that, it is necessary to look at the elements which maintained the *Qajar* dynasty in

power for more than a century in Iran despite the traditional system of government by which they ruled. How did the *Qajars* maintain their power with the other powerful bases such as the religious *Ulama*? And did the *Qajar* regard the progress of the West as introducing necessary or unnecessary changes into Iran? The following sections will try to cover these points in brief.

The Qajar dynasty: Reasons behind its survival

Iran had seen the establishment of two short lived dynasties in the seventy five years interim between the collapse of the *Safavids* (1500-1722) and the rise of the *Qajar* dynasty (1797-1925). The *Qajars* were little more than a tribe at the time of the collapse of the *Safavid* dynasty but were still able to seize and maintain power for almost one hundred and twenty eight years. The 19th century, which covers almost all of this period, had two different features which distinguished it from the previous centuries. Firstly, the rise of Western modernization and secondly the increased contact between Iran and the rest of the world. This contact was to manifest itself primarily in the form of geographical invasions through media and cultural interactions. Although Iran was never colonised by a foreign power, the greater presence of the West during this period led to fears of a type of cultural colonisation. The increased contact with the West exposed the Iranian people to different social and political systems of government which contrasted sharply with the system that they had experienced for such a long period of time. It is obvious that under such conditions the *Qajar* government could not have succeeded in maintaining its position of absolute rule within a traditional society without a fundamental change in circumstances. These circumstances were connected to the social and political structure of Iran at this time. They also related to the power relations between the government and the other power bases in society such as the clergy (Islamic scholars). These issues will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

Historical and critical analyses of the rise, survival, and the collapse of the *Qajar* dynasty have recently been the focus of some detailed academic studies in Iran. One reason for the increase in these kinds of studies is that after the Islamic Revolution of 1979 Iranians started to analyse their backwardness in a more critical manner than had

been the case in the past. Most of these studies focused on the 19th century as a turning point in regard to both the underdevelopment and consequent progress and development of Iran (see for example: Behnam, 1997; Yusefi Eshkavari, 1988; Ziba Kalam, 1995, 1998). They claim, on the one hand, that the absolute role of the *Qajar* dynasty, the traditional system of education and the spread of superstition among the people were some of the most important factors in obstructing the development of Iran. On the other hand, they claim that the expansion of contact between Iran and the West and the introduction of modern ideologies to the country by a variety of different means, through the press and travellers, hastened the movement towards development and change; a fact reflected in the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution. The 19th century can be seen as a bridge connecting the traditional past and the modern present of Iran. This did not mean that Iran could achieve whatever it wished in relation to social and political development but at least it had attempted to embark on a process of progress and change. Before we get involved in the analysis of this process we should look at the factors which maintained the *Qajar* dynasty in power for almost 128 years in spite of their traditional and absolute power in the country. An examination of these factors will help to provide an overall picture of the extent of these changes and enable an assessment to be made of the contribution of, for example, the Iranian intellectuals to the entire process.

As has been mentioned previously Iranian society at this time exhibited strong traditional and religious characteristics. The Shah was regarded as the shadow of God on Earth. The people were the servants of the king. No one believed that it was possible to revolt against the Shah. However such a situation only occurred in the last years of the *Qajar* dynasty. Previous to this, and throughout a hundred years of rule, the *Qajars* faced no significant opposition. What makes this situation even more astounding is the fact that the *Qajars* possessed no organised army or effective secret police force with which to control and instil fear in the people. This lack of opposition to the *Qajar* government was not only because the people were afraid of the government but was rather due to the fact that it did not occur to the people to even think of opposing the government. The idea of opposition to the government hardly existed in society at that time. The legitimacy of the *Qajar* government was accepted almost without question. It was an everyday social and

political reality. It was only after almost a century of rule that an opposition movement began to flourish as the people began to question and resists the *Qajar* system of government.

Another important factor was the dramatic change in the demography of the tribal system which occurred in the country throughout this period. From the time of Islam until the beginning of the 20th century Iran had been ruled by a series of different tribes. Those who came to power did so by virtue of war and their ability to make pacts with the other tribes. Identifying all these governments and their origins will bear testimony to this reality. The *Ghasnavians* were a Turkish tribe from the Central Asia; the *Saljuks* were a *Turkaman* tribe; *Kharasmshaheyans* were a Turk tribe; the *Ilkhanians* were a *Mogul* tribe; the *Safavids* were a Turkish *Qizilbash* tribe; the *Afsharies* were a Kurdish tribe; the *Zands* were a *Lur* tribe from southern part of Iran, and finally the *Qajars* themselves were a *Turkaman* tribe from the North of Iran. All these tribes came to power in Iran respectively by uniting together and taking the country from the hand of the other tribe. When the *Qajar* came to power they followed the same order. The head of the *Qajar* dynasty, Agha Mohammad Khan, began his rise to power by uniting the different sects of the *Qajar* tribe and by forming alliances with some of the other tribes throughout Iran. This strengthened his position and placed any opposition tribes in a weak position, making revolt futile even during times of succession. This achievement did not come easily. Apart from the other successors who practised an absolute monarchy, Agha Mohammad Khan was a very strong fighter as well as a brave, cruel, bloodthirsty and deceptive ruler. He was resolute enough to be able to overcome all the chaos which occurred after the collapse of the *Safavid* dynasty. He brought Iran under one government and provided no opportunity for other tribes to rise against his power. His successors followed the same path in order maintain their power. This involved a process of divide and rule between tribes expanding the bond between the *Qajars* and other tribes through marriage and by killing and eliminating any form of opposition. Such a policy allowed them to maintain power in Iran for over a century.

The urbanisation phenomenon which developed throughout the century played an important role in changing the demographic structure of Iranian society. At the beginning

of the 19th century the tribes formed approximately one third of the entire population of Iran. By the end of the century this figure was to be reduced to only one quarter. This reduction was mainly due to the expansion of urbanisation into the country. The increased growth of the cities saw a similar expansion in the number of civil facilities which introduced another layer of complexity to the already difficult power relations which existed between the different sections of society. This complexity prevented the other tribes and desert settlers from attacking the cities easily. The establishment of the telegraph line during this century made communication between the various cities much easier than in the past. The foundation of the press, which the government made effective use of, became an agent for the distribution of various rules and governmental orders. This allowed the government to consolidate and strengthen its position within society. Moreover, the government utilised the press in order to spread its information and policy agenda among the people. However, despite the fact that newspapers such as *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* were primarily published to educate the people and to extend *Qajar* influence over society, this modern tool of communication was to become a strong instrument for the voices of discontent. Paradoxically it was these same developments, the urban expansion, the foundation of the telegraph and the press, and the complexity of civil relations within and among cities, which were to make it more difficult for opposition forces to attack the rule of the *Qajar* government.

Despite the appearance of these developments there was no real effort on the part of the government towards meaningful social and political change. Although in respect of the army and the education system certain changes were introduced there was no intention of extending these changes further into the wider social and political sphere. The *Qajars* felt no obligation towards the human development of society. Freedom and democracy were not seen as necessities for development. Their main preoccupation was with consolidating their power and maintaining their rule. In an open society there is a bilateral responsibility between the people and the government. In the *Qajar* period no such situation existed. On the one hand, the lack of a proper education system and an intellectual class prevented the people from questioning the responsibility and accountability of the government. On the other hand the government also prevented them

from conceiving of any possibility that they might share in the decision-making power or advocate rulers who could do so on their behalf. Thus the people were unable to participate in or influence any form of government policymaking decisions.

Finally we must examine the role of the religious clerics (Islamic scholars) who, along with the intellectuals, were to play the most decisive role in both the maintenance and destruction of the *Qajar* dynasty. The clergy played two different roles during the *Qajar* period. For a long time the *Qajars* enjoyed the support of the clergy. This support was to change for a variety of reasons but primarily it was due to what the clerics regarded as the *Qajar's* deviation from religious principles and the service of the national interest. What were the reasons behind this change of position from one of support to one of opposition? To understand this better it is important to explain the role of the religious scholars in Iranian society. The position of the *Ulama* is located within the ideological framework which structures the relationship between religion and the state. It is necessary to elaborate further on the historical background of the power relations between the *Ulama* and the government in Iran. This issue will be covered briefly in the following section.

Iran was one of the first countries to establish a religious culture. The main principles of Persian kingship were a combination of the two major institutions of power: monarchy and religion. The kings were viewed as symbolic manifestations of God's will. They claimed to be the possessors of *Farr-e Izadi* (divine glory) and to represent God on the earth. On the other hand, *Mubedan* (religious leaders) claimed to be the embodiment of God's will. In the pre-Islamic period, the clergy operated as a religious body but they also controlled the judiciary system and the higher education of the country (Zaehner, 1961; Dorraj, 1990).

Zoroastrianism, the religion of early Persian history, emerged one thousand years before the rise of Islam. This religion not only regulated the spiritual aspect of men, but also modified the political culture of the Persian society in two significant ways. Firstly, by changing the Iranian religion from polytheism to monotheism, *Zarathustra* rebuilt the culture of the Iranians by eliminating the various *Aryan* Gods and replacing them with one God, *Ahura Mazda* (The Wise Lord). Secondly, he succeeded in distinguishing

Iranians from their fellow Aryans, Indians etc. and their associated religions by establishing a new, distinct and autonomous Persian identity. Thus, Iranian identity became more visible in the social structure of society as one of the main elements of survival and existence. It is worth noting that this Iranian identity, from its earliest incarnation, was bound to two main elements: firstly to the indigenous Iranian culture and secondly to the religious phenomenon. During the long history of Iranian society, the religious element of this society changed on many occasions, but never lost its significance as an essential part of Iranian identity.

In the 7th century Iran came under the control of Muslim rulers. For many reasons Iranians did not oppose the new religion. Instead, they gradually accepted the Islamic faith and became Muslims themselves, but they never forgot their traditional culture or their Persian language. However, Iranians were Sunni Muslims to begin with, as this was the manner in which they were introduced to Islam. It was only some time later that they were to become *Isna Ashari Shi'ah* Muslims.

Although *Shii* Islam was in existence from the early days following the demise of the Prophet of Islam, the *Shi'ah* movement did not emerge in Iran until the rise of *Safavid* dynasty at the beginning of the 16th century. Before coming to power in Iran the *Safavids* were a *Sufi* movement with a modest following in Ardabil and Azarbaijan. This movement quickly developed into true *Shi'ahism* and expanded to the rest of Iran. The *Safavid* dynasty was founded by Isma'il, a descendant of Sheikh Safi al-Din Ardabili (d. 1334), the founder of the *Safavid Sufi* order (Dorraj, 1990).

Prior to this time even though the majority of Iranians were Sunni they were pro-Ali, the cousin of the Prophet and the first Imam of the *Shi'i* sect. It was during the *Safavid* period that *Shi'ahism* came to occupy its dominant position as the main Islamic grouping within the country. In contrast to a religion of masses it was an Islam of the monarchy or a religion of the elite that was established by the *Safavid* (Shariati, 1973). According to Dorraj (1990), in order to legitimise this position, by gaining the support of the *Ulama*, the *Safavid* imported Twelve *Shi'ah* theologians primarily from *Ottoman* Baghdad and Syria (Dorraj, 1990, p.84). These *Ulama* (religious scholars), as Keddie has noted, were paid directly and indirectly by the government (Keddie, 1981). The state

authorities were also responsible for appointing the *Ulama,* which created a strong relationship between the two. This in turn lead to a situation where the *Ulama* conferred temporal power and legitimacy upon the government. But this sort of *Ulama* was not the only one in the society. There also existed an unofficial kind of *Ulama* who had no governmental function and lived mainly on endowments and *Khoms* (religious tax) given by the people. Keddie has argued that *Mujtahids* emerged from the latter group of *Ulama,* who were very few in number in the *Safavid* period (Keddie, 1981).

By the late *Safavid* period the relationship between *Ulama* and state had changed due to the emergence of conflicting theories regarding the legitimisation of the government. There was a fundamental jurisprudential theory that emphasised that the *Imam* is the only legitimate ruler and all others are unjust (Martin, 1989, p.18). With the start of the 19th century and the beginning of the *Qajar* dynasty this theory allowed for the possibility of increased diversity in the relationship between state and *Ulama.*

The position of the *Ulama,* as Martin has examined, vis-à-vis the *Qajar* rulers was to become stronger than it was under the *Safavid* dynasty (Martin, 1989). The *Ulama,* became stronger during this period due to their financial independence from the state as well as the *Qajar* need for recognition and legitimisation from the *Ulama* to justify their position. The *Ulama* were thus able to resist the challenges from *Akhbarism* (on the sole of the *Mujtahid*) and Sufi etc. Their financial independence of the government was based largely on the contribution of the faithful inbox of *Vaqf* and *Shari'ah* dues. The tax dispute between the *Usuli* and *Akhbari* schools of thought over the functions of the *Mujtahid* (doctor of divinity) ended with the reformation of the *Mujtahids* position and ultimately strengthened their role in society. The same result was obtained from the challenging of *Ni' matullahi* sufis.

According to the *Ulama, Babism* posed a greater threat to the *Shari'ah* than either *Akhbarism* or *Sufism.* The refutation of *Babism* by the *Ulama* once again strengthened the position of the *Mujtahids* in society. It is an interesting point, and one highlighted by Martin, that the defeat of the *Sufis* and *Babis* brought to prominence the interdependence of the state and religion and supported the idea that if religion helped guarantee political

stability the coercive power of the state was also required to enforce it (Martin, 1989, p. 22).

Mujtahids, by the logic of the *Usuli* manner, rationalised their position as the only source for the correct understanding of the religious order during the time of the *Hidden Imam* and argued for the necessity of *Taqlid,* which meant the following of a *Mujtahid* by an ordinary believer.

The power of the *Ulama* arose not because of their position as a legitimate source of guidance (in contrast to the illegitimacy of all the other temporal powers), or because of their material wealth (which came mainly from the *Khoms*), but primarily because of their stand against the *Qajars* 'oriental despotism' (Wittfogel, 1957) and their popular stance against foreign intervention in the country. It is true, as Keddie has noted, that the independent and untouchable position of the main *Shi'i* leadership at the shrine cities of *Ottoman* Iraq, beyond the reach of Iranian government (Keddie, 1971, p.5), assisted in the growth of the *Ulama's* power, but this factor in itself had little direct impact on the process of gaining and practising power in the daily life of most Iranians inside Iran.

Although most of the *Ulama* stood against the *Qajar* government during the Constitutional Revolution, their relationship prior to this could best be described as one of relatively peaceful coexistence. This action was based on number of different reasons. Some are as follows:

Certain elements within the *Ulama* believed that the religious domain and the government domain should be kept separate. The basic principle behind this idea is that the only legitimate rule is that of the absent *Imam* and there is no place within it for the temporal ruler (Martin, 1989). In this respect the *Hidden Imam* is the one true legitimate ruler and it is only he who can administer a just and lawful government. The *Ulama* are not obliged to act in order to obtain power and establish an Islamic government before the reappearance of the *Hidden Imam.* Although some did not accept this idea, it proved to be the belief most strongly held by the majority of the *Ulama.* As the clergy were the only means of voicing discontent with the *Qajar* rule (especially during the first half of the 19th century), their implicit acceptance of the need to separate the religious and

political domains essentially saved the government from having to face any effective means of opposition.

Furthermore, despite the generally accepted belief that it was the *Hidden Imam* who should ultimately rule the world and establish a just government on earth, the fact remains that the majority of the *Ulama* supported the *Qajars* during their rule. This position arose from the simple belief that the *Qajars* represented the best option at the time and that if they were to be removed there remained the possibility that their replacement would be far worse. One example will clarify this assertion. When Sayyed Jamal al-Din Afghani asked Mirza Shirazi, the religious leader at time of the Tobacco Crises (1891-1892) to announce a *Fatva* saying that Nasir al-Din Shah should be removed from power, Shirazi strongly opposed this suggestion and insisted that the *Ulama* should not involve themselves in these matters. Moreover, Shirazi supported the Shah and called him *Sultan-e Islam Panah* (the Shah who supported Islam (Kianoosh, 1995). This behaviour was indicative of the stance adopted by the *Ulama* towards the *Qajars*, particularly during the first half of the 19th century.

The *Ulama* also saw the *Qajars* as allies in helping to overcome movements such as the *Babis* who they viewed as deviating from Islamic principles. In this respect they worked closely with the *Qajar* government in ensuring these movements did not spread their influence amongst. This relationship between the *Ulama* and the government strengthened the power and image of the *Qajars* among the people.

However, the good relations between the *Ulama* and the *Qajars* were not to continue forever. Near the end of the century, as previously mentioned, this relationship came to end with the *Ulama* assuming a pivotal role in the Constitutional Revolution alongside other national and intellectual leaders. The aim of this study is not to review the causes of this situation in detail. There are many reasons which contributed to the end of the relationship between the *Ulama* and the *Qajars*. The *Qajar* government had always been corrupt, inefficient and arbitrary in its operations. The despotism practised by the *Qajars* extended to all classes in society. By extension, the *Ulama* themselves came to be associated with this despotism. The expansion of foreign intervention further aroused the anger of the *Ulama*. The introduction of modern ideas into Iran gave the *Ulama* new tools

with which to perceive the weaknesses and despotism of the *Qajars*. This in turn lead to their criticism and withdrawal of support for the government.

The position of the *Ulama* as the main opposition voice against the state began to increase gradually during the last decades of the century finally culminating in the Constitutional Revolution. During this period Iran was to witness many instances where the *Ulama* expressed powerful opposition to policies of the state and the increase in foreign intervention. Even though the *Ulama* were not completely united, their influential role in making the Shah launch the second Russo-Turkish war in 1826, the pressure they placed on the government which forced it to cancel the Reuters concession of 1872, the removal of Mirza Husain Khan, the Westernising prime minister who had negotiated the Reuter Concession, and the successful leading of the people against the British Tobacco Concession in 1891-2, are only some examples of the powerful position of the *Ulama* during this period. The primary reason for the *Ulama's* vehement opposition to these concessions was because of their connection to foreign concerns. The powerful role of the *Ulama* can be seen in the role they played in bringing the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 to victory (Browne, 1910, Algar, 1969, Keddie, 1971) which effectively ended the reign of the *Qajars* and instigated the rule of Reza Shah (1925-1941), the first king of the *Pahlavi* dynasty (1925-1979).

So far we have looked at the retardation phenomenon in Iran and the reasons behind the survival of the *Qajar* dynasty for almost 128 years. Now we move on to another important issue for this study: the causes behind the collapse of the *Qajar* dynasty and the people's disillusionment with it; in other words the factors that contributed to the growth of the opposition movement against the *Qajars*. This part of the study is crucial as it aims to identify and examine in more detail the internal and external factors of change mentioned in Chapter Two. In this respect it is necessary to look at the way in which these social and political changes were developed throughout the country and to examine the role of the key figures who were to pioneer this process of Iranian modernization in the 19th century. Hence, the rest of this chapter will deal with these two main issues: the internal and the external factors of change and the subsequent process of social and political change which occurred during the 19th century in Iran.

The internal and the external factors of change

It should be emphasised that it is extremely difficult and perhaps even foolish to attempt to pinpoint the exact time, or the one specific factor, which could be said to have instigated the process of change in Iran. For the process of social and political change to occur it needs both time and space and the confluence of many different factors. This calls for the establishment of a model of interpretation with the ability to examine several factors of influence at once (as Giddens, 1989, proposed in his study of Weber) and which can account for the appearance and relevance of certain phases or episodes such as those which occurred during the *Qajar* period. In Chapter Two the role played by the various internal and external factors of change in Iranian society was discussed. It was stated that the psychological factor, in regard to Iran's defeat in the war against Russia, was the first internal factor which caused the *Qajar* government to contemplate modernising the army. This caused the Crown Prince Abbas Mirza to send a certain number of students abroad in an attempt to improve their level of education. The education factor was also reflected in the establishment of the *Dar al-Fonun* college and the programme to reduce the level of illiteracy in the country. Here the other two internal factors of change, the social and the communicative factors, will be examined.

The social factor of change was to have a different outcome than expected in Iranian society. During the 19th century demographic change altered the entire social and economic character of Iran. The increase in population, which saw the number of people double from five to ten million from the beginning to the end of the century, coupled with the consequent urban expansion was to change the social mosaic of the country forever. The emergence of this urbanisation phenomenon led to new demands and requirements being placed on the state by society. With the expansion of cities the number of streets, health centres, bridges, factories, mosques, schools, parks, telegraph houses, etc. also increased (Itemad al-Saltaneh, 1984). These new facilities brought with them increased expectations of the people. The state was forced to pay more attention to these expectations.

The expectations of the people, which had increased as a result of such factors as increased contact with the West and the spread of literacy, did not stop at the level of mere physical demands. These expectations extended to all forms of social and political requirements. But the social and political structure of the country, especially the government structure, could not fulfil the demands of the people. It was this lack of diversity within the political system as well as the monopoly position held by the government which lead to an increase in opposition to the state. The tribal system, which had existed in Iran for centuries, found itself unable to adjust to the new developments in the country. This system could manage, for better or worse, before the country had entered the stage of urbanisation and when most of the people were living in the desert or in the villages. In the new demographic situation the conflict of state and people was inevitable. People wanted more participation in government. They demanded their freedom and their rights. They demanded justice and the implementation of law in the country. However, these demands, along with many others, could not possibly have been fulfilled by an archaic government built on the foundations of the traditional structure of the tribal system.

The economic factors may be viewed as complementary elements playing a major role in the process of change and development in Iran during the nineteenth century. Factors which lead to peoples' dissatisfaction and intolerance towards the failed situation, include the deficiency of the fiscal system, the lack of proper transportation between different parts of the country, the limitation of economic resources regarding mining and other resources and the very primitive means of production. Above all, the merchants did not feel to be in a position to contribute towards the improvement of the economic situation as well as the lives of the people. Many merchants, however, *did* play a significant role in the process of change such as Zin al-'abidin Maragha'i - author of the reformist book 'The Travels of Ibrahim Beig' and the famous merchant, Hajj Mohammad Hassan Amin al-Zarb (see Martin, 1989, for more information).

In this situation the necessity for change and development was felt not only by the religious clergy and the national and secular intellectuals, but also by the government officials themselves. Here, it is useful to draw a distinction between governmental and

non-governmental attempts at modernization, which can be also regarded as internal and external factors that were involved in the process of change. Whilst it is true that attempts to introduce a system of social and political change took place both inside and outside of the government system, it would be wrong to view this distinction as an absolute truism. There were some people, such as Malkum Khan, who were involved with the government's attempts to modernize the country but who nevertheless cannot be categorised as government officials. However, the distinction is useful in that it highlights the differences that existed between both the governmental and non-governmental approaches to modernization. Indeed both methods were to differ radically in their approach and in the final results which they achieved. In general the process of change in Iran was to follow a fairly predictable pattern. It was only following the failure of government attempts to introduce various modernization programmes that those outside of the system endeavoured to introduce their own reforms. These external or non-governmental attempts at modernization were to prove stronger and to possess a more radical and revolutionary vision. It was this vision which was to culminate in the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution. In the following sections both of these attempts will be discussed in order to examine the factors involved in the process of change and the circumstances which allowed this process to come into being in 19th century Iran.

For the purposes of clarity and classification, a descriptive model is developed to demonstrate various attempts for modernization in Iran (Figure 4-1). As this figure shows, both governmental and non-governmental attempts are divided into particular phases with the achievements of each of these phases being clearly shown. There are two things which need be mentioned about this model. Firstly, it is extremely difficult to delineate between the various different social activities in a society and the time frame in which they occurred. In an attempt to clarify this situation the model concentrates on the overall process of development in Iran rather than on specifics. Secondly, the division of these phases does not follow a strict chronology. This is not to say that certain activities occurring in phase one were not to occur in later phases. Indeed some activities were noted in all phases; notable ones being the comparison between the social and political situation of Western countries with that of Iran and the introduction of modern ideas into

the society. These distinctions are made purely in the interests of clarity and in providing a better understanding of the significant changes, which took place in 19th century Iran.

Figure 4-1: Descriptive Model for Modernization Attempts in Iran during the 19th Century

<u>Governmental Attempts</u>   <u>Non-Governmental Attempts</u>

<u>(Effects of Internal Factors)</u>   <u>(Effects of External Factors)</u>

(1ˢᵗ Phase)   *(1ˢᵗ Phase)*

Military Development   **(Astonishment & Admiration)**

(Abbas Mirza)   *(2ⁿᵈ Phase)*

                                                (Comparison & Analysis)

(2ⁿᵈ Phase)   *(3ʳᵈ Phase)*

Social, Political,   **(Introduction of Modern Ideas)**

Cultural and Economic   **(Travellers, Translation of Books, The Press)**

Development   *(4ᵗʰ Phase)*

(Amir Kabir)   **(Social & Political Confrontation)**

                                                (5ᵗʰ Phase)

(3ʳᵈ Phase)   **(Suggestions & Solutions)**

Human Development   *(6ᵗʰ Phase)*

(Civil Society)   **(Revolution)**

(Mirza Husain Khan

Sepahsalar)

Governmental attempts at modernization

By referring to governmental attempts at modernization during this period I do not mean to imply that all the *Qajar* rulers were in the same position or possessed the same enthusiasm for modernization in Iran. There were a number of governmental features during this period that can be identified as reformist and as a catalyst for change and development. One must also bear in mind the fact that these government reformists did not attempt to radically alter the system of government itself. Instead they merely sought to introduce a series of reforms which would aid the operation and workings of the system. In order to become familiar with the work of these reformists it is necessary to examine the main features of their modernization programmes. To facilitate this we will look at the work of three reformers and their varying approaches and theories in relation to the introduction of modernization to Iran.

Abbas Mirza: He was the founder of modernization in Iran (Hairi, 1993) and according to Najmi, was the most influential figure among the *Qajars* in matters related to the reform and modernization of the country (Najmi, 1995). Abbas Mirza occupies a central role in the historical development of Iran through his attempts to reform of the army as the best foundation for modernization. He believed that the powerful country itself is often seen as a form of development and progress. The army was to provide the cornerstone of his modernization programme. However he also took the first steps towards educating the people by sending a group of students to Europe to learn the new sciences. Although Abbas Mirza died before he could complete his project he nevertheless laid the ground-work for future government attempts to introduce modernization into the country.

Amir Kabir: The most famous, and indeed the most well known reformist of, not only the *Qajar* period but the whole of contemporary Iranian history, was Mirza Mohammad Taqi Khan Farahani, known as Amir Kabir. He was the greatest reformist that Iran has known during the last two centuries. If the first governmental reformist Abbas Mirza was concerned mainly with reforming the army, then Amir Kabir, by contrast, was to draw up a reform programme not solely limited to one issue. His plan for modernization covered most of social, political and economic aspects in the country. The

inspiration for these reforms was to come largely from the experiences he gained abroad. Amir Kabir became aware of new techniques and ideas through his trips to Russia and his four-year stay in Ottoman Turkey as the head of an Iranian delegation. His plan for modernization covered not only the non-governmental sector but also the government system itself. His achievements are well documented by Adamiyat (1969) in his book 'Amir Kabir and Iran'. Here Adamiyat suggests the following:

Amir Kabir's project for the modernization of Iran was not limited to a single issue. He tried to develop and modernise Iran in a number of different ways:

The general reforms: Amir Kabir tried to change the whole administration and tax system. He prevented the court officials from extracting higher salaries than they deserved and he established a fixed salary for the Shah. He also tried to strike a balance between the country's budget and the governments expenses.

The Army: In order to reform the army, Amir Kabir employed a number of different European advisors. He founded a special border army and established several armaments factories. He brought the ranking system in the army under the control of a specified law and established an Iranian navy.

The Judicial system: Amir Kabir regulated the judicial system and established a distinction between religious issues and the social needs of the peoples. He stopped unjust actions against the religious minorities such as the Zarathustrians, Christians, and Jews. He saw to the implementation of the law in the country.

The civil conducts: Amir Kabir stopped the thefts, corruption, and perversion in the government system.

The civil services: Amir Kabir founded the modern postal system in Iran. He issued passports for travelling. He established the first hospital in the country and formed a police force for the cities.

The education system: Amir Kabir founded the first modern college of *Dar al-Fonun* and brought various European teachers to the country to

provide instruction in the modern sciences. He ordered the translation of various European publications. He established a third newspaper, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, and opened the door for the foreign presses to enter the country.

The industrialization project: Amir Kabir established various factories including textiles and armaments. He sent some professional people to Russia to learn of the different methods required to industrialise the country. He supported national industry and sent Iranian products to the International exhibition in London.

The agriculture plan: Amir Kabir oversaw the construction of a number of dams throughout the country. He supported the cultivation of new products and freed fishing in the *Qazvin* Sea from the hands of the Russians.

The commerce system: Amir Kabir supported the Iranian business sector. He increased the exports of Iranian products and limited the import of certain products into the country. (Adamiyat, 1969, pp.218-220) (My translation)

Mirza Husain Khan Sepahsalar: This reformer had a different approach to the modernization of Iran. Although Mirza Husain Khan Sepahsalar's project bore a lot of similarities to that undertaken by Amir Kabir, his emphasis rested mainly in the area of human development and the need to establish a civil Iranian society. Because of the importance of his approach to modernization and the period he lived, a brief history is given here.

After the assassination of Amir Kabir, Nasir al-Din Shah appointed Mirza Agha Khan Nuri (1853-1860) as the new Prime Minister of the country. During his seven-year term as Prime Minister, Nuri opposed any forms of progress or modernization with the result that the country experienced a period of regression and underdevelopment (Ziba Kalam, 1998).

After Nuri, Nasir al-Din Shah decided to dispense with the post of Prime Minister. In its place he decided to establish a cabinet of ministers under the name of *Shuray-e Dowlati* (Government council). The cabinet was to be followed by the establishment of *Maslahat Khaneh* (The House of Advice). These government institutions were to prove to be largely ineffectual as they lacked the necessary power with which to enforce decisions. The 'Nasiri despotism' did not tolerate the making of decisions by anyone but him. Therefore, Nasir al-Din Shah reverted to old system and appointed Mirza Muhammad Hassan Khan Sepahsalar as the new Prime Minister. But the new Prime Minister did not fulfil Nasir al-Din Shah's requirements and was promptly removed from his position in 1866 after only 18 months in office.

After the removal of Mirza Muhammad Hassan Khan, Nasir al-Din Shah was not to appoint another prime minister for five years when Mirza Husain Khan Sepahsalar assumed the post in 1871. Mirza Husain Khan had previously been an Iranian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. On this trip Mirza Husain Khan joined the Shah to visit the *'atabat*. On returning from a visit to the *'atabat* (the shrines of the *Shi'ah* Imams in Iraq) with the Shah he was persuaded to return to Tehran and take up the post of minister for justice. Mirza Husain Khan showed such progress in his new position that Shah decided to promote him to Prime Minister. Although Mirza Husain Khan's reforms were not as far reaching as those undertaken by Amir Kabir's government, he did try to revive many of Amir Kabir's proposals for change and development. He re-established the cabinet, re-opened *Dar al-Fonun*, founded new schools, and established newspapers such as *Vaqay' 'dliyeh* (Justice current events), *Nezami, Merrikh, Vatan,* and an annual journal (Adamiyat, 1976). Actually, what Mirza Husain Khan was attempting to instigate and highlight was the need for human development and the establishment of a civil society that contains freedom, peoples' rights, security, and the limitation of the rulers' power.

Mirza Husain Khan was unable to stay in power for long, losing his position after only two years in office. His modernization project was to experience strong opposition, not only from the court officials whose powers he tried to limit, but also from the religious clergy who viewed the project as an attempt to transform Iran into a European Christian society. It was not the new social and political ideas introduced by Mirza

Husain Khan that led these two groups to oppose his project for reform and development. Rather, it was the agreement which he made for the foundation of the Iranian railway, known as the Router concession, that caused the clergy to ask Nasir al-Din Shah for his immediate removal. The situation became so critical that one of the *Ulama*, Sayyed Saleh from Anzali, (a city in north Iran), announced that the Prime Minister who had made this agreement should be killed (*Vajib al-Qatl*) (Adamiyat, 1976). As a result of this groundswell of opposition Nasir al-Din Shah had no choice but to remove Mirza Husain Khan from his position. The removal of Mirza Husain Khan also saw the end of the *Qajar* government's programme of modernization and reform.

All three approaches show that the idea of modernization developed gradually in Iran. Most of this development was due to the expansion of contact with the modern world. The first substantial contact of this kind was to occur during the war with Russia. Following Iran's defeat, the government began to view the idea of modernization as the establishment of a powerful country through the development of a strong army. As time went on, and contact with the modern world grew, this idea of development expanded to cover almost all aspects of political, cultural, social, and economic life. Increased contact with the Western world was needed if the idea of human development was to be successfully introduced and implemented in the country. This view fits with the experience and approaches of the three reformists discussed. Abbas Mirza developed his idea for the modernization of the army as a result of his limited contact with the modern world. Amir Kabir, with his increased contact with the outside world and his exposure to modern ideologies, was able to develop a modernization programme which covered almost all aspects of political, social, cultural and economic life. Mirza Husain Khan had more contact with Western ideologies that the other two reformers and hence, his project for modernization went beyond the formal concepts of development. He proposed the human development of the country, not only as an advanced step for development in itself, but also as a necessary element for the implementation of political and economic development.

Most of these attempts to modernize the country occurred during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah. After his assassination in 1896, Iran was to experience a situation

where non-governmental attempts at modernization assumed centre stage. These attempts were to culminate in the Constitutional Revolution which began during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah (1896-1907). The new Shah had no choice but to accept the reality of the revolution and gave the order for *Mashruteh* (Constitutional Government). It is important to examine the role of these non-government agencies in order to understand how their drive towards modernization was to lead to the establishment of *Mashruteh*. The following section will deal with this issue.

Non-governmental attempts at modernization

Although the government's attempts at modernization did not result in any significant changes in the realm of protecting the rights of the people and ending the despotic rule of the *Qajars*, it did however produce a number of important characteristics. Firstly, it convinced the people that this type of institutionalised attempt could not bring about any real change or development to the country. Such changes could amount to little more than window-dressing, the development of a cabinet allied to the royal family or the establishment of a house of justice, unable to act independently of the Shah. Indeed these government attempts at development received little enthusiasm or support from the general public or even the general body of the government itself. Therefore, these attempts could not continue for a long period of time. Secondly, although these attempts failed they opened the eyes and the minds of Iranians in such a way that they became familiar with certain features of modernization and development. This allowed the people to assess the role played by those involved in the development process as well as that played by those who opposed this course of action. This comparison helped the people to recognise that the main obstacle to modernization was the *Qajar* royal family itself.

Non-governmental attempts at modernization include all individual and independent activities not planned by the *Qajar* government itself. Indeed some of these attempts resembled those undertaken by the administration in power, but the main difference lay in the fact that they were not planned or supported by the government itself. In this respect they differed radically from the government's modernization programme. The main point of disagreement arose in relation to the aims of each group. If the

government attempted to introduce reforms which were aimed at maintaining the existing system of rule, then the non-governmental organisations sought to remove this system of government through its own series of reforms and replace it with a constitutional government.

However, as mentioned in Chapter Two, the main actors within the non-governmental agencies were people who were in some way or another in contact with Western societies and influenced by European social and political ideologies. That is why the idea of Constitutional Government was attacked by some *Ulama*, because it was seen as a foreign, Western, non-religious, and secular idea (see e.g. Zargarinezhad, 1996). It is also important to note here that while the government actors for development can be easily identified within contemporary Iranian history, the non-government actors may not necessarily be identified by specific names. However the role they played in the making of modern Iran was immense. It was to be the introduction of new social and political ideologies and the resulting influence and support they found throughout the country, which were to have the most profound affect on 19th century Iran. These factors were to be expressed in the achievements of the Constitutional Revolution. The internal and the external factors of change as discussed in Chapter Two are also in evidence here. If internal factors could be said to have contributed to attempts to educate the people then the external factors such as increased contact with the West helped to bolster, enhance and maintain these developments. The main actors in this trend will be covered in Chapter Six when the role of Iranian intellectuals in 19th century Iran is discussed. Here, it is important to recognise how the idea of change diffused throughout Iranian society and the role that the Western World played in the process of change and development in Iran.

As figure: 4-1 shows, the proposed model for investigating this process of change and development, will concentrate on the part played by the non-governmental actors throughout the various different phases.

The 1st Phase: Astonishment and admiration

Contact between Iran and the West was not solely limited to the *Qajar* period. During the *Safavid* period officials were often sent abroad to act as representatives of the government or to report on the political situation in foreign countries, as was the case with Hadi Baik who was sent to Moscow in 1585 by Shah Mohammad Khodabandeh Safavi (1578-1588). Similarly Dangiz Baik Rumlou was sent to Spain and Portugal in 1608 by Shah Abbas-e Yakom. Musa Baik along with some fellow Iranians was sent to Holland in 1625. In 1626 Naqd Ali Baik was sent to England. These people, along with many others, were sent by the *Safavid* government to Western countries on official business, but very few written documents remain which record their observations and opinions of the West (Hairi, 1993). One such traveller who did keep an account of his experiences was 'rooj Baik Bayat. He was to change his religion from Islam to Christianity by converting to Catholicism and was never to return to Iran. In his travel account, Bayat's writings reflect his astonishment at what he saw in the West. He was full of wonder and admiration for the way in which the Europeans had developed their modern world. He was particularly enamoured with the beauty of Germany, the structure of their houses, and the amenities they possessed such as the cleaning of their streets. Mohammad Rabi' was another traveller who began his journey to the West during this period, beginning in 1685 and ending in1687. According to Hairi, Mohammad Rabi''s travel account which is titled '*Safineh Solaymani*', is of greater significance and deserves more attention that Rabi''s. This is perhaps due to the fact that Rabi' was the first Iranian to live amongst Europeans and write about their lives and also because he was so strongly affected and influenced by the European way of life (Hairi, 1993).

It was not only travellers such as Bayat and Rabi' who were astonished by European life, but also people such as the Iranian poet Mohammad Ali Hazin (1691-1766) (Hairi, 1993). From these accounts Hairi has concluded that relations between Iran and the West, at least up until the reign of Nadir Shah Safavi, were open and cordial and that the general opinion amongst the thinkers of the time was one of admiration for the level of achievement and development in the West (Hairi, 1993).

The Iranian admiration for the European way of life was to continue up until the beginning of the *Qajar* period. One of the best examples of this kind of observation and evaluation is the travel account which was written by Mirza Abul Hassan Shirazi better known as Ilchi, during the *Qajar* period. Ilchi, on his trip to Europe in 1809, was so overwhelmed and amazed by the European way of life that he entitled his travel account '*Hayratnameh*', which means 'A Book of Astonishment'. Generally speaking, this was the first reaction of most Iranians towards the modernization and way of life in Western countries. This phase was followed by another phase which shall be called the phase of comparison and analysis.

The 2nd Phase: Comparison and analysis

The reaction of Iranians to the Western world gradually changed from one of wonder and admiration to one of critical analysis as comparisons began to be drawn between the differing social and political systems existing in both Iran and the West. In this phase, Iranian travellers to the West, and those who became familiar with the modernization of European countries through contact with these travellers, started to examine the social and political structure of the West, especially in relation to issues of freedom, human rights, law and parliament, and to draw comparisons between this situation and that of Iran. This comparison was usually combined with an analysis of both situations in an attempt to explain the causes of progress in the West and the reasons for retardation of Iran. One of the best examples of this phase is a travel account called " '*Tohfat al-Alam*' (World Gift), written by Abdullatif Musavi Shushtari in 1801. In his book Musavi Shushtari examined many new and modern issues which he saw in Europe. Amongst the many topics he covered were the way of life, the government services to the people, the schools and the universities, the construction of buildings, the reforms that had occurred in the relations between the government and the clergy, the newspapers and their freedom of writing and the people's freedom of speech. Regarding freedom of writing and of speech, he wrote that:

> Every week the news of the country is published in a newspaper, which
> is distributed around the country. The one who is in charge of this
> newspaper is free to write about any thing in the country whether it be

good or bad, true or false. No one will question him about this matter. Moreover, if faults exist within the government, even if this is due to the head of the state, it will be reported and appear in this newspaper. (Musavi Shushtari, 1877, pp.188-99)

Regarding the implementation of law and justice in England, Musavi Shushtari noted that not even the King of England had the right to give an order for someone to be killed, or as much as hit a servant, unless an order is first issued from the court to allow such an act (Musavi Shushtari, 1877, pp. 91-188).

Ilchi, mentioned previously, has also written about the workings of the parliament in England, its freedom of speech and the fact that all parliamentary speeches were published in the newspapers without any changes (Hairi, 1993). Throughout his writings he expressed the wish to see the same situation introduced in Iran so that Iranians could experience the same quality of life as the English (Ilchi, N.D., pp.180-232).

Abulfath al-Hasani al-Husaini, known as Sultan al-Va'zin, was another figure who travelled to India in 1806, staying there for many years. In 1816 he finished his travel account under the title of '*Safarnameh va Siyahatnameh Sultan* al-Va'zin *dar Hend*' (Travel account of Sultan al-Va'zin in India) and presented it to Fath Ali Shah *Qajar*. Although Sultan al-Va'zin did not travel to Europe, he became familiar with Western ideologies and the British way of life due to their presence in India. According to Hairi, Sultan al-Va'zin managed to express his approval and admiration for these modern ideas in such a way that was easily accessible to most Iranians (Hairi, 1993). He also gave many details about the affairs of parliament and their impact in European countries, drawing comparisons between these countries and Iran, with a view to condemning the despotic acts of the *Qajar* rulers.

In his book '*Minhag al-'ola*', which means 'Method of Progress', Abu Talib Bahbahani, who had travelled extensively around Europe and the Middle East, tried to explain and analyse the differences between Iran and the West. He saw that after the rule of law, freedom was the most important element which made Iran different from European countries. He analysed freedom and divided it into three types: Personal Freedom, Political Freedom and Economic Freedom and emphasised that the salvation of Iran could only happen through freedom (Ziba Kalam, 1998).

The last, but by no means least, of these travellers to experience the West was the deputy to the Iranian ambassador in Istanbul, Mirza Hassan Khan Sartip. In his memos, entitled 'The Political Situation of Iran', he compared Iran to the West, emphasising the central problem which existed in Iran as government despotism. He noted that people in Europe paid taxes to the government willingly, whereas the government in Iran had used this situation to exploit and take advantage of the people for their own ends (Hairi, 1993). Most of these writers highlighted the implementation of law, the existence of freedom, the establishment of a parliament and a contribution by the people to the system of government, through elections and representation, as being the main reasons for the development of the West. Therefore they called for the implementation of these elements in Iran so it too could achieve a level of progress and modernization comparable to that of the West.

The 3rd Phase: Introduction of modern ideas

In this phase, the introduction of modern ideas was to increase, caused mainly by the rise in the number of travellers going to the West, the translation of many European books and the establishment of an Iranian press primarily by those who published in exile. Some of those who travelled and wrote about their experiences in the West during the 19th century have already been discussed. This phenomenon was to increase as the century progressed and many more Iranians travelled to the West. Some never returned, whilst others brought new and exciting ideas back to Iran with them. There were four groups of Iranians who travelled to Europe during the 19th century: the merchants, the diplomats, the students and the Iranian emigrants. Although we do not have exact figures for those who travelled abroad, it appears that the total number of the first three groups did not exceed more than one thousand. The largest number belonged to the fourth group, but this group was to play the least effective role in awakening the people to the process of change and development. The biggest influence on the process of social and political development came from the first three groups, particularly those who travelled to Europe and then returned home. Indeed not all of these travellers wrote accounts of what they observed in the West, but it is important to note the fact that they were prepared to share

and discuss their experiences with others on returning to Iran. It is also true that very few people read these travel accounts as they were not widely available to the majority of the population. What is important however is the fact that they were read by many of the government officials who then became familiar with the ideas and progress of the West and tried to modernize Iran accordingly (Behnam, 1997).

It is important to mention here the name of Zain al-Abedin Maraghaei, the writer of the three-volume book, '*Siyahatnameh Ibrahim Bayg*' (Travelbook of Ibrahim Bayg). Although this travel account was a fictional story, according to Aryanpur, it offers a detailed encyclopedic view of the situation in Iran during the 19th century. It is an extremely critical piece of work written without hesitation or fear (Aryanpur, 1993). During his stay in Russia and Ottoman Turkey, Maraghaei saw the differences between Iran and the changes that were taking place in these two countries. He tried to explain the situation of Iran and the condition of its people by comparison and to offer some possible solutions by what he saw in these countries. According to Avery et al., this travel book mercilessly exposed the evils of Iranian society (Avery et al., 1991). His book became very famous and influential, entering the houses of ordinary people and making them aware of the plight of their situation. The importance of this book was such that, according to Nazem al-Islam Kermani, in one gathering a speaker said that he had memorised most of this book and started to recite it for the people (Nazem al-Islam Kermani, 1984). According to Mo'meni this book was to have the most influential and far reaching impact on the lives of the people, especially the ordinary settlers of the cities. It can be said that this book entered every house and awoke the people (Mo'meni, 1974). This book and other similar travel accounts played an important role in two instances. First, in introducing the modern world of the West to the Iranians. Second, in comparing and contrasting the condition of Iran with that outside the country.

The translation of European books was also an important step towards enhancing the process of social and political development in Iran. The cultural movement inspired by these translations was the result of increased contact with the Western world. This movement, which was started by Abbas Mirza, the Crown Prince, began to flourish with time and gave rise to the translation of several books on Persian related subjects

(Behnam, 1997). The translation of European books became so important that a house of translation, *Dar al-Tarjomeh* (The House of Translation) was established. According to Behnam, this was a significant development as it brought all those working in the field under one roof and saw the volume of translated works increase (Benham, 1997). It is worth mentioning that a few of the pioneering examples of the European works were translated into Persian. They include books such as, Peter the Great, by Voltaire, and The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Edward Gibbon, both of which were translated at the request of Abbas Mirza. Many other books from Jean Jacques Rousseau, John Locke and John Stuart Mill, covering many different subjects were also translated into Persian. All of these books inspired the minds of Iranians in the 19th century and contributed to the process of change and development.

Despite the high volume of new ideas being introduced to Iran by the work of travellers and translators, perhaps the many influential role in the dissemination of these ideas was that played by the press, in particular the press which published in exile. In the first instance, newspapers were easier to obtain, contained few pages and were relatively cheap. Consequently, and particularly in relation to forbidden newspapers coming from exile, they were much easier to hide and bring into the country than books. Also the fact that everyday events were published in these newspapers encouraged people to read them. The simple, ordinary language used by the press was much more accessible to the majority of the population than that contained in the travel books. The press also began to develop a position of some standing and respect among the people in their criticisms of the government. In addition, the sheer variety of newspapers on offer and the number of different subjects and topics they discussed meant that all sections of society could be reached and influenced. This was a situation borne out during the Constitutional Revolution when the number of Iranian newspapers increased dramatically. These newspapers played a central role in awakening the people and opening their minds by highlighting various social and political problems and deficiencies, exposing the corruption of the government and criticising the despotism of the rulers. What is more, these newspapers also had an important role in the introduction of modern ideas from the West into Iran. It was the press, more than any other element, which was responsible for

introducing the modern world and making its social and political ideologies comprehensible to the minds of Iranians (Adamiyat, 1961; Behnam, 1997; Ziba Kalam, 1998). More elaboration will be given concerning the role of these newspapers in Chapter Five when Iranian journalism and its role in the process of modernization during the 19th century in Iran are discussed.

The 4th Phase: Social and political confrontation

As previously mentioned, it is virtually impossible to specify an exact starting point for the beginning of the social and political confrontation with the *Qajar* government. But the gradual change in people's understanding of their situation, through increased contact with the Western world and access to independent newspapers which were highly critical of the governments actions, combined to elevate society to a level of inevitable social and political confrontation. In this phase, the advisory language, usually used in dealings with the government as seen in the first issues of *Qanun* newspaper, was to change, being replaced instead by a stronger, more critical and confrontational style which saw all the backwardness of Iran as being attributable to the government and its archaic and traditional system of rule. Malkum Khan in the 24th issue of his newspaper *Qanun* stated that:

> Fifty years of kingdom, and after that Iran was changed to a dead grave, now the government wants to establish a law for the country! It is the same way of cheating the people and practising despotism, the same way of all *Qajar* rulers. What do you expect from a government whose foundations were built on despotism and misappropriation, to establish law in the country? (*Qanun*, No. 24, p.1) (My translation)

According to Adamiyat the criticism of the Shah did not merely come from the upper classes of society. It came from all classes. This was a level of criticism which had not been witnessed before in the country (Adamiyat, 1976). The response of the *Qajar* government was to be swift and cruel. For instance, in the case of *Qanun* and its attack on the *Qajar* government, Nasir al-Din Shah was driven to ask the English authorities to expel Malkum Khan from London. When the British authorities refused to do so Nasir al-Din Shah became extremely angry (Itemad al-Saltaneh, 1984). This was the general

response by the government to any forms of criticism of its policies by intellectuals or the press.

The 5th Phase: Suggestions and solutions

After the critical discourse, which had been encouraged and popularised by the Iranian press, the time came for suggestions and solutions about what should be done for the progress of the country. At this stage proposals for the establishment of a parliament an *Adalat Khaneh* (Justice House) and the implementation of law were put forward. A number of other solutions were suggested to improve the country's position and free it from despotic rule. These suggestions were mainly made by intellectuals through the press. When the role of the press is analysed in greater detail in Chapter Seven, many of the ideas and suggestions that were made by the various newspapers for the progress and modernization of the country will be mentioned.

The 6th Phase: Revolution

The introduction of new and modern ideologies, the pressures which they placed on the *Qajar*s despotism, the awakening of the people through the critical discourses of intellectuals and the necessity for change that was felt by most of the population, finally put the country in such a position that there was no other way for social and political change to take place except through revolution. This took the form of the Constitutional Revolution which forced the government to establish the country's first parliament and accept the fundamental rights of the people. For this revolution to have succeeded it required much more than the inspiring words of the intellectuals. It was only after the non-governmental attempts sought to involve the people and assign them specific roles in the movement for change, that successful results began to be achieved. For any change to occur, the preparation of the people for the movement towards modernization is of crucial importance. Without the governmental and non-governmental attempts at modernization laying the groundwork, Iran could never have attained its ultimate achievement, the Constitutional Revolution and the establishment of the country's first constitutional government.

The following chapter will deal with the Iranian journalism during the *Qajar* period and the role of the press in development.

Chapter 5

Iranian Journalism
and the Role of the Press in Development

Introduction

This chapter focuses on two issues. Firstly, how and why did Iranian journalism emerge during the *Qajar* period? Secondly, how, and in what manner, did Iranian journalism contribute to the social and political development of the country?

In order to answer the first question the historical background of Iranian journalism must be examined. Although this is not the first time that this subject has been reviewed (see for example: Tarbiyat, 1912; Sadr Hashemi, 1968; Qasemi, 1993), most works related to this area, according to my knowledge, ignore the dynamic interaction and mutual influence between history and the press. Most of these studies exhibit similar features. For the most part they merely list the development of the Iranian press in alphabetical and chronological order with scant historical explanation. In this work, the history of Iranian journalism will be covered by paying attention to the factors that caused its emergence. Although the historical analysis of the factors specific to the foundation of the press in Iran is the main focus here, it is also necessary to review some of the general historical background relating to the development of the press. It is from this perspective that the historical study of the Iranian press, especially in its early days, can become a key to understanding the importance of the modern communication system as whole in the development of political and social attitudes in Iranian society.

As regards the second question, it is the vital role played by the press in the process of social and political development that needs to be examined. Both the internal press and the press in exile constituted important elements in the process of change in Iran. It can be strongly argued that before the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution it was the press in exile that played the major role. However after the revolution it was

those who published inside Iran who were to have the most significant impact on the process of political modernization in the country. According to Aryanpur "during the Constitutional Revolution period there were no new books published in Iran. In this period Iranian literature was limited to the press" (Aryanpur, 1993). Attention must also be given to the role of the press in democracies as a whole, particularly their influence on the process of political development, in order to provide a context and point of comparison in which to locate the changes taking place in Iran during the 19th century.

Before reviewing the historical background to Iranian journalism, it will be useful to mention other studies in this area and to highlight their differences in comparison with this mode of investigation. This review will cover the available literature in both the Persian and English languages, but the main focus will be on Persian literature for the simple reason that the primary aim is to show how Iranians viewed the history of journalism in their own country. Another point to be mentioned here is that there will be a certain amount of repetition between the historical references made in this chapter and those mentioned in other research on the subject. However, all these points will be made as concisely as possible.

Other research

It is important to note before reviewing any other research related to Iranian journalism that the first work in this area was produced by H. L. Rabino, the British vice-consul at Rasht, northern Iran. Furthermore, it was also a British national, Edward Burgess, who was to become the chief translator and collector of news for the first governmental newspaper in Iran, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* (Raja'i, 1999). The British connection can be further evidenced by the fact that the most influential newspaper in Iranian society, '*Qanon*', was published in Britain during the nascent days of journalism in Iran. This coincidence can be evaluated in a number of different ways. It is clear that Britain, which was to suppress the Iranian nation for so long through the imposition of a series of exploitative treaties, would ironically be the same country which would contribute to the awakening of the nation's selfhood by contributing to the establishment of the cornerstone of freedom and democracy in Iran: the press. The history

of Iranian journalism cannot be written without acknowledging this somewhat paradoxical fact.

It is also worth mentioning here that the first article containing any information about the Iranian press or journalism appeared in an Arabic magazine published in Cairo called *al-Hilal* (1899-1900). Most of the information contained in this article was derived from Mirza Mahdi Khan, the editor of the Persian periodical *Hikmat* (wisdom), who was also resident in Cairo (Tarbiyat, 1912). The main point to note is that Iranians themselves were not the first people to write about their own press and journalism.

As mentioned earlier, "the first systematic treatise on this subject" (Browne, 1914, p.x) was written by H. L. Rabino. Rabino's work, under the title of *'A table of the newspapers of Persia and of newspapers in the Persian Language published outside Iran'* was published by the *'orwat al-Vusqa* Press in 1911. It consisted of 29 large pages covering some 243 papers published both inside and outside of Iran from about 1848 until the time the pamphlet was written in August 29,1911. This work was compiled in both Persian and English and offered a brief description of each paper. Each page of this pamphlet was divided into ten columns arranged as follows:

First Column: The ordinal number of the paper in the list.

Second Column: The title of the paper.

Third Column: The place of publication.

Fourth Column: The intervals of publication (daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, etc.).

Fifth Column: The method of production (print, lithography, or 'jelly-graphy').

Sixth Column: The data of inception.

Seventh Column: The date of conclusion.

Eighth Column: The political tendency.

Ninth Column: The name of the proprietor or editor.

Tenth Column: Any additional observations. (Browne, 1914)

The work of Rabino appeared 80 years after the foundation of the first Iranian newspaper in 1837. This indicated that the recording or collecting of information about the press was not regarded as an important issue in comparison to the publication of the papers themselves. This matter becomes more obvious when we notice that not a single

issue of the first Iranian newspaper is to be found in Iran itself. All existing copies are to be found at British Library in Britain.

The first Iranian scholar to become interested in the chronology of the press in Iran was Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan Tarbiyat. In the introduction to his work, Tarbiyat explained that although his hobby for the past 14 years had been to collect specimen copies of Persian newspapers, he hesitated about publishing it after hearing about Rabino's work in 1912. However he soon relented after discovering that although he had overlooked some twenty-nine publications during the course of his research, Rabino himself had omitted some one hundred. The remaining papers along with their relevant information were eventually included in both lists before being published (Tarbiyat, 1912). This work was then translated into English by Browne (1914) who also provided some additional information on this subject.

The third work is a pamphlet based on a lecture, delivered to the Persia Society, by Professor E. G. Browne on Friday, May 23, 1913 in London. The lecture was published by the Persia Society under the title 'The Persian Press and Persian Journalism' by John Hogg, 13 Paternoster Row, London. As Browne (1914) explained, the small 28 page brochure of his lecture was actually a very brief resume of his book '*The Press And Poetry of Modern Persia*', a work based partly on the manuscript work of Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan 'Tarbiyat' of Tabriz, published in 1914 by Cambridge University Press. This book is one of the most important works written in English. It is based on the work of Tarbiyat and *Rabino*. Beside translating the work of Tarbiyat, Browne added a few explanatory footnotes, most of which belong to Tarbiyat himself, as well as some additional particulars such as the paper's size, price, etc. derived from the copies in his own collection.

The unpublished Ph.D. thesis of Hamid Mowlana under the title of '*Journalism in Iran: A History and Interpretation*' is another detailed work about the Iranian press and journalism in Iran. Mowlana's work will be reviewed in more detail later on. Together these works represent the most important works on the subject written in English.

There are also some other famous works, written in Persian, which deal mostly with the history of the Persian press during the *Qajar* period. The four-volume book by

Sadr Hashemi called *Tarikh-e Jarayed va Majallat-e Iran* (A History of Newspapers and Magazines in Iran) published in 1948-1953 in Isfahan, Iran is the most well known work on this subject.

Another such work is that of Mohammad Abassi under the title '*Tarikh-e Matbu'at va Adabiyat-e Iran dar Duryeh Mashrutyyat*' (1957-1958) (The History of Iranian Press and Literature during the Constitutional Period). This is little more than a translation of Professor Browne's work concerning the literary history of Persia, the history of the Constitutional Revolution and the Iranian press in addition to some details not contained in the original. In the introduction to this two-volume book Abbasi explained that it is virtually a translation of Browne's book (1914) divided into the following three parts:

1-A List of Persian Newspapers Arranged in Alphabetical Order.

2-Specimens of the Political and Patriotic Poetry of Modern Persia.

3-A Brief Chronology of the Persian Revolution, from December, 1905 to

April, 1912.

A third book is '*Tarikh-e Sansor dar Matbu'at-e Iran*' (The History of Censorship in the Iranian Press). It was written by Go'el Kohan and published in two volumes in 1982 and 1984 respectively. The first volume covers the period from 1837 until the order of the Constitutional Law (1906) and the second volume is from the time of Constitutional order until the coup d'etat of 1920.

Another work is that of Kaveh Bayat and Masoud Kohestani entitled '*Asnad-e Matbu'at*' (Documents on the Iranian Press). Published by the Iran National Archives Organisation in 1994, it comprises of two volumes of documents compiled from the period 1908 to 1942. The authors plan to publish more such compilations in the future covering other periods in the history of the Iranian press.

A similar work is that of Seyyed Farid Qasemi entitled '*Rahnamay-e Matbu'at-e Iran*' (Directory of the Iranian Press: 1979-1993). Once again it consists of two volumes and was published by the Centre for Media Studies and Research in Tehran in 1993. The first volume covers the period from the foundation of the first newspaper in 1837 until the

end of the *Qajar* dynasty in 1925, whilst the second volume focuses on the time from the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979 up until 1993.

The very latest work in this area is a first volume of a book entitled '*Tarikh-e Roznamenegari Iraniyan va Digar Parsi Novisan, Jelde Avval: Pydayesh*' (A History of Journalism in the Persian-Speaking World, Volume 1: Beginnings 1780-1896) by Nasir al-Din Parvin published in 1999 in Iran by *Markaze Nashr-e Daneshgahi* (Center for University Publications). This book is also a detailed work about the history of the Iranian journalism and it is generally agreed to be the latest work on this subject in the Persian Language.

All the above works exhibit similar characteristics. For the most part they have either listed the Iranian press in alphabetical order, providing the slightest of historical background, or give some explanation and interpretation about the content of some of the Iranian newspapers especially during the 19th century.

However, the works of Mowlana and Kohan can be seen as the exception to this rule both in their mode of presentation and discussion. Mowlana's work is the first comprehensive work about journalism in Iran to be written in English by an Iranian scholar. In his unpublished thesis, Mowlana attempts to relate early Iranian history to the focus of his discussion in order to provide a context within which to examine the development and advancements made by Iranians in the fields of printing, news writing, book making and finally journalism. He indicates that despite the significant role of the press and communication media in the economic and political life of the people, the history of Iranian journalism had been most neglected even by the students of Iran (Mowlana, 1963). Elsewhere he tried to explain the rationale behind the focus of his research.

> The few scarce works on this subject, cited here, are old in orientation, consisting of data collected purely for the purpose of illustration rather than systematic or scientific analysis. It is as a result that little meaningful abstraction has been made in the study of Iranian journalism. It was this lack of material, and the need for an objective study of the entire subject of journalism in Iran, as well as its subsequent growth, that prompted this work. (Mowlana, 1963, p.5)

Kohan's work is completely different to the other works mentioned. It is a history of censorship in the Iranian press. In this work, Kohan endeavours to examine every single issue regarding this subject from the establishment of the first newspaper until the 1920's coup d'etat in Iran. There is no doubt that the resulting work is extraordinary both in its methodology and mode of presentation. The story of censorship in the Iranian press is not just the story of the oppression and tyranny of the government, but also the story of Iranian intellectuals fighting for freedom and democracy. Kohan portrays this dual state of affairs clearly and succinctly.

The next part of this chapter a brief history of Iranian journalism during the *Qajar* period will be presented. It was during the *Qajar* period that the first Iranian newspaper was published in 1837. This section will also be combined with an interpretation and analysis of the forces that led to the establishment of the Iranian press during this period. Furthermore it will examine and assess the development and progress of the press from the establishment of the first paper in 1837 right up until the end of the Constitutional Revolution in 1911.

The art of news-writing in Iran

The art of news-writing has a long history in Iranian literature. Prior to the emergence of the modern press in Iran, Iranians used the word *Roznameh* (Newsletter) to denote the record kept of daily events. The responsibility for recording these events lay with government officials who used the newsletters to inform the central government of daily occurrences happening throughout the country. The oldest recorded use of this word belongs to Saheb Ibn Abbad (died in 995) a writer and minister for the *Buyids* dynasty (932-1055) who had a '*Roznamjeh*' (newsletter in its Arabic form of transliteration) to write his memories of daily events (Aryanpur, 1993; *Roznameh 'Iyyeh Iran*, 1991).

The importance and the necessity of the news services were recognised by the *Mongol* (1258-1335) and *Timori* (1369-1494) governments. According to Mowlana, the *Timuri* rulers appointed a *Vaqay' Nevis* (news-writer) in each district to write and send reports about important events to the capital (Mowlana, 1963). As Brown had noted these news-sheets were the earliest form of newspapers in Persia and they existed long before the foundation of the modern press in Europe (Browne, 1914).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the position of the *Vaqay' Nevis* as a writer in the courts laid the foundation for the first concept of journalism in Iranian society. Those news-writers occupied an important position under the *Safavid* Monarchy (1500-1722). They were represented in the council keeping official records of the Shah's commands in order. Hence, their reports were a major source of political intelligence (Minorsky, 1943).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, following two centuries of news dissemination by these news-writers, the office of *Vaqay' Nevis* ceased to exist in Iran. It was only with the establishment of the printing press in the country that this name was given to writers, reporters and journalists. By that time the modern concept of journalism and news-writer had found its way into Iran (Mowlana, 1963).

It is worth noting that although the first printing press was founded in Europe in 1455, the first newspaper was not published until some one and half centuries later. Belgium published its first newspaper in 1605, Germany in 1615, Britain in 1622 and France in 1631. By contrast, the first Iranian newspaper was founded in 1837 almost four centuries later (Solhju, N.D.).

Before analysing the emergence of the Iranian press in Iran it is important to find out exactly how and when Iranians became familiar with the modern European press. Therefore a brief account of the circulation of these European newspapers in Iran will be covered here. It is also important to note that before the appearance of the first domestically produced Iranian newspaper, there were many Persian language newspapers published outside of Iran. A brief history of these newspapers will provide a better understanding of the possible connections between these newspapers and those produced internally in Iran.

Modern European newspapers in Iran

It was during the reign of Shah Abbas (1587-1628) of the *Safavid* Monarchy, that European newspapers first entered the country (Rezvani, 1994). Therefore, for almost two and a half centuries before the establishment of the first newspaper in Iran, Iranians had been aware of and exposed to the existence and influence of the modern press. It seems

strange that despite the fact that the government officials from the *Mongol* and *Timuri* periods were familiar with the importance of the recording of daily events and were aware of the existence and possibilities of the printing press that they failed to use these processes for the dissemination of news and information.

There are a certain number of factors that prevented the widespread use of the modern press during the *Safavid* period. Firstly, the government did not consider news and information as a public commodity to be disseminated amongst the people. It was to be the strict reserve of authorised institutions only. Secondly, more information creates more knowledge and awareness. Such a situation would not be favourable for a system of governance built on absolute rule. Thirdly, the majority of people did not have any access to these newspapers. This was simply due to the lack of contact between Europe and Iran at the time. As a result they were not aware of the existence of these newspapers, the knowledge to be gained from them or their importance to society. Fourthly, Iran lacked a modern intelligentsia during this period comparable to that which emerged in the era of European Enlightenment. This left the country bereft of new ideas with which to challenge the traditional forms of life. In this regard, the *Safavid* period saw little or no communication between ordinary Iranians and Europeans. Indeed Rezvani (1994) has noted that for the most part the former regarded the latter as atheists. Hence, it was obvious that modern European newspapers had relatively little impact on Iranian society. Moreover, Rezvani argued further that it was not only during the time of *Safavids* that the printing press and modern journalism were undervalued and ignored. In the beginning of the 19th century the *Qajars* were also reluctant to view this new tool of communication as a significant method for the dissemination of news and information in the country. Despite the fact that the first Iranian newspaper was founded in 1837, and contact between Iranians and Europeans increased during the latter half of the 19th century, little or no information concerning the press in Europe, or modern European journalism appeared in any of the books written on the subject during this period. Even the writer of 'The History of Great Iranian Men in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries' did not regard journalists as important people in Iran (Rezvani, 1994).

In conclusion, it can be stated that the *Safavid* and the *Qajar* rulers became familiar with the modern press emanating from Europe and were prepared to utilize it for the purpose of obtaining news and information about the world. However this situation had no significant social impact because these rulers did not encourage the use of this new tool as a universal method of communication in Iran. Rather, the traditional ways of communication, such as *Minber* (pulpit), *Masjid* (mosque), *Takyeh* (an open area used for homiletic preaching), or *Va'ez* (A preacher or orator) were seen as sufficient methods for the dissemination of news and information amongst the people. If this was really the case, then what led the *Qajars* to suddenly discover the importance of the modern press in 1837 and subsequently launch the first Iranian newspaper in the country? The emergence of the first newspaper at this time indicates that some significant change had taken place. This change arose from the experiences and knowledge gained by Iranian students in Europe. They realized the importance of the press and sought to establish a role for it in Iranian society. Before examining this matter further it is worth reviewing the history of the Persian newspapers that were published outside Iran. These were established some time before the launch of the first Iranian newspaper inside the country and it is important to assess their possible impact on the foundation of domestic press.

The pioneer Persian newspapers in India

It is interesting to note that the modern Persian language press was first founded outside Iran. The first Persian newspapers, most of which were not published by Iranians, were launched in India. A brief history of these various papers will be given before looking at the factors that influenced their foundation in India.

Although the first Iranian newspapers were established in India, there is no clear evidence as to when these newspapers were founded. The earliest one was probably a weekly newspaper called *Akhbar-e Irani* (The Persian News) published in New Delhi, India in 1798. Unfortunately the founder of this newspaper is not known and no copies of it are available (Sadr Hashemi, 1985).

Mirat al-Akhbar (The Mirror of the News) was the second monthly Persian newspaper to be published in Delhi, beginning its circulation on the 20th of April 1822.

Its founder Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833) was interested in publishing theological discussions on controversial themes concerning both Christianity and Hinduism, as well as propaganda for social reform.

Only one month later, the third Persian newspaper and the first Persian weekly, *Jam-e Jahan Nama,* was published on May 16, 1822 in Calcutta, India. It was published every Wednesday in Persian and Urdu (Narimani Zadeh, 1979). Unlike *Mirat al-Akhbar,* the founder of *Jam-e Jahan Nama,* a Hindu gentleman named Hurree Hur Dut, was not publishing a missionary newspaper. Instead he concentrated on criticising the system of government allied to the British authorities.

Moothur Mohan Mitteer founded the fourth Persian newspaper, *Shams al-Akhbar,* to be published in India on May 6, 1823. It was produced in two languages, Persian and Hindustani (Public Proceedings, 1823). The fifth Persian newspaper published in India appeared in 1826. It was a translation of the Bengali paper *Samachar Darpan* and was done by the *Serampur* missionaries operating under the name of *Ukhbara Serampur.* There are a few other Persian newspapers, which were published in India prior to the foundation of the first newspaper in Iran in 1837, but in order to deal with more pertinent matters they will not be discussed in detail here.

Now we must look at the main questions that were raised regarding the foundation and workings of this first Persian press operating outside of Iran. For example, why were these newspapers founded outside Iran and why were they specifically located in India? Did the foundation of these newspapers encourage Iranians to publish the first newspaper inside Iran? These two questions are crucial for our study which aims to find out the importance of direct contact with the West as a main factor in contributing to the emergence of an indigenous press in Iran. It also provides a point of departure from which to assess the influence of those newspapers published outside of Iran.

Regarding the first question, 'why were these newspapers founded outside Iran and why were they specifically located in India?' Mowlana's discussion of this issue will be referred in this section. Mowlana (1963) elaborated three reasons for the foundation of the Persian press in India before their launching in Iran. Firstly, the printing press was developed in India many years before it was introduced to Iran. In this respect India could

be said to have had a head start with its increased familiarity with the printing process. The first regular newspaper in India *The Bengal Gazette* was founded in 1780. Other newspapers such as *The Bengal Journal* (founded in 1784) and the *Oriental Magazine* or *Calcutta Amusement* (founded in 1784) were to follow quickly. Secondly, the Mogul conquerors of India had introduced the Persian language into the country. It was to become one of the dominant languages in Indian society. Although English became the language of the Indian court in the early part of the 18th century, Persian continued to be widely used in conversation and for the dissemination of information. Thirdly, the liberal and Westernised system operating in India at the time proved to be economically and socially superior to the traditional absolute monarchy of Iran. The Indian people could also be said to have enjoyed a certain degree of freedom of expression and opinion under the British regime, a situation which the Iranians under their *Shahs* did not (Mowlana, 1963). For these reasons, at least, we can understand why the first Persian press was founded outside of Iran. We may also note here that the social and political situation existing in Iran during the first decades of the *Qajar* dynasty was the main obstacle preventing the foundation of the modern press in the country. The despotism of the monarchy, the absence of Iranian intellectuals and the lack of public communication with those outside Iran, were all factors that contributed to the hindering of the establishment of a modern press in Iran during this period. It was only with the removal of these obstacles and a corresponding change in circumstances that the first steps could be taken towards the foundation of an indigenous press.

As regards the possible impact of the Persian newspapers in India on the foundation of the first newspaper in Iran, Muhit Tabatab'i states that they were to have little if no significant impact (Muhit Tabatab'i, 1996). One reason for this was that the Persian newspapers in India used the Persian language simply because Persian had been the official and popular language in India for a long period of time. These newspapers were more informative and religious than overtly political and dealt mainly with local issues. As community papers, their main aim was to serve those members of the Indian community, familiar with the Persian language, with news and information. According to Mowlana "because of their local characteristics, the Persian newspapers were not

circulated in Iran" (Mowlana, 1963, p.193). Therefore, it can be concluded that the Persian newspapers in India had no impact on the foundation of the first Iranian newspaper in Iran. The emergence of a modern press in Iran was due to other causes and these will be discussed in the following section.

The emergence of the Iranian press

The 19th century is significant in the modern history of Iran. The emergence of Iranian intellectuals as a significant grouping, the first groups of students travelling to Europe, the first practical attempts at modernising the country, through the reform of the army, and the foundation of the first newspaper all happened during this period.

Before dealing with the Western influence on Iran - especially in the formation of the Iranian press - it is necessary to look at the possible influence of Russia. Russia defeated Iran in war in the nineteenth century and, consequently, acquired land. It had a system of government and was seen as a developed country compared to Iran. The relationship between people living in cities, such as Tabriz, with their Northern neighbours (Russia) was far from simple. Many Iranians had their families on the other side of the border, in Russia, as a result of the war and they had remained in touch among themselves. The trade relations between Iranians and Russians widened the contact between both nations. Many Iranian intellectuals such as Akhonzadeh and Rasulzadeh had been influenced by the development of Russia. The example of Tabriz illustrates well the political development which had emerged as a result of its contact with the Ottoman and Russia. The Iranians travelling to and from Russia contributed greatly to the process of change and development within Iran, especially during the Constitutional Revolution; a fact that should not be overlooked.

Although Irano-Russian relations were expanding during the nineteenth century – with the level of Russian development being substantially higher than Iran – there existed three reasons why the Russian pattern of development did not attract Iranians to follow suit. It is not because Iranian intellectuals did not travel to Russia regularly but, rather, because the authoritarian system of government which had been governing the country, at the time, was similar to that of Iran during the nineteenth century. The defeat of the

Iranians, in war, by the Russians and their subsequent seizure of Iranian land - by the latter – is another cause. These two reasons, at least, contributed in bringing about a gap between the two societies, averting Iranians from following the Russian pattern of development - even in the presence of press establishment in Iran. On the contrary the travelers to Europe saw this part of the world as closer to their wishes for freedom and democracy.

The increase and expansion of contact between Iran and the West was to prove to be the main influence on the formation of the press in Iran. The travels of Iranian students to Europe and their contacts with Western technology inspired the idea of publishing the first newspaper in the country in 1837. Although the *Qajar* rulers were familiar with the modern newspaper system operating in Western countries prior to 1837, they were not interested in introducing it to Iran nor realised the importance of this tool for dissemination of news and information. The question must therefore be asked what factor proved to be the turning point? For a better understanding it is necessary to look at the historical background related to this issue.

As mentioned earlier, in Chapters Two and Four, the psychological pressure exerted by the military might of Russia, and later from the British, allied to the defeat suffered during the reign of Fath Ali Shah, were to prove to be the inauspicious starting points for Iran's development throughout the nineteenth century (Abrahamian, 1982). As a result of this situation, the first steps were taken to increase military power, but the overall impact of this was to have much wider repercussions for all aspects of society. The central figure of this change was Abbas Mirza who died in 1833 without too much success. This situation worsened when Fath Ali Shah died and Mohammad Shah became the Shah of Iran in 1834. After a short time, the new Shah killed his patriotic and knowledgeable prime minister Abul Kasem Qa'emmaqam and appointed Hajji Mirza Aqasi as the new prime minister. This appointment signaled the end of all the remaining programmes of reform. Aqasi was a tutor of Mohammad Shah in his childhood. Possessing a strange character, Aqasi was "both ignorant and fanatical" (Sykes, 1930, p.80). Under the new prime minister, who was more concerned about digging wells in the

country than anything else, the demise of Iran began. By the end of Mohammad Shah's reign (1834-1848), the country was in a worse situation than at the beginning: "Modern Persia, poor, heartless and nerveless drags on a precarious existence and in her disorganised condition cannot last longer than the powers of Europe choose to allow her" (Binning, 1857, p.305). It was in this environment that Shirazi attempted to establish some kind of relationship between the *Qajar* government and the people (Kohan, 1981). As a first step, he used his experience to found the first newspaper in Iran. The *Qajar* government, realising the importance of this plan, gave their full support to Shirazi. According to Kohan, the *Qajar* rulers prepared the ground for the foundation of the first newspaper in the country as a means of legitimising and justifying their despotism. This example supports the authoritarian theory of the press (Siebert et al., 1956). a theory clearly reflected in the authoritarian government of the *Qajars* in 19th century Iran (Kohan, 1981).

However, during the reign of Fath Ali Shah and as a direct result of the army reform, the government sent a number of Iranian students abroad to study practical subjects such as military science, engineering, gun making, medicine, typography and modern languages. The first group consisting of two students, and the second consisting of five, was sent to England in 1811 and 1814 respectively. Abbas Mirza, the Crown Prince, directed this plan when he was in Tabriz. Mirza Saleh Shirazi, one of the five students in the second group, left the country to study the English language in the UK. During the three years, nine months and twenty days of his stay in the UK, Shirazi was an outstanding student. In addition to the English, French and Latin languages, he also studied science and the art of printing and journalism. Whilst in London, Shirazi studied the workings of the British press and became associated with the Royal Asiatic Society. According to the archives of the society he was a member of that society from 1839 to 1852. Shirazi also became a member of the Freemasons during his time abroad (Kohan, 1981).

On Saturday 24 July 1819 (*Shavval* 2, 1234), Shirazi, along with a number of other students, began his return to Iran via Ottoman Turkey. He stayed in Turkey for a while before setting out on Wednesday 25 November 1819 (*Safar* 5, 1234) on the final

leg of his journey home. For his first occupation Shirazi became translator and advisor to Abbas Mirza in Tabriz. He also founded his first printing press in the same city (Rezvani, 1975). Later on he left Tabriz for Tehran to participate in a number of diplomatic trips to Russia and other foreign countries. Whilst staying in Tehran, and some eighteen years after his return from Europe, (a period of time which had seen the demise of the country under the disastrous rule of Mohammad Shah and his ignorant prime minister Mirza Aqasi), Shirazi published Iran's first newspaper in May 1837, entitled *Akhbar-e Vaqay'* (News of Occurrence). Later on the title of this newspaper became *Kaghaz-e Akhbar* meaning the 'gazette' or 'news paper' according to a literal translation. It is regrettable that Abbas Mirza, who had started the process of modernization by sending Shirazi and other students to study abroad, did not live to see the birth of this paper which was to be heralded as one of the most important events in modern Iranian history. It was under the rule of Mirza Aqasi's government that this paper came into being. It is not clear how Shirazi managed to influence Aqasi in order to establish his newspape. This matter is somewhat peculiar given the fact that, although Mohammad Shah was "a man of some talent and information, he gave himself little to worry about regarding state affairs which were managed almost entirely by his prime minister, Hajji Aqasi" (Mowlana, 1963, pp.209-210). However, the paper did not exist much longer than four years. We do not know what role Aqasi played in the closure of the newspaper but it is probable that the paper did not get enough support or encouragement from the government to continue its publication. This seems even more likely when we realise that it was not until 14 years later that the second Persian newspaper came into being in Iran. Even though this situation was partly due to the fact that most of the people were illiterate, it is also a fact that the government, whilst not actively supporting the paper, was also responsible for orchestrating its failure.

Having provided a short history of the rise and fall of the first newspaper in Iran, it is important to examine the factors behind its foundation. The foundation of *Kaghaz-e Akhbar* was entirely the result of direct contact between Iranians and the West. This claim is supported by other scholars. For instance, according to Adamiyat, the lack of an exact name for this newspaper, which was simply called 'gazette', shows that Mirza Saleh

Shirazi was unaware of other pioneering papers that were already in existence in other Muslim countries such as the *al-Vaqay' al-Misriya* (founded in 1828) in Egypt and the *Taqvim-e Vaqay'* (founded in 1832) in Turkey (*Adamiyat*, 1969).

> [This] comment indicates the supposition that Mirza Saleh Shirazi bypassed developments in the Ottoman Empire and derived his inspiration directly from his English experience, narrated in his *Safarnameh* (Travelogue); in his prospectus for the newspaper, Mirza referred to a *Kaghaz-e Akhbar*, literally, newspaper. (Avery et al. 1991, p.816)

Such comment further supports the claim that the rise of the first Iranian newspaper was an outcome of direct contact with Western modernization. Although this newspaper did not survive for very long, it shows how the contact and interactions between different cultures can inspire innovation and duplication of experiences. The analysis of the newspaper's prospectus and the content of the newspaper itself indicates that Shirazi was aware of the importance of modern communication tools for the dissemination of news and information in society. A typological study and analysis of the context in which this newspaper appeared will shed more light on this matter.

Typological analysis of Kaghaz-e Akhbar

The first Iranian newspaper, *Kaghaz-e Akhbar*, was a monthly periodical. It was first published on two large sized sheets in Tehran on 25th of *Moharram*, A.H.1253/1837. *Kaghaz-e Akhbar* was published during the fourth year of the reign of Mohammed Shah (1834-1848) and ceased publication almost after three years in 1840. In its first issue, the news coverage was divided into two sections: domestic and foreign news, starting with news from Tehran followed by other parts of Iran and ending with news stories from both the East and West.

No copies of this newspaper are to be found in Iran and the only original surviving text of the paper is the one published for the month of *Moharram* A.H.1253 (7 April to 6 May, 1837) which can be found in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 5th, 2nd Feb. 1839, pp. 355-372'. In his book *"Qajar, The Life of Nasir al- Din Shah"*, Par Edmond Dutemple wrote the following:

In 1837 and during the reign of Mohammad Shah the first governmental newspaper was published in Tehran. The first issue of this monthly newspaper was printed on the May 1, 1837. It was lithographically printed on big sheets but the quality was poor. The paper had no especial name, but the emblem of the Iranian Government appeared at the end of the first page. Later on, this paper, with some noticeable changes, became the first official newspaper *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*. (Dutemple, 1873)

This issue is the same issue which was mentioned in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. So it appears that the first Iranian newspaper was published on Monday *Moharram* 25, 1253 (May 1, 1837) two and a half years after the demise of Fath Ali Shah (Aryanpur, 1993).

Two other copies of this paper (published in 1837 and 1840), (Barzin, 1992, p.325), were discovered in 1963 by Hamid Mowlana and Ali Moshiri in the British Library Museum under the address of O.P.3 (13). In 1966 Moshiri wrote an article about these copies published in *Sokhan* magazine and two years later Mowlana (1968) published a copy of them in the *Kayhan* newspaper (Kohan, 1981). In his article Moshiri (1966) characterised these copies as follow:

The size of this paper is 40 centimetres in length and 24 centimetres in width and is published on two pages. The titles were written in *Naskh* and the rest of the articles in *Nastaliq* calligraphy. It was Lithographic without name and address. The first page was allocated for the 'News from the Eastern Countries' and the second pages for the 'News from the Western Countries'. In the middle of the first page the emblem of 'Lion and Sun' appeared measuring 5 by 5 centimetres in diameter. Two centimetres to the right hand of that emblem, in *Nashk* calligraphy, was written 'the news of month of *Rabi' al-Sani* A.H. 1253 (1837)'. On the left-hand side of the emblem the following inscription appeared 'Published in the House of Government in Tehran'. The other issue concerned the news from the month of *Jamadi al-Ula* A. H.1253 (1837) and was published in much the same way. Hence, it is clear that this paper was published once a month and from its content one can observe that it was printed in the month of *Safar* of that year. These two copies were sent to England by Charles Sondet and the only reason we can think of for sending them is because there was some news in one of them concerning the coronation of Victoria the Queen of England. It is also probable that copies may have been sent back to the British government by members of the diplomatic mission visiting Iran at the time. [My translation] (Moshiri, 1966)

Shirazi, in the first issue of his newspaper, states that his ambition is "to introduce readers to the outside world, its geography and especially the West's new inventions such as the steamship" (Avery et al., 1991). However a closer analysis and examination of the prospectus and the first issue shows that the main reason why Mirza Saleh founded this newspaper was to introduce readers to the news and innovations of the outside world and to keep them informed of their progress within Iran.

Analysis of the Prospectus

It is extremely important to note that before the publication of *Khaghaz-e Akhbar*, the government released a *Tali 'eh*, 'Prospectus', informing the people about the start of this paper. This Prospectus is the oldest document still in existence concerning the foundation of the first newspaper in Iran. The document was then sent by Haji Mohammad Nakhgavani (an educated merchant from Azarbayejan) to *Yadegar* magazine. The magazine then proceeded to publish this rather lengthy document. It appeared during the first year of publication volume 7. The *Qajar* government released this Prospectus on *Ramadan*, 20, 1252 (1836), and it can be considered as the blueprint issue of the newspaper that was to be published some four months later (Kohan, 1981; Aryanpur, 1993).

This Prospectus was a declaration by the government of the paper's aims and contained a definition of its proposed relationship with the people. The Prospectus declared that education was to be the primary rationale behind the establishment of this newspaper. It appears that the government viewed the press, first and foremost, as a tool for education and it was only after that they considered it as a means of propagating their own activities. The rest of this declaration refers mainly to the Shah himself, his treatment of the people, his tolerance, his justice, his wisdom, etc. Due to the importance of the first and last paragraphs of the Prospectus a translation and brief analysis is given here:

[*The First Paragraph of the Prospectus:*]
It should be clear to the wise people of Iran that the Royal ambition of
the government officials have decided to educate the people of the

country. Our aim is to educate the people by informing them about different events taking place in the world. Then according to the Shah's command there will be *Khaghaz-e Akhbar* (gazette), containing news from the East and the West, which will be registered in the *Dar al-Teba'eh* (Official Printing House) and sent to different parts of the country.

[*The Last Paragraph of the Prospectus:*]
This paper will be published monthly and will contain news and articles to benefit, educate and to open the minds and eyes of the people. The paper will be published on the Official Printing House and will be sent to all parts of the country.[My translation] (Kohan, 1981, pp.14-18)

Before analysing these two paragraphs it is important to notice that this Prospectus was written by Mirza Saleh himself (Avery et al., 1991). He hoped to highlight the important roles to be played by the press in the service of governmental activities and in the dissemination of news and information amongst the people. The whole tone of the Prospectus is written as if it was the government itself who was about to publish the first newspaper. Although it is true that Shirazi could not have published this paper without the support and agreement of the government, it was he alone who, by his own talent and experience, succeeded in establishing the first Iranian newspaper and creating the starting point for the history of journalism in Iran.

The Prospectus also shows the attitude of its author and indeed that of the *Qajar* rulers themselves towards this new means of mass communication. The issue of prime concern was the power of information. These, along with some other points raised in the Prospectus, will be looked briefly at in the following section.

The analysis of these two chosen paragraphs show Shirazi's familiarity with the role of a modern tool of communication in society. However it also reveals the fact that, although he was attempting to introduce the modern world to Iranians, Shirazi was, at the same time, being manipulated by government officials. They were pursuing their own agenda which saw the new invention as a means of justifying government activities and strengthening the position of *Qajar* rulers in society. Shirazi was becoming a pawn in the government's attempt to bring communications under an authoritarian system of control. However, knowing his talent, it can be surmised that he convinced the *Qajars* of the

benefits of the press in the service of their aims so that the first newspaper would be established, providing universal benefits for all. This might be one of the reasons for the large amount of time that passed from the time of his return from Europe in 1819 until the foundation of the first newspaper in 1837.

By establishing *Khaghaz-e Akhbar*, Shirazi made it possible for people other than the government to have access to the new media. He succeeded in teaching different groups within society how they could use the press for their own specific aims and objectives. Up until this time the majority of people had no knowledge of the press and its role in society. The new medium became a way of presenting ideas, governmental orders, news and information to the whole country. This was a big achievement, not only for the government who wished to implement its ideas, but also for the people who wished to know more about the outside world. This is one element of many which can be extracted from the analysis of the above two paragraphs.

The main points developed in the above two paragraphs can be categorized into three main parts, the role of the government, the role of information and finally the role of the press. These will form the content of the following discussion.

A-The role of government

The role of the government in the foundation of the Iranian press is very obvious from the first line of the Prospectus. "The Royal ambition of the government officials have decided" (*Tali'eh*, 1836) to publish a newspaper for the people. The Shah has also given his command for the foundation of *Khagaz-e Akhbar* (newspaper). The registration and the publication of this newspaper will be done through the 'Official Printing House' '*Dar al-Tiba'eh*'. The national coverage of this paper will also be achieved by state distribution throughout the country.

The above sentences give a brief account of an official Prospectus that can be seen as "issue one of a monthly newspaper" (Kohan, 1981,vol. 1, p.18) and not merely a governmental announcement for the publication of its own private newspaper. The rise of an authoritarian and government controlled press can be seen from the first sentence of the Prospectus. This declaration gives support to the authoritarian theory of the press.

Such a theory can be seen to exist in an autocratic system such as that which operated under the *Qajars*. A brief explanation of this theory will help to draw a clear picture of the operations of an authoritarian press.

The 'Authoritarian Theory' is the oldest theory of the press. It came into existence during the latter part of the Renaissance after the invention of printing. During that period the truth was not seen as a product of the masses. Rather it was assumed to emanate from a few wise men who were allied to the powerful forces operating within society. Therefore, as Siebert noted, the press functioned "from the top down" (Siebert, 1956, p.2). In such a situation publishing a newspaper was a kind of agreement between the power source and the owner of the newspaper. The press, for the most part, was a servant of the state and the state was the main source of power. This theory was universally accepted in the sixteenth and throughout most of the seventeenth centuries. Although this is no longer the case, authoritarian practice still operates in many parts of the world.

This theory emphasised the subordination of the press to state control as evidenced in the monarchic system, some contemporary totalitarian regimes as well as certain developing countries. According to McQuail:

> Authoritarian theory can justify advance censorship and punishment for deviation from rules laid down by political authorities. Aside from historic examples, the theory was likely to be observed in dictatorial regimes, under conditions of military rule or foreign occupation and even during states of extreme emergency in democratic societies. (McQuail, 1994, p.127)

The following could be considered as typical authoritarian elements:

- The press should be subject to the state authority and should do nothing to undermine this authority.

- The press should avoid any kind of offence to the dominant moral or political values or cause any offence to the majority.

- Restrictions and censorship can be justified to enforce certain roles and principles.

- Any unacceptable criticism or attack on the government or any moral codes could be considered as a criminal acts (De Beer, 1993).

Most of these elements can be seen in the first Prospectus announced before the publication of the first Iranian newspaper. When the Prospectus emphasizes that 'Government authority' is involved in the publication of the newspaper, it spells out the necessity for the subjection of the people to state authority in matters related to the distribution of news and information. When it refers to the educational role of the press, it stresses the necessity to avoid any moral offences. It is also clear from the section which orders the paper to be published in *Dar al-Tiba'eh,* the 'Official Printing House', that the implementation of government censorship existed from day one.

The importance attached by the government to the coverage of news at a national level clarifies two issues. Firstly, the government agenda was to attempt to unite different news from around the country. And secondly, the government was aware of the importance of defining a homogenous concept for the development of a nation-state by giving its attention to the nation at large. In this respect, the role of the government becomes obvious in the formation of the first Iranian newspaper. This role was to prove comprehensive covering of all aspects of government related to the publication of a newspaper in the country. The direct order of the Shah, the implementation of censorship, the national coverage of news, the governmental agenda, the development of a nation-state concept through the unification of news and information at a national level, and finally the governmental distribution of the newspaper were all elements covered in the Prospectus.

B-The role of information

The importance of information in human development occupied a central position in the Prospectus. Moreover, it is at pains to emphasize the close relation between education and information. In the first paragraph it states that "the government officials have decided to educate the people of the country. The purpose of this education being, to inform the people about what is happening in the world" (*Tali'eh*, 1836). This sentence not only emphasizes the role of information in the education of the nation, but also stresses the close relationship between information and education as a main factor in furthering human development. This is a point which has been examined by various

scholars (e.g. Lerner, 1958; Schramm, 1964; Katz and Weddell, 1977). The experiences of other nations can be classified as a form of condensed information which go to make up part of their national culture and identity. The Prospectus draws attention to this factor. It states that whilst the aim of education is to inform the people about what is happening in the world, this does refer exclusively to news coverage, but also includes the experiences of the other nations, particularly in the areas of development and modernization. Nowadays the importance of information in development is generally accepted. The *Qajar* government and indeed Shirazi himself were well aware of this situation. As regards Shirazi, his own knowledge clearly came from the experiences that he had had in Europe. This proves once again that the foundation of the press in Iran was entirely the outcome of contact and interaction with the West.

C-The role of the press

It is interesting to note that the first Prospectus explained the role of the press in society in a clearly defined and detailed way. The importance attached to the information disseminated by the press was mentioned earlier. The importance of the news itself was also emphasized in the Prospectus. Out of the many forms of information circulated around the country, the *Qajars* deemed the distribution of news from the East and West to be of prime importance. This was over and above matters concerning the Royal Court itself. Emphasis on the role of the press in the education of the people was stressed by the founder of the paper, "This paper ... will contain news and articles to benefit, educate and to open the mind and eyes of the people" (*Tali'eh*, 1836). However, the role of the press is not only to educate, but also to benefit the people. These benefits have many different aspects. The national interest was an important issue for those involved in the publication of the first Iranian newspaper. The press played a key role in the distribution of news and information and it was this information that had the power to strengthen or weaken national unity. Opening the minds and eyes of the people inevitably drew the press towards questions of freedom and democracy. However, how can a governmental newspaper functioning according to authoritarian theory be seen as a free and independent voice in the service of the nation's good? This contradiction seems even more significant

when we realize that the rulers of the *Qajar* dynasty could not tolerate this same governmental paper, *Kaghaz-e Akhbar,* for very long. The *Qajars* viewed the press, not as a 'watchdog' operating in society, but rather as a 'fourth branch of government', subject to the regulation and power of the state. It was only during the time of the Constitutional Revolution (1906-1911) that the idea of press freedom, which according to Keane is rooted in the principle of the liberty of the press (Keane, 1991), found its expression in the formation of private and independent newspapers.

To conclude this section, it can be said that the emergence of the press during the *Qajar* period was, on the one hand, an indication of the necessity of adopting a modern system of communication and, on the other, a sign of the limitation of traditional tools. Thus, the emergence of the press can be seen as a necessary change in this period. Although the establishment of the first Iranian newspaper was achieved only with the support and royal order of the state, it was the involvement of a Western educated intellectual that was to carry the most significance. This arose from his position as a pioneer in the formation of an intellectual movement in Iran. Despite the claims by the Prospectus, that the main aim of the press was in the education of the people and the free flow of information in aiding human development, in practice these were promises which proved very hard to keep. One reason was the nature of its use in the hands of an authoritarian government. This saw it classed a governmental paper used primarily for the promotion of Royal activities. Thus exaggerated praise and elaborate language were used in these newspapers (Mowlana, 1963), a precedent set from the beginning by the Prospectus itself.

The following section will deal with the development of Iranian journalism itself during the *Qajar* period. This issue will cover the rise of Iranian journalism in exile and the progress of Iranian journalism during the three distinct periods of Nasir al-Din Shah, Muzaffar al-Din Shah, and the Constitutional Revolution.

The Iranian press in exile

Many Third World intellectuals could not live in their own countries and, for a variety of different reasons, chose to live in exile. Iranians are no different and have suffered from this situation from the early days of the 19th century. It is clear that each

one of these people have their own reasons for living in exile. The modern generation of Iranian intellectuals that emerged in the 19th century had at least two reasons for their exile. Firstly, the despotic monarchy and dictatorship and secondly, the desire to live under the system of democracy and freedom that was seen to exist in Western countries and some other countries such as India and Egypt.

With the rise of this new generation of intellectuals came the necessity of having an environment in which they could operate. The social and political situation within the country at the time was not able to provide such an environment. On the contrary, the increasing pressure put on them by the state forced many of these intellectuals to leave the country. A quick review of Iranians in exile shows that most of them settled in four main areas: Europe (especially England), India, Turkey and Egypt (Zakerhossein, 1997). Their reasons for choosing these countries were, to put it simply, the existence of freedom and democracy in England and India and the struggle for freedom, democracy and modernization in Egypt and Turkey. Intellectuals who had became familiar with Western modernization saw England as one of the best place to stay. Those who were attracted by the independence movement and the struggle against colonialism, or had became fascinated by the move towards modernization, preferred to stay in Egypt or Turkey respectively. They were seeking a way of making their voices heard to other Iranians inside the country. Their aim was not just to speak out against the *Qajar* despotism, but also to introduce a revolution in traditional life through the auspices of Western modernization. In this way it was hoped to encourage the people to seek radical change in their political and social environment. They saw the press as the best tool for this purpose. It is not mere coincidence that the majority of Iranian intellectuals living in exile chose the press as the best means of making their voices and ideas heard inside the country. Those who voluntarily lived in exile, because of the political situation of the country, were to become the central nucleus of the 'Iranian press in exile'. This 'exiled press' was to play a hugely significant role in the overall history of the Iranian press, even before the victory of the Constitutional Revolution (Zakerhossein, 1997). The most important newspapers of this kind were: *Akhtar* (1875-1895) in Istanbul, *Qanun* (1889-1890) in London, *Sorayya* (1898-9) and *Parvaresh* (1900) in Cairo, and *Habl al-Matin* (founded

1893) in Calcutta   (Browne, 1914/1983). These newspapers played an important role in the establishment and development of modern newspapers inside the country.

The formation of the Iranian press in exile, actually, was stared with *Akhtar* which was published by both Mirza Mahdi and Mohammad Tahir in Istanbul. This paper was the first newspaper that founded in exile during the first period of the Nasir al-Din Shah (Before 1889). This newspaper was such a famous that became very known in Iran, Caucasus, Ottoman Empire, India, and Iraq. In part of Caucasus the common people that believed that the reading of newspaper is a big sin called those how reads newspaper an '*Akhtari*' that is a person who associated with *Akhtar* newspaper (Abbasi, 1956).

For the first time, the absolute and unfettered power of the King (The Shah) started to be criticized and questioned by these intellectuals. Among them, Malkum Khan was perhaps the most well known figure. He spoke from exile in London through his '*Qanun*' newspaper. Most of these intellectuals emphasized the big differences between Iran and the West. Seeing the 'key elements of change' as existing in the West, they became attracted to the mode of management and system of government adopted in the Western countries. In their first evaluation of the Western system most of these exiles realized the necessity and importance of adopting modern administrative methods based on order, regulations and laws. Through the use of the press they sought to bring these new ideas to the country and to give the people the power of information. The growth in the number of newspapers published was partially due to the people's increasing realization of the medium's power as a source of information, struggle and modernization. This number grew during the Constitutional Revolution and reached its highest in 1907.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the press became a popular tool of communication amongst people and assumed a leading role in the process of social and political change in Iran. For the first time the power of the press was realized and the publication of newspapers was undertaken by different groups such as revolutionaries and liberals. During this period, Iran had many national and independent newspapers published by revolutionary intellectuals which acted as a counterweight to the government's attempted monopoly of the press. These newspapers attacked the absolute

power of the *Qajars* and criticized the social and political situation in Iran. With the increase in criticism, these papers began to assume a leadership role amongst the people. Thus began the first steps in the erosion of the power and rule of the *Qajar* authorities. The struggle and encounter between the press and the government finally ended with the triumph of the press in the early 20th century. This resulted in the establishment of a parliament and the recognition of freedoms, including those of the press, by law (Mowlana, 1979).

Later on, in chapter seven, the study of *Qanun,* as an example of a Persian newspaper in exile, will show how this kind of newspaper was able to play such an important role in the process of social and political development. In the rest of this chapter, I will look in more detail at the establishment and progress of Iranian journalism throughout the three distinct periods of Nasir al-Din Shah, Muzaffar al-Din Shah, and the Constitutional Revolution.

The Press during the Qajar period

Although the first Iranian newspaper, *Kaghaz-e Akhbar* was founded in 1837 during the reign of Mohammad Shah, it was to be the only paper published throughout the time of his rule. Therefore, it is perhaps more accurate to view the real origins of Iranian journalism as having begun during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah. This point of view is taken with regard to the high number of newspapers that were published during this time as well as the subsequent increase in journalistic professionalism. For these reasons the study of the Iranian press will start from the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah and continue up until the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution.

As previously mentioned, the history of the Iranian press during the *Qajar* monarchy can be divided into three distinct periods: Nasir al-Din Shah's reign, Muzaffar aL-Din Shah's reign, and the Constitutional period. Each one of these periods has its own distinctive character and significance with regard to the number of newspapers published, the richness of news and information, and the amount of freedom and independence afforded to the press. Each of these matters will be examined in more detail. Before we

cover each period, it is important to give a brief account concerning the state of the Iranian press under the *Qajars*.

The total number of periodicals published during the *Qajar* period was about 983, of which 179 have two different first and second names. There were also some 130 Persian papers published outside Iran. Out of this total number, 138 papers belonged to different parties, societies, social groups or to various sectors of the government. There were also some 139 published in the form of a magazine. During the 128 years of the *Qajar* dynasty (1797-1925), and without counting the last year (1925), the highest number of published papers was in the year 1907 (99 of which were published in Iran) and the lowest in the year 1903. Some papers were continuously published over a long period of time, whilst others never survived past their first publication. Others were stopped before recommencing publication under a new guise either inside or outside of Iran (Qasemi, 1993).

Whilst *Kagaz-e Akhbar* was the only paper published during the reign of Mohammad Shah, by comparison, 36 papers and numerous pamphlets were published inside Iran as well as some 22 papers published in exile, during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah. In the reign of Muzaffar al- Din Shah, until the year 1906, there were 58 papers published inside, and 20 papers outside, Iran.

In the Constitutional period, the year 1907 was an exception. Over a seventy-three year period the total number of regular papers published inside Iran was never exceeded 91. However, in 1907 this figure reached 99 in the midst of the Constitutional period.

The political situation during each part of the *Qajar* period is reflected in the different numbers and types of periodicals published at that particular time. Figure (5-1) shows the total number of periodicals classified according to their subjects. This figure clearly shows that periodicals focusing mainly on news coverage are the highest in number (508 papers), and periodicals concerned with art are the lowest in number (2 papers). Political papers are the second most widely published periodicals with a total number of 458. Papers with social subjects occupy the third position with a total number of 265. The other kinds of periodicals are classified as follows: Social (265); Ethics (77); Literary (152); Economics (66); Criticism (28); Health (12); Medical (15); Historical

(60); Law (11); News (508); Political (458); Science (105); Cultural (69); Comic (57); Agriculture (8); Religious (41); Art (2) (Qasemi, 1993).

The above statistics clearly indicate that the general character of the Iranian press during the *Qajar* period was affected by and concerned with the social and political struggle and change that was taking place during this period. Although various newspapers covered a multitude of different subjects and themes, the high number of publications dealing with news, political issues and social matters shows the importance attached to these issues.

It is strange that, although the role of religion and the religious *Ulama* cannot be ignored in this period, the number of religious papers in circulation was smaller than what might be expected. The number of religious papers is not only less than those dealing with 'news', 'political', and 'social' subjects, but is also less than those dealing with 'economics', 'history', and even 'comic' subjects. This finding needs more study and analysis but is beyond the scope of this research.

The number of periodicals published in each city during the *Qajar* period is also significant and shows the direct involvement of these cities in social, political and other issues. If we agree that the number of publications in each place indicates some sign of social and political activities, then the high number of newspapers in some Iranian cities during this period indicates that their people also had more involvement in these issues. Figure (5-2) clearly shows these differences. Cities such as Tehran were much more active than other parts of the country in relation to social and political issues. Consequently, the number of newspapers published in these cities was also higher.

Figure 5-1: Number of periodicals according to subjects during the *Qajar* period (Qasemi, 1993)
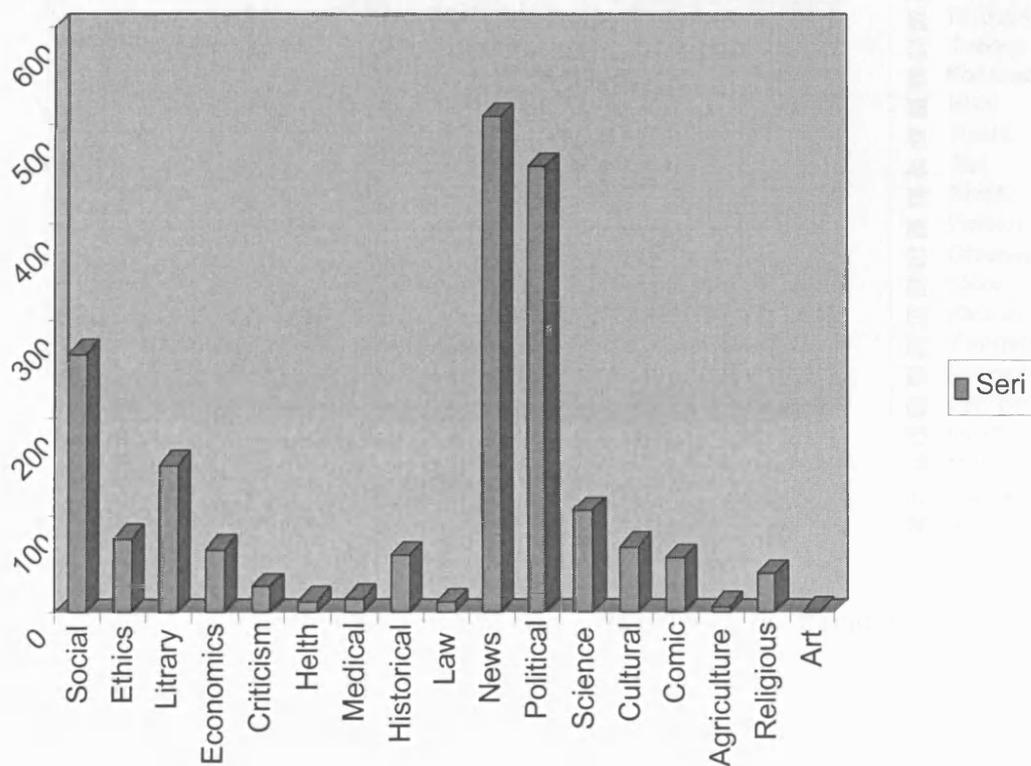
Table (5-1) also shows the number of periodicals published during the *Qajar* period according to their time of publication. This table indicates that weekly papers were the highest in number and that, the periodicals published once every 20 days, were the lowest in number.

Figure 5-2: Papers published in Iranian cities during the
***Qajar* period.**
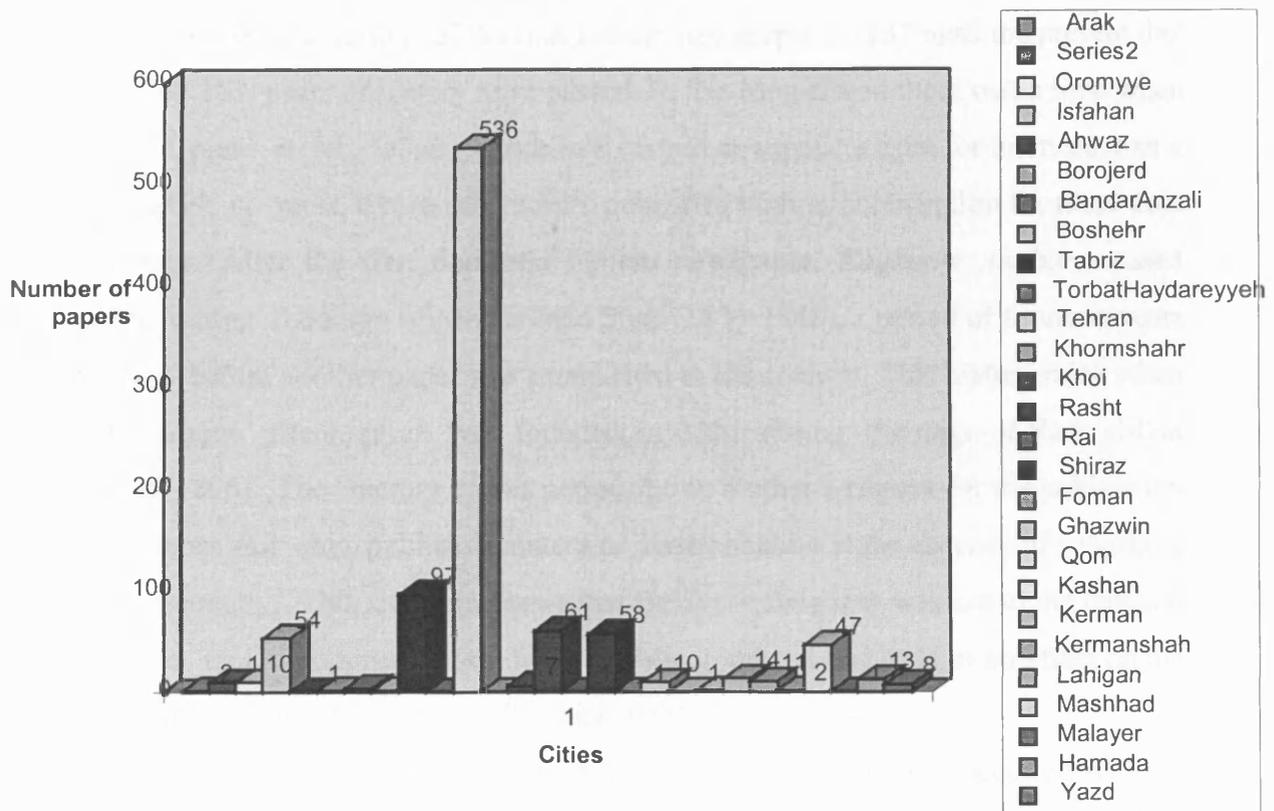
Table 5-1: Number of periodicals during the *Qajar* Period

According to the frequency of publication. (Qasemi, 1993)

Weekly	592
Monthly	129
Irregular	118
Twice a week	104
Daily	84
Three times a week	65
Fortnightly	33
Bimonthly	15
Quarterly	9
Annually	7
Every 10 days	6
Four times a week	5
Once each two months	4
Once every 20 days	1

The following section will look at the operations of the press during the three different periods of the *Qajar* period.

The Press during Nasir al-Dind Shah's reign

From the foundation of the first Iranian newspaper in1837 until the present day (Year 2000), 163 years of history have passed. In this long period there was a time when Iran had no press at all. Other periods saw certain newspapers exist for no more than a day or a week at most, whilst others were published without interruption for more than three decades. After the first domestic Iranian newspaper, *Kaghaz-e Akhbar*, ceased publication during the reign of Mohammad Shah (1834-1848), a period of fourteen years was to pass before another paper was established in the country. This hiatus ended when *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was founded in 1851 during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848-1896). The history of this period shows neither a request for the publication of a newspaper nor any public discontent or dissatisfaction at the absence of a working press in the country. This situation shows that the first newspaper was not in the position to become a tool of communication for the public good and had little or no affect on the people or government officials alike (Rezvani, 1991).

The starting point for the modern history of Iranian journalism occurred with the publication of the third Iranian newspaper, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (Sadr Hashemi, 1985). In the half-century of his reign, 36 newspapers were founded inside the country and 22 papers were established outside. It was also during this period that modern Iranian journalism in exile came into being. "This occurred in Turkey when *Akhtar* (Star) became the first Persian newspaper to be printed outside Persia. Its founder and editor was Aqa Muhammad Tahir of Tabriz who inaugurated the paper at Constantinople [Istanbul] in A.H.1292 (1875)" (Browne, 1914/1983, p.17).

With the foundation of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, Iran entered the age of modern Iranian journalism. *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, was founded by Amir Kabir on February 7, 1851 becoming the second Persian language and only the third Iranian newspaper to be published inside Iran. (The second Iranian newspaper was called '*Zararit Bahara*' (The Ray of Light). It was founded in A.H. 1265 (1849) and was published in the *Chaldean* (*Syriac*) language). More

elaboration regarding the typological study of *Roznameh Vaqay'Ittefaqeyyeh* will be given in section 2 of Chapter Seven. Here just a brief historical background about this newspaper and others published during the *Qajar* period will be given.

It is interesting to note that the fourth newspaper to appear in Iran was published in Tabriz, a city situated in the north west of the country, instead of the capital city Tehran. The people of Tabriz were highly politicised and knowledgeable about the political situation in the country. According to Kermani, it was as a result of travel and direct contact with neighbouring countries that the people of Tabriz appeared as if they were living in the Caucasus, Istanbul or Anatoly. (Kermani, 1984). This situation lead to the development of a high level of awareness amongst the people. Within this environment we notice that the majority of newspaper owners, as a result of their travels to Europe and other countries, were able to speak at least one or two foreign languages. The importance of Tabriz meant that this city became the second capital city of the country. It also attracted most of the Crown Princes who came to study and learn the ways of governing and leading the country.

The government of the *Qajars* quickly became aware of the power of the media and the influence of this new instrument in mobilising the people for the purpose of creating social change and development. For this reason the first two newspapers were originally governmental periodicals. The need for a private newspaper pushed the central government towards establishing another newspaper, one with a spirit of national management. The first issue of *Roznameh Millati* (The National Journal) was published in 1858 in Tabriz. *Roznameh Millati* was a monthly newspaper comprised of four pages. After a period in which it ceased operations it re-emerged under a new name '*Tabriz*' in 1872. Similarly, *Tabriz* was to last for only three issues before being shut down. The main reason for this was its progressive views and political contribution within the society. For the first time in Iranian journalism, this newspaper talked about the responsibility of journalism with regard to three main issues: The freedom of the press, the freedom of writing, and the freedom of journalists. In one of its famous articles, 'What is the benefit of newspapers?' published in the third issue, the magazine made clear its views on these subjects:

Newspapers are the mirror of the country. In this mirror one can see the situation of the country. The reason behind printing a newspaper is to show the right course of action to be pursued in all events and concerning all matters. The responsibility of the journalist is to write the truth about anything, without any hesitation. The freedom of the journalist is not to write those things, which satisfy the authorities or the people, but to search for, and publish the truth behind stories emanating from a reliable source. The responsibility of the journalist is not just to find out the news from the trusted people, but also to be critical in his or her writing. News stories have to reflect the truth, to have limitations and boundaries for praising or reproaching, and in the last instance be balanced and fair. [My translation] (*Tabriz*, 1880)

Even though most newspapers were under the control of the government during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, some newspapers, such as *Tabriz*, were able to publish articles such as the one above and to speak openly about the freedom of journalism. However, the main obstacle to a free and popular press was to remain 'government censorship'. This situation resulted in many newspapers being shut down.

The history of Iranian journalism during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah can be divided into two periods: pre-1889, when 'Qanun' was founded, and post-1889. Iranian journalism, before 1889, was completely under the control of the *Qajar* government. Whilst the four governmental newspapers : *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh, Roznameh Dowlat-e 'lleyyeh Iran, Roznameh Elmeyyeh Dowlat-e 'lleyyeh Iran* and *Roznameh Mellat-e Saneyyeh Iran* were published inside Iran pre-1889, *Akhtar* - founded in 1875 - was the only newspaper that was published in exile. This state of affairs continued until the end of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign. The only significant difference was that after the foundation of *Qanun* newspaper, in 1889, many other newspapers - mostly critical and revolutionary papers - were published outside the country. This situation continued until the establishment of the constitutional government during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah (Aryanpour, 1993). The following statement shows how much control and censorship was practiced by Nasir's government:

"From the beginning of this government [Nasiri government] it was decided that any book, newspaper, advertisement, or like matters that were published in any printing company in any place inside the country they should not be printed unless they were confirmed by myself as a director of Dar al-Teba'eh

[House of Printing]." (Itemad al-Saltaneh, 1984, p.118)

It was this kind of control and censorship that lead newspapers such as *Irshad* (from Baku), *Akhtar* (from Istanbul), 'Qanun' (from London) and *Hekmat* (from Cairo) to be founded outside the country; moreover, they became very popular for their mode of writing and criticism (Aryanpour, 1993).

Generally speaking, during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah the Iranian press was governmental, unprofessional and limited to events regarding the Shah and his court, with some cursory news from the East and the West. However it did create an environment which sought to open the minds of Iranians and succeeded in encouraging intellectuals to read and translate news and stories from foreign newspapers. This situation did open a window, albeit small and ambiguous, to society and prepared the ground for more free and independent newspapers (Rezvani, 1991).

The vital role of the Iranian press during this period belongs to the press in exile especially those, which were published after 1889. *Qanun* newspaper (1889) was the pioneer paper, which started the criticism of the government in this period. The other papers such as *Habl al-Matin* (1893), *Sorayya* (1898), and *Parvareh* (1900) followed the same manner of *Qanun* in its style of writing and the criticism of the government. There are many reasons why these newspapers were central to the process of modernization and political development in the country. Firstly, these newspapers generally contained social and political articles in addition to news from both inside and outside Iran. Secondly, the founders, the editors and the writers of these newspapers were almost all Iranian intellectuals who were fighting for freedom and democracy and were staunchly opposed to the despotism and autocracy of the *Qajar* monarchy. Thirdly, Western modernization had a profound effect and influence on all these newspapers and their editors. This led to them suggesting that Iran should follow the same model of development espoused by Western modernization (Mowlana, 1979).

The Iranian press in exile was to play a multi-directional role. By introducing modern ideologies they not only contributed to the rise of political discourse amongst Iranians, but also encouraged all the traditional groups to take this new discourse seriously and to think about the possibility of change in the social and political system of

the country. It was during this period that the necessity for development and change in the social and political status quo of the country was emphasized. The press concentrated on this issue and succeeded in bringing all the different social classes together around one table. This contribution manifested itself, not only in their resistance to *Qajar* despotism, but also in relation to all the difficulties and shortages experienced regarding issues of publication and distribution.

The press during Muzaffar aL-Din Shah's reign

During the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, the Iranian press flourished much more than during the time of Nasir al-Din Shah. There were 58 newspapers published inside Iran and 20 published outside under Muzaffar al-Din Shah's rule (Qasemi, 1993). The press flourished because of the political situation existing in the country. This situation arose as a result of competition between different court authorities, such as Amin al-Sulta, Amin al-Douleh, Mubasher al-Douleh, and Amin al-Douleh, the naïve character of Muzaffar al-Din Shah himself, and because of the expansion of the people's political movement, the increase in the number of intellectuals, and the expansion of communication between Iran and the West. The Iranian press was now in a much better position to exhibit an increased diversity of opinion and criticism towards the monarchy: "The press, during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, had more freedom and operated under better circumstances in which to express their various views and opinions than in the time of Nasir al-Din Shah. The competition among the authorities became a suitable ground for this expansion" (Muhit Tabatab'i, 1996, pp.88-89). Furthermore, the freedom of the press published in Persia did not exist at all until after the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (Browne, 1914/1983).

It was during this period that some journalists were able to obtain permission from the Ministry of Journalism and the Prime Minister to establish non-governmental newspapers. *Tarbiyat,* founded by Mohammad Husain Khan Forughi *(Zoka al-Mulk),* was one such paper. This newspaper was different from any of the governmental ones both in its style of writing, and in its political views. That is why that Forughi was recognised as the 'Father of the Iranian Press' (Khamami Zadeh, 1993).

In the last years of the 19th century, and before the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution, the number of Iranian newspapers published outside of Iran increased. In contrast, the number of governmental newspapers inside Iran decreased. According to Mowlana, during this period for every newspaper that was published inside Iran, six newspapers were published outside the country. To understand the importance of this period, Mowlana explains that the Iranian press, which was published in exile by revolutionary intellectuals and those fighting for constitutional government in Iran, became not only the source of opinions and a base for social and political discussions, but also a basic point of reference for national and international news inside Iran (Mowlana, 1979).

In 1900, the position of the Iranian press among the people led Atabak, the Prime Minster of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, to try to prevent Iranian newspapers published abroad from entering the country. This order was made mainly to prevent the newspapers of *Habl al-Matin*, from Calcutta, and *Azad* and *Sorayya*, from Cairo, from coming into Iran. "These newspapers were strongly critical of Atabak and his government. They continually wrote about important issues and actively encouraged the masses to revolt against the monarchy" (Mowlana, 1979, pp.117-118).

The main characteristics of the Iranian press during this period are perhaps best expressed by Muhit Tabatab'i. He noted that:

> The Iranian press during the time of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, specifically those papers that were published inside the country, called for a multitude of reforms on many different subjects, such as, education, modernization, law and order and justice. They also called on the people to follow the example of Japan and to remember their ancient civilisation. Furthermore, they called for Islamic unity and sought to introduce the politics of Russian and Britain to Asia. [My translation] (Muhit Tabatab'i, 1996, pp.93-94)

The press during the Constitutional Revolution

Compared with the previous two periods, the situation of the Iranian press was to change dramatically during the time of the Constitutional Revolution (1906-1911). This change occurred not only in the content of the newspapers but in many other aspects as well. The rise of the independent newspapers was to be the main feature of this period.

From 1900 up until the end of 1906 the number of independent, non-governmental and revolutionary newspapers published inside the country increased to 40. Indeed this figure is even more startling when one considers that the total number of Iranian newspapers published inside the country between 1837 and 1906 was a mere 86. Nearly half of this number belonged to the first six years of the twentieth century. Prior to the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution, the city of Tabriz, followed closely by Tehran, had the highest number of newspapers in circulation. This situation changed after the Constitutional Revolution (1906) with Tehran becoming the leading centre of publication followed by Tabriz, Rasht, Isfahan and Mashhad respectively (Zakerhossein, 1997).

The number of newspapers in circulation at any one time was dependent on the relative power of the government which correlated to the freedom of the press itself. According to Mohsenian Rad, "whenever the power of the government was reduced, the number of newspapers increased" (Mohsenian Rad, 1996, p.67). The freedom of the press was seen as an important factor in encouraging and increasing the development of the Iranian press inside the country. When government censorship increased, the number of newspapers decreased. Figure 5-3, which has been borrowed from Mohsenian Rad (1996), clearly shows the change in the number of newspapers in Iran according to their years of publication. This figure shows that after the signing of the Constitutional Order by Muzaffar al-Din Shah in 1906, the number of newspapers increased (point A) until it reached point B, the beginning of the Mohammad Ali Shah reign. During the first year of Mohammad Ali's reign, and before the 'Lesser Despotism', the number of newspaper increased, reaching its zenith in 1907 (Point C). During the Lesser Despotism, a time when parliament was closed and the revolution was crushed by Mohammad Ali Shah, the number of newspapers again decreased (Point D). After the collapse of the Lesser Despotism the number of newspapers once more increased (Point E). In the 108 years from the foundation of the first newspaper in 1837 until 1945, the number of newspapers never exceeded high reached in 1907. According to Rezvani "this year was the golden year of Iranian journalism" (Mohsenian Rad, 1996, p.68).

Figure (5-3): Frequency of the Newspapers in Iran
according to their years of publication during *Qajar* period

(From Mohsenian Rad, 1996)

90-
80-
70-
60-
50-
50-
40-
30-
20-
10-

C

E

D

B

A

1837   1849 1851   1906 1907 1909 1910
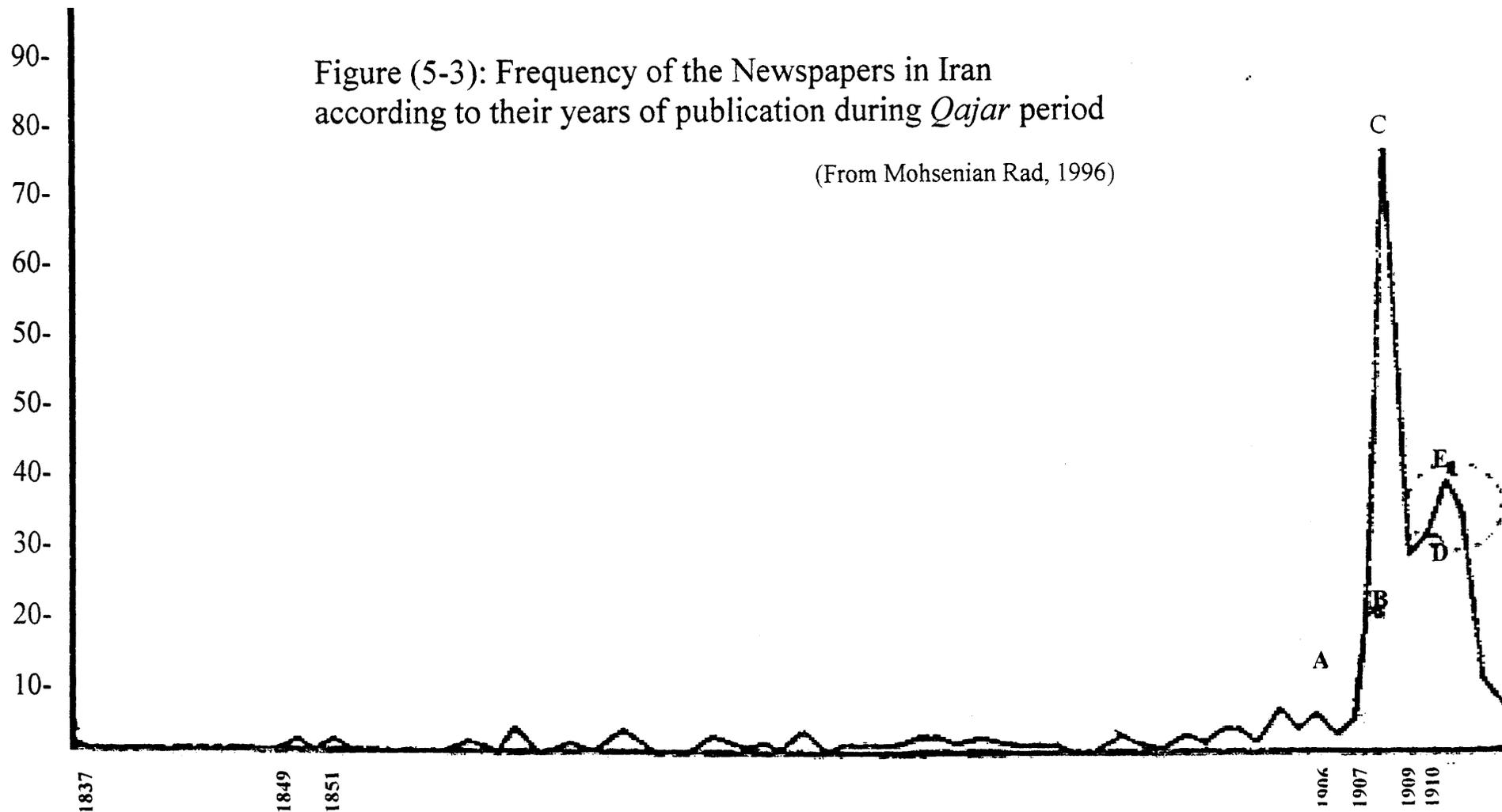
Regarding the freedom of the press, this period also showed marked differences from the other two periods. Despite the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution, the power to permit the publication of a newspaper was still held in the hands of the government one year after. "After the triumph of the revolution the situation for liberals and journalists worsened. Despite this, these groups continued to voice their views and opinions. Resorting to the pen they concentrated their attacks on the issue of writing in the press" (Aryanpur, 1993, vol. 2, p.118). It seems somewhat paradoxical that sixty-two days after the triumph of the revolution, and even after the opening of parliament on October 7, 1906, the newspapers of the time were still under severe pressure and censorship from the government (Kohan, 1981). However governmental pressure and censorship did not prevent these new newspapers from publication. During the period covering the triumph of the revolution until the death of Muzaffar al-Din Shah in 1907, the number of new periodicals published in Iran reached 26 (Mohsenian Rad, 1996).

The triumph of the revolution prepared the way for the newspapers published in exile to return home and to start their work inside the country. According to Zakerhussein, "during the time between 1900 until 1906 the number of newspapers published in exile was reduced to only 9 papers" (Zaherhussein,1997, p.52). The content of the newspapers published during this period differs from those published previously. If the importance and praise of royal activities and government orders were the most significant issues written about and published during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, then this situation was to radically change with the arrival of the Constitutional period. During this time the language of writing was altered in order to criticise and attack the government and to raise the profile of the social and political problems in the society. To elaborate, it is worth mentioning one example of such language use. *Roh al-Qodos* published by Sultan al-Ulama Khorasani was one of the leading newspapers during the period of the Constitutional Revolution. To quote part of it's editorial from issue 19:

> Ignorance and illiteracy became so dominant among us and our minds were so involved in superstitions that we believed that the Shah was appointed by God. We were obeying his orders in such a way that we thought that his orders were the orders of God and disobedience to him was disobedience to God. (*Roh al-Qodos,* 1908, No. 19, p.1)

Sometime later the government banned this newspaper.

It was not only the number of newspapers that increased during the Constitutional Revolution period but also their circulation. According to Rezvani:

> Before the Constitutional Revolution the circulation and consequently the number of newspaper readers was very limited. The highest circulation before this revolution probably belonged to the *Sorayya*, *Habl al-Matin*, *Nasiri* and *Akhtar* newspapers reaching little more than about one thousand copies each. During the time of the Constitutional Revolution the circulation of these newspapers was to increases two and three fold. (Rezvani, 1997, p.377)

The readerships for these newspapers also increased during the Constitutional period. One example will clarify this matter. *Musavat* (equality) was a newspaper that was published in this period by Sayyed Muhammad Reza Shirazi. The editorials and the articles of this paper, which were mainly concerned with criticising and attacking the despotism practised by Mohammad Ali Shah against the press and the Constitutional Law, were warmly welcomed by the people, so much so that extra issues had to be reprinted on the same day (Mowlana, 1979). This situation was far from unique. Other newspapers, such as *Sur-i Israfil*, were also reprinted or else copied by the people and distributed around the country.

As a conclusion to this part of discussion concerning the operations of the Iranian press during the three periods of the *Qajar* dynasty, it can be said that, the main characteristics of each period are related to the mode of publication and the freedom that was practised by this press. As figure 5-4 shows, the rise of a governmental press was the main distinctive feature of Iranian journalism during the reigns of Muhammad Shah and Nasir al-Din Shah. During the first decade of Muzaffar al-Din Shah's reign the main feature was the struggle for freedom of the press and the rise of a semi-independent press in Iran. The rise of an independent press in Iran was also the main feature of Iranian journalism during the Constitutional Revolution period. However this characteristic was far from consistent throughout the years of revolution. During the time of Muhammad Ali Shah, Iranian newspapers faced a number of difficulties regarding their freedom and publication. The reign of Muhammad Ali Shah can actually be divided into three phases: before, during and after the *Istebdad-e Saghir* (Lesser Despotism). Before the lesser

despotism phase the press still enjoyed some kind of independence, freedom of speech and an ability to attack the government with relative impunity. During the lesser despotism phase the press was ruthlessly crushed by the government, many journalists were killed (such as Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi the founder of *Sur-i Israfil* newspaper), and censorship was rife. After this phase the press was never able to return to the first year of the Revolution, the golden year of 1907. Although they would never reacquire the liberties of this period, regarding their freedom of speech, number of publications, diversity of their discourses and high circulation, a certain relaxing of restrictions, albeit slight, and an improved atmosphere did occur during the time of the Lesser Despotism.

To summarise in brief: in the first century of its foundation the newspaper was little more than a newsletter containing mostly political news and events and entirely controlled by the authorities. However, by the end of the 19th century this situation was to radically change, as divergent voices emerged to air their opinions. Various political views and ideas were being presented by the different newspapers. As a result the government ceased to be the only authorised body for the publication of newspapers and the dissemination of political views. The end of the 19th century saw the power of the press reflected in influential editorials and in the high esteem in which the news was held by the people of Iran. At the beginning of the 20th century, and in the first year following the triumph of Constitutional Revolution, the Iranian press enjoyed its best period as regards freedom of speech, diversity of discourses, high circulation and readership. This situation did not continue for long, but the press would never again experience the situation of enforced surveillance and censorship that was practised during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah.

Figure 5-4 provides a brief history of Iranian journalism during the *Qajar* dynasty as well as highlighting the three distinct phases of this history.

Figure 5-4: Three periods of

Iranian Journalism during the *Qajar* dynasty.
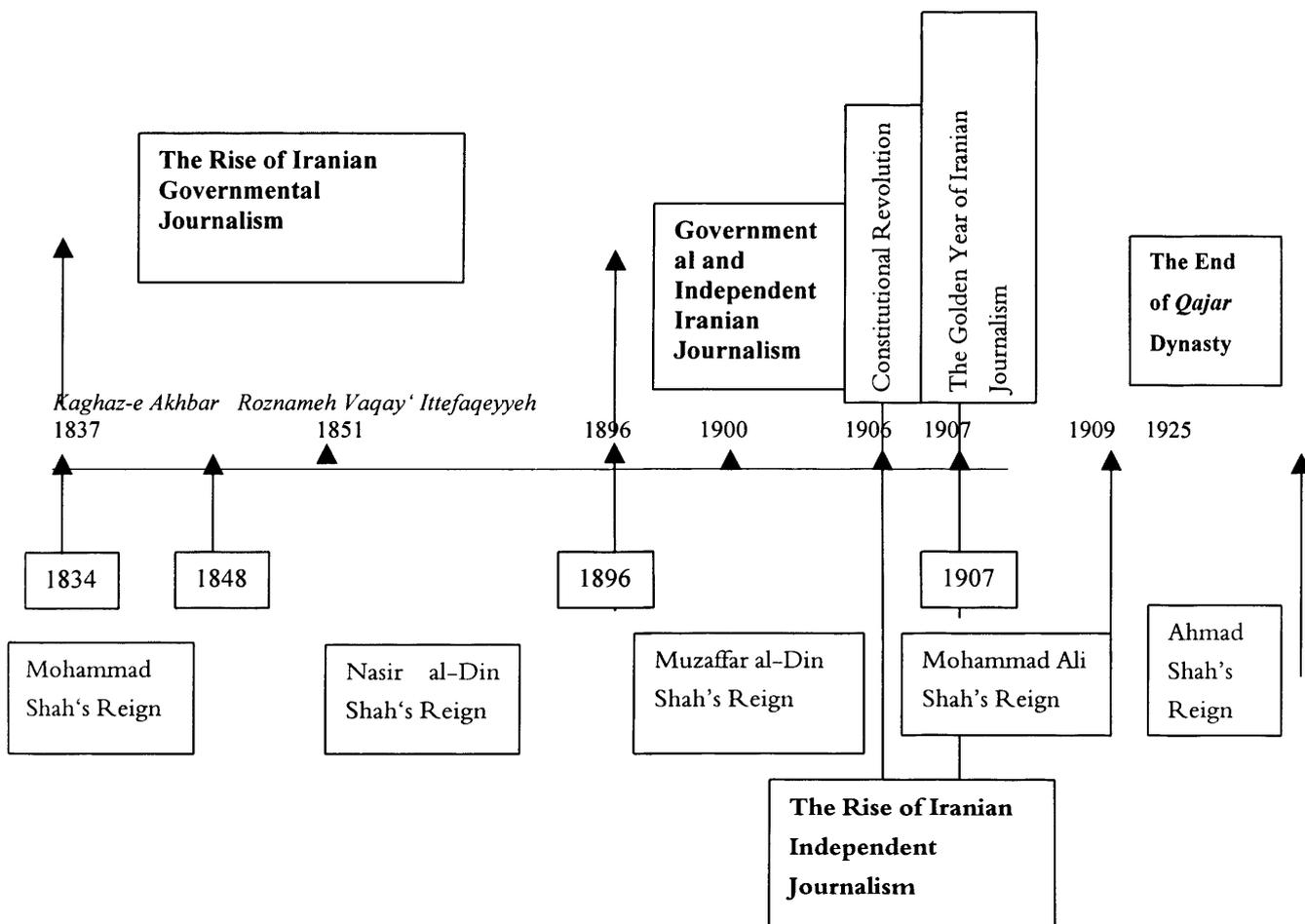
Having discussed the issues surrounding the emergence of Iranian journalism during the *Qajar* period, it is necessary now to move on to assess the contribution of Iranian journalism to the process of social and political development in the country. In this respect, special attention will be given to its role in matters concerning political

development. This section will also deal with the role of the press in democracies as a significant factor in the process of political change and development. Such an assessment will be supported with some examples from the process of change that occurred in 19th century Iran.

The role of the media in political development

The important role played by the media and the press in particular in the political development of society has been the focus of many studies. This has been especially true in relation to the media's democratic function in society (Schram, 1964; Pye, 1966; Mill, 1859; Curran, et al, 1977; MaQuail, 1983/1994; Lichtenberg, 1990; Keane, 1991). In most of these studies it has been emphasized that, "the press has always played an important role in the political process" (Lichtenberg, 1990, p.1). This role, however, depends on the prerequisite element of 'freedom of press' that is thought to be a necessary safeguard in a democratic society (Lichtenberg, 1990). The two terms 'freedom' and 'democracy' are interrelated. The institutionalization of freedom is necessary for the establishment of democracy in society. Or, to put it another way, democratic society has to have and practice freedom. One concept cannot exist independently of the other. The freedom of the press is embodied in the doctrine of freedom of speech, which is rooted in the liberal theory of natural human rights (Kelley and Donway, 1990). According to Erskine, the freedom of the press is a natural God given right which can not be infringed by any earthly power (Erskine, 1793). Freedom of the press is therefore an integral part of human freedom and its existence is necessary for the establishment of a democratic society. Having established this, it is the time now to evaluate the role of the media independently of this phenomenon. Indeed, the functioning of the media and the press in particular is inextricably linked to the notion of freedom on the one hand, and to control and censorship on the other. Even though the complexity and speed of change in the media has seen it go far beyond the initial notions of freedom and control, these twin concepts, states Negrine, should not be underestimated. They are significant concepts which affect not just the press but also the media in general (Negrine, 1989).

So, with attention to the notion of 'freedom' as a prerequisite element, the functioning of the democratic role of the media in society will be discussed by looking at a debate which attempts to focus on the different ways in which the media should be organized in society. In this regard the most conventional accounts of the democratic role of the media focus on the three key concepts of the liberal theory: a watchdog function, a public representative function and a source of public information (Curran, 1996).

The role of the media as a 'watchdog "is said to override in importance all other functions of the media and to dictate the form in which the media should be organized" (Curran, 1996, p.83). This role is strongly connected to the independent function of the media, i.e. its ability to operate independently of the government. Such a situation would only be possible in a free market society. Whenever the media becomes subject to regulation by the state, it will inevitably lose its freedom and independence and subsequently its role as a watchdog in society. Therefore the freedom of the press is not only reflected in the freedom of speech and writing, but also in the freedom from all kind of regulations that might be imposed by the government. However there is some debate regarding the possibility of having a free market society with absolute freedom and independent status for the press (see for example Currran, 1996). Different circumstances of time and space alter the threats to the autonomy of the private and public media and therefore they cannot be balanced because they do not encounter the same degree of resistance (Curran, 1996).

The role of the media as a 'public representative' is also a feature of the free market system. Actually, the representative status of the press derives from the will of the people and is "deemed 'a power' with inalienable weight in law-making" (Carlyle, 1907, p.164). This power, however, can only function freely in a situation without the restrictions of censorship or any other restricted regulations coming from either the private or public sectors. The best situation for the operation of the press as a public representative is one in which it is shaped and determined by no one but its readers (Whale, 1977).

The role of media as a 'source of public information' is also stressed in terms of "facilitating self-expression, promoting public rationality and enabling collective self-

determination" (Curran, 1996, p.97). These functions cannot operate freely except through the processes of a free market. In this relation, Curran argues that in a free market system all significant points of view can be expressed and a wide range of information can be made available from various sources (Curran, 1996). This claim is justified by the assumption that in a free market system the truth would always overcome error because of the lack of restrictions inhibiting open debates and discussions. According to Kelley and Donway, "a free marketplace of ideas has a self righting tendency to correct errors and biases" (Kelley and Donway, 1990, p.90).

The above three functions of the media are essential for the development of a democratic society. The lack of any one of these functions will be an obstacle to the process of political development in society. To put it another way, a democratic society is one whose media can function properly as free and independent tools of communication and information. All of these functions can be realized in a free market type of society which facilitates all the required grounds for such media operation. Now I will turn to examine this role in relation to the specific case of political development in Iran during the 19th century.

The role of the Iranian press in the process of political development

In a traditional and developing country such as Iran, especially during the 19th century, the market system in operation was completely different from that of the industrialized and developed countries (a situation that holds true even today). Therefore, the complete application of all three functions of the media to the case of the press in 19th century Iran becomes somewhat problematic. This fact, however, did not prevent the above mentioned functions of the press from operating in this society. Indeed, according to the pre-industrial conception of polity, "the role of the media is defined in terms of briefing the voter, affording a conduit of communication between government and the citizen, and providing the basis on which public opinion is formed" (Curran, 1996, pp.100-1). Looked at in this way, where did the Iranian press stand during the 19th century? What was the role of this press in providing the basis for the development of freedom and democracy in a traditional society such as Iran?

The previous parts of this chapter examined the workings of the press during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, Muzaffar al-Din Shah, and the Constitutional Revolution. It also gave a brief account of the situation of the press during three phases of the Revolution. In all of these periods there are certain operations of the press which can be seen as a contributing, directly or indirectly, to the process of political development. A descriptive model of this role in society is shown in table 5-2. This model requires some explanation. The rationale behind it is based on two assumptions. Firstly, the belief that during the *Qajar* dynasty there existed three kinds of press, governmental, semi-independent (semi-private or semi-governmental) and independent (private), which did not necessarily exist at one and the same time. Secondly, the fact that no line of distinction exists with which to evaluate each newspaper's adherence to its declared agenda throughout all its issues. Here, the general function of the newspapers during each period is offered as a descriptive model in order to make the larger picture clear and workable. However, it is not meant to infer, for example, that people living under the governmental monopoly of the press during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah were unfamiliar or unaware of the existence of any other kind of newspapers. Certain independent and private newspapers did exist during this period, but these were mainly published in exile and some could not enter Iran. The focus of this model is on those newspapers that were published inside Iran.

This model shows that during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, only government-controlled newspapers were in circulation. They performed a strictly informational function and acted as strong governmental gatekeepers. These functions covered many different elements including information, education and the building up the idea of a nation-state and of security in the form of a stable and workable system of government presented to the people itself by the government itself. During the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah and before the triumph of Constitution Revolution, there were two kinds of press, governmental and semi-private (semi-independent). Both can be defined in relation to their mode of writing and their sources of publication. The function of the governmental press during this period was similar to that of the previous period but with one exception. The government's informational role in the later period was more selective

than the strong censorial role that existed during the previous period. The semi-independent newspapers during this period contained the three functions of the press but lacked a complete or comprehensive role with regard to the watchdog and representative functions. These functions were to gradually assume a larger prominence as the press began to highlight the misery of life under the *Qajar* government, critically engage with different political discourses, and introduce the new modern ideologies emanating from the West into the country. The Constitutional period, as mentioned before, is divided into three phases: before, during and after the Lesser Despotism. Before the advent of the Lesser Despotism and in the 'golden year of Iranian journalism', 1907, (Mohsenian Rad, 1996), the independent newspapers were able to perform all their ascribed functions in society. The general features of these functions were practising freedom of expression in their newspapers, writing and explaining about freedom and democracy and its necessity for the betterment of society, building a civil society by raising different ideas and opinions, and, finally, confronting and replacing traditional ideas with modern ones.

Generally speaking, the rise of the modern press in 19th century Iran was an important step towards the process of change in the country. The press, whether governmental or private, contributed to this process but at different levels. The initial contribution is attributed to those newspapers that were published in exile, with the second significant impact belonging to those who were published a few years before or during the time of the Constitutional Revolution. Although the control of the press was totally in the hands of the government during its formative years, this does not hide the fact that the foundation of this modern tool of communication in Iran was in itself a huge achievement and one which was to have profound effects on the country for years. The governmental press, whether during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah or Muzaffar al-Din Shah, remained, in one way or another, informative, despite its heavy censorship, and its propagation of governmental news and activities and strong praise of the *Qajar* dynasty. Some of its objectives were mentioned in the Prospectus that was published before the foundation of the first newspaper. As was mentioned previously, in the analysis of the Prospectus, and indeed as stated in the Prospectus itself, "This paper . . . will contain news and articles to benefit, educate and to open the minds and eyes of the people"

(*Tali'eh*, 1836). The *Qajar* government was well aware of the role of the press in society, even though they saw this role restrictively. The study of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* shows a strong correlation between the government's writings on ideas of state and nation, and its role in constructing and maintaining, for example, the country's security. This role, however, was emphasized throughout the whole period of the governmental press.

The functioning of the independent and private press during the *Qajar* period, in other words the Iranian press in exile, was obviously not limited by the restrictions imposed by the government. Therefore, they were free to practise their various roles as watchdog, representative and source of public information. The press in Iran during the first year (1907) after the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution, operated and occupied a similar position to that enjoyed by the press in exile. The situation for the semi-independent press was relatively different from both the governmental and the independent press, as is shown in the suggested model presented in table 5-2.

The contribution of the independent press to the process of political development and the establishment of democracy in Iran will be assessed in Chapter Seven when the analysis of these newspapers will be done. Here, it is necessary only to mention the fact that the main contribution to this process came from three kinds of newspapers independent, semi-independent and those that were published in exile. In this way, the press found it possible to fulfill its allotted roles in society. This matter will be elaborated on further in Chapter Seven of this study.

Having reviewed the brief history of Iranian journalism, and its role in the Iranian society during the *Qajar* period, it is now necessary to look at the role of the Iranian intellectuals in the process of political development in the country. The next chapter will examine this role, particularly in connection with the rise of political discourses through the press during the 19th century in Iran.

Table 5-2: Descriptive Model for the Role of the Iranian Press in Society in the _Qajar_ period during the 19th Century.

	Watchdog's Role		Representative Role	Informational Role	General Aspects of Functions
Nasir al-Din Shah	No		No	Yes (Strong Gatekeeper)	-Information -Education -Nation-State -Security
Muzaffar al-Din Shah	Governmental Press	No	No	Yes (Selective Information)	
	Semi-independent Press	Yes (but not Complete Role)	Yes (but not complete role)	Yes	-Awakening -Critical -Political discourse -Introduction of Modern Ideas
Constitutional Revolution	Before Lesser Despotism (Independent Press)	Yes	Yes	Yes	-Freedom of expression -Writing about Democracy -Building up the Society -Confrontation of Traditional Issues
	During L.D. (Restricted Governmental Press) After L.D. (Less independent Press)	No	No	Yes	
	Press)	Yes	Yes	Yes (Strong Censorship)	

Chapter 6

The Iranian Intellectuals
and the Process of Political Development

Introduction

This chapter will deal with Iranian intellectuals and their role in the process of political change and development (modernization) during the19th century (*Qajar* period). The rise of the Iranian intellectuals was mainly the outcome of contact between Iran and the West. Different groups of intellectuals developed and faced different reactions from the *Qajar* government, the clergy and the other people. These intellectuals, through the modern channel of communication, the press, introduced various modern ideologies from Western social and political thought into Iranian society. For the first time in the 19th century, modern ideas such as 'nationalism', 'freedom and democracy' and 'law and order' were introduced by these intellectuals to Iranians. The rise of political discourse in the late 19th and early 20th centuries developed mainly in conjunction with the rise of secular intellectuals in Iran. The main contribution of these intellectuals to the process of political change and development, and their use of the press in disseminating modern ideas, will be examined in Chapter Seven. This present chapter merely serves as a brief introduction to the above mentioned issues.

Iranian intellectuals: Rise and continuity

In Chapter Two a model for the process of modernization in 19th century Iran was developed which was based on internal and external factors. These factors worked in tandem with each other as a result of direct and indirect contact with different elements working both inside and outside of the country. This contact increased in the second half of the 19th century due to the expansion of relations between Iran and the Western countries as more students went to study in Europe, more Iranians travelled abroad, and

many Europeans came to the country. Through all these various forms of contact, many ideas were transferred into Iranian society which caused many changes to occur in the thinking of the people. Although this change in thinking did not affect all the people, the number that were influenced by the new Western ideology was enough to contribute significantly to the process of modernization. Within the social context, these people can be seen as intellectuals who were able to not only accept and develop new ideas whilst rejecting the old issues, but also to play a key role in influencing society and guiding it towards a different way of life.

The rise and the growth of an intelligentsia in Iran were brought about by a combination of outside ideologies and internal circumstances. The socio-economic and political situation of the country, as well as the general condition of the world in the 19th century, affected the rise of the first generation of modern Iranian intellectuals. The modernity of the West and the uprising of the colonized countries against their European masters during this period had a tremendous effect on Iranian intellectuals.

Bearing in mind that the rise of the Iranian intellectuals was the outcome of increased contact with the West (Kia, 1989), it is perhaps understandable that the ideas which most influenced them were firmly rooted in the specific socio-cultural context of their origin, i.e. the West. Western philosophical and scientific ideologies had affected the Iranians' thinking as well as their daily life. However, these ideas were developed during and after the Enlightenment era and the Renaissance period in the West. Therefore, they were not only secular in their meaning but also in direct contradiction to religious ideologies. For this reason, the introduction of these new ideas into Iran was to cause sharp divisions within the society.

Internal factors also helped to further the rise of these intellectuals and to aid their life inside the country. The *Qajar* despotism, the monopoly of the government, an inadequate tribal system, religious dogmatism and the dominance of a traditional way of life, all acted as factors of discontent highlighting the need for radical change. The issues of '*Qajar* despotism' and 'religious power' were of prime importance to the intellectuals. Indeed, as Rokni has noted, the life of the Iranian intellectuals was predominantly occupied with these two elements (Rokni, 1987).

The rise of the Iranian intellectuals in mid-nineteenth century Iran did not go unnoticed. They caused reactions from most groups in society, including the government, the clergy and indeed the people at large. Before looking at these reactions it is necessary to clarify the definition of an intellectual in both a Western and Iranian context. In the Western context this word is connected with issues of 'critical discourse', 'values' and 'opinion' etc. Looking at some of these concepts will help us to create a clearer picture of role and workings of the intellectual. Socrates and Plato regarded intellectuals "as the critical conscience of every society" (Boroujerdi, 1996, p.20) and Alvin Gouldner considered them "as a 'speech community' that promulgates a culture of critical discourse" (ibid. p.20). Max Weber has also defined intellectuals as a group of people "who by virtue of their peculiarity have special access to certain achievements considered to be 'culture values' and who therefore usurp the leadership of a 'culture community'" (Weber, 1981, p.176). Finally, Edward Said defines intellectuals "as individuals endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for, a public" (Said, 1994, p.11). Thus, in the Western context the meaning of intellectuals is bound to at least four concepts: critical, discourse, value and opinion. The Iranian intellectuals are also connected in many ways to the above concepts and this will be discussed later on in this chapter.

In Iran the term 'intellectual' was bound to concepts of the 'enlightenment' and 'opinion' from the very beginning. This word was translated into Persian as '*Monavvarolfekr*' (the one who has an enlightened mind). It was not until 1940 that "the Iranian Academy coined the Persian term '*rushanfekr*' to replace the Arabic-sounding term '*monavvarolfekr*' (Boroujerrdi, 1996, p.22). Until the early 1960s the word *rushanfekran* (plural of *rushanfekr*) was used for those who were acting as agents of progressive and radical change and were associated with modern education and modern professional skills and who thus fitted the Russian definition of an intelligentsia (Borojourdi, 1996). Hence, during the *Qajar* period the intellectuals in Iran were seen as those who had enlightened minds and possessed new views and opinions derived from a modern education and the acquisition of professional skills. According to this definition

Mirza Saleh Shirazi the founder of the first Iranian newspaper, for instance, would have been classed as an intellectual due to his modern education and professional skills.

The rise of Iranian intellectuals in Iran was also connected to the fact that these intellectuals possessed not only a modern education, but had also rejected the traditional system of life, or at least some of its customs and religious practices. Although these intellectuals were eventually to acquire a specific ideological distinction of their own, at the beginning of the mid 19th century no clear delineation existed between those who were religious and open minded and those who were against the traditional system of government and the despotism of the monarchy. However, the modern secular intellectuals and those who were religious and open minded (they may be called religious intellectuals), were evaluated differently in comparison to other groupings which existed during the *Qajar* period. This difference in evaluation also depended on the attitude of those doing the evaluating. This distinction is seen in different assessments of these intellectuals and will be discussed in the following section.

Iranian intellectuals: Different assessments

From the very first, Iranian intellectuals were afforded a new position in society. It is amazing that after more than a century and a half, there are still different assessments being made concerning this first group of Iranian intellectuals. The *Qajar* government had its own evaluation of this group and this dictated their relationship and dealings with them. For instance, during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah when some educated youngsters wished to open a club (actually a political club), the reaction of the Shah to his *Nayb* al-*Saltaneh* (Crown Prince) was that "These youngsters are so wrong in their demand for such a club that if they do establish such club I will burn their fathers. The writer of this demand should also be found out and punished so that in future he will not demand such things" (Adamiyat, 1976, p.27). This reaction was not limited to the young Iranian intellectuals, it was applied equally to those of a religious or open minded nature who dared to criticise the government. During the same reign, one speaker, Mulla Baqr, spoke critically about the responsibility of the government. When Nasir al-Din Shah heard about this he ordered that:

This donkey man [used to undermine the people] should remember that
he is a religious speaker. He should read *Ruzeh* [Homiletic sermon] on
the pulpit and not speak about government matters. If he talks one more
time about things other than *Ruzeh* I will burn his father and throw him
out of the country. (Adamiyat, 1976, p. 27)

The reaction of the *Qajar* government against the intellectuals was not limited to those who lived in Iran. Iranian intellectuals who lived abroad were also attacked by the government. In Chapter Four it was mentioned that when Malkum Khan criticised the *Qajar* government, the reaction of Nasir al-Din Shah was swift and uncompromising. He demanded that the English authorities dismiss Malkum Khan from London. The fact that the London authorities did not listen to his demands made the Shah extremely angry (Ziba Kalam, 1998). This was the reaction of the government towards all intellectuals who criticised the government.

The reaction of the clergy to these intellectuals was different to that of the *Qajar* government. On the one hand, they supported their stand against the government (this was actually not the case with all clergy, some supported the government, as was mentioned in Chapter Four), but on the other hand, they did not trust them because of their differing ideological perspectives. Many of the *Ulama* (religious scholars), even those who supported intellectuals in their critical stand, still saw this group as '*Farangi Maab*' (Western Followers) and did not feel they could trust them totally. This reaction became clearer when, during the Constitutional Revolution, some of the *Ulama,* such as Shiekh Fazlullah Nuri, asked for *Mashru'eh* (in accordance with the *shariah*) rather than *Mashruteh* (Constitutionalism). Shiekh Fazlullah Nuri felt that with Constitutionalism, Western anti-religious and non-Islamic elements would be introduced and implemented by the *Rushanfekran* (intellectuals). Al-e Ahmad noted that "from the first day, the clergy rejected the intellectuals for their Western tendencies and excommunicated them" (Al-e Ahmad, 1978, p.271). This position was however not entirely representative of the relationship that existed with the Iranian intellectuals during the *Qajar* period.

Today, at the beginning of the 21st century, there are some strong negative assessments about the first generation of Iranian intellectuals. Many see them as being a catalyst for colonialism and secularism. This is as a result of, and a reaction to, their

Western influence and education and their role in making the country follow the Western pattern of life, see for example a series of books published in 1998 in Iran under the title of '*Tarikh-e Tahajom-e Farhangi Gharb: Naqsh-e Rushanfekran-e Vabasteh*' (The History of The Western Cultural Invasion: The Role of The Affiliated Intellectuals to The West).

Although the reactions of both the government and the *Ulama* to the intellectuals were negative, this evaluation did not affect the rest of the people unduly and was not able to turn them totally against the intellectuals. Indeed in many cases this attitude encouraged the rest of the people to support them even more strongly. If this had not been the case, the Constitutional Revolution would never have succeeded. During the second half of the 19th century, contact with the West through modern education and travelling abroad, which at first was mainly confined to government families and the upper classes, extended to include more ordinary people. Thus a greater proportion of the population became aware of and were influenced by the new ideas emanating from the West. These people provided the fundamental basis for the success of the Revolution.

Iranian intellectuals: Different groups

The different assessments made about the Iranian intellectuals led to their classification into different groups. Although in theory this classification divides these intellectuals into distinct groups, practically and to a great extent, the action and the ideas of these intellectuals overlapped. Bearing this fact in mind, we see that broadly speaking, and inspired by Western modernization, four different groups of intellectuals could be distinguished in late 19th century Iran, as proposed by Mo'tamad (1998), and these will be discussed in the following section. The main concern of all these groups were the issues of progress and development. Most of them were keen, through many years of struggle, to discover the reason behind the backwardness of Iranian society. Thus, their beliefs and suggestions formed the main part of their understanding of this issue. In our argument about the contribution of the press to the process of modernization in Iran, it is important to be familiar with these various classifications. The social and political thoughts presented in much of the Iranian press during the period of study can be

analyzed differently due to the reasons mentioned above, with regard to the evaluation of the thoughts of the intellectuals themselves.

The first group may be called the 'Modernists'. They believed that the modernization process, which was happening in the West, did not belong exclusively to that part of the world. They believed it was a product of humanity, which had appeared in Western countries first, but could also be achieved in any other part of the world. The Modernists believed that the cultural and social development of society was a prerequisite to the introduction of modernization in society. Books and newspaper articles were written to explain the process of modernization and the causes behind this progress in the European countries. The focus of their attention was the issue of progress but, because they placed enormous emphasis on the Western pattern of development, they were seen to be advocates for the Westernization of the country and were therefore criticized and undermined. Most of these kinds of intellectuals were not associated with government activities and were non-official intellectuals who attempted to change society in their own way. In a well-defined statement Rokni argued that, "The modernists of nineteenth century Iran were wholeheartedly preoccupied with and influenced by European civilization and demanded an internal model created in its image. In all their intellectual arguments they said 'Europe has it. We want it too'" (Rokni, 1987, p.4).

The second group are the 'Occidentalists' or the 'Westerners' who did not strongly believe in the necessity of cultural and social development as a prerequisite to modernization. They had seen the West and its progress. They assumed that time was running out and thought that the pattern of progress must be taken as it is from the West. They said, why do we have to wait hundreds of years until we achieve the stage of Western modernization? The best way is to imitate and follow the patterns of Western development. This does not necessarily mean that these intellectuals were calling for Westernization, which had, and still has, negative connotations in Iran. Instead they were calling for an honest and real change in thinking and attitudes. The establishment of modern schools and institutes such as *Dar al-Fonun*, the suggestion of new types of political system and the foundations of a modern financial system, were some ideas which were raised by these intellectuals. Most of the successes towards modernization of the

country can be attributed to this group. This arose from the fact that many of them were official intellectuals associated with the government or working as high-ranking authorities. Malkum Khan was one of the famous figures of this group. He believed that we should not wait for hundreds of years to achieve progress and that we must follow the modernization pattern of the West. Another figure of this kind was Husain Khan Sepahsalar, the Prime Minister of Nasir al-Din Shah. He was regarded as the best and most influential intellectual connected to the government and one who engaged in serious attempts to modernize Iran.

The third group is the 'Reformists'. They believed that any progress based on Western ideology must be firmly rooted in indigenous Iranian culture. Therefore any project for modernity in Iran should come out of Iranian culture and religion and must be harmonised with these two elements. In the same way as the West had faced various religious reformists during its history, the reformists emphasised the need for an essential reform of the religious and indigenous cultural aspects of society. The reformists had criticised the other two groups, not for their beliefs and concern about the progress and modernization of the country, but for their approach and methodology in the pursuit of their aims and objectives. The main concern of the reformists was, on the one hand, to maintain the principles of religion and culture and, on the other, to purify the society from superstitions which were, according to them, the main obstacle in the way of progress and development. It is this group who believed that there was no real contradiction between Western modernization and Islamic principles and that a Muslim society can be both modernized and truly Muslim. Sayyed Jamal al-Din was the most famous figure of this group.

The final group were called the 'Traditional intellectuals' or more generally the 'Traditionalists'. The traditionalists were against any kind of change in the social and cultural structure of the society. They did not engage in the process of development nor did they understand the process. Even though the 'reformists' disagreed with the methods of the 'modernists' and the 'Westerners', there was a general consensus regarding their aims and objectives amongst these three groups. The traditionalists, on the contrary, were the enemies of the other groups. They even attacked the reformists, who were trying to

harmonise change by establishing a middle ground of friendship and co-existence between the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. Their traditionalists sought to keep and maintain all traditional elements without any change or modification. Many religious intellectuals fall into this category.

All the above intellectuals had their impact on Iranian society. While some, such as Malkum Khan, were highly influential in the process of change and respected by many people, others such as Shiekh Fazlullah Nuri, who stood against the Constitutional Revolution in the name of the *Shari'ah*, were executed. Both played their role in the process of change in the society. One tried to bring Western ideologies to the country and the other tried to revive the religious principles among the people. Indeed the whole history of social and political change and development in Iran is affected by the struggle between these different groups of intellectuals.

Thus we see that the first generation of intellectuals in 19th century Iran had certain views and ideas pertaining to the process of development. An awareness of the most significant characteristics and the particular views of these intellectuals will assist us in assessing the trend of intellectuality at that time and in examining the different kinds of discourses involved in the process of social and political change in society. This discussion will also assist our study of the role of press in this process due to the fact that the press was one of the main tools for bringing different discourses into the public arena. The following section will deal with the most famous intellectuals and their views in 19th century Iran.

Iranian intellectuals: Significant characteristics and views

It is obvious that to discuss all the Iranian intellectuals, or even the most famous ones, is not possible here. Thus I will focus on the three essential issues that are related to the political discourse of the Iranian intellectuals: 'Iranian nationalism', the implementation of 'law and order', and the 'freedom and rights of individuals'. The issue of 'nationalism', for instance, gave rise to intellectual discourses about 'identity', 'language', and 'history'. The main outcome of 'law and order', and the 'freedom and rights of individuals' were the 'Parliamentary System', 'The Constitutional Law', and the

rise of the 'Iranian Nation-State'. Some intellectuals, mostly secular, were encountering these issues for the very first time. Among those intellectuals: Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzadeh (1812-1878), Abd al-Rahim Talibof (1834-1911) and Malkum Khan (1833-1908) were the main figures. To develop a better understanding of their political discourse, a brief account of these three figures will be given here.

The idea of Nationalism

Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzadeh (Akhundof) was born in 1812 in the town of Nukha in Transcaucasia. A playwright and a radical critic of religion, he was a pioneering Muslim intellectual who articulated the principles of Iranian nationalism. Believing in the power of reason, but having disdain for religion, Akhundzadah viewed Western Europe as the pinnacle of civilization and called for the establishment of individual liberties and democratic government in Iran. He claimed that the Arab and Islamic civilization was the major obstacle to Iran's progress (Kia, 1995).

Akhundzadeh and Jalal al-Din Mirzay-e Qajar (1246-1289) were the first pioneering intellectuals of modern Iranian nationalism (Adamiyat, 1970). Politically, Akhundzadeh was "a devout nationalist as well as a committed constitutionalist" (Kia, 1998, p.4). His first declaration was to suggest the replacing of the Persian alphabet with the Latin one. However, even before this declaration, he had invented a special alphabet in order to erase the existence of any Arabic letters (Adamiyat, 1970; Asil, 1997). Adamiyat has argued that the idea of language reform in the Middle East was indeed due to the impact of the contact between the Eastern and Western civilizations and was also the result of the hegemony of European modernization (Adamiyat, 1970). Malkum Khan was also following the idea of Akhundzadeh when he stated that the source of our problems is our style of alphabet (calligraphy) and this will make us subject to the Christian Nations (Muhit Tabatab'i, 1948). However, if the idea of language reform did not succeed in changing the Persian alphabet to the Latin alphabet, it did at least influence many writers to use less Arabic words and to reduce the complexity of writing so as to produce simple and readable texts for the people. Indeed "from the middle of the nineteenth century various writers, including some *Qajar* princes and even Nasir al-Din

Shah in his foreign travel diaries, employed a simpler and less Arabicate style than is found in the pseudo-chancellery verbiage of most of their contemporaries" (Perry, 1985, p.296). The Iranian press enhanced this situation by using simple, fluent and readable language that allowed the people to read newspapers easily and comfortably.

As regards the rise of nationalism in Iran, it is important to note that until Akhundzadeh used the modern definition of *Mellat* (nation), the Arabic word *Ommat* (Islamic Community) was used as synonymous with 'nation'. With the establishment of a modern cabinet, and later on a parliament, the word '*Mellat*' completely replaced the Islamic word '*Ommat*'. The national power of this term, in the context of its modern definition, forced the *Ulama* to accept the word '*Melli*' for the newly founded parliament following the Constitutional Revolution. Accordingly, this new institution was called '*Shuray-e Melli Iran*' (National Assembly of Iran).

Before and during the Constitutional Revolution period, the idea of Iranian Nationalism became a dynamic force for the establishment of a new system of Nation-State in the country. According to Cottam, although "nationalism was not a significant force in Iran prior to the 1890's" (Cottam, 1964, p.11), "since the turn of the century, all political movements in Iran have been subject to the lure of nationalism" (Amuzegar, 1991, p.139). The idea of nationalism, in its various forms, such as 'nation', 'national plan', 'national government', and 'national identity' was promoted by different Iranian newspapers during the *Qajar* period. One of the early pioneers, indeed the first Iranian newspaper to use the concept of nationalism comprehensively in its various forms, was *Qanun*. This newspaper used the idea of the rights of a nation as the foundation for the establishment of a strong Nation-State system, based on the twin notions of national identity and the Iranian nation. The following examples will clarify the matter further. More detailed elaboration, concerning the idea of nationalism will be given in Chapter Seven when the analysis of the newspapers is presented.

> The survival of the nations is impossible without the law. (*Qanun*, No. 15, p. 2)

> However, today you must have understood that the rights of nation shall never hold any meaning unless the masters of nation struggle for those rights based on a national plan. It is obvious that the national plan

should be based on the truths of Islam and humanity. (*Qanun*, No. 18, p. 3)

> This Great Court Parliament is the prelude to the Great National Parliament. You are not the members of the Ministers Cabinet. You are the counsels of the Iranian nation. You are small in number. You must be at least seventy people. Great *Mujtahids* and scholars must be within this parliament. (*Qanun*, No. 18, p. 2)

> We want to organize a Great National Parliament in which the great *Ulama* and the notable scholars may independently fix and constantly protect the rights of the state and the nation according to the Shari'ah of God. (*Qanun*, No. 22, P. 1)

The Idea of freedom and the rights of individuals

Although the idea of freedom and democracy was raised by different Iranian intellectuals throughout the 19th century, Abd al-Rahim Talibof (1834-1911) was one of the first to deal conclusively with this matter in his famous book *'Izahat dar Khosus-e Azadi'* (Explanations about Freedom).

Talibof was born in Tabriz in 1834. When he was 16 years old he moved to Taflis, a city in the Caucasus. Here he learned the Russian language and studied its Literature. Because he was fluent in this language he became familiar with most of the 18th and 19th century French and English thinkers whose works had been translated into Russian. During his lifetime Talibof wrote many different books, the most famous being, *'Masael al-Hayat'* (The Issues of Life) and *'Izahat dar Khosus-e Azadi'* (Explanations about Freedom) (*Tarikh-e Tahajom-e Farhangi Gharb: Naqsh-e Rushanfekran-e Vabasteh*, vol. 4, 1998). In his book about the thoughts of Talibov, Adamiyat summarized the political doctrines of this intellectual as follows:

> If we can summarize the political doctrines of *Talibof* in one comprehensive model we can say that this model is based on a 'social democracy' which is a compound of two essential elements: Liberalism and Socialism. Actually, in general, *Talibof's* idea was based on 'knowledge' and 'freedom'. (Adamiyat, 1984, p. 31)

Talibof believed that, in order to gain freedom, the separation of religion from the state and the establishment of a secular government must occur first (Hairi, 1985). He

argued that the central issue in Liberalism is 'freedom' and this cannot be achieved unless life is freed from religion (*Tarikh-e Tahajom-e Farhangi Gharb: Naqsh-e Rushanfekran-e Vabasteh,*, vol. 4, 1998).

Although the ideas of 'freedom', and the 'rights of the individual' were at the heart of the aims of the Constitutional Revolution, the revolution did not accept the necessity for the separation of religion from the life of the people. The Fundamental Law of 1906, and its supplement of 1907, were actually extracted from the Belgium and French constitutions, but it was never stated that religion should be removed from the life of people. On the contrary, it was emphasized that Islam is and will remain, the religion of the country. This Law and its supplement "were co-anchored on two distinctly separate, if not opposite, doctrines—one, glaringly worldly, Western, and democratic [doctrines]; the other, theocratic, *Shi'ite* Islamic [doctrines]" (Amuzegar, 1991, p.118). This reflected the ideas that had been developed by the Iranian intellectuals during the 19th century. The intellectuals actively encouraged the people to participate in the revolution and in the building of a new Constitutional system. Without the discourses of such intellectuals, which were certainly derived from the impact of contact with Western ideologies, it is difficult to imagine how this revolution could have come into existence in Iran.

The idea of 'Law and Order'

The idea of law and order was raised and developed by Mirza Malkum Khan (1834-1908), "one of the main advocates of reform in 19th century Iran" (Avery et al., 1991, p.184). He was the first Iranian intellectual to comprehensively introduce the modern definition of law into Iranian society. The central theme of his newspaper *Qanun* (Law) was the idea of law and its implementation throughout the country. Through his newspaper, Malkum Khan gradually taught the people about the importance of the existence and establishment law in the country. Although the main discussion of this issue will be undertaken in Chapter Seven, a few examples will be provided here as a general introduction to the subject:

> We have been appointed to the institution of this newspaper by the bliss
> of luck and divine predestination. We have sworn to teach the people of

Iran what polity to use for enforcing the laws in the light of our powers by the models and the sciences in the world. (*Qanun*, No.1, pp.2-3)

We do not demand what is beyond the power of the government. We say, based on Islamic principles, enforce in this country the laws that exist in Ottoman cities and Indian villages and the wild American tribes. Imprison us but by virtue of the law. Grab our money but by virtue of the law. Confiscate our rights and property but by virtue of the law. Loot and plunder us but by virtue of the law. Banish us from the land but by virtue of the law. Imprison our spouses but by virtue of the law. Cut off our hands, feet and tongues but by virtue of the law. Burn us but by virtue of the law. Cut open our abdomens but by virtue of the law. (*Qanun*, No. 11, p.1)

This cry of the Iranian people and this sea of miseries in which we are all sunk, has no other cause other than the fact that we the Iranian people have not yet understood the meaning and the power of the law. (*Qanun*, No. 2, p.2)

The law consists in gathering the powers of the people from all walks of life with a view to protecting the general rights. (*Qanun*, No. 2, p.2)

The law should be based on the principles of justice. (*Qanun*, No. 2, p.2)

The deliverance of the Iranian people from this swamp of misery is your deliverance from the darkness of captivity and it will not be possible except by the establishment of the law. (*Qanun*, No. 2, p.2)

The law is representing, guaranteeing and protecting human rights. (*Qanun*, No. 2, p.2)

The three issues discussed above, 'nationalism', 'freedom and rights of individuals' and 'law and order' have provided examples of the concerns and views of some of the famous intellectuals in 19th century Iran. All three views represented by these intellectuals were rooted in Western ideologies. Although the three terms, '*Qanun*' (law), '*Azadi*' (freedom), and '*Nazm*' (order) already existed in the Persian language, and the people were already familiar with the traditional meaning of these terms, their modern meaning must be solely attributed to the work of the intellectuals. The new definition of these terms lay in their connection to modern social and political structures. Realizing the new definitions, their implications and the possibility of having better life by

implementing these concepts, helped Iranians to continue their struggle to change the social and political conditions of Iran. The Constitutional Revolution of Iran was a reflection of demands for a life developed in accordance with these new concepts which were based on Western ideas. The instigators of these demands were the Iranian intellectuals working through the new channel of communication: the press.

Iranian intellectuals and the modern press

The emergence of Iranian intellectuals in the second half of the 19th century required a suitable environment so that their views and opinions could be disseminated amongst the people. Although the traditional ways of communication such as *Minbar* (pulpit), *Masjid* (mosque), *Takyeh* (an open area used for homiletic preaching) and *Va'ez* (a preacher or orator) already existed and continued to function in the society, these forms were inaccessible to the intellectuals for at least two reasons. Firstly, these traditional methods of communication were the monopoly of the clergy and as such were used strictly for religious purposes. It was very rare that they were used for social and political discourses. The separation of 'politics' and 'religion' was largely accepted by the clergy. The period of the Constitutional Revolution proved to be an exception with the clergy using their traditional tools of communication for direct social and political discourses. Indeed the rise of the modern intellectuals and the introduction of the printing press both contributed to the occurrence of the use of traditional tools of communication for political discourse by the clergy in Iranian society. Moreover, the proper use of the press by the secular intellectuals encouraged the clergy to extend their modes of discussion to cover not only the formal religious issues, but also relevant social and political issues. This situation led to the realization by the clergy of the importance of the new method of communication (the press). They sought to make use of this forum by writing articles in some of the newspapers and even publishing some newspapers of their own.

The second reason for the unsuitability of the traditional tools of communication was that they mainly constituted a one way form of communication, from speaker to listener. Using these methods does not permit the audience to discuss any issues raised during the speech. Such methods do not allow for a multitude of viewpoints. By contrast,

the press is capable of developing different discourses and is able to be utilized by different views and ideas. The ability to reflect a diversity of views is greater in the press than in the traditional ways of communication. It is clear that intellectuality needs a proper environment not only for raising different viewpoints, but also for developing various discussions around them. The traditional tools of communication could not fulfil these needs. Instead, the press proved to be a more suitable means towards these ends.

The rise of a modern press and modern intellectuals in Iran can be seen to have occurred almost at the same time. The foundation of the first newspaper in 1837, by Mirza Saleh Shirazi, was not very far distant from the rise of the first modern intellectuals in the mid 19th century. It can also be said that Shirazi himself could be classed as one of the first Iranian intellectuals. Therefore, it was the new class of modern intellectuals who were the driving force behind the foundation of not only the first domestic newspaper, but also most of the other newspapers established both inside and outside of Iran. Although most of the newspapers inside the country, especially prior to the Constitutional Revolution, were founded or supported by the state, the intellectuals contributed considerably to their foundation. The role of these intellectuals will now be examined further with regard to the foundation of the free and independent newspapers in exile.

During the 19th century the Iranian press in exile was founded, without exception, by modern intellectuals who were opposed to the *Qajar* rule. The freedom that existed outside of the country provided these papers with an excellent opportunity to write on whatever they chose and to propagate whatever ideologies they believed in. These newspapers were to have an enormous impact inside Iran. Scholars who wrote about the process of political modernization in Iran during the 19th century appreciated the role played by these newspapers as well as the intellectuals who founded them (see for example, Browne, 1914; Sadr Hashemi 1985; Aryanpur, 1993; Afary, 1996; Parvin, 1998).

Indeed it is clear that the press was the most important tool for the dissemination of views, news and ideas. If the domestic press in Iran did not have the necessary freedom with which to raise various views and issues in society, then the Iranian press in exile was able to fill this gap due to its unrestricted freedom of speech and expression. The Iranian

intellectuals founded the press as the best method for introducing their ideologies, and for disseminating different news and information among the people. This is why we see that during the last decade of the 19th century, with the expansion of social and political discourse among the people, the number and variety of newspapers espousing a multitude of political viewpoints increased. The Iranian intellectuals, especially during the second half of the 19th century, began to use the power of the press as an instrumental factor in the process of political modernization of the country. In the following section the role of these intellectuals in relation to the political discourse, which they established through their use of the press, will be discussed.

Iranian intellectuals and the rise of political discourse

The non-governmental process of change and modernization in Iran did not start with the devaluation of the traditional status of the society but with the emergence of an intelligentsia. With their emergence in the mid 19th century, the necessity for social and political change in the country began to be realised. The intellectuals saw that the absolute monarchy and ingrained traditional elements were the main obstacles to the modernization of Iran: "That is why the Iranian intellectuals during the time of Nasir al-Din Shah seeing the absolute and forcible power of the *Qajar* as the main element preventing progress insisted on the implementation of the 'law' as solution to this crisis" (Fallah Tutkar, 1998, p.82). For a long period, the monarchy had played a vital role in the social, cultural and political establishment of Iran. The King had presented himself as a divine person appointed by the will of God. In addition, the clergy also had an important role in establishing a traditional environment based on religious and personal values. Their position was in many respects closely associated with the power of the monarchy or at least offered no opposition to this power. Indeed from the first day of the *Safavid* dynasty (1500-1722), when *Shi'ah* Islam was established in Iran, the clergy became an inseparable part of the political scene in Iran. Many famous and high ranking clerics such as Sheikh Baha'i (died 1620) worked closely with the government and actively supported its activities.

Generally speaking, this situation was in existence up until the time of the Constitutional Revolution when the clergy, along other factions in Iranian society, began to openly oppose the absolute power of the monarchy. The main separation between the clergy and the monarchy started not very long before the triumph of this revolution. The popular struggle against autocracy and despotism influenced the clergy to put an end to their support for this system of government. This position was strengthened by the co-operation of the clergy with the intellectuals in the struggle against *Qajar* despotism. The fact is, as Ale-Ahmad has stated, that whenever the clergy and the intellectuals worked and co-operated with each other there was success in Iran. Indeed the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution is a good example of such co-operation. If this revolution did not succeed completely it was because the right wing of the clergy did not support the Revolution (Ale-Ahmad, 1978). In conclusion, whatever the importance of the religious leaders in the movement against the government, the role of the Iranian intellectuals must not be underestimated. Without the rise of these intellectuals the Constitutional Revolution could not have taken place.

The Constitutional Revolution saw the emergence of many modern social and political concepts which were only possible through the contributions of the intellectuals. Indeed without these intellectuals these concepts could not have entered Iranian society. Razaqi, in his studies regarding the Constitutional Revolution, has noted that this revolution was not just the first real step in moving from patrimonial forms of power to the democratic situation, it also introduced many modern and new concepts and terminology into Iranian society. Concepts such as: 'the rights of the people', 'freedom of speech', 'government of law', 'the rights of individuals', etc. were injected into the new discourse of the society (Razaqi, 1998).

Generally speaking, it was mainly the Iranian press, before and during the Constitutional Revolution, which was responsible for introducing these new concepts and terminology. Many secular and religious intellectuals saw the press as the best available tool for the dissemination of these concepts. As will be discussed in Chapter Seven, in the second half of the 19th century the Iranian newspapers, especially those that were published outside of the country such as *Qanun,* were full of articles explaining and

introducing this new terminology. Study of the discourse of that time shows that there is a clear difference between the new language of the emergent intellectuals and the old language used by all other members of society. This new interpretation of things based on new combinations of words and concepts was clearly influenced by the Western method and style of interpretation.

A study of some examples will help clarify the matter. The new interpretation of *hoquq-e Bashar* (Human Rights), *Mas'uliyat-e Dulat* (Responsibility of the Government), and *Azadi-e Bayan* (Freedom of speech) to name but a few, became part of the new language of daily discourse for Iranian intellectuals in 19th century Iran. Such changes in meaning show a clear demarcation between the old and the new style of interpretation. The words *Hoquq* (Rights), or *Bashar* (Human), or *Mas'uliyat* (Responsibility), and *Dulat* (Government) existed separately in Persian as well as in Arabic. This was as a result of their Arabic origins. But the new combination of '*Hoquq-e Bashar*' or '*Mas'uliyat-e Dulat*' had two main differences from the separate meaning of these words. Firstly, this new combination of words had not been used grammatically before, and secondly, the meaning of these new combinations was not known to the majority of people in society. The new concepts had a specific political meaning, which represented a new modern outlook that had not existed before in Iranian society.

The new political discourse of the Iranian intellectuals was built around a new language. Conceptually, this language was mainly copied from a modern Western ideological understanding. Furthermore, this language was responsible for the introduction of new Western political concepts -with new words such as 'Nationalism', 'Socialism', and 'Capitalism'- into Iranian society.

From the 19th century to the present day, the rise and extension of the new language of discourse in Iran is related to the level of involvement of Iranian intellectuals in the political situation of the country. The movement from the old and traditional way of thinking to the new way of understanding and interpreting ideas through the use of a new language, set these intellectuals apart from all who had come before. There is no doubt that contact with the West and with Western ideological concepts had a tremendous

effect on the rise of both the Iranian intellectuals and the modern political language and discourse in the country. The main mediating factor in this process was the press.

In the following chapter and as a development of what has been said about Iranian journalism and the role of modern intellectuals in this chapter, the analysis of the three selected Persian newspapers is undertaken in order to show their contribution to the process of modernization and political development in Iran.

Chapter 7

The Analysis of the Newspapers

Introduction

This chapter is the core chapter of this research in terms of empirical evidence. It focuses on the case study of the three selected newspapers as previously mentioned. The newspapers are *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh, Qanun,* and *Sur-i Israfil.* In addition, this chapter will provide an analysis of the names of all political papers published during the *Qajar* period (1797-1925). This analysis will provide a clearer picture of the entire process of change as reflected in the names of these papers. It will also help to demonstrate the extent of their involvement in introducing various modern political and social issues.

Analysis of the content of these newspapers is necessary to highlight their involvement in the process of political and social modernization in Iran. Therefore, using the quantitative, qualitative and discourse methods of analysis, as described in Chapter Three, I will be able to demonstrate and assess the extent of this contribution and involvement.

Of the three forms of analysis to be used, the quantitative method will be used the least. It is used only when required. Hence, counting and studying the frequency of those words and symbols that are related to the concepts of modernization is done in order to show the extent to which these newspapers are involved in this process and to understand their orientation towards different modern, social and political concepts.

The qualitative and discourse analysis of these newspapers will focus on selected words and symbols which, as discussed in Chapters Two and Six, are seen as the most applicable political and ideological symbols. By studying all the related sentences (the unit of this analysis) and symbols, through the same procedure as discussed in Chapter Three, a number of aims will be achieved. Firstly, an examination of how these newspapers understood the symbols and to what extent they made use of them. Following

on from this, it will show how these newspapers gradually became involved in using various modern concepts in different periods. Finally, an assessment will be made of the different use of these symbols by different newspapers in different periods within the time frame of this study.

Briefly, the following procedures for the analysis of these newspapers will be undertaken in this study (more elaboration can be found in Chapter Three):

1-Identifying the 'topic', or the category and subcategory, of the discussion.

2-Recording the 'theme' of the sentences.

3-Classifying the 'sentences' according to identified topics.

4-Analysing the process of producing the meaning of each topic (symbol).

5-Comparing different texts in the selected newspapers in relation to each of the
    topics discussed.

This chapter is divided into four different sections. It deals firstly with an analysis of the names of the various political newspapers and secondly, with the study of the three selected newspapers chosen from the three different periods under examination. The differences between the selected newspapers, in relation to their contribution to the process of political change and modernization in the country, will be analysed in the conclusion. Sections dealing with the analysis of the selected newspapers will start with a brief typographical explanation of each newspaper and an assessment of its relevant importance for this study. Then the analysis of the text will proceed.

The four sections of this chapter are as follows:

Section 1: The analysis of political newspapers' names.

Section 2: The analysis of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh.*

Section 3: The analysis of *Qanun.*

Section 4: The analysis of *Sur-i Israfil.*

Section 1

The Analysis of Political Newspapers' Names

Names as a sign of meaning

In any language words are actually signs of meanings. Different things and concepts have different names and symbols that identify the meaning which has been chosen for them. In linguistic study, the function of each word and symbol cannot be separated from the purpose that is designated for it. Discourse analysis is mainly focused on the investigation of what language is used for (Brown and Yule, 1983). In this section the purpose behind the analysis of the various names chosen by these newspapers is to investigate the meaning inferred by the use of such names, how these names were involved in the different political aspects of life, and the connection between these names and the process of political modernization in the country. As an introduction to this study, the issue of language and the style of writing during the *Qajar* period in order to show the formal and linguistic changes that occurred in the language during this period will be analysed.

Linguistic changes in the Qajar period

The Persian language is the product of hundreds of years of hard work by those individuals who actively sought to keep this language alive throughout the long and eventful history of Persia/Iran. After the introduction of Islam into the country, this language, along with almost every other aspect of life, underwent certain changes and assimilated various influences brought about by the new Islamic culture. The most obvious effect was the introduction and use of Arabic words and a style of writing based on the literary prose of classical *adab* (a generic term for all fields of writing and learning). Ancient Persian literature, especially before the *Qajar* period, is full of Arabic words. The usage of *Saj'* (rhymed prose), *Jinas* (homophony), *Ijnas* (phonetic conformity of words), *Isti'areh* (metaphor), *Tashbih* (simile), *Tauriyeh* (allusion), to name but a few

of the writing styles are all rooted in Arabic *Adab* and have been transferred to the Persian language. The embellishment of writing became a sign of language richness and the greater use of Arabic words, an indicator of a learned person.

As a result of the new situation, some Arabic letters such as 'gh' and 'kh', as well as many Arabic words, entered the Persian language. It was not only the style of writing that was changed by the influence of the grammatical system of the Arabic language, but also the spoken language. As you move from the lower class people to the higher-class people of society, language use becomes more complicated, exhibiting an increased usage of Arabic words and ambiguity in meaning. The greater use of metaphors, for instance, was not only an acceptable form of writing, but also one that was actively encouraged.

Although this situation in regard to writing changed gradually in the *Qajar* period, the general style of writing remained more or less similar to that of the past. Some recent studies of Persian literature published during the *Qajar* period find a marked reduction in the use of Arabic vocabulary in the literature of this period (*Salaam*, 1998). During this period the form and style of writing, as well as many dominant social and political issues, underwent a multitude of changes and reform. One of the main signs of this change was the reduction in the use of Arabic words, the greater simplicity of meaning and the use of colloquial language. It was not only that the language of writing and speaking became clearer and simpler, dispensing with many of metaphors, similes and complicated Arabic vocabularies, but also the style of writing changed as more Persian words and Persian grammatical constructions were used. This change was encouraged by many writers, especially the poets, the journalists and the historians who wrote memoirs in this period (Aryanpur, 1993; *Khatami*, 1995). In this regard the newspapers were to play the biggest role. This was due to their ease of availability to the people and their coverage of everyday issues and life events. The newspapers (especially the non-governmental and independent ones) aimed to reach the ordinary people who were not familiar with the complicated language of the *Darbar* (Court). Therefore, in order to reach the widest possible readership, the newspapers were forced to write in simple language using ordinary and clear Persian vocabularies.

Another important change within the Persian language was the introduction of new foreign terminology and phrases. If Arabic words entered the Persian Language for many different social, cultural and religious reasons, this time, due to the contact with the West, different words and terminology from French, English and Russians also made their way into the language. In the *Qajar* period many foreign words and symbols were used, not just because they could not find an equivalent in the Persian language (though this was the case in many places), but also because they represented the superior language of the modern world. For the first time, words such as: *'Politik'* (politics), *'Parleman'* (Parliament), *'Merci'* (mercy, thank you), *'Compani'* (company) and *'Pasport'* (passport) in their transliterated form entered not just into written work, but also into the oral language of the people (*Salam*, 1998).

The press encouraged the new form of writings. During this time, the press gradually increased the usage of colloquial language, made use of English and French words and encouraged simplicity in the style of writing. In an article written by Malkum Khan, and quoted by Aryanpur, the former way of writing in this period was harshly criticised. In the following extract from this article Malkum Khan addressed those who insisted on writing complicated prose:

> The language of eloquence is beyond complicated vocabularies. The beauty of writing is in the clarity of imagination and in the simplicity of understanding not in the use of ambiguous and unclear sentences. (Aryanpur, 1993, p.322)

Malkum Khan tried his best to reflect this new pattern of linguistic change in his newspaper *'Qanun'*. This paper was one of the best examples of the new style of writing. According to Aryanpur:

> Even though *Qanun* was not exempt from some linguistic mistakes and difficulties, its clarity, simplicity and similarity to colloquial language was indeed an important factor in the awakening of the people. The style of writing in this newspaper was also the best example during the Constitutional Revolution period for revolutionaries, writers and other journalists to follow. (Aryanpur, 1993, p.320)

Simplicity, clarity and colloquial language were not the only characteristics of the independent newspapers during this period. Coverage of relevant political and social

topics in relation to the socio-political situation of the country was also one of their important functions. Newspapers, especially during the Constitutional Revolution period, were involved in weighty discourse mainly in relation to the status of the government, the rights of the people and the freedom of individuals. This language and form of discourse was quite different from that of the governmental newspapers, whose language was still rooted in the ancient methods of the oral and written tradition of Iranian literature. Official papers used a different discourse which was somewhat detached from the people. This is one reason behind the popularity of the independent papers.

However, as you move from the beginning to the end of the 19th century, newspaper titles also show a remarkable change. The Arabic style, complicated vocabulary and very traditional meanings were replaced by a new Persian style characterised by simple words and modern concepts. Indeed, some of these changes arose from the modern Western political and social concepts that were introduced to Iranian society by the newspapers. Looking at the following examples in table 7-1-1 will clarify this matter.

Table 7-1-1: The meaning and linguistic source of names of newspapers

No	Newspaper's name	Meaning	Linguistic Source	Date of foundation	Reign of
1	Khaghaz-e Akhbar	Newspaper	Arabic (combined words)	1837	Mohammad Shah
2	Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh	Current Events	Arabic	1851	Nasir al-Din Shah
3	Roznameh Doulat-e 'Iyyeh Iran	The Newspaper of the Sublime State of Iran	Arabic (combined words)	1860	Nasir al-Din Shah
4	Merat al-Safar Va Meshkat al-Hazar	Mirror of Travel and Lamp of Presence	Arabic Saj' (rhymed prose)	1871	Nasir al-Din Shah
5	Alhadid	The Power	Arabic (simple word)	1897	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
6	Novrooz	New Year	Persian	1902	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
7	Sorayya	The Pleiades	Persian	1903	Muzaffar al-Din Shah

8	*Adalat*	Justice	Persian	1905	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
9	*Ettehad*	Unity	Persian	1906	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
10	*Vatan*	Motherland	Persian	1906	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
11	*Bidari*	Wakefulness	Persian	1907	**Mohammad Ali Shah**
12	*Haqiqat*	Truth	Persian	1907	Mohammad Ali Shah
13	*Hoquq*	Rights	Persian	1907	Mohammad Ali Shah
14	*Musavat*	Equality	Persian	1907	Mohammad Ali Shah
15	*Soroosh*	Messenger	Persian	1907	Mohammad Ali Shah
16	*Zaban-e Mellat*	Voice of Nation	Persian	1907	Mohammad Ali Shah
17	*Azad*	Free	Persian	1909	**Ahmad Shah**
18	*Esteqlal*	Independence	Persian	1909	Ahmad Shah
19	*Tamadon*	Civilisation	Persian	1909	Ahmad Shah
20	*Dastur*	Order – Law	Persian	1910	Ahmad Shah
21	*Siyasi*	Diplomatic	Persian	1910	Ahmad Shah
22	*Eslah*	Reform	Persian	1911	Ahmad Shah
23	*Iran-e Novin*	Modernised Iran	Persian	1911	Ahmad Shah
24	*Tajadod*	Modernisation	Persian	1917	Ahmad Shah
25	*Zaban-e Zanan*	Voice of Women	Persian	1919	Ahmad Shah
26	*Asr-e Azadi*	Era of Freedom	Arabic-Persian (combination)	1921	Ahmad Shah
27	*Eslah*	Reform	Persian	1921	Ahmad Shah
28	*Mellat*	Nation	Persian	1921	Ahmad Shah
29	*Qanun*	Law	Persian	1921	Ahmad Shah
30	*Khalq*	People	Persian	1925	Ahmad Shah

As is shown in the above table, the first four newspapers' names, published during the reigns of Mohammad Shah and Nasir al Din Shah are Arabic, using difficult words and a complicated grammar and style of writing. The meanings of these names are also far removed from any modern political or social issues. They are very conservative names that convey nothing more than their literal meaning. However, the rest of the titles are not only Persian (even though they have some Arabic origins) but also contain many different modern concepts, some of which are rooted in the Western political ideologies. The diversity of these names expanded to cover a multitude of different social, cultural and political aspects of life during the *Qajar* period. This variety gradually increases as we move towards the Constitutional Revolution era. Most of these names are composed of a simple title with a clear and modern meaning rooted in political and social issues. If we

accept that the newspapers reflected the various opinions and demands of the people (and indeed reflect the ideas and needs of all groups in society), then these changes are evidence of the large shift that was taking place in their national and political language. Analysis of this phenomenon demonstrates part of the contribution of these newspapers to the process of change and modernization in Iran. However, the analysis of newspapers' names is not limited to this finding. Analysing the names of all political newspapers published during this period shows that, in general, the popular political movement of the country towards freedom and democracy (political modernization) affected the establishment of different newspapers and their names sought to reflect the various opinions or demands of the people.

Analysis of newspapers' names

There is no doubt that the names of newspapers reflected part of their ideological and political views. In other words, a newspaper's choice of name was a reflection of the beliefs and aims of its founders and their hopes for society. One of the aims of this type of analysis is to find the diversity in the political language of each period reflected in the names of the newspapers. It is for this reason that the names of those newspapers that classified themselves as political papers have been analysed.

Appendix (1) shows the number of political periodicals in circulation during the four periods of the *Qajar* monarchy. It is clear that as time went on this number increased. The popular political struggle for freedom and democracy was the main factor behind this increase. There was a big demand for more news, more information, new ideas, new discourses and new language to fulfil the needs of the people. The expansion of the contact between Iran and the West brought many of these ideas to the country. Many new names and their associated concepts were injected into the society by the press. Out of 441 political newspapers published during these periods, 317 belonged to the reign of Ahmad Shah, the last monarch of the *Qajar* dynasty (Table: 7-1-2).

Table 7-1-2: Political newspapers published during the *Qajar* period

NO.	Reign of	Period	Number
1	Nasir al-Din Shah	1848-1896	6
2	Muzaffar al-Din Shah	1896-1907	33
3	Mohammad Ali Shah	1907-1909	85
4	Ahmad Shah	1909-1925	317
	Total		441

It is interesting to note that out of the six political newspapers published during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, four of them were related to the conception of Iran as a country, motherland or government. Only one, *Farhang,* meaning 'culture', showed any interest in the Iranian culture of the period. This shows the importance of the notion of the nation-state with regard to the land, the people and the government of Iran. Indeed the significance of this notion was not lost on government officials nor on the people who each used the term 'Iran' for their own distinct purposes.

The reign of Nasir al-Din Shah covers the period when the country began to move from a traditional tribal based system of government to a developed nation-state system with a new structure of government based on Western ideals. The foundation of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* can be seen as an attempt to disseminate news and information with the aim of popularizing the social and political views of the government.

In order to narrow the study of the names of the political newspapers published during the *Qajar* period, those names which have more pertinent social and political value have been selected (see Table 7-1-3). This is done in order to highlight the various differences that existed between each period and to examine how these names were extended to cover and to represent various social and political aspects of the society. This table shows that during the reign of Nasir al Din Shah there were three newspapers with names related to Iran (two with the actual name of Iran) and one related to the concept of

national identity, *Vatan* (motherland). The emphasis on these names, especially in the formative years of the press in Iran, draws attention to the importance of the concept of the Nation-State. The Nation-State concept was a process in the making at this time and its reflection in the choice of newspaper names was more than coincidental. The fact that these names had not appeared before adds further weight to this point. Although a number of different reasons could be put forward as possible explanations for this phenomenon, the primary explanation is that it acted as an indicator of the power of this new tool of communication (the press) to reflect and disseminate the idea of the Nation-State and the concept of national identity. The distribution of newspapers with titles that carry the name of the country (Iran) helped to express the formation of a new identity that could be disseminated not only nationally but internationally. Otherwise there is no strong reason for the repetition of a name for which a physical meaning already existed. The importance of the relationship between the sign and the signifier should not be underestimated.

During the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, different names denoting various concepts were used by the newspapers. The diversity of names was much greater than in the previous period. Concepts such as dignity, justice, prosperity and Islam were all used as titles by different newspapers. These names show that the general attention of the society was towards these concepts. As can be seen in table 7-1-3, only one newspaper was called 'motherland' and all others have different names. However, the variety of names at this time came nowhere near reaching the level of the following period under the reign of Mohammad Ali Shah. During the time of this Shah, which was the period of the Constitutional Revolution, the diversity of names, which mostly relate to modern concepts coming from the West, is much higher. If, during the reign of Musaffar al-Din Shah, concepts such as 'justice' were used for the names of newspapers, now concepts such as 'dignity', 'equality', 'public benefits', 'truth word', 'the best discourse' and 'justice' came into use. Most of these concepts have political as well as social and cultural values. This diversity of names shows that people had many more political demands at that specific time. It also shows that the attention of society had shifted from the single issue of national identity, reflected in the name of 'Iran', to the multiple issues involved in the various political and social names and terminology.

In the reign of Ahmad Shah, the diversity of newspapers' names had gone beyond all expectations. Names and concepts such as: 'Free', 'Guidance', 'Justice', 'Islamic unity', 'The voice of Islam', 'Public crier of Nation', 'Public crier of Country', 'Truth', and 'Voice of Iran', to name but few, were used to denote different publications. These names reflect extensive political and social diversity. The different approaches of newspapers to different issues in the country are also reflected in their choice of name. The phenomenon of modern concepts used by the newspapers was not only evident in their names but also in their contents. This aspect of the newspapers will be analysed and discussed in the sections two, three and four of this chapter.

Table 7-1-3: Newspapers during the four periods of the *Qajars*.

Reign of Nasir al-Din Shah	Reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah	Reign of Mohammad Ali Shah	Reign of Ahmad Shah
	Dignity	Dignity	
		Equality	Equality
		Firm Cord	Firm Cord
		Free	Free
			Free
		Guidance	Guidance
Iran			
Iran			
	Islamic		Islamic Magazine
	Islamic		Islamic Newspaper
			Islamic Unity
			Islamic Magazine
			Islamic Unity
			Greatness of Islam
			The Voice of Islam
	Justice	Justice	Justice
			Justice

			Justice
Motherland	Motherland		Motherland
			Motherland
			Motherland
	Notification		Notification
	Prosperity		Prosperity
		Public Benefits	Public Crier of Nation
			Public Crier of Secrets
			Public Crier of the Country
		Rescue Boat	Rescue
			Way of Rescue
		The Best Discourse	True Discourse
		Truth Word	Truth
		Voice of the Country	Voice of Iran
		Yell	Yell

The differences between the numbers of social and political newspapers for each period is also relevant in understanding the various political and social concepts which are expressed by the names of these newspapers. The following table (Table 7-1-4) shows these differences. This illustrates which concepts were used as names for newspapers in each period in comparison with those not mentioned in the other periods. This table was compiled by identifying and selecting those names that reflected the social and political values such as freedom, democracy, parliament, humanity and liberty which came from the West. Table 7-1-4 clearly shows that the usage of new and modern concepts as names for different newspapers increased with time and reflected the specific social and political focus of each period. The changes in social and political focus were also accompanied by an increased coverage of various political issues. This phenomenon does not mean however, that the content of these newspapers, either quantitatively or qualitatively, bore much resemblance to their titles. Indeed this matter requires a more detailed analysis of

the content of all these newspapers which within the limitations of this study is, unfortunately, not possible.

Table 7-1-4: Differences on number of social and political newspapers published and mentioned once in each period of *Qajar* time.

Nasir al-Din Shah's period	Muzaffar al-Din Shah's period	Mohammad Ali Shah's period	Ahmad Shah's period
Culture Iran The newspaper of the Sublime State of Iran (Government)	Association, Brotherhood Dignity Free Islamic Justice Notification Parliament Power Prosperity Unity	Constitutionalism without Law Consultation Despotism Magazine Equality Fighter for Liberty Friendship Guidance Humanity Lesson Messenger Progress Public Benefits Rescue Boat Rights Salvation *Shuray-e Baladi* (City Council) The Best Discourse True Faith Truth Wakefulness What is Freedom?	Action Aryan Assembly Awake Awareness Civilization Combat Communication Communist Credibility Democracy Diplomacy Educating Era Era of Freedom Evolution Free Iran Free Man Free Mind Free Voice Freedom Ideas Independence Information Iranian Labor Law Modernization Modernized Iran Nation Neutral New Era Order People Proletariat Reform Resistance Revival Safety Struggle The House of Peace

			Yong Mind
Total: 3	**Total: 11**	**Total: 21**	**Total: 41**

As table 7-1-4 shows, the three concepts of 'culture', 'Iran' and 'government' were used as names for three different newspapers during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah. The focus of this period, especially with regard to the governmental press, was mainly centred around these three elements. There were a number of reasons for this. In the first instance, the traditional culture was seen as a desirable mix of Iranian and Islamic elements. This factor, along with the view that Iranian territory and the Iranian nation formed the fundamental basis of the Nation-State, was crucial in the government's attempts to build and govern a strong and unified country. At this time the government was also attempting to introduce a system of overall country management in order to break with the traditional-tribal system. Therefore, if such a project was to succeed, it needed to be promoted in the public sphere. The press provided such a focus.

The popular struggle for democracy and constitutional government resulted in the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah. The political demands of the people in this period differed from those of previous periods. The preservation of Iranian culture and the establishment of the Nation-State system were not the first priorities of the people. Although these issues were important, the modern political and social ideas concerning the rights of the people, elections and the prosperity of the nation, assumed top priority. The triumph of the revolution awakened a desire for more freedom and democracy in the nation. The despotic monarchy was under attack from the democratic revolution which demanded increased participation of the people in ruling the country. This environment saw different demands being made to meet the needs of the people. Therefore, we can see that the names of the newspapers published in this period showed a much wider variety of differences and covered a greater number of social and political issues. The particular context of the time demanded more concentration on issues such as 'unity', 'brotherhood' and 'dignity'. Under such

conditions people could achieve the 'justice', 'power' and 'prosperity', which they had been demanding for such a long time. This environment needed a system of political participation and social contribution and this could only be achieved by the formation of different 'associations' and the establishment of a 'parliament'. All these terms are the names of newspapers published during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah. There were almost 21 newspapers founded during this period that contained names with social and political connotations.

The reign of Ahmad Shah saw much more variety in the introduction of different concepts, many of which became titles for various newspapers. Amongst the many new newspapers published during this time there were at least 41 names used for the first time, mainly because of their political and social weight and value (Table: 7-1-4). A study of these names shows that new and modern concepts based on Western ideology had influenced the Iranian press. 'Modernization', 'Civilization', 'Communication', 'Nation', 'Democracy', 'Freedom', 'Ideas', 'Law', 'Reform' and 'Order' were just some of the modern names of newspapers that were used to introduce these Western concepts. It is interesting to note that, for the first time, concepts such as 'communist' and 'proletariat' were also used as names for newspapers. Those words could not be mentioned openly in public during this period but they became the names of newspapers.

All these names, 76 in total, which are rooted in the Western social and political system and ideology, contributed to the awakening of society by introducing a different meaning to these words in contrast to their traditional and accepted meaning. Some, such as 'democracy', 'modernization' and 'freedom' had an obviously clear connection with Western ideological concepts. But almost all the other terms listed in table 7-1-4, had a new meaning or eschewed an interpretation that differed from their original meaning. When phrases like 'Free Iran' or 'Free Mind' were used, it was clear that words such 'Iran' or 'Mind' went beyond their literal meaning to denote the idea of a connection to, and freedom from, the past. These words were typically used to suggest that those who are dogmatic and do not want to accept the new or modern things and ideas should free themselves from this position. It also sounded a clarion call to all, to be more open minded in the face of these new and modern concepts. All of this was new to the society

of the *Qajar* period. The majority of people were of the opinion that what they had was the best and there was no need for any change. Those new voices which came from the Iranian press during the 19th century encouraged the people to participate in the process of the modernization and development of Iran and to view it as a change for the better. There is no doubt that the press, by publicizing these words, made the people think and consider their social and political condition. It also made them see the differences that existed between their condition and that of other societies. Indeed, the name of some of the Iranian press during the *Qajar* period, as shown above, was not just a new movement towards the development of the press itself, but was also a real contribution to the process of modernity and political development in the country.

Section 2

The Analysis of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*

Typological analysis

Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh, The Newspaper of Current Events, was the third Iranian newspaper (published after *Khaghaz-e Akhbar* and *Zararit Bahara*) and the second Persian language paper to be published during the *Qajar* period (The second Iranian newspaper, under the name '*Zararit Bahara*' (The Ray of Light) was published in the *Chaldean* (*Syriac*) language and was founded in 1849). *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was recognised as the first proper modern newspaper to be published for almost 20 years in the country (Sadr Hashemi, 1985).

The first issue of this newspaper was published under the name *Roznamcheh Akhbar-e Dar al-Khelafeh* in Tehran on 7 February 1851 (*Rabi al-Sani* 5, 1267 A. H.) (Sadr Hashemi, 1985). The first page of this paper starts with the superscription '*Ya Asad Allah al-Ghaleb*' (O Victorious Lion of God). It also contains the emblem of a lion carrying a sword in his right hand, framed by a burning sun. The second issue appeared under a different name, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh,* but with the same emblem and above-mentioned superscription. For the most part each issue of this paper contained six pages. However, this number was known to vary with some issues having as many as four, eight or even twelve pages. The size of each page was 7.50 by 13 inches and the price for each copy was 10 *Shahis*. There was also a yearly subscription rate which cost 24 *Qarans* (Rezvani, 1994). *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was the first Iranian weekly paper and was published every Friday until issue No. 16 of May 22, 1851. After this, it changed its weekly publication day to Thursday.

In contrast to the other newspapers published in this first period, most of which are no longer available, a large number of copies of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* are still in existence (Sadr Hashemi, 1985, p.333). Recently, the Iranian National Library, in conjunction with The Research Centre for Communication in Tehran, reprinted this newspaper in four large volumes. At the end of the fourth

volume there are different indexes that can be used to find the various subjects dealt with in this paper. One of these indexes consists of all the social, political and cultural subjects mentioned in this paper. To shorten our study of this newspaper and to focus on the quantitative, qualitative and discourse analysis of the text I have made full use of this index for the following analysis.

After the first Iranian newspaper, *Kaghaz-e Akhbar* (established during the reign of Mohammad Shah (1834-1848)), ceased publication, a period of fourteen years was to elapse before the next newspaper was to appear. This occurred when *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was founded during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848-1896). The history of this period shows the absence of any request or application for the publication of newspapers, nor was there any public demand for the establishment of a press in the country. This situation shows that the first newspaper was not in a position to become a public tool of communication and indeed had little or no affect or impact on the people or the government officials (Rezvani, 1991).

The history of modern Iranian journalism actually started with the publication of the third Iranian newspaper, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (Sadr Hashemi, 1985). In the half-century of his reign, 36 newspapers were founded inside and 22 papers outside Iran. Also in this period, the modern Iranian journalism of exile was founded: "The *Akhtar* (Star), established in Turkey was the first Persian newspaper to be printed outside Persia. Its founder and editor was Aqa Mohammad Tahir of Tabriz who inaugurated it at Constantinople [Istanbul] in A.H.1292 (=A.D. 1875) (Browne, 1914/1983, p.17).

Through the foundation of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, Iran entered the age of modern journalism. *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was the second Persian language and only the third domestic newspaper to be established inside Iran. It was founded by Amir Kabir on 7 February 1851. The first issue of this newspaper was published under the name of *Roznamcheh Akhbar-e Dar al-Khelafeh Tehran* on 20th of March 1851. The name of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was subsequently chosen from the second issue onwards. Each issue contained between four and eight pages and its publication was in the hands of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was to continue publication for almost ten years without interruption until issue number 456 when it was placed under the management of the Ministry of Higher Education and its name was changed to *Roznameh Doulat-e 'Iyyeh*

Iran (The Newspaper of the Sublime State of Iran). According to Edward Browne, issue number 622 of this newspaper was published in the governmental printing office which was part of the *Dar al-Fonun* College (Brown, 1913).

Following the publication of issue No.456, 14 December 1859 and after almost ten years of regular publication, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was published somewhat erratically until issue No. 471, 16 August 1860. Its change of name occurred from issue No.472 onwards. The newspapers format also changed as Nasir al-Din Shah sought to have an illustrated newspaper similar in style to the European ones. *Roznameh Doulat-e 'lleyyeh Iran* was published irregularly until issue No.668 in 1870 when it ceased publication altogether (Sadr Hashemi, 1985).

According to Mowlana, this paper did not have a large readership and was only read by court people and government employees. The paper was also sent every week to the provinces for distribution and was subscribed to by government officials (Mowlana, 1963).

Content analysis of Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh

The content analysis will start by using the quantitative method to show the kind of tendency this newspaper had towards various social and political issues. This matter is important because, in order to assess this paper's contribution to the process of social and political development, we must first highlight those issues to which they attributed most importance. It also helps to highlight the differences between this newspaper and the others selected for study. According to the index of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, it contains 4452 words which may be identified and classified as important social, cultural and political symbols. Some of these words can be reclassified under one category for ease and clarity of analysis.

After a careful study of all the 4452 words and symbols mentioned in this index they have been reclassified under 35 category headings. This helps to draw attention to the main social and political words used in this newspaper. Some of these categories consist of various subjects which are all related to one category. Therefore, all these related words have been put under one category. For example, all issues related to war, armaments, etc. were put under the one heading of 'military issues'. After counting all these related words and putting all related subjects into one category the following table was constructed:

Table 7-2-1. Different social, cultural and political words mentioned in
Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh

1	Books & Printed Matters (Sales, Publications, Printing, Papers, Calligraphy)	704	15.8%
2	Military Issues (War, Armaments)	695	15.6%
3	Cloak & Robe	646	14/5%
4	Calamity News (Diseases, Famine, Earthquake, Flood, Storm, Fire, Volcano)	477	10.7%
5	Tribes	390	8.76%
6	Agriculture Matters	210	4.7%
7	Islamic Issues (Islam, *Quran*, Islamic Ceremonies, *Ulama*, Retaliation)	179	4.02%
8	Minerals	149	3.34%
9	Governmental Badge	131	2.94%
10	Miscellaneous	129	2.89%
11	Unemployment	103	2.31%
12	Railway	90	2.02%
13	Invention	85	1.90%
14	Commercial Advertisements	77	1.72%
15	Industries	73	1.63%
15	Tax & Customs	64	1.43%
17	Monetary Unit	56	1.26%
18	Newspapers (Persian newspapers, Foreign newspapers)	55	1.23%
19	Religious Minorities (Christians, Jewish)	35	0.29%
20	Commerce	21	0.47%
21	Census	14	0.31%
22	Courier & Public Crier	12	0.27%
23	*Babism & Wahabism*	12	0.27%
24	Elections	9	0.20%
25	Immigration	7	0.16%
26	Tobacco & Cigarettes	6	0.13%
27	Terror	6	0.13%
28	Governmental Advertisements	5	0.11%
29	Historical Issues	3	0.07%
30	Police	2	0.045%
31	Law	2	0.045%
32	Language	2	0.045%
33	Punishment	1	0.022%
34	Export	1	0.022%
35	Court (Justice)	1	0.022%
	Total	4452	100%

The data presented in table 7-2-1 shows that social and political concepts such as unemployment, religious minorities, *Babism & Wahabism*, election, immigration, terror, law, language, punishment, and justice have the least frequency of all the issues dealt with in this newspaper. Whilst economic and daily social issues, activities and problems such as, books and printed matters, cloak & robe, calamity, tribes, agriculture matters, minerals, railways, invention, commercial advertisements, tax & customs, tobacco & cigarettes, and export, assumed the greatest degree of concern. This clearly illustrates those issues that were of most importance to the founder of this

newspaper. In fact, although this newspaper was published under the control of the government, it was the prime minister Amir Kabir who was its founder and main voice of authority. *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was the only newspaper in its time which was distributed throughout the whole country (Parvin, 1998). The content of this newspaper provides a clear reflection of the government's agenda with regard to the release of news and information to the people. Only those issues that were deemed important to, and reflective of, government interests were to be published.

All the issues that are mentioned in Table 7-2-1 could be categorised according to their values and meaning. While some of these issues have ideological and political values, some do not carry these values (for more detail on this, see Pool et al., 1952). Words such as justice, punishment, law, police, Government advertisement, terror, immigration, elections, *Babism* and *Wahabism*, religious minorities, newspapers and Islamic issues are evaluated as ideological and political issues. The rest of the words are seen as non-ideological and non-political simply because they do not deal originally with these values. The frequency of these two categories are shown in Table 7-2-2.

Table 7-2-2 Political and non-political symbols in *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*

Category	No. of Words	Frequency	%
Ideological and Political issues	13	314	6.344%
Non-ideological and non-political issues	22	4138	92.946%
Total	35	4452	100%

It is interesting to note that, in the 20 years in which this newspaper was published, there were only 314 words (6.344%), out of a total of 4452, that could be deemed to be ideological and political symbols. Furthermore, out of the total number of political and ideological words used, the word 'justice' was mentioned only once, the word 'law' only twice and the word 'election' a mere nine times. That shows that

Nasir al-Din Shah and his government were not interested in these concepts. The 'Nasiri despotism' could not tolerate such matters.

The critical discourse analysis

A more detailed and comprehensive analysis of this newspaper requires the use of the method of discourse analysis, especially critical discourse analysis (CDA). 'CDA' is composed of three different sorts of analysis: semiotic analysis of the text, analysis of discourse practices of text production, distribution and consumption and analysis of social and political practices that frame discourse practices and texts (Fairclough, 1998).

In accordance with this, the discourse analysis of *Roznameh Vaqay‘ Ittefaqeyyeh*, and also the other two selected newspaper of *Qanun* and *Sur-i Israfil*, will focus on following two main points:

1-The semiotic and linguistic analysis of the text.

2-The main social and political discourses of this newspaper. In other words what was the 'attention' and 'direction' of *Roznameh Vaqay‘ Ittefaqeyyeh* in its textual discourse?

The semiotic and linguistic analysis

During the reign of Mohammad Shah the *Qajar* government started the reform of the military as a result of becoming aware of the development that was going on in the Western countries. The launching of the first newspaper as a modern tool of communication was the exclusive prerogative of the government and this development did not happen without the direct contact of Iranians with Western culture and modernization.

The publication of governmental newspapers continued during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah. These were of a more professional nature than had been seen previously, both in their presentation and systematic distribution of information. This change can be attributed to the forceful personality of Amir Kabir, the Prime Minister of Nasir al-Din Shah and founder of *Dar al-Fonun* College. The launching of *Roznameh Vaqay‘ Ittefaqeyyeh* was a necessary step in the modern development of the country (Mowlana, 1963), especially with regard to the distribution of governmental orders and information. The foundation of this newspaper in 1851 occurred at a time when the first generation of Iranian intellectuals was beginning to

emerge. The Persian language was also in the process of change regarding both its style of writing and its attempts to use less Arabic words and more Persian terminology. Therefore the new paper reflected the new style of writing and new form of presentation. The combination of these factors, the necessity for a new way of writing and the distribution of governmental information were reflected in all parts of this newspaper.

The coverage of foreign news and the translation of various news items from foreign sources underline this issue. However, despite the paper's attempts to develop a new style of writing, it could not completely abandon the authoritarian form of writing and traditional style that had been popular in Iran for such a long time. The translation of foreign news by Edward Berjis shows many grammatical mistakes and misinterpretations, a trait which is found in all issues of this paper (see for example the foreign news in *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* No. 58 and No. 61) (Sadr Hashemi, 1985).

The use of the term 'authoritarian' for a form of writing refers, in this context, to characteristics such as undue praise and exaggeration of the qualities of the *Qajar* kings and the other authorities, together with the use of reverential adjectives and pompous language. This language is full of Arabic terminology and Arabic grammar. It seems that the tribal system of life that requires praise from the subjects was reflected in this paper's style of writing and presentation.

The approach to be taken in the semiotic and linguistic analysis of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* is explained as follows:

1- Authoritarian language based on exaggerated praise of Kings and other authorities. For instance, any time that the King was mentioned in this newspaper exaggerated words of praise were used. The use of such language was not limited to the King but also extended to other authorities of the country. Phrases such as "His Excellency the holiest king" (*Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh,* No.1, p.1), "His Majesty the king who has a lucky star – horoscope- and huge prosperity and fortune" (*Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh,* No. 3, p.1), and "His Majesty who has overall holistic views and strong ideas for the order and governing of the country " (*Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh,* No. 67, p.1) are but a few examples of this kind of language.

2-Although the writing style changed in an attempt to include more Persian terminology, the language used in this paper was still full of Arabic words

supported with an Arabic turn of phrase. This phenomenon is hard to show here due to the difficulties of the translation, which requires an expert knowledge of both languages in order to discern the subtle differences between the two.

3-Very little usage of modern social and political concepts and terminology. Table 7-2-1 clearly shows this feature.

4- Portrayal of every day issues of the military, the tribes, etc. In this regard it can be said that the content of this paper was mainly concerned with issues relating to the everyday activities of the Kings, or various other authorities around the country. The coverage of these activities was also extended to include the King's pastimes such as hunting (*Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, No. 6, p.1) or his stays in different places (*Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, No. 27, p.1) and so on.

5-Many grammatical mistakes appeared due to the incorrect translation of Berjis from foreign languages into Persian. Sadr Hashemi has identified some of these mistakes (Sadr Hashemi, 1985).

With such language in operation it was extremely difficult to discuss the introduction of modern ideas and new concepts. The form and character of the writing did not allow for different views and discourses to be expressed except those favourable to the *Qajar* monarchy. Moreover, the production of the paper rested totally in the hands of the government. Nobody from outside the government could influence the content of this paper. The selection of news and reports was done in such a way that it supported the action of the *Qajar* dynasty and their related authorities. In this environment it was well nigh impossible to use modern social and political concepts, particularly those that were seen as oppositional to the existing political system. Therefore, it is hardly surprising to note that the number of instances of the use of the words 'Law' and 'Justice' throughout the whole text of this paper were very limited. Indeed the former was only to appear twice with the latter appearing just the once. This fact illustrates the main difference between the governmental and independent Iranian newspapers during the *Qajar* period. This language and method of news and information distribution did not merely prevent the firm establishment of the process of change and development, but also hindered this process from progressing in a proper and constructive way.

The social and political discourse analysis

The social and political discourse analysis of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* (and also the other two selected newspapers) will focus on three main points:

1-Analysing the role of political agents involved in the production and distribution of this paper.

2-Analysing the socio-political situation (analysis of time and space) in which this paper was published.

3-Analysing the main discourse and ethos (the main socio-political attention and direction) of the paper and its role in the process of political development in the country.

1-The role of political agents

The main political agent behind the foundation of the *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* newspaper was the *Qajar* government, mainly Nasir al-Din Shah himself. The Shah, with the encouragement of his prime minister Amir Kabir, ordered the launching of this newspaper. In order to provide a brief account of all the various agents involved in the publication of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* newspaper, the following list with summarised explanations has been prepared.

1- Nasir al-Din Shah: His Majesty the king of kings, as he was called, decided to launch the paper. The reason behind this decision was explained in the first editorial of the first issue of this paper. This editorial describes the royal order as follows:

> Since the ambition of His Majesty *Shahanshah* is the education of [the] Iranian people, and to inform the citizens of this country of both internal and foreign affairs, it has been ordered that a paper, which in other countries is known as Gazette, be put out, and every week the appointments of the court and other news be published. (*Roznamcheh Akhbar-e Dar al-Khelafeh Tehran*, 1851, No. 1, p.1, Translation of Mowlana, 1963, p.218)

2- Mirza Mohammad Taghi Khan Farahani better known as Amir Kabir. Although the launching of this paper was ordered by the Shah himself, the actual founder of this newspaper was Amir Kabir his prime minister. In contrast to the Shah, Amir Kabir was born into a middle class family. His father was a cook in the household of Abbas Mirza chief minister in the city of Tabriz, the capital of Azarbaijan. Amir Kabir attracted the attention of Abbas Mirza and shortly after

entering the service of the Iranian Commander in Chief he was appointed chief of the army of Azarbaijan. Later on Amir Kabir fell under the favour of *Nizam-e-Jadid*, who appointed him as special envoy to the Ottoman Empire. Before becoming prime minister he was appointed as a chief officer of Prince Nasir al-Din (Abrahamian, 1982; Adamiyat, 1969).

3-Hajji Mirza Jabbar Nazem al-Meham Kho'ei known as Mirza Jabbar Tazkerachi: Mirza Jabbar was for some time a General Councillor of Iran in Baghdad, the capital of Iraq. When Amir Kabir decided to launch *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* he appointed Mirza Jabbar as its editor and publisher. Mirza Jabbar published this newspaper in his own printing house (Sadr Hashemi, 1985).

4- Mirza Abdullah: Reporter and staff writer. According to Sadr Hashimi, there is no further information about this person (Sadr Hashemi, 1985).

5-Edward Berjis: Berjis was a British man who was the translator and Business Manager of the paper. Abbas Mirza brought him to Iran when he returned from his travels in Europe. Berjis became the manager of Abbas Mirza's printing house, which he bought from Europe. After the death of Fath Ali Shah, Berjis settled in Tehran where he sold European goods and merchandise from a small store. Although Berjis became familiar with the Persian language, his translation was often poor and in many places grammatically incorrect. In addition the complex writing style of this paper rooted in Arabic and with a strong use of Arabic vocabulary made the problem even more complicated.

6-Hajji Abdul-Mohammad: Abdul-Mohammad was in charge of the printing of the *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* newspaper.

7- Kazem Bolur Forush: He was the main agent for the sale of this newspaper in Tehran. His office was located in the *Ark-e-Sultani* square near the Tehran bazaar.

8- Regional governors: Part of the news and reports published in this newspaper came from the regional governors of cities around the country. Those governors were not only the contributors of reports and news stories to this paper, but were also the main body for its distribution in their regions.

All the above mentioned people were in some way related, directly or indirectly, to the *Qajar* government. There were no other people involved in the writing, managing, publishing or distributing of this newspaper. However, in addition to reports and news stories that were produced in the capital of Tehran, many other news reports were sent from the rest of the country under such names as '*Roznameh*

Khorasan' or *'Roznameh Kerman'*, according to each city of the country. The word *'Roznameh'* at this stage did not mean 'newspaper' in the same way as, for instance, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh.* The meaning of newspaper for the word *Roznameh* only came into being in the latter stages of the newspaper's publication. At that time, this word referred only to reports coming from each city or news items and other government related views which were reported in daily basis.

It is perhaps too much to expect that this newspaper would cover aspects and facets of the various social and political issues that were not favourable to the government. Indeed, in the last 163 years of Iranian journalism, from the foundation of the first newspaper up until now, the core communication system has been exclusively in the hands of the state authority, or at least in the hands of people or organisations that are related to the government. The press is no exception to this rule. Fortunately however, there were certain periods in Iranian history when the situation in the country was such that some newspapers were able to operate freely and independently. During the *Qajar* period, the free and independent newspapers founded during the Constitutional Revolution and those papers published in exile, especially during reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, are examples of this phenomenon.

2-The analysis of the socio-political situation

The governmental process of change, as discussed in Chapter Four, was started during the time of Mohammad Shah (1834-1848) when Abbas Mirza tried to reform the military status of the country. This process was enhanced by a number of other development programmes undertaken by Amir Kabir during the reign of Naser al- Din Shah *(*1848-1896*)*. Although this process was halted following the assassination of Amir Kabir, its achievements are significant enough to warrant discussion here.

The second half of the 19th century was the most important period for the social and political modernization of Iran. It was in this period that the first generation of Iranian intellectuals began to shape the course of the country, aided by the introduction of Western ideologies. The very first year of this period (1850-1851) had seen significant social and cultural reform and change firmly rooted in the ideological influence of Western modernization coming into the country. It was in this year that Amir Kabir brought European teachers to Iran to teach in the newly established secular university of *Dar al-Fonun.* The development of printing and lithographic

technology meant that most publications, including many internally and externally translated works, could be printed by the university's own press. The printed work of Iranians in this period was regarded as far superior to any transcribed in India (Binning, 1857). This situation was, according to Mowlana, enough to bring newspapers into existence. (Mowlana, 1963)

3-The discourse analysis of the text

The discourse analysis of this paper starts with the following question:
What were the mediated socio-political discourse elements in this governmental newspaper? This is the main issue that is examined in this part of the study. Through an analysis of these elements, the 'attention' and 'the direction' of this paper will become known. These findings will enable an assessment of the contribution of this newspaper to the process of social and political development in the country to be made. The data drawn from the content analysis of the newspaper will also be of assistance in this task.

As the qualitative content analysis of this newspaper shows, the non-ideological and non-political issues appear with more frequency than the ideological and political issues. This finding has different reasons which will be briefly mentioned here.

The *Qajars* traditional system of government was based on tribalism which, in many respects, was far removed from the modern political system of government. As discussed in Chapter Four, it was not until the second half of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign that this system was slightly altered to allow some elements of the modern political system, such as cabinet, ministers and institutions, to be established. The traditional system was not only limited to the way of governing the country, but also extended to the way of thinking and understanding of the people at large. Furthermore, the rate of literacy was very low and consequently the people were unaware of the progress which was taking place in the Western world at that time. The access of people to the outside world was limited to a very small number, most of whom were related to the government.

Nasir al-Din Shah himself was amongst those official people to visit the various countries of the West and be fascinated and impressed by their progress. In his travels to Europe he became knowledgeable and familiar with the progress of the West. On his return from each of the three journeys that he made to Europe, new ideas

were implemented. Thus, although the first newspaper was published during the reign of Mohammad Shah, contact with the West formed an important factor in the publication of the *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* newspaper. Fourteen years after the publication of *Khaghaz-e Akhbar* (1837), this newspaper was to become only the second Persian paper (1851) to be published inside of the country. With the help of Amir Kabir, Nasir al-Din Shah centralised administrative work with the establishment of a control system, regulated the military system and succeeded in founding the governmental paper of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*. According to Mowlana:

> It was his idea [Amir Kabir] that with the opening of *Dar al-Fonun* college and in conjunction with the other steps that his government had been taking to modernise Iran the country was in need of a newspaper. (Mowlana, 1963, p. 218)

In the first editorial, published on the first page of the first issue, the policy and main direction of this newspaper was set forth.

> Since the ambition of His Majesty *Shahanshah* (the king of kings) is the education of [the] Iranian people and to inform the citizens of this country of both internal and foreign affairs, it has been ordered that a paper, which in other countries is known as Gazette, be put out and every week the appointments of the court and other news be published. (*Roznamcheh Akhbar-e Dar al-Khelafeh Tehran*, 1267, No. 1, p.1, Translation by Mowlana, 1963, p.218)

More detailed analysis of this editorial reveals further reasons behind the foundation of this newspaper. Without actually going as far as to translate the whole editorial a brief summary of its main points will be mentioned here.

> This newspaper was founded because of the ambition of the King who wanted the people of Iran to be educated and informed about internal and foreign affairs.
> This paper will be published weekly to report orders of the king, internal news, etc. similar to other countries, where this kind of paper was called a "gazette". It will be published in '*Dar al-Teba'eh*' [the governmental printing house] and sent to all cities of Iran. The aim of this paper is to make people understand and become aware of what is happening.
> This newspaper will also stop all false news, which usually is in contradiction to governmental orders, and prevent the ordinary people from becoming confused. Therefore, it is necessary for all governors and government officials in all cities and all reliable servants of this government to have and to read this newspaper.
> (*Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, No. 1, p.1) (My Translation)

These were the main reasons for publication of the second Persian language newspaper in Iran. But this was not the first time that the government had understood that a newspaper could play an important role in society. Fourteen years before, during the reign of Mohammad Shah, similar pronouncements were made concerning the publication of the first newspaper in the country (see Chapter Five). What then were the main reasons behind the government decision to close the first Iranian newspaper and why did such a long period of time pass before any other publications appeared? One reason was that the people did not become familiar with the new means of communication in the time of Mohammad Shah. The traditional society of that time was not interested in such things. Most people could not read and therefore could not understand what was written in this newspaper. This is not to say that the first newspaper did not become a potential source of danger for the government. Information in any form can be a threat to the power of absolute government. Perhaps it was with this in mind that the Prime Minister Haji Aqasi decided put a stop to the operations of the first newspaper (Khan Malek Sasani, 1965).

The first Iranian newspaper was published under the control of the government and this situation persisted for the second newspaper. This however did not encourage the people to buy this paper. The fact that something came from the government did not necessarily make it popular with the people. The editors of this newspaper did not tolerate this situation. In its twenty sixth issue, and six months after the start of publication, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* tried to explain that this newspaper was not just for officials or people working for the government and that the government officials did not just publish this newspaper for their own benefit.

> It is none of these things. And as was explained in the first issue,
> this news is written in order to obey the royal order, which wants the
> people to be educated and to be informed about the court's activities
> and the foreign news. (*Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, No. 26, p.1)

This however did not change the situation or increase the newspaper's popularity. This "newspaper was only a governmental sheet and its nature and contents were such that it could not raise any anxiety or interest in [the] public" (Mowlana, 1963, p. 223).

Even though the main intention of this newspaper was to educate the people, this aim was not achieved properly. The press was part of the monopoly of the state. The newly born Iranian intellectuals had no access or rights of involvement in this

matter. Due to the change in the world's communication system, in the form of the printing press, public and collective tools of communication had replaced interpersonal communication. The necessity of using the new tools of communication pushed the government of Iran to become involved in the publication of newspapers in the country. According to Kohan, during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah the government were able to monopolise the news and information circulating in the country and to prevent the intellectuals from interfering or becoming involved in the process, through government control of the press and the centralisation of the printing press (Kohan, 1981). With this kind of governmental control, the contents of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* become merely a vehicle for reporting on royal and court news and events. Anything that was important to the royal court had priority of publication.

As is illustrated in table (7-2-1) there are five items which have a higher frequency (8-16%) than anything else; books and printed matter (15.8%); military issues (15.6%); cloak and robe (14.5%); calamity news (10.7%); tribes (8.76%). The higher frequency of these items shows that, in the context of the social and political symbols mentioned throughout the whole text of this newspaper, they were the most important items which the government of the time wished to publicise amongst the governmental officials as well as the ordinary people. The focus of this newspaper, throughout all its issues, was mainly organised around these key symbols. Each one of these symbols represents an important issue of significance to the *Qajar* monarchy. A brief account of these issues will clarify the matter.

Books and printed matter

While the art of printing started in Europe during the second half of the 15th century and by the turn of the 16th century had become the accepted method for disseminating information and scholarship (Ayalon, 1995), this art was not used in Iran until the 19th and early 20th centuries. In this regard it should be noted that although an Armenian brought the first printing press to Iran in 1641, the lithography necessary for printing Persian books was only introduced in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Avery et al., 1991).

It was during the reign of Fath Ali Shah (1797-1834) and under the aegis of the Prince-Governor of Azarbaijan, that the "press was brought from Europe to Tabriz by Zain al-Abidin Tabrizi in 1817" (Avery et al., 1991, p.818). Later, on his return

from Europe, Mirza Salih Shirazi, the founder of the first Iranian newspaper, also set up a printing press in Tabriz in 1819-20. Shortly afterwards Tehran, the capital city, became only the second city to acquire a printing press when Zain al-Abidin Tabrizi established one there in 1824-25.

Unlike the Ottoman *Ulama*, and their earlier Catholic counterparts, who were suspicious of printing and concerned about "the dangers it posed to the faith and to the community's spiritual fabric and no less to their own standing as spiritual leaders" (Ayalon, 1995, p.167), the Iranian *Ulama* not only welcomed the new technology, but also utilised it for the dissemination of their religious texts and understandings. As a result of this orientation, the printing of religious books and texts flourished, even in the early days following the introduction of the new technology into the country.

"It is noteworthy that one of the first fruits of the fashion for lithography was a *Qur'an* in the hand of 'the celebrated calligrapher' Mirza Husain" (Avery et al., 1991, p.818). Many other books, mostly on religious matters, were also published in the country. This situation affected the advertising of books in the early Iranian newspaper such as *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*. Most of the books that were advertised in this newspaper were religious texts or those written about religious issues. A quantitative analysis of all the names of books mentioned in this newspaper shows that religious books were mentioned 485 times and non-religious ones only 211 times. There are at least two reasons which can be given to account for this phenomenon. Firstly, the modern communication system in the form of the press was the best tool for the dissemination of news and information and this applied to the advertising of new books that were published or sold in the country. Secondly, the government was keen to introduce itself as a supporter of Islam and Muslim issues. Advertisement of religious books in the governmental newspaper *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, which was distributed all over the country, could in many respects deepen this claim. Over and above what has been said it should also be noted that it was during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah "that a fresh attempt was made at importing Western ideas and technology" (Avery, et al., 1991, p.819). This attempt was partly evidenced by the establishment of a new education system using foreign teachers in the new university college of *Dar al-Fonunn*, the use of new communication tools in the form of the press, the formation of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, the expansion of the publication system and the translation of the works of many European writers, such as Molier, Voltaire, and Alexander Dumas (see also Browne, 1914). The

combination of new systems of communication and publication encouraged the founders of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* to use this newspaper as a vehicle for the announcement of new books and publications. These are well-founded reasons as why the quantitative analysis of the second Persian newspaper in Iran reveals that the most frequent social and cultural issues mentioned were those concerning books and printed matter.

Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh was published until 1860 when issue 471 of this newspaper was released. The following issue, released on August 1860, appeared under the different name of *Roznameh Doulat-e 'Iyyeh Iran.* The reason for the change of name was that the publication of the governmental newspapers was now put under the supervision of Mirza Abolhassan Khan Sani'olmolk Ghaffari. He had studied painting in Europe and decided to change the format of the publication to that of an illustrated paper in which he could publish his paintings. Thus the newspaper *Roznameh Doulat-e 'Iyyeh Iran* was born, but as a continuation of the *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* paper (Sadr Hashemi, 1985). It is interesting to note that although the newspaper *Roznameh Doulat-e 'Iyyeh Iran* was merely a continuation of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* the situation with regard to the mention of books and publications completely changed. The same content analysis of this newspaper shows that the number of books mentioned in this newspaper was drastically reduced. That was not the only difference. The number of religious publications mentioned was also reduced, replaced instead by books from different fields such as science. This shift shows that by the second half of the 19th century Iran had seriously engaged with the process of modernisation. The decrease in the number of religious book advertisements suggests that, although the publication of religious books had not necessarily decreased, their announcement in the government papers had lessened somewhat.

Table 7-2-3: Books mentioned in the *Roznameh Doulat-e 'Iyyeh Iran*

Category	Number	%
Religious Books	6	17.65%
Non-religious (Scientific) Books	28	82.35%
Total	34	100%

Military issues

The movement towards reform and modernisation in Iran started during the reign of Fath Ali Shah (1797-1834) when the Crown Prince Abbas Mirza began to reform the army (Martin, 1989). In 1819, Abbas Mirza started to reform and safeguard the army by sending the first group of students abroad to study practical subjects such as military science, engineering, gun making, medicine, typography and modern languages.

Later on, during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, Amir Kabir, who became in 1848 *Amir-e Nizam* (Lord of the Army) and *Sadr-e A'zam* (Prime Minister), implemented his own extensive reform to the standing army. In order to cut all foreign imported arms, Amir Kabir established fifteen factories for the production of cannons, light arms, uniforms, epaulets and insignias, woollens, cloth, calicoes, carriages, samovars, paper, cast iron, lead, copper and sugar. Two military colleges were founded and many military textbooks were also printed in this period (Abrahamian, 1982).

The main reason why the military issue become such major concern to the *Qajar* monarchs in this period was due to the military pressure exerted by the Russians and later on the British, both of whom had succeeded in imposing a series of humiliating treaties on Iran. The military defeats of Iran in this period were a major blow to the existing *Qajar* monarchy (Abrahamian, 1982). This became the prime reason why the government used its official newspaper as an agent for propaganda concerning all matters of a military nature. Compared to other social, political and cultural words the 15.6% that relate to the subject of army and armaments in *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* is a very high figure. This fact supports the idea that the situation of the country and the need for a strong military force held top priority in the government political agenda. The security of the country, its defence from external enemies, and the notion of a nation-state which required power and stability, encouraged the government, to not only develop a reform programme for the development of the army, but also to use all available tools, such as the press, to propagate this matter.

Tribes

The *Qajars* were a *Turkaman* tribe who seized power at the end of the 18th century and ruled Iran in the 19th century. Coming from the northwest of Iran the

Qajars took their name from *Qajar Noyan* b. *Sirtaq Noyan*. By the end of the 17th century the *Qajars* were mainly concentrated in Astarabad, Hamadan, the centre of Iran. It was during this period that they assumed a pivotal role in the downfall of the *Safavids* (1500-1722). Ruling the country from 1879 until 1925, the *Qajar* dynasty had seven absolute monarchs. Aqa Muhammad Khan, the first monarch, seized power in 1879 and established the dynasty. This dynasty ended in 1925 when Ahmad Shah, the last monarch, fled to Europe. This is a very brief account of the tribal history of the *Qajars*.

Iran was ruled according to the tribal system, especially from the 11th until the 19th centuries. These tribes were mostly of a nomadic nature. As a result, they could not establish a proper social and political system of government as this requires the basis of urban stability. The "large-scale invasion of nomadic tribes" (Avery et al., 1991, p.174) was the main feature of Iranian politics in this period. It was not until the *Safavid* dynasty that urbanization began to take place and some form of central government, though primitive and still based on the tribal system, was established. Although the nomadic lifestyle started to change from the 17th until the 19th centuries, "in the early 19th century, nomadic tribes were estimated to form one third to one half of the Iranian population" (Issawi, 1971, p.20). Given this situation it is obvious that the government would directly address these tribes when informing the people about changes and developments. Although the number of times that the word 'tribe' appeared in *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* was only 390 (8.76%), this number is still substantial in comparison to other issues mentioned in this newspaper. Another important issue that the *Qajars* were concerned with when they focused on writing about the tribes in *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, was the demonstration of their power in controlling the tribes and indeed the country itself. This issue shows that the *Qajar* government, through its portrayal of the subjection of the various tribes and by emphasizing their defeat by the central government, wished to establish a strongly defined Nation-State as the basic form of a political system no longer totally dependant on the tribal system.

By looking at different news and reports regarding the tribes in *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, two particular matters about which the government tried to keep the people regularly informed can be identified. The first was the subjugation of various tribes to the central government of the *Qajars* when it was announced in various ways that they have accepted the power and the legitimacy of the *Qajar*

dynasty (see e. g. *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, No. 304, p. 8, about both *Alili* and *Yamot Kolla* tribes). The second instance was the reference to the power of the central government in defeating those various tribes who had tried to attack it or its officials in various places in the country (see e. g. *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, No. 182, p. 2, with *Bahmah* tribe; No. 186, p. 2, with *Aftamash* tribe; No. 240, p. 5, with *Atabay Turkaman* tribe).

The analysis of the three issues 'books and printed matter', 'military issues' and 'tribes' and the presentation of data in table 7-2-1 makes the social and political direction and preoccupations of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* very obvious. The *Qajar* government made full use of the first regular and professional newspaper for propaganda purposes through focusing on issues, which it thought would strengthen its power and shows its stability and legitimacy in the country. The establishment of a controlled information system was one of the government's prime agenda targets. However this did little to benefit the general social and political development of the country. As discussed in Chapter Five, ordinary people did not usually buy this newspaper due to the very low rate of literacy and because of their negative feelings about government propaganda so this paper did not have a large readership, being read only by court people and government employees (Mowlana, 1963).

In conclusion it can be said that the rise of the first professional newspaper in Iran is in itself the best sign of the contribution of modern communications to the process of change and development in Iran. Although this newspaper was not a catalyst in bringing out the demands of the people, it did at least act as an agent in reflecting the concepts and ideas which the government sought to introduce into the country. This factor may also be combined with the contribution of this paper to the process of altering and purifying the Persian Language of the influence of Arabic terms and style of writing. By having different news and reports from both the East and the West, this newspaper helped those Iranians living in the 19th century to become aware of what was happening in the rest of the world. Indeed more than this cannot be expected from a government paper such as *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*. In an absolute and traditional system of government under the dictatorship of Nasir al-Din Shah, it is unrealistic to expect that this newspaper should reflect the actual demands of the people or criticize the acts of the government. Equally important to note is the fact that the newly emerging groups of Iranian intellectuals had little opportunity to participate in the production of this newspaper. This paper was totally

in the hands of the government and even such a great personality as Amir Kabir, who was the founder of this paper, did not have the power to authorize their contribution. This situation was probably the main cause of the rise of Iranian journalism in exile, brought about by those intellectuals who did not have any voice inside Iran. Therefore, the study of these newspapers published in exile and an examination of their role and contribution to the process of political change and development in the country becomes a necessity for this research. In the following chapter the most famous and most popular newspaper to be published outside Iran during the 19th century, the *Qanun* newspaper, will be studied and analyzed in order to examine its role in this process.

Section 3

The Analysis of Qanun

Typological analysis

Qanun was founded and published by Mirza Malkum Khan on 20 February 1889-1890 in London and, according to Brown, "seems to have continued publication for about three and a half years, forty-one monthly numbers having been issued in all." (Browne,1914/1983, p.312). By contrast, Keddie states that this paper was published for eight years from 1890 to 1898 (Keddie, 1980, p.64). Despite these contradictions, all issues of Qanun are now currently available for study. All issues of this paper were headed by the slogan 'Ittefaq, Adalat, Taraqqi' (Unity, Justice, Progress). In the beginning the annual subscription fee was one pound but this was changed to a symbolic fee in the tenth and eleventh issues becoming Fahm-e Kafi (sufficient understanding). The fee was then changed again a number of times: in the twentieth issue it became Shart-e Adamiyat (conditional to the expression of humane tendencies); in the twenty- third issue it became one of 'sufficient understanding'; in the twenty-fourth, 'conditional to the expression of humane tendencies'; in the twenty-fifth issue, one Tuman (Iranian currency); in the thirtieth issue, Yek Zarreh Shuoor (a little intelligence); and finally, from the thirty-sixth until the forty first issue, which was the last, the fee became Zahmat-e Eblagh-e ein Noskh-e be Yk Adam-e Digar (the efforts of passing this newspaper to another reader).

In the last few years before, and the years immediately following, the Islamic Revolution of Iran, copies of some influential newspapers, especially the ones that were published before and during the Constitutional Revolution, were reprinted. The reason for this action can be discussed on another occasion. In brief it can be stated that the necessity for social and political change was keenly felt by the people throughout history regardless of those in power. Therefore, Iranians welcomed any means to encourage and emphasise this situation. The reprinting of these newspapers revealed the hidden ideas of the necessity of 'change' in the social and political construction of the country; ideas which people desired but may not have been able to

speak openly about. These newspapers form the 'communicatory bridge' between the past and the present. They are speaking what people themselves cannot speak or say.

Qanun, is an example of this kind of newspaper. 3000 copies were reprinted in 1369 Solar (1990) by *Kavir* Publications in Tehran. The available forty-one issues of the newspaper were reprinted in a one volume (size 22 cm by 34 cm). Generally speaking, this newspaper is quite different from any other professional newspaper which exists nowadays. No sign of professional journalism can be seen in either the mode of writing or the style of presentation. There is no clear division between editorial, news section, report, or other stories. Indeed there is little evidence of a clear topic or title for any section of this newspaper. It is a kind of narrative which has been written in one style. The writing flows through the all the issues of this newspaper. The average size of the issues is eight pages. It is only in the second issue that an advertisement appears for the services of secretaries and journalists. In the later issues a clearer delineation between articles exists with some articles having titles, although these are small and unclear.

The style of the language used in this newspaper is also different from other newspapers published in Iran during the same period, especially those, like *Shrafat,* which were published by the government. While the governmental newspapers were full of heavy, abstruse and portentous words written in the old style, *Qanun* was written in a simple, ordinary and new way. This kind of writing "had a distinct influence on the development of political writing and journalism" in Iran (*Bahar,* 1958, p.374). The *Sur-i Israfil* newspaper, a revolutionary and extremely famous newspaper published during the Constitutional Revolution, went further and said that:

> Whoever has read *Qanun* knows well that from the beginning of the Islamic era to the present, none has put pen to paper in the Persian Language with the same fluency and eloquence. (*Sur-i Israfil*, 1907, No.5. p.8)

There have, however, been other different evaluations of *Qanun* which describe it as "more a periodic propaganda sheet than a newspaper" (Supplement Persian, 1996, pp. 117-118.)

Before analysing the content of *Qanun*, it is important to place it in the context of the Iranian society of that period. Even though Iran started its process of reform at the beginning of the 19th century it was still only comparable to medieval Europe at this stage. This was reflected in the totalitarian role of the Shah, the strong position of

the religious leaders, and the ignorance of the people. In this situation nothing was more essential than the 'Law' and its implementation in the society. For this reason the word 'Law' was selected as the name for Malkum Khan's newspaper.

However, Nasir al-Din Shah was opposed to any kind of laws except that of the Shah. The ministers were his slaves and the people his subjects. The best way to oppose this situation was to press for the implementation of a system of law. The issue of law was so important that even the pronunciation of this word became a sin. It was as a result of raising this issue that Sayyed Jamal al-Din was expelled from Iran and was consequently accused of being '*Qanuni*', meaning the one who makes claims about the law (Nava'i, N.D.). The first issue of *Qanun* arrived in Tehran on the 10th of *Zulhejjah* 1307 H. A. (29 July 1890) after 52 days of publication in London. When the seventh issue was distributed in Tehran, Nasir al-Din Shah decided to stop the paper from entering the country (Kohan, 1981, vol.1., p.135), "but this newspaper was entering the country from Ottoman territory, the Caucasus and Iraq brought by different travellers and its writing became a subject of discussion at every gathering." (Farmanfarma'yan, 1976). Malkum Khan himself stated, in the 7th issue of *Qanun*, the reasons for publishing this newspaper in exile and for it being banned in Iran. He said "Why do they [we] publish the *Qanun* Newspaper outside the country?" (*Qanun*, No.7, p.1). His answer was simple "Because it is forbidden within the country to tell the truth." (Ibid). Although the government strove hard to ban this newspaper from entering Iran, their efforts were not entirely successful. It succeeded in entering the country through various different sources and many of its issues were reprinted a number of times. Malkum Khan also mentioned this fact in his newspaper:

> From every part of the country, the previous issues of the *Qanun* newspaper are requested. The previous issues are sold out and they are printed again and they are sold out again. Now for the third time they are being published. They will be sent next week. (*Qanun*, No.18, p.4)

Qanun's main concern was to establish a general understanding of the concept of 'Law' among the people and to encourage the building of a constitutional and organisational structure with which to support it. In fact, another newspaper, *Akhtar*, published in Istanbul on 16th *Zulhejjah*, 1292 H.A.(December 1875) by Aqa Mohammad Tahir Tabrizi was the pioneer publication in terms of political criticism as it had raised the issue of *Qanun* (the law) before the newspaper *Qanun*, by translating and printing the Ottoman's Constitutional Law in an issue published on the 9th of

Moharram, 1294 H.A (January 1877). However, *Qanun* became more familiar to the people in terms of its concern with the law than *Akhtar*. That was because of the simplicity of language used in *Qanan* and because of the propaganda methods used by Malkum Khan. With regard to the implementation of the law, Malkum Khan distinguished between the Shah, the government authorities, and the rest of the people. However, this was to be one of the biggest weaknesses of the newspaper. Malkum Khan was encouraging people to think about law, to accept law, and to fight to implement law in all aspects of the society. However he did not apply this proposition to the head of the government, the Shah. One can understand the thinking behind this separation, however. Malkum Khan was completely aware that he needed people in authority to support him in his quest to explain the importance of the law and to fight for its implementation. To achieve this goal he identified three kinds of people and focused on them: The Shah, the religious clergy and the intellectuals. Firstly, Malkum Khan tried to create a gap between the Shah and his ministers such that the Shah was not just a supporter, but also the main source of law.

> If the Shah was like some other kings who are against the law, we would not bring out the name of 'Law', but we see that at this time, our Shah is more than any other person supporting the law and emphasising the need to implement it. (*Qanun*, No. 1. p.3)

In the meantime, Malkum Khan directed his attack on the ministers by stating that "we have to realise the fact that the support of the Shah is not enough to implement the law" (*Qanun*, No.1. p.3). He continued, "if the ministers, the thinkers and all the people do not insist on having a law, the law will be a temporary matter." (Ibid). Elsewhere in *Qanun* he indicated the Prime Minister's opposition and claimed that "if the Prime Minister saw this newspaper he would stop it immediately from entering the country" (*Qanun*, No.3. p.6). This propaganda was effective in two ways: firstly it did not make the Shah sensitive to this issue and secondly it held other authorities responsible for obstacles to the establishment of the law.

In order to gain the support from the religious clergy, Malkum Khan showed his sympathy and support for them by stating, in the first issue of *Qanun*, "By virtue of what law did they banish such and such a *mujtahid*? According to what law were some clergy expelled?" (*Qanun*, No.1, p.1). Elsewhere in this issue he said: "the clergy and the thinkers of Iran were always aware of the existence of a good law" (Ibid., p.3), and "the clergy, the writers and the speakers must tell the people about the benefits of the

law" (Ibid., p.3). In other ways he tried to imply that the clergy were not just the supporters of the law, but also the main group supporting its implementation. In addition, as previously mentioned, Malkum tried to support his claim for the necessity of law through recourse to Islamic arguments or clerics' proclamations in almost every issue of *Qanun*.

Regarding the Iranian intellectuals, Malkum used the words '*Adamiyat*' and '*Adam*' (Humanity and Human) as a symbol for any person who realised the importance of progressive principles such as 'Law', 'Unity' 'Justice', 'Order' and 'Freedom'. At the beginning of the latest collection of *Qanun* newspapers to appear, published in Tehran in 1990, the word '*Adamiyat*' appears on the first page as a main symbol for this newspaper. In almost every page of the newspaper this word was used with various interpretation or examples. This matter will be covered in detail in the following section.

Content analysis of Qanun

As described in Chapter Three, content analysis will be undertaken in combination with the quantitative method in order to show the kind of tendency *Qanun* had towards various social and political aspects. To this will be added the qualitative and discourse method of analysis to find out the attention and the direction of this newspaper and to analyse the text in a more comprehensive way. Without identifying which aspects were important to the founder of this newspaper it would not be possible to assess the contribution of this newspaper to the process of political development or to understand how this newspaper compares to the other selected papers with regard to these matters. The quantitative method will be used in order to discern the social and political aspects which were most important in this newspaper.

Using the list of political and ideological terms provided by Pool et al. (1952), as discussed in Chapter Three, the key words of this newspaper, such as '*Qanun*' (Law), '*Adamiyat*' (Humanity), '*Adalat*' (Justice), '*Taraqqi*' (Progress), and '*Ittefaq*' (Unity), will be counted to demonstrate the tendency of this newspaper towards the use of this terminology. At the same time further attention will be paid to the relevant social and political symbols which are shown in table 3-1 in Chapter Three.

These above-mentioned terms passed from *Qanun* into everyday language and became general terms used by the people (Browne, 1914). The political and social meaning of these terms was emphasised rather than the ordinary meaning found in

dictionaries. Hence, it can be seen that these words played an important role in changing the style of linguistic expression, thus making Iranians more politically and socially aware.

> By reason of the incomparable style and expression of Mirza Malkum Khan in Persian, this became the best newspaper in the Persian Language, and, by reason of its effects, has an important historical position in the Persian awakening. In short, the writings of Mirza Malkum Khan have, generally speaking, a great twofold historical importance in the political and literary revolution of the latest Persian Renaissance. Politically they were one of the chief supports of the promoters of the Revolution and the renovation of Persia, and the founders of the movement of the Risorgimento; while from the literary point of view they were the sole originator of a peculiar style at once easy and agreeable. (Browne, 1914, pp.18-19)

Through the use of the quantitative method of analysis, different words and symbols were recognised and counted. These words were chosen according to their frequency, as the most frequently occurring and important words in the whole text. Twenty-three words were identified as the main basis for this analysis. They are: Law, Unity, Progress, Justice, Foreign progress, Free newspaper, Power of press, Seekers of justice, Shah's justice, Court, Human rights, Social rights, Disorder, Humanity, Human value, Government Rights, Parliament, Freedom, Power of pen, Freedom of pen, Security, Order, and Peace. Each of these words and phrases has a specific Persian term but they were used with different Persian synonyms.

In total, *Qanun* consisted of around 73848 words divided between the 41 existing issues of this newspaper. The word *Adamiyat* (Humanity) appeared the most, occurring 830 times. The word '*Qanun*' (Law) was the second most frequent, appearing some 698 times, while the words "Seekers of justice" and "Government's Rights" were the least mentioned, occurring only once in all the texts.

By using these symbols continuously, Malkum Khan tried to establish a strong and effective concept of these words within the society. From figure 7-3-1 it is possible to see certain differences between the total number of these words which occurred in *Qanun*. Initially, these words appeared only a few times, which shows that they did not get the full attention of Malkum Khan. However, further qualitative analysis of the text reveals that the concepts of some of these symbols were presented in different ways. In my view, it is essential to look also at the mode of representation and interpretation of these symbols. This will prove useful in gaining a better understanding of this

newspaper. Despite all else, it must be said that with the new style of Persian Language, the combined manner of expressing the meaning of these symbols and the contributing opinions from other writers, Malkum Khan succeeded in presenting an original and intelligent publication in the form of *Qanun*.

Compared with other periodicals published inside Iran during the *Qajar* period, *Qanun* was a pioneer in simplifying the written language. However, this simplicity, on certain occasions, was often expressed through the use of crude language. There are almost 200 such words used in the paper. It was also *Qanun*, which was responsible for the introduction of slang and political satire in its articles (Parvin, 1998).

Figure (7-3-1): Total number of political and social symbols
In Qanu Newspaper

Total Number

900
830
800
700
698
600
500
400
315
300
200
188
112 100 85 77
100
35 29
12 9 9 7 7 6 5 3 2 2 2 1 1

2513

Political and Social Symbols

Legend:
- Humanit
- Law
- Unit
- Progress
- Justice
- Parliament
- Security
- Social Right
- Court
- Free newspaper
- Human value
- Human Right
- Order
- Power of press
- Shah's justice
- Disorder
- Power of pe
- Freedom
- Freedom of pe
- Foreign progres
- Peace
- Seekers of justic
- Government Rights
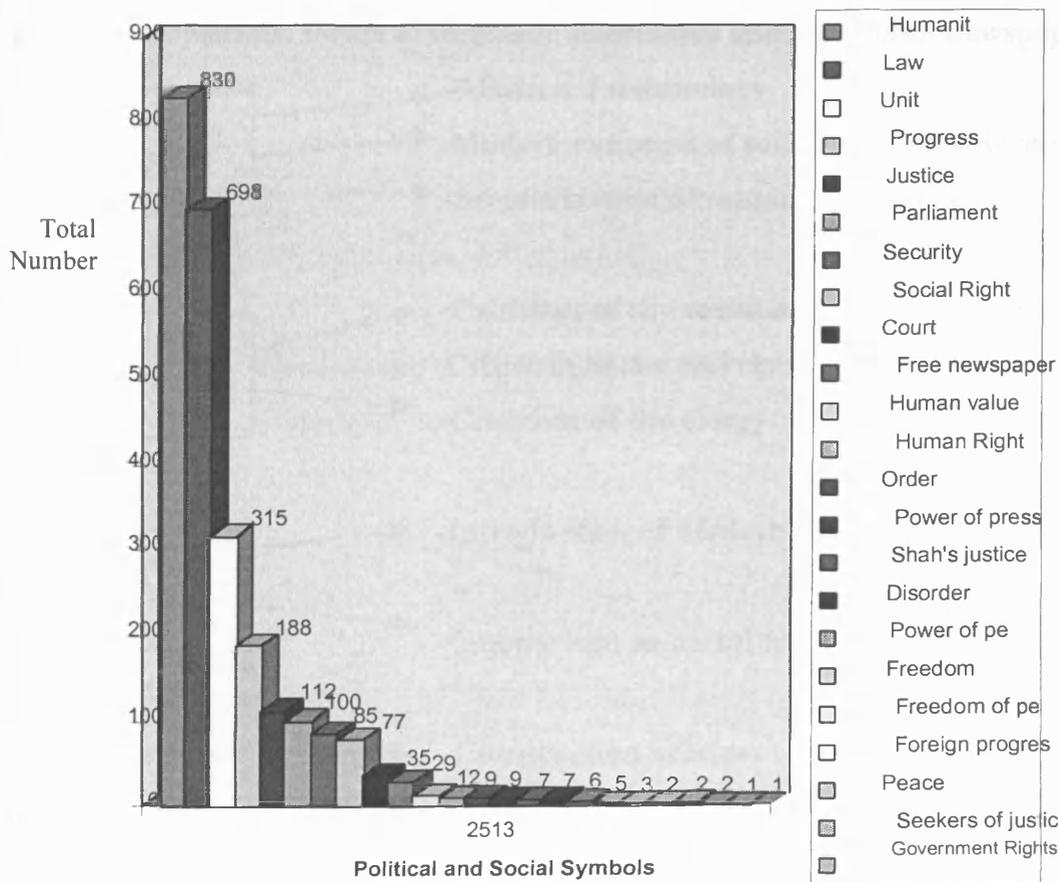
The Critical Discourse Analysis of Qanun

As previously stated, the CDA method will be used for more in depth analysis of *Qanun* newspaper.

The semiotic and linguistic analysis

One of the best evaluations of the style of writing used in *Qanun* newspaper has been made by *Sur-i Israfil* newspaper. *Sur-i Israfil* stated that "Whoever had read *Qanun* knows well that, from the beginning of the Islamic era to the present, none has put pen to paper in the Persian Language with the same fluency and eloquence" (*Sur-i Israfil*, 1907, No.5, p.8). Indeed it is not possible to find any other publication of the *Qajar* period that has the simplicity and the fluency of language that the *Qanun* newspaper has. My aim here is to examine the various forms of linguistic expression used by this newspaper, and others, at that time. These forms are suggested in figure 7-3-2.

Figure 7-3-2 various forms of linguistic expression used in *Qanun* newspaper

1- New Language
- Modern Terminology
- Modern concepts of social &political terms
- Secularization of religious concepts

2- Critical Language
- Criticism of the social and political situation
- Criticism of the Government
- Criticism of the clergy

3- Informative Language
- Introduction of modern concepts
- Comparison as an informative language

4- Constructive Language
- Construction of ideas
- Construction of political structure
- Construction of public sphere
- Construction of political popular language

The above figure is the suggested model for the semiotic and linguistic analysis of *Qanun*. However, this model requires further explanation. Looking at the entire text of *Qanun* it is can be seen that the forms of language expression used by Malkum Khan could be categorised into the above four mentioned forms of expression. Each of these forms will be explained in more detail.

Before explaining each one of these forms two things should be mentioned. First, there is a strong coherence between all these forms. This makes their strict classification and division difficult, if not impossible. Secondly, as shown in figure 7-3-2, a strong consequential relationship exists between these various different forms. In general, Malkum Khan used the introduction of modern terminology and new concepts as a means of criticising, by points of comparison, the situation of the country at the time. He then tried to provide some information about other societies regarding the same concepts. Finally he suggested some solutions to the existing situation through the implementation of constructive ideas and structures.

1-New Language: Qanun's usage of modern terminology, with regard to such concepts as social and political terms and the secularization of religious ideas, can be regarded as a new language. In fact, this language is but a form of expression with which to present modern Western ideologies. In *Qanun*, Malkum Khan tried to introduce and combine, as much as he could, modern terminology with modern concepts and interpretations which were different from that of their traditional and ordinary meaning. These concepts are derived from the Western context of European societies. To simplify these concepts Malkum Khan tried to use indigenous ideas and symbols which would make them more easily understandable to the people. One of the main powerful points in this new language is what I call the 'secularization of religious concepts' or, in other words, 'the re-interpretation of religious concepts in the light of modern Western thought'. In this relation Malkum Khan explained various religious concepts, but with new and modern definitions influenced by a Western background. The Iranian intellectuals before him had never engaged in such an undertaking. With the help of a combination of religious and modern secular language, Western political structures such as 'parliament' became acceptable to the religious leaders as well as the traditional people of Iran. The triumph of the Constitutional Revolution is the clearest sign of indigenization or Islamization of secular concepts in a traditional and religious society such as Iran during the 19th century. We shall look at some examples from *Qanun* to support this argument.

Modern terminology

The main factor in the social and political development of 19th century Iran was the introduction of modern ideologies. This was done through the introduction of different terminology to that previously used in the country or by a reinterpretation and re-examination of existing Persian terminology. *Qanun* was one of the pioneer newspapers in introducing both modern terminology and modern concepts to Iranians. There is no doubt that the people were unfamiliar or unaware with such terms and concepts as 'parliament' prior to the 19th century. This word, and many others, contributed to creating an understanding of what the people needed to strive for in order to change the social and political system of the country. The following statements of *Qanun* are some examples, chosen randomly, which show the newspapers use of this new terminology.

> It is obvious that a country requires varying laws to organise a state. Justice and politics, farming and trading, army and tax, and every part of the land and every position needs a special law. (*Qanun*, No. 4, p.2)

> This Great Court Parliament is the prelude to the Great National Parliament. You are not the members of the Ministers Cabinet. You are the advisors of the Iranian nation. You are small in number. You must be at least seventy people. Great *Mujtahids* and the scholars must be within this parliament. (*Qanun*, No.18, p.2)

> The head of parliament should be appointed by the Great Court as confirmed by the king. There will be no limit to the sayings and acts of the parliament members unless by command of the parliament. The decree of the parliament will be based on the majority of the votes. The council and the place and the time of the parliament should be in control of the parliament as confirmed by the king. (No. 35, p.3)

Terminology such as 'great court parliament' and the modern concepts of 'law', 'justice', 'majority' and 'votes' are a few examples of such modern language use. Although some of these terms were no doubt used by ordinary people, it is clear that *Qanun's* usage of the terminology was of a radically different and more precise nature.

Modern concepts of social and political terms

In *Qanun,* the use of modern terminology involved modern concepts and interpretations being used in tandem with one another. Malkum Khan tried to use both elements to educate the people and to make them aware of the new political structure which was already established in the Western countries. Let us look at some examples:

> This cry of the Iranian people and this sea of miseries in which we are all sunk, has no other cause than the fact that we the Iranian people have not yet understood the meaning and the power of the law. (*Qanun.* No. 2, p.2)

> The law consists in gathering the powers of the people from all walks of life with a view to protecting the general rights. (*Qanun.* No. 2, p.2)

> The law should be based on the principles of justice. (*Qanun.* No. 2, p.2)

> In a land where there is law, the control of affairs of the authorities shall be in the hands the sages of the nation. (*Qanun.* No. 11, p.30)

It is obvious that what Malkum Khan is trying to explain here is based on particular definitions of words. For example, he is using a definition of 'law' that is radically different from its ordinary everyday meaning. The new conceptual meaning of this term is based on its modern social, political and Western interpretation. The belief that the nation should control the affairs of the authorities by using the law was definitely a new concept to Iranian people in the 19th century. This new interpretation was used in many places throughout this newspaper in order to awaken Iranians' awareness of modern political concepts and their role in society.

The secularization of religious concepts

The secularization of religious concepts involves the interpretation of religious principles in the light of secular and earthly elements, and the support of secular elements through the use of religious concepts (the modernization of religious concepts). This new interpretation was unfamiliar to both the clergy and other people. This procedure saw secular Western definitions being used in the attempt to integrate the religious elements into the intellectuals' social and political plans for the country. They did this by explaining, for example, that Islam is not against the rights of women

or the progress of the country, in order to prove that religion was not incompatible with their plans for national development. Further examples will help to clarify this matter.

> From the rabble we have heard some exaggerations concerning women. What is the truth of the matter? The *Sayyed* stated: We have such a high opinion of women that what we say about them will not be taken as exaggeration. We consider women the upbringer of children, the author of family welfare and the stimulus of world progress. And we believe that the upbringing of girls is the purist and the holiest duties of civilization. Those women who are human we deem more respectable and respectful than you can imagine. (*Qanun*. No. 19, p.3)

> The steamboat, telegraph and the entire progress of the world springs from the rays of Islam. (*Qanun*. No. 21, p.4)

> [Spoken by the Shah] now the earth and the sky command us to progress. My determination is clear on this score. Our age should be the age of security. After this, whoever is the captive of indignity, whoever is not human shall not find a place in governmental offices. (*Qanun*. No. 39, p.3)

> However, today you must have understood that the rights of the nation shall never hold any meaning unless the masters of the nation struggle for those rights are based on a national plan. It is obvious that the national plan should be based on the truths of Islam and humanity. (*Qanun*. No. 18, p.3)

> [A statement from an unknown person in the *Qanun* Newspaper]. In another letter, this honest man writes, Concerning these issues we have held talks with the ambassadors. This is what I tell the gentlemen: You all love Iran and wish for the prosperity of nations. However, there are two mistakes in interacting with these nations:
> The first mistake is that you are not really aware what Asian domination is. You imagine that the domination of the Asian countries is of the same form, which you sometimes had in the ministry in the past. What a gruesome mistake! The domination of the Asian countries is a calamity, a plague the likes of which has never been seen in the ministry.
> The second mistake is that you use the laws of the ministry as models for us when you wish to stimulate progress in the countries. This is totally ill founded. In Muslim countries, any order coming from abroad will have neither root nor fruit.
> Why do you imagine the Ottoman government did not come to any pleasant conclusion despite all her power? Because the Ottoman ministers wished to import organisations from abroad and this was impossible.

In Muslim countries, order should originate from Islam. The progress of Muslim countries shall never be made possible unless in the knowledge and strengthening of Islam. (*Qanun.* No. 36, pp.1-4)

The spirit of Islam and the progress of the world have rendered the emergence of a national parliament necessary. And the emergence of such a parliament will not be possible unless by the endeavour of the *Ulama* and by the power of union. And today, our first duty as the servers of the brilliant religion is this that we should awaken the people from all walks of life in any possible manner in all meetings. Afterwards, we should teach them to be their own saviours by the guidance of the brilliant because there is nothing for man save what he strives for. (*Qanun.* No. 37, p.4)

It is significant that in all the above statements a connection between religious issues and principles and modern social and political concepts is created. Malkum Khan tried numerous times to harmonise the religious concepts with the secular element, or in other words, to re-interpret religious concepts in the light of the modern world. This attempt was significant in harmonising new and modern ideas with religious principles, or at least in showing the folly of regarding them as contradictory. As a result of this interpretation of modern secular ideas concerning 'law', the 'parliamentary system', 'elections' and ' the rights of women', these, and many other concepts, were gradually accepted by the society. Without this it would not have been possible to convince the society to accept Western modernization and development.

2-Critical Language

The language of criticism is used continuously in *Qanun* newspaper and with regard to different issues. The main criticisms made by Malkum Khan in this newspaper are directed at the existing social and political situation of the country, the government body and, on some occasions, the head of state (the Shah) and the clergy. Some examples of each category are shown below.

Criticism of the social and political situation

Nobody is not allowed in the country to mention the word law. (*Qanun.* No.1, p.2)

Now we are sitting here. If our house is confiscated and if our religion and existence are trampled upon under a thousands oaths of

redemption by indication of a strange man, which office or what law do we have recourse to? (*Qanun*. No. 3, p.3)

Criticism of the Government

The government that violates the rights of her subjects is worse than the thieves of time. (*Qanun*. No. 23, p.2)

The violators of human rights have known only one law. Give money or we will behead you. Be our slaves or we will slash open your abdomen. Encourage everyone or else we shall set fire to you, your house and your family. (*Qanun*. No. 24, p.1)

Why not talk to ameliorate affairs? Because they cut off the tongue. Why do you not struggle for your rights? Because they cut open our abdomen. (*Qanun*. No. 11, p.1)

Although the *Qanun* newspaper is published in a free country, it does not lose the habit of flattery. You criticise the ministers and praise the shah. Who are the ministers? What are the ministers? Who has chosen them? Except the shah, who can find ministers like them? What advantage do they have over us? The shah himself has caused them to ride on us. (*Qanun*. No. 8, p.2)

Criticism of the Clergy

That wise preacher who had written in this newspaper cried on the pulpit, "O religious *Ulama*! O sages of the land! Know that all these tyrannies and floods of tears flowing in Iran are due to your silence and cruelty. By command of God and by command of nature, you should preserve the rights of the nation. When you see them setting fire to the life of Muslims, how do you dare say, "It's none of my concern. (*Qanun*. No. 8, p.1)

3-Informative Language

In order to make people more aware of the progress in other countries and to make them familiar with modern concepts, Malkum Khan tried to use informative language based on two main elements. Firstly introducing the modern concepts to the people and secondly using comparisons between Iran and other countries regarding their social and political situation. Both of these elements are reflected in the following examples.

Introduction of Modern Concepts

In the following two examples, Malkum Khan tried to explain the modern concepts and the application of law in human life. This kind of informative language is used throughout *Qanun* in order to introduce modern concepts of modern terminology.

> The law is representing, guaranteeing and protecting human rights. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.2)

> The entire destruction comes from lack of laws. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.2)

Comparison as informative language

The following examples show that how Malkum Khan used comparison in order to inform the Iranians about the differences between their society and the modernized one.

> After mentioning the low quantity of Iran's imports compared to France's exports, Malcolm Khan says, "The reason is that in other countries, there are laws. However, even the word law is not common in Iran." (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.4)

> The European animals know that nobody can be cruel to them. And we who are proud of being human are in the dark concerning our right to life. (*Qanun*. No. 3, p.3)

> In Asian areas, there are three countries that do not have laws: *Baluchestan*, Afghanistan and Iran. In *Bokhara*, there was no law until recently. However, the Russian soldiers have placed some laws on the point of a dagger, thrusting them down the throats of people in *Bokhara*. (*Qanun*. No. 7, p.1)

4-Constructive Language

The main aim of Malkum Khan in publishing *Qanun* newspaper was stated explicitly in the second issue of this paper.

> The missions of this newspaper are manifold:
> Publishing facts
> Seeking the law
> Organising unity
> Helping the downtrodden
> We who happened to be the founders of this newspaper commit ourselves in the presence of the people of the world and the people of Iran that to risk our lives and wealth and power to accomplish this task. This newspaper is the harbinger of union and the pioneer of rights in Iran. Whatever pain or request the Iranian people have, we shall cast at the feet of His Highness and put them into a practical

shape to achieve rights as far as our duty is concerned. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.5)

Achieving these objectives required a language, which, as explained, I have categorised under four headings: new language, critical language, informative language, and constructive language. A brief explanation and examples of the first three categories has been provided above. The fourth category, constructive language, is related to Malkum Khans plan's to 'publish facts', 'seek the law', 'organise unity', and 'help the downtrodden'. Moreover, what is meant by this form of language is the manner in which Malkum Khan tried to achieve his objectives. He used a form of constructive language through which he hoped to build up new ideas and a new political structure for the country. He sought to create a public sphere in which this new situation could function and to construct a popular political language based on a new comprehension of the world inspired by Western modernization. Through these four linguistic means, Malkum Khan was successful in not only introducing a modern language and new concepts to the people, but also in establishing new thoughts and ideas and in helping the country to develop a popular political language. This language was not only adopted by the intellectuals but also by ordinary people. Indeed before such an environment existed, ordinary people could never have dreamt of seeking the establishment of a parliament or demanding constitutional law. All these ideas were gradually built up during this period with the help of intellectuals such as Malkum Khan and newspapers such as *Qanun*. This study of *Qanun* will show many more examples of the use of such constructive language in the attempt to establish a comprehensive plan for the modernization of the country. Some of these forms of language are presented in the following section.

Construction of ideas

Introducing the modern ideas into the society requires usage of various ways and methods. Malkum Khan in his *Qanun* examined many ways that construct these ideas in the society.

> We do not demand what is beyond the power of the government. We say, "Based on Islamic principles, enforce in this country the laws that exist in Ottoman cities and Indian villages and the wild American tribes. Imprison us but by virtue of the law. Grab our money but by virtue of the law. Confiscate our rights and property but by virtue of the law. Loot and plunder us but by virtue of the law.

Banish us from the land but by virtue of the law. Imprison our spouses but by virtue of the law. Cut off our hands, feet and tongues but by virtue of the law. Burn us but by virtue of the law. Cut open our abdomens but by virtue of the law." (*Qanun*. No. 11, p.1)

We should congratulate each other on the publication of this newspaper for the progress of the world is the fruit of good thoughts. And there is no better instrument than a newspaper for the publication of thoughts. In this age, a prestigious newspaper exerts a deeper effect on the situation of the country than a victorious army does. The *Akhtar* Newspaper serves the Iranian nation more than seventy ministers. (*Qanun*. No. 3, p. 3)

The basest laws are better than lawlessness. (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.4)

The state, which has no laws, has neither religion nor justice nor intellect. (*Qanun*. No. 11, p.1)

Construction of political structure

The construction of different political structure based on modern ideologies is another way of constructing ideas in the society.

Man without human rights is an animal, an animal that shall have no fate other than hardships however hard he tries. (*Qanun*. No. 27, p.1)

What should we do to ameliorate the past?
We should regain the bygone rights.
How can we regain them?
The way is what the heaven and the earth cry to you. Human rights shall not be achieved and protected unless in union. (*Qanun*. No. 27, p.1)

No better instrument can be imagined than a free newspaper for the salvation and progress of Iran. (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.1)

From this moan of ours, one must not gather that in Iran the law has not been well written. Our books and the bosoms of our *Ulama* are filled with good laws. We are talking of enforcing them. (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.2)

The *Ulama* and the scholars of Iran have always been aware of the good laws. The weakness lies in the fact that they have never known what policy they should follow for enforcing the laws. They still believe that the enforcement of laws is on the shoulders of the ministers. They say we have good laws in our bosoms but the tragedy is that the ministers do not enforce them. O esteemed scholar! The ministers, who are able and liable to enforce the laws, were not brought to understand their duty. After raising expectations, it is now

considered indecent for us to limit our duties to finding good laws. After this duty of government seeking, it is our humane duty try to understand what to do to enforce good laws in Iran. (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.2)

In a land where there is law, the intellect, dignity and humanity will increase moment by moment and the people excited by individual interests and by force of the interest of the general welfare, will day by day increase the discipline and glory of their state. Famine and cruelty shall be eradicated. The blessings of life will be abundant, the treasures of people will be secure, the schools will be filled with knowledge, the officials will be sages, the farmers will be able, the soldiers will be orderly, the rights of man will be protected, the legal pleasures will be for everyone, everyone will be joyful and happy, everyone will be protected by the law. (*Qanun*. No. 11, p.3)

Construction of a Public Sphere

By introducing modern ideas in the society, Malkum Khan was able to construct the kind of public sphere that could understand and respect the new and modern concepts for the development of the country.

No sweeter voice is there than that of a newspaper for the union of views and the rebirth of a nation. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.5)

So if we want the law, we must ask our reason what we should do to enforce the law prior to doing anything else. (*Qanun*. No.1, p.20)

Construction of a popular political language

The construction of a popular political language was actually another way of constructing a public sphere, within which modern concepts could become popular. *Qanun* was one of the main papers to introduce this kind of language.

What should we do to cause people to understand the meaning of law and go after it? Firstly, understand it yourself and seek it. What can I do? Firstly, you are not alone. Secondly, if you have properly understood the situation and if you have the dignity and the language, you can unite many people to yourself. (*Qanun*. No. 5, p.1)

Social and political discourse analysis

The social and political discourse analysis of *Qanun* will focus on three main points:

1-The role of political agents

The founder of the *Qanun* newspaper, Mirza Malkum Khan Nazem al-Dauleh, was born in the Armenian settlement at Julfa, one of the suburbs of Isfahan in 1834 (*Sharaf,* 1885, No. 46.; Algar,1973). His father, Mirza Yaqub Khan, was an Armenian converted to Islam. Born in 1815, Mirza Yaqub Khan claimed descent from a French grandmother who was related to Jean-Jacques Rousseau. He received his education in India among the Armenian community living there. In his travels to different places, such as Java, he evidently acquired knowledge of French, for on his return to Iran in 1845, he became an interpreter and translator at the Russian embassy in Tehran.

Having such a position, Yaqub Khan was able to establish links with a number of Iranian officials making himself available as an informant and messenger. This enabled him to develop a close relationship with Hajji Mirza Aqasi, prime minister to Muhammad Shah (1834-1848), and the first two ministers of Nasir al-Din Shah, Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Kabir (in office from 1848 to 1851), and Mirza Agha Khan Nuri. Knowing that Mirza Aqa Khan Nuri had a deep hatred of Amir Kabir, Yaqub Khan played an instrumental role in the execution of the latter (Algar, 1973).

Using his relationship with Mirza Aqa Khan Nuri, Yaqub Khan was able to send his son Malkum, to France at the age of ten, at government expense, to study natural science and later on politics. Malkum Khan was fifteen years old during the French Revolution of 1848. Despite his young age he was to be deeply influenced by the monumental changes he witnessed in France during this time. As a consequence, on his return to Iran in 1851-1852 he had many ideas for social development and change. There is little doubt, as Algar believes, that "Malkum found his studies both congenial and absorbing: they later became the basis for most of his numerous memoranda and treatises calling for political, social and economic reform in Iran." (Algar, 1973, p.16.).

Because of his support for European civilization, Malkum became the first coherent advocate of Westernization in Iran. Moreover, he was to become "one of the main advocates of reform in 19th century Iran." (Avery, et al. 1991, p.184). He believed that the progress of the nation could come not only from the intelligence of its people, but also through using other nations' experiences and knowledge. In his view, any kind of attempt to develop independent progress would be a waste of time.

> If you wish to discover the path of progress by your own intelligence,
> then we will have to wait for three thousand years. The Europeans

have discovered the path of progress and the principles of order in the course of three thousand years, just as they have discovered the telegraph, and they have reduced them to one well-defined law. Just as we can introduce the telegraph from Europe and set it up in Tehran without any difficulty, so too we should adopt their order. (Malkum Khan, 1948, p.13)

Believing in the process of using other nations' experiences, Malkum succeeded in establishing the first functioning telegraph line in Iran. It ran from the *Dar al-Fonun* to the royal palace (Afshar, 1965, p.228). In his writing, especially in the *'Qanun'* newspaper, Malkum tried to emphasise that understanding the customs of the Europeans, *Aieneh Tamaddun* (the culture of civilization), are the conditions for any kind of material progress. In relation to this matter Malkum introduced two basic elements of progress 'order' and 'law'. These he saw as essential prerequisites if any movement towards European civilization was to be made possible. The foundation of *Qanun* was a reflection of these elements, which Malkum tried to express in different ways. In the Persian language the word *'Qanun'* means "regulation, method, principle" (Mu'in, 1953-1954). This meaning does not fully fit the concept of the European meaning of Law, which is based on the enforcement of rule of conduct or action by a government (The Chambers Dictionary, 1994). So he tried to explain it by using different practical examples to enable people to understand it more clearly.

Malkum is generally regarded as "the greatest Iranian revolutionary journalist" (Mowlana, 1963, p.258.), at least during the *Qajar* period. He was a colleague of Jamal-al-Din the great Pan-Islamist revolutionary leader and journalist who contributed to *Qanun* by writing articles anonymously. This contribution becomes important when we analyse *Qanun's* attempts to treat the religious clergy differently from other authorities or elites. Indeed *Qanun* is full of religious phrases, which at times make it seem like a religious text, advising people to follow Islam and the Muslim clerics.

2-Analysis of the socio-political situation

The socio-political situation of Iran in the second half of the 19th century was very different from that at the beginning of the century. The rise of the modern generation of Iranian intellectuals, the expansion of contact between Iran and the West, the establishment of the *Dar al-Fonun* college, the injection of modern sciences into society, the entry of European travellers into Iran in the form of teachers, professionals and diplomats, and the calls for political change (which were especially felt after the

travels of Nasir al-Din Shah to the West), all contributed to make this period one of the most important and unique in contemporary Iranian history. This period also coincided with the vast development of the West and the achievements of Western society in the areas of law and order enforcement, freedom and democracy. The big gap that existed between these societies and Iran, (which was suffering from despotism, censorship and absolutism) spurred the Iranian intellectuals into taking action in an attempt to rectify the situation. This same realisation, but with a different direction and sense of purpose, was also arrived at by the government and indeed by the Shah himself. This difference of direction and sense of purpose is perhaps best reflected in the fact that what the government tried to achieve was quite different from what the people wanted at that time. As discussed in Chapter Four, there were various governmental attempts to introduce a programme of development and modernization for the country. These attempts, however, could satisfy neither the government nor the people and did not continue for long. Even a request from an educated youngster to establish some social and political clubs was denied, with crushing objections, by Nasir al-Din Shah himself. This situation forced the Iranian intellectuals to move outside of the country and to begin the movement in exile. From a multitude of places, such as England (Malkum Khan), Egypt (Mirza Ali Mohammad Parvaresh), Turkey (Mohammad Tahir Tabrizi) and India (Sayyed Jalal al-Din al-Husainni Mu'ayyed al-Islam), they started their fight against the *Qajar* despotism using a variety of means, including the press. The establishment of Persian newspapers in exile in that period can be seen as a result of the general situation that pervaded at the time. Newspapers such as *Akhtar* (1875-1895) in Istanbul, *Sorayya* (1898-9) and *Parvareh* (1900) in Cairo, and *Habl al-Matin* (founded 1893) in Calcutta, (Browne, 1914/1983), which strongly criticized the social and political conditions of 19th century Iran were founded by such intellectuals. *Qanun* newspaper was also founded for the same reasons. Various reasons may have motivated Malkum Khan to publish this newspaper but the main points to be noted here are that this paper was first founded and distributed outside the country and it was highly vociferous in its praise of Western modernization. Similarly, it was equally critical of the *Qajar* despotism and what it saw as the backwardness of the traditional life in Iran. It is obvious that such a publication would prove unpopular with the authorities. This proved to be the case, with the *Qajar* government banning *Qanun* from entering the country. The people then tried to obtain the paper by various methods so as make use of its advice and ideas. The Constitutional Revolution owed a

lot to this newspaper. In my view, if *Qanun* had not introduced information about the modern world to the people of Iran, using the modern concepts of law, freedom and democracy and the modern system of political government, then the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution could not have happened. This assertion is strongly supported by studies of the social and political situation of Iran during the 19th century and by the research undertaken for this thesis and other related studies.

3-Discourse analysis of the text

The discourse analysis of this *Qanun* starts with the following question: What were the mediated socio-political discourse elements in this independent newspaper? This question provides the main focus of analysis in this part of the study. By analysing the socio-political discourse elements the 'attention' and 'the direction' of this paper will be discerned. These findings will help us to judge more accurately the exact contribution made by this newspaper to the social and political development of the country. Ideological terminology will be analysed in accordance with Figure 3-1, in Chapter Three and reproduced below. One or two subcategories from each categories developed in Figure 3-1 will be chosen in order to examine this terminology. These subcategories are the most frequent ones that appeared in *Qanun* and indicate its involvement in the introduction of modern political issues into Iranian society, as shown in Figure 7-3-3. Actually a number of other categories and sub-categories may also be identified, but our focus will concentrate on the most significant modern concepts in terms of their contribution to the process of development and modernization in Iran. Figure 7-3-3 indicates those concepts, which will be analysed in an effort to assess the extent of their contribution to the process of change. The new meaning of these concepts will also be explained. To put it another way, the analysis focuses on how Malkum Khan utilised various forms of language to construct and establish the meaning of modern political ideologies in Iranian society so as to achieve development, progress and modernization. The procedure used in this analysis is the same as that described in Chapter Two. All those sentences in *Qanun* that are related to one 'topic' (category and sub-category) and one 'theme' are highlighted and analysed. From these, certain examples are chosen to show the newspaper's process of producing meaning. Finally the results of the analysis of the three selected newspapers will be compared to each other in order to examine their differing approaches to Iran's process of political change and development during the 19th century. It is important to

note that there are no translated texts of the selected newspapers in English. I have carefully translated those sentences which are chosen from these papers for study.

In the following section those sub-categories that are chosen for study will be analysed. It is important here to note that the concepts of these sub-categories are connected to the categories chosen in Figure 3-1 (for more detail regarding some of these concepts see Pool, et al.1952). For instance, concepts such as 'freedom of expression' and 'the rights of the people' derive from 'Liberalism', 'parliament' from the 'parliamentary system', and 'law', 'Justice' and 'order' from 'law and order'. It is also necessary here to explain that the term *Adamiyat* (humanity) society is used by Malkum Khan to indicate the sort of grouping that he tried to establish to propagate his political agenda. This concept is analysed as an example for 'groups and parties' as indicated in Figure 7-3-3.

Figure: 3-1: Ideological terminology developed as an indicator for political modernity in the analysis of Iranian newspapers during the *Qajar* period.

Categories	Freedom and the Rights of Individuals	Representation and Election	Law and Order	Nationalism

Sub-Categories

Liberalism		Parliamentary System	Constitutional Law	Language
	Secularism	Groups and Parties	Governmental System	History
	Feminism		Justice and Order	Nation-State
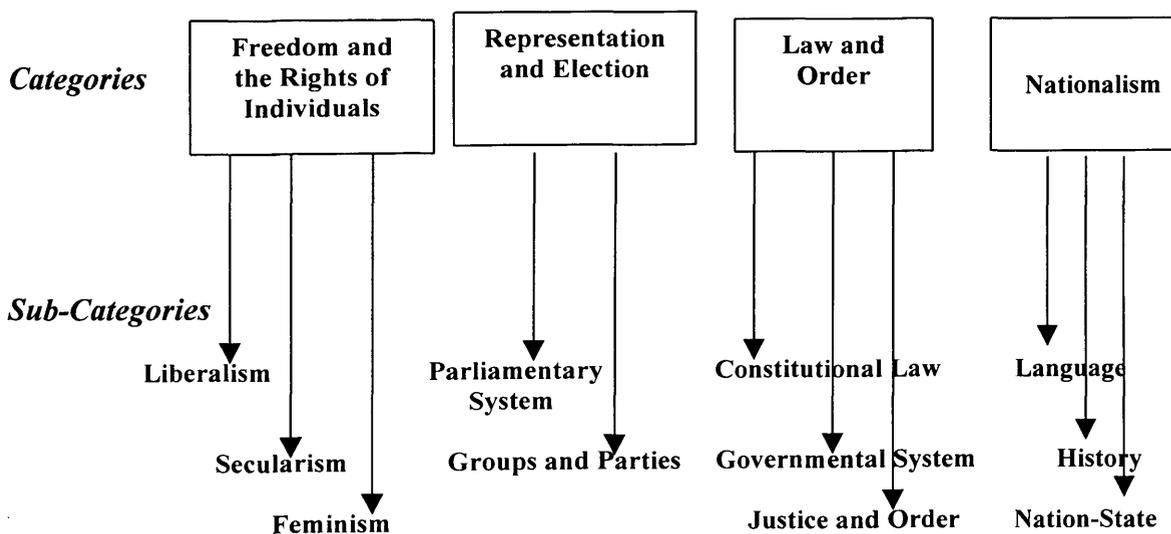
Figure 7-3-3: Sub-Categories used in the analysis of *Qanun* newspaper
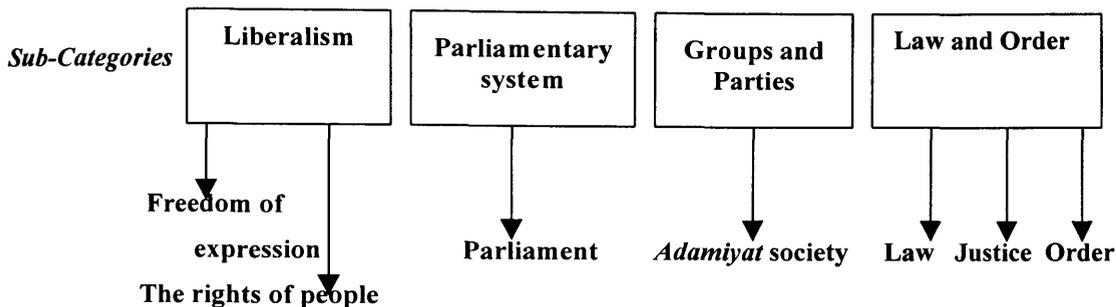
Freedom of expression

According to Adamiyat (1961), "generally speaking, Malkum Khan in all of his writing was concerned with the following issues: 'freedom', 'law an order', 'reform of the political system', 'pursuing Western modernization', 'social justice' 'the rights of individuals', 'development of the judicial and management system', 'economic development', 'fighting against superstitions', and 'reform in Persian calligraphy and the style of writing' (Adamiyat, 1961, p.100). In all its various forms 'freedom' was and still is the main social and political issue in Iranian society. One of the first topics to be discussed by Malkum Khan in the pages of *Qanun* was the notion of 'freedom', especially 'freedom of expression'. Indeed, from the very first time that the term 'freedom', according to its Western concept, was introduced into Iran (by Mirza Saleh Shirazi in his 'travel-book' dated 1815, when he talked about England as 'the country of freedom' as cited by Shahidi, (1983)), until the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution in 1906, ninety years was to pass in which Iranians were constantly struggling to achieve such freedom.

The idea of liberalism necessitated the existence of freedom in society. 'Freedom of expression' and 'freedom of writing' were so crucial to Malkum Khan that he emphasised them from the very first issue of *Qanun*. According to *Qanun* the 'power of expression', 'the ability to express good thoughts' and 'all progress and advancement of the world' come from 'freedom' (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.5).

> The Iranian people have not yet understood the meaning of the power
> of pen for the power of pen depends on the degree of the freedom of
> the pen.

In every State where the people are in harmony they express their good thoughts in a good manner. The pen of the scholars is the best torch of advancement.

All the notable members of the ministry are people who have revealed their art and dignity with the power of pen.

All progress and advancement in the world and all the boons of independence and dignity of nations emanate from the power of the pen. But which pen?

The pen that speaks by virtue of the law. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.5)

The rights of the people

Another principle crucial to the idea of liberalism is the preservation of 'the rights of the people' and 'the rights of individuals' in society. This idea was also emphasised by Malkum Khan in his *Qanun* newspaper. An examination of the statements which he made concerning the issue of 'human rights' shows that he was able to elaborate on this idea and, by providing examples, to show its importance with a view to introducing and institutionalising it in the society. Careful examinations of the sections that are selected from *Qanun* concerning the issue of 'rights of the people' show that Malkum Khan dealt with this topic somewhat surreptitiously in conjunction with, and under the guise of, other topics. The following is a list of concepts drawn from sentences in *Qanun* that talk about the 'rights of people':

-The rights of people do not belong to certain people they should be organised on a national level so that all the people may benefit.

-The responsible body for protecting the 'rights of the people' is the government. Therefore, the government must act to guard the rights of the people.

-The law of the violators of human rights is neither a 'human law' nor an 'acceptable law'. It should be changed to an acceptable law by the people.

-The 'humanity' of human beings is guaranteed by 'human rights'. Otherwise, Man without human rights is no more than animal.

-The 'union' of the people is the fundamental basis for protecting 'human rights'.

-The religious *Ulama* should stand for the protection of the 'rights of the people'.

-The importance of having 'law' is to protect the 'rights of the people'.

-There is a relationship between the idea of paying 'tax' and the responsibility of the government to protect the 'rights of the people'.

The following are some examples from *Qanun* related to the above discussion.

However, today you must have understood that the rights of the nation shall never hold any meaning unless the masters of the nation struggle for those rights based on a national plan. It is obvious that the national plan should be based on the truths, of Islam, and humanity. (*Qanun*. No. 18, p.3)

The government that violates the rights of her subjects is worse than the thieves of time. (*Qanun*. No. 23, p.2)

The violators of human rights have known only one law. Give money or we will behead you. Be our slaves or we will slash open your abdomen. Encourage everyone or else we shall set fire to you, your house and your family. (*Qanun*. No. 24, p.1)

Man without human rights is an animal, an animal that shall have no fate other than hardships however hard he tries. (*Qanun*. No. 27, p.1)

What should we do to ameliorate the past?
We should regain the bygone rights.
How can we regain them?
The way is what the heaven and the earth cry to you. Human rights shall not be achieved and protected unless in union. (*Qanun*. No. 27, p.1)

That wise preacher who had written in this newspaper cried on the pulpit, "O religious *Ulama*! O sages of the land! Know that all these tyrannies and floods of tears flowing in Iran are due to your silence and cruelty. By the command of God and by the command of nature, you should preserve the rights of the nation. When you see them setting fire to the life of Muslims, how do you dare say, It's none of my concern?" (*Qanun*. No. 8, p.1)

We do not demand what is beyond the power of the government. We say, "Based on Islamic principles, enforce in this country the laws that exist in Ottoman cities and Indian villages and the wild American tribes. Imprison us but by virtue of the law. Grab our money but by virtue of law. Confiscate our rights and property but by virtue of the law. Loot and plunder us but by virtue of the law. Banish us from the land but by virtue of the law. Imprison our spouses but by virtue of the law. Cut off our hands, feet and tongues but by virtue of the law. Burn us but by virtue of the law. Cut open our abdomens but by virtue of the law. (*Qanun*. No. 11, p.1)

[Spoken by Askari emirs and officials]:
Until now we have been unaware of our rights and duties. We thought that the stipends that we obtained from you at the price of

sordid methods, you brought from your father's house and bestowed on us out of charity. Now we have understood that these blessings come from the taxes that we pay for the protection of our rights and that you expend them shamelessly for the captivation of this nation. Gone is the time when we imagined you to be our masters. Gone is the time when we placed our lives, property, religion and nation the instrument of those wanton silly oaths of yours. (*Qanun.* No. 14, p.1)

Parliament

The idea of the implementation of the law required a body that could establish comprehensive laws as well as a system of government with which to protect these laws. In this respect the idea of establishing a legislative body is crucial. The concept of 'parliament', as the best system, was introduced to Iranians as the Western method of comprehensive law, which sought to satisfy and protect the majority of people in society. In truth, most Iranian travellers to the West who had written memos about European countries, stated the importance of parliament in these countries and expressed the hope that Iran could establish the same type of system in order to protect the rights of their people, and to prevent government tyranny and despotism (see for example Hairi, 1993). Malkum Khan also tried to explain the importance of having a 'parliament' in the country for the establishment of law. He saw that the remedy for the misery of Iran lay in the hands of the *Ulama* and the Persian scholars with the establishment of a parliament.

> What is the remedy for Iran's misery? The remedy lies in the hands of the *Mujtahids* and depends on the efficiency of the Persian scholars. The *Mujtahids* and the great ones of the tribes should gather round the king and eradicate these floods of misery in the Great National Parliament by polity and legal codes in Iran. (*Qanun.* No. 18, p.2)

He emphasised that the independence of the great *Ulama* and the notable scholars is an important element in making laws in the parliament, which aim to protect both the state and the nation. These laws should be made in accordance with Islamic principles. Without the parliament, Malkum Khan stated that "the best laws of the world will be invalid and meaningless" (*Qanun.* No. 6, p.2). In this regard he spoke generally and argued that there is no difference whether we are speaking about the implementation of Islamic or secular law.

We want to organise a Great National Parliament in which the great *Ulama* and the notable scholars may independently fix and constantly protect the rights of the state and the nation according to the *Shari'ah* of God. (*Qanun*. No. 22, P.1)

The position of the law is briefly treated in issue two of this newspaper. At least 100 Mujtahid and notable scholars and outstanding sages of Iran should be gathered in the capital in a National Parliament and given authority to fix and formally announce the laws necessary for the organisation of Iran, and protect themselves and the law according to a general agreement. Without the last condition, namely without the existence of a national parliament constantly protecting the enforcement of the law, the best laws of the world will be invalid and meaningless. (*Qanun*. No. 6, p.2)

How should these laws be fixed? What are the procedures for the establishment of a parliament? What is the duty of the members of this parliament? How many people should be in this parliament? And what is the responsibility of these members towards the government and the people? These questions and many others were raised and answered by Malkum Khan and for two important reasons. In the first instance he attempted to introduce the idea of parliament and its duty and function in society, and from that, to show the government, as well as the people, the method of establishing such a parliament. Malkum Khan also emphasised the importance of the unity of the people. He saw this as a prerequisite for the establishment of the Great Parliament in the country. Without the unity of the people and the power of union this aim could not be achieved.

Where should the law be fixed and by whom should it be fixed? The organisation of the laws in Iran should be the special task of the National Parliament. (There are long subjects on this score. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.3)

This Great Court Parliament is the prelude to the Great National Parliament. You are not the members of the Ministers Cabinet. You are the councillors of the Iranian nation. You are small in number. You must be at least seventy people. Great Mujtahids and the scholars must be within this parliament. (*Qanun*. No. 18, p.2)

All the ministers must be responsible to your parliament. In other words, your parliament should have the right to put to trial any minister who has acted against the laws, and have him punished according to the law after he has been proved guilty. (*Qanun*. No. 18, pp.2-3)

Governmental expenses should be entirely paid with the knowledge and permission of your parliament. In other words, every year, you should promulgate point by point laws concerning how much the ministers should collect as taxes and how they should spend them. This simple law is the pillar of the entire system of the world. (*Qanun*. No. 18, p.3)

For the establishment of the laws mentioned above, the absolute condition is this: first, the salaries of the parliament members should be fixed with minute care. Your appointment and expulsion should be done by virtue of the law. The choice of the head of parliament and the position and the arrangement of your councillors should be limited to what you see fit. None of you should be exposed to chastisement for anything he has said unless by virtue of the laws that you promulgate yourselves. None of you shall be punished even if you are proven guilty unless by the permission of your parliament. Obviously, there will be neither the parliament nor the councillors nor the laws without these main rights and without such individual security. (*Qanun*. No. 18, p.3)

The head of the parliament should be appointed by the Great Court as confirmed by the king. There will be no limit to the sayings and acts of the parliament members unless by command of the parliament. The decree of the parliament will be based on the majority of the votes. The councillors and the place and the time of the parliament should be in control of the parliament as confirmed by the king. (*Qanun*. No. 35, p.3)

The spirit of Islam and the progress of the world have rendered the emergence of a national parliament necessary. And the emergence of such a parliament will not be possible unless by the endeavours of the *Ulama* and by the power of union. And today, our first duty as the servers of the brilliant religion is this that we should awaken the people from all walks of life in any possible manner in all meetings. Afterwards, we should teach them to be their own saviours by the guidance of the brilliant because there is nothing for man save what he strives for. (*Qanun*. No. 37, p.4)

The meaning of the great law is this, that the state should be organised by virtue of the law in such a manner that the power of the ministry and the control of state welfare may fall into the hands of the people who are considered to be superior, wiser, more perfect among the people. Meanwhile, the limit of the power of the head should be fixed in such a manner that each one of the heads should be completely free in doing governmental duties and should not be sabotaged in those duties. (*Qanun*. No. 4, p.2)

O state seekers of Iran! O life seeking people! Come and unite so that we may establish in our country as well this great law which has been the source of all those blessings throughout the world. The achievement of this law will be free from harm in two ways: firstly,

the principles of this law are based on the laws of Islam, which other states have obtained from Islam. Secondly, they have facilitated the organisation of this great law by such things as the telegraph and the clock so that we can obtain without any difficulty other advancements in this period in a proper manner and use them in our country according to the principles of Islam. (*Qanun*. No. 5, p.2)

If our king seeks order in Iran as you keep saying, why does he not organise a national parliament sooner? The reason is the one uttered by His Highness. For the organisation of a state, the will of the king is not sufficient. The people themselves should have enough intellect to rise and ask for the law. (*Qanun*. No. 6, p.2)

In union, we cry in the *Qanun* Newspaper that the law shall not appear unless by virtue of the decree of the Great Parliament and this Great Parliament will not come into existence unless in the union of the people of Iran. And the union of the people will be possible unless by power of humanity. Until here, the point is clear. However, the important matter remaining is how to organise this humanity, by what means to achieve this goal. (*Qanun*. No. 7, p.1)

Adamiyat (Humanity) society

Malkum Khan did not use *Adamiyat* (Humanity) as a simple or ordinary word. It seems that the whole of his political struggle centred on this symbol which is chosen for a society that Malkum Khan tried to establish in order to propagate his political views. This word occurred in almost every page of this newspaper. Across the entire text, it occupies 33% of the total percentage of the other symbols (23 symbols), that are classified as ideological and political.

When he was in France, Malkum Khan became acquainted with the Freemasons. After his return to Iran in 1859 he established a semi-secret organisation similar to the freemasons called *Faramushkhaneh* (House of Oblivion), "to make people familiar with modern ideas and development." (Martin, 1989, p.66). *Faramushkhaneh* attracted many highly qualified reformers as well as students from *Dar al-Fonun*. Among them were Amin al-Daulah, minister to Muzaffar al-Din Shah, who initiated a series of reforms and Sayyed Muhammad Tabatab'i, who became a prominent Freemason and a leading constitutionalist figure (Algar, 1970; Afary,1996).

In contrast to *Faramushkhaneh*, *Adamiyat* offered a wider forum in attracting people to participate openly. Hence, *Adamiyat* became an unofficial grouping, which required people to believe in certain ideas and practices and certain ethical and moral principles. Through such a concept, Malkum Khan was able to succeed in presenting a

unique ideological and political complex through which people could become aware of new opinions and ideas. Thus *Adamiyat* was itself an agenda consisting of different roles and principles to be followed in order to achieve progress and development. The following are examples taken from *Qanun* to illustrate this point.

> Do not think that the principles of '*Adamiyat*' (Humanity) come from outside the country. They are all from the fountain of one truth, which is Islam. (*Qanun*. No. 16. P.3)

> The spirit of our thoughts and our acts is found in two words. First, the establishment of '*Adamiyat*' principles. Second, the implementation of Islamic principles. (*Qanun*. No. 17. P.1)

> Our principles all come from 'Humanity'. Our guidance is 'Knowledge'. Our name is 'Human being'. Our purpose is the 'Salvation of Iran'. Our hope is the 'prosperity of the whole world.' (*Qanun*. No. 17. P.1)

> To propagate '*Adamiyat*' there are two ways: one way is dark and without end, and the other is clear and easy. The dark way is that you wait until all the people enter the league of 'Humanity' then you accept it. The clear way is that you, without waiting for the other people to join us, become 'Human' and enter this league. (*Qanun*. No. 21. P.2)

Law

'*Qanun*' (Law) is the central issue of *Qanun* newspaper. Indeed it was because of the importance of 'law' that this paper was called '*Qanun*'. From the moment Iranians became aware of 'modern law and order' in European countries they have struggled to implement this system in Iran. This struggle is a continuous one in the social and political discourses of Iranian intellectuals. They see the problem as being one of 'understanding' and 'enforcing' the law, a problem which as yet remains unresolved. Because of the importance of law in society, the analysis of this concept requires some more attention. Malkum Khan had talked in various forms about law and its significance in society. To establish a clear idea about the concept of modern law he used different forms of interpretation and analysis. I have classified almost all of what Malkum Khan has said about 'law' in *Qanun* newspaper and have categorised it under various headings. All the selected sentences do not necessarily fit just the one subject to which they are allocated. Rather, many sentences can be seen and evaluated in different ways and thus put under different subject headings. My main aim here is to show how Malkum Khan used a different language and different interpretations in

order to convince the people of the importance of the law for development and progress. Therefore, what I suggest to be a kind of interpretation is no more than a model for explaining what Malkum Khan tried to say about this important matter in society.

The selected sentences from *Qanun*, which talk about 'law' were classified under six titles which are shown in Figure 7-3-4. This serves to explain how Malkum Khan interpreted this concept and elaborated an idea of 'law' in the hearts and minds of the people, and consequently succeeded in establishing it as a popular discourse in Iranian society during the late 19th century.

Figure 7-3-4: Classification of various sentences dealing with the concept of modern law in *Qanun* newspaper having different forms of interpretation

Law

(Interpretation and Analysis)

Informative	Historical Interpretation	Social Interpretation

Ideological and Philosophical Interpretation	Cultural Interpretation	Political Interpretation
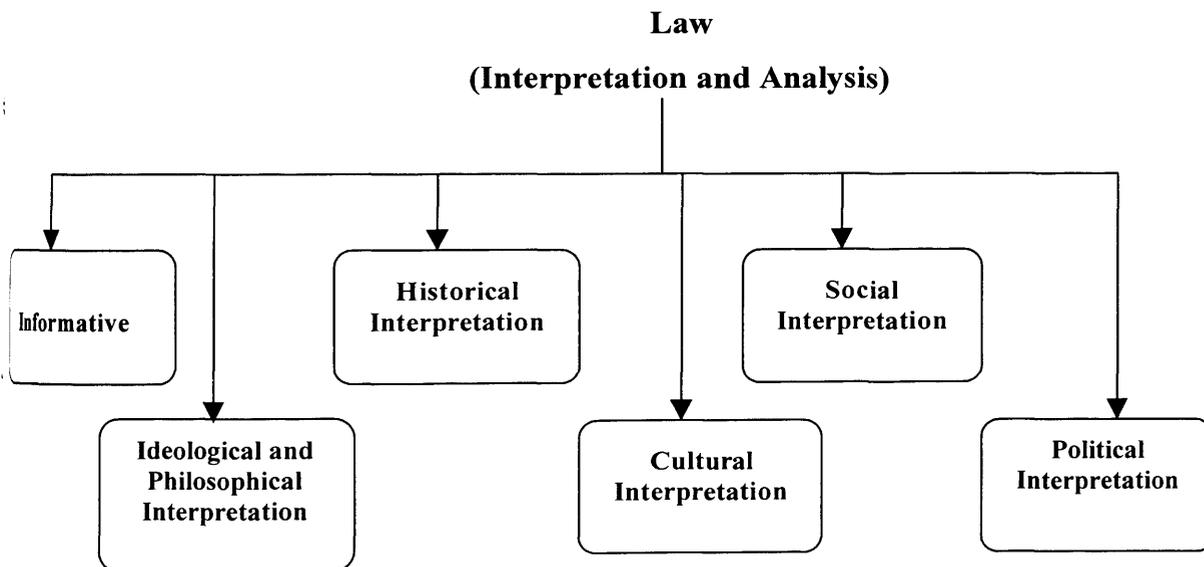
1-Informative

The term 'informative' refers to the use of various ways to explain an idea. The information that is put forward in order to explain an idea can be put in a number of different ways. The definition of the idea, any information regarding the idea and the introduction made to explain the importance of the idea, can all be placed under the title of 'informative interpretation'. Let us look at the ways that Malkum Kahn tried to explain the concept of 'law' and its importance.

We are greatly thankful to the ambassadors of the countries for advancing the advantages of laws in our country. (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.4)

Those ambassadors who are human and true seekers of happiness for Iran, shall point out to our government that after this, the survival of the government will not be possible unless on the basis of just laws. (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.4)

After mentioning the low quantity of Iran's imports compared to France's exports, Malcolm Khan says, The reason is that in other countries, there are laws. However, even the word law is not common in Iran. (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.4)

The law consists in gathering the powers of the people from all walks of life with a view to protecting the general rights. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.2)

Someone from *Isfahan* writes, "What is the lawless state?" The state which loots and plunders the farmers out of its own volition, sells the rights of the people to any strangers, expends the wealth of the country for its selfish interests, and shamelessly wastes the earnings of the servants. The head of such a state rejects his commitments and signatures in a manly manner and gauges out your eyes any minute he desires. He drives your family into the streets, confiscates your property and cuts open your abdomen. What should we do to stop it? Be human and read the *Qanun* Newspaper. (*Qanun*. No. 10, p.3)

Of the laws in England and other countries, we do not talk because it is as clear as the sun that all those glittering places and that general welfare and all those endless capturing and all those seas of wealth which we see in foreign lands, all come from the establishment of the law. (*Qanun*. No. 3, p.3)

Iran teems with divine blessings. What has rendered all these blessings unused is the lack of law. In Iran, nobody is the owner of anything because there is no law. You choose a caliph without law. You exempt a general without law. You sell the rights of the government without law. You imprison the servants of God without law. You give from the common purse without law. You cut open the abdomens without law. (*Qanun*. No. 1, P. 1)

2-Ideological and philosophical interpretation

In this mode of interpretation Malkum Khan tried to build up an ideological and philosophical basis for the idea of 'law' in society. By looking at the selected sentences below, it becomes clear how Malkum Khan tried to establish a new ideological construct for law through the use of different concepts. He stresses that without law

there can be no religion, no justice and no intellect in society. Let us look at how Malkum Khan elaborated on this matter.

> By virtue of what law did they banish such and such a mujtahid? By virtue of what law did they cut off the salary of such and such a general? By virtue of what law was such and such a minister expelled? By virtue of what law was such and such an ambassador appointed as ambassador? (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.1)

> The basest laws are better than lawlessness. (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.4)

> The law is representing, guaranteeing and protecting human rights. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.2)

> The state, which has no laws, has neither religion nor justice nor intellect. (*Qanun*. No. 11, p.1)

> The survival of the nations is impossible without the law. (*Qanun*. No. 15, p.2)

> What we want is law determined by the Almighty, His messenger and the authorities for the welfare of the people in the world. (*Qanun*. No. 15, p.2)

> The state that has no law is the most depraved state on earth. (*Qanun*. No. 23, p.2)

3-Historical Interpretation

To support his view of the importance of 'law' in society for development and progress, Malkum Khan used examples from history to support his argument. He believed that people would be encouraged to support the idea of the enforcement of law if they knew that the ancient civilizations would not have been possible without recourse to a comprehensive system of law.

> The history of the world records that during the last forty-year reign, there is not yet a word of law in Iran. (*Qanun*. No.1 p.2)

> The states built yesterday have now laws of their own but we who have had a state for three thousand years and have been long ago the centre of civilization and progress in the world, have made ourselves miserable under these ministers and we cannot mention the word law even in fear and trembling. (*Qanun*. No. 3, p.3)

> And we, who have been a great state for three thousand years, have no other laws than the madness of the madmen. (*Qanun*. No. 16, p.2)

4-Cultural interpretation

According to Malkum Khan, the cultural problem was, above all else, the main obstacle standing in the way of enforcing the law in the country. This problem is related to the lack of understanding and intellect, which prevented people from pursuing the implementation of law. Malkum Khan clearly stated that the problem of the country is not merely the lack of law but, moreover, those factors that prevented it from coming into being. He identified two main obstacles in this respect. Firstly, that people were not aware of the meaning of law and secondly, that they did not know which policy to pursue in enforcing the law in the country. These two problems are mainly related to cultural issues, which Malkum Khan tried to explain in different places of *Qanun.*

> From this moan of ours, one must not gather that in Iran the law has not been well written. Our books and the bosoms of our *Ulama* are filled with good laws. We are talking of enforcing them. (*Qanun.*No. 1, p.2)

> The *Ulama* and the scholars of Iran have always been aware of the good laws. The weakness lies in the fact that they have never known what policy they should follow for enforcing the laws. They still believe that the enforcement of the laws is on the shoulders of the ministers. They say we have good laws in our bosoms but the tragedy is that the ministers do not enforce them. O esteemed scholar! The ministers, who are able and liable to enforce the laws, were not brought up in such a quagmire. After raising expectations, it is now considered indecent for us to limit our duties to finding good laws. After this duty of government seeking, it is our humane duty try to understand what to do to enforce good laws in Iran. (*Qanun.*No. 1, p.2)

> We have been appointed to the institution of this newspaper by the bliss of luck and divine predestination. We have sworn to teach the people of Iran what polity to use for enforcing the laws in the light of our powers by the models and the sciences in the world. (*Qanun.* No.1, pp.2-3)

> This cry of the Iranian people and this sea of miseries in which we are all sunk, has no other cause than the fact that we the Iranian people have not yet understood the meaning and the power of the law. (*Qanun.*No. 2, p.2)

> The reason was the same uttered by His Highness that the will of the king is not sufficient for the enforcement of the law. The people should have enough intellect to understand the meaning of the law and go after it. (*Qanun.*No. 5, p.1)

What should we do to cause people to understand the meaning of law and go after it? Firstly, understand it yourself and seek after it. What can I do? Firstly, you are not alone. Secondly, if you have properly understood the situation and if you have the dignity and the language, you can unite many people to yourself. (*Qanun*.No. 5, p.1)

The pain of our land is not in that we do not have laws. What laws are better than those of the Almighty God, which have been proclaimed in the world for 1300 years? The main pain, the national calamity is that we the people of Iran have constantly been unaware of the conditions of the enforcement of the laws. Instead of enforcing the law, the utmost polity which has come to the minds of the scholars is that they hold the law in their hands and plead with the tyrants of the time and since this law is according to justice, and since you are the source of justice, we plead with you to enforce this law for the people. Life, welfare, pleasure, prayer, progress of our mundane and spiritual life depend on the enforcement of law. How can we suspend such an important thing? Only by advice. Then what should we do instead of enforcing the law? In studying the affairs of the world, the first thing which has come into grasp of the scholars is that the existence of the law does not appear in any land unless by union of three powers. First: the power of fixing law. Second, the power of enforcing the law; third, the power of taking care that the law is being enforced. (*Qanun*.No. 24, pp.1-2)

5-Social interpretation

Law, as a social phenomenon, has its benefits and advantages in society. In the following statements Malkum Khan explained these advantages. In his explanation, which I have called 'social interpretation', he tried to show some of the phenomena that could occur through the proper implementation of law. Increment of intellect, dignity, humanity, joy and happiness are all benefits mentioned as arising from the enforcement of law in society.

According to the news in Tehran, there has been recently nothing except the praising of law and insistence on the necessity of law. (*Qanun*.No. 1, p.3)

Now we are sitting here. If our house is confiscated and if our religion and existence are trampled upon under a thousand oaths of redemption by indication of a strange man, which office or what law do we have recourse to? (*Qanun*.No. 3, p.3)

In a land where there is law, no animal can do harm to anyone. (*Qanun*.No. 11, p.3)

In a land where there is law, the intellect, dignity and humanity will increase moment by moment and the people excited by individual interests and by force of the interest of the general welfare, will day by day increase the discipline and glory of their state. Famine and cruelty shall be eradicated. The blessings of life will be abundant, the treasures of people will be secure, the schools will be filled with knowledge, the officials will be sages, the farmers will be able, the soldiers will be orderly, the rights of man will be protected, the legal pleasures will be for everyone, everyone will be joyful and happy, everyone will be protected by the law. (*Qanun*.No. 11, p.3)

We do not demand new laws. What we want is what God, His messenger and the Muslim authorities have determined for the welfare of the world. (*Qanun*.No. 12, p.3)

6-Political interpretation

One of the main aims of the *Qanun* newspaper was to explain the importance of law in the political life of society. How can a country such as Iran build up a political system according to modern laws? In some parts of *Qanun*, Malkum Khan tried to show the problems that arise from the absence of laws in society, e.g. censorship, destruction and despotism. On the other hand, the enforcement of laws will organise the political system of the country and preserve security. It will also control the authorities of the nation and prevent the government from practising censorship and despotism. He emphasised that the lawless state is the enemy of human rights. Moreover, in his world-wide view of the importance of law for society he explained that "a lawless state is the destructor of the world" (*Qanun*. No. 12, p.3). Not only did Malkum Khan try to highlight the benefits of the enforcement of law and the disadvantages arising from its absence in society, he also tried to explain what laws should be enforced and the different political implications they possessed. For instance, in a very general and comprehensive statement on this issue he stated that:

The first law, which is the pillar of the people's life, must be based on the security of life, property and the family of people. No laws should be able to imprison or torture anyone unless by decree of the laws. (*Qanun*. No.35, p.1)

Malkum Khan realised that without a political system based on modern law it is not only the relationship between the state and society which is be based on the arbitrary nature of power, but also that between individuals in society itself. This issue is explained well by Lambton (1987). She stated that:

> The arbitrary nature of power, extending from the level of the ruler throughout society, had important consequences for moral personality and for society at large. The individual was not an equal, free, moral agent. However much Islam may have conceded the point in theory, the conception of liberty as the essential condition which an individual personality must possess under God in order that it may translate itself what it is to what it has the capacity to become was virtually non-existent in *Qajar* Persia. Liberty meant different things to different people. For the ruler it meant perhaps little more than (the) freedom to impose his will on his subjects. (Lambton, 1987, pp.xiv-xv.)

With this in mind, let us we look at the following sentences from *Qanun* newspaper.

> So if we want the law, we must ask our reason what we should do to enforce the law prior to doing anything else. (*Qanun*. No.1, p.20)

> The law should be based on the principles of justice. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.2)

> The entire destruction comes from lack of laws. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.2)

> It is obvious that a country requires various laws to organise a state. Justice and politics, farming and trading, army and tax, and every part of the land and every position needs a special law. (*Qanun*. No. 4, p.2)

> His belief was that we want to make drastic changes in the State. We properly made it understood that we wanted nothing but the laws. He said, "What laws?" I answered, "The *Shari'ah* laws are indeed better than any other laws." We have suffered from this lawless state much so that we have been forced to consent to any laws. If the laws the niggers have in the world are given to us, we shall be enormously thankful. (*Qanun*. No. 8, p.3)

> In a land where there is law, the control of the affairs of the authorities shall be in the hands of the sages of the nation. (*Qanun*. No. 11, p.30)

Give laws so that we may pay taxes. Give security so that we give life. (*Qanun*. No. 12, p.2)

A lawless state is the destructor of the world. A lawless state is the enemy of the rights of the people. A curse be upon the lawless states! Curse be upon that stupid people who pay taxes to the lawless state. (*Qanun*. No. 12, p.3)

Throughout the world, the first instrument is not paying taxes. Even in countries where there is a constant conflict among the nations, the minute the state wishes to move without law, the whole tribes rebel against them. And women and men object that they shall not pay taxes to the lawless state. (*Qanun*. No. 15, p.3)

After fifty years of reign, and after turning Iran into a cemetery, they now want to fix laws in Tehran. The intention is quite clear. The same deception of people and the same victory of the tyrant that has become the habit of the authorities of this reign during this long period. From a system whose foundation is laid on tyranny and usurpation, what can we expect from the law? (*Qanun*. No. 24, p.1)

Justice and order

As was mentioned in figure 3-1 'justice' and 'order' are some of the main outcomes of the implementation of law in society. These two concepts were crucial to Malkum Kahn and he tried, on many occasions, to emphasise their significance and importance to the people. In his view there is no 'order' and 'justice' in society without the rule of 'law'. The issue of 'justice was the most important demand made by Iranians in the 19th century. This situation arose because of the absolute despotism of the monarchy. Thus Malkum Khan's linking of the concept of 'justice' to the enforcement of law was a brilliant manoeuvre that encouraged people to struggle for the establishment of the 'Fundamental Law' in the Constitutional Revolution. The statements from *Qanun* newspaper in the following section are relevant to this matter.

Justice

In *Qanun*, Malkum Khan tried to establish a link between 'law' and 'justice' in society. He emphasised, on one hand, that without law, justice can not be established, and on the other, that law must be based on justice.

The cry of protest of the Iranian people is that justice should be based on law and we do not have any laws in Iran yet. (*Qanun*. No. 1, p.2)

> The law must be based on the principles of justice. The principles of justice have been fixed and clarified by God, the scholars and the wise in the course of time. (*Qanun*. No. 2, P.2)

> The law is the tongue and might of justice. And might does not bring about justice unless by union. If we seek law and justice, we must unite. (*Qanun*. No. 2, pp.2-3)

Order

'Order' is another concept which had a crucial significance for Malkum Khan in his desire for the establishment of modern society. In different places in *Qanun*, he tried to convey the importance of this concept.

> Iran is our home and as long as there is no order in this home, it is obvious that the comfort of the dwellers shall not be provided. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.1)

> The greatest hopes of the Iranian people depend on the order and presence of schools. It is a pity that the spirit of disorderliness in Iran does not allow these sources of advancement to have order. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.6)

> We shall be heart and soul in service of those ministers and officials who are after advancement and order. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p. 6)

> Without any fresh reasons, we shall confess with bloody tears that there is no state on the face of the earth, which is as sunken in disorderliness and distress as the Iranian people are. (*Qanun*. No. 2, p.1)

> During the period of the forty-year kingdom, no majestic kind of effort was exerted in the betterment of affairs in Iran. Despite this long repose and all these majestic measures, the Iranian villages and cities are worse; our nation is more miserable; our army is more disorderly; the independence of the country is less; the distress of the people is more and the dangers of destruction are more immediate. (*Qanun*. No. 4, p.1)

The above analysis and interpretation of *Qanun* shows clearly the big differences in the language used by this newspaper and that of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*. If the latter paper did not involve itself in social and political discourse, merely reporting on state activities, *Qanun* by contrast not only tried to bring these kind of debates to the surface, but actively encouraged people to become critically involved in discussion and argument. *Qanun* also used a different language, not only in the style of writing, which was more Persian than Arabic, and was simple, fluent and

easy to understand, but also in terms of a new language of interpretation based on a combination of religious phrases with secular elements. This newspaper is indeed the pioneer paper in introducing the modern and Western ideologies to Iranian society. The method of introducing the modern concept of 'law', for instance, shows clearly Malkum Khan's ability to use various forms of interpretation in order to make a complex idea understandable and acceptable to the majority within society. This method of interpretation is in itself a pioneering step and forms a part of the wider contribution of press to the process of modernization and political development in Iran.

By introducing a new system of government based on 'elections', 'parliament', 'rights of the people', 'law and order', 'equality' and 'justice', Malkum Khan went far beyond any other Persian newspaper published during the *Qajar* period. One reason for this was his intellectual ability and thorough understanding of the modern social and political system. Indeed most of what Malkum Khan suggested in the pages of *Qanun* was later to become the manifesto for the Constitutional Revolution. There are of course many others issues that could be extracted and analysed from this outstanding paper, but within the limitations of this study, the central issues have been identified and discussed.

My analysis so far has been limited to two kinds of paper, the governmental newspaper *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* and the independent newspapers *Qanun*, published in exile. This analysis however will not be complete until one of the newspapers that were published during the Constitutional Revolution has been studied and analysed. This third case study will provide a further point of comparison and will enable an assessment to be made concerning the impact that this sort of paper was to have on society. As previously mentioned, *Sur-i Israfil* is chosen for this purpose. The following section will deal with this newspaper and its contribution to the process of political development in Iranian society.

Section 4

The Analysis of Sur-i Israfil

Topological analysis

Sur-i Israfil (Trumpet call of Israfil) was founded by Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi (1876-1908) on 30 May 1907, during the time of the Constitutional Revolution (1906-1911), and ceased publication three days before the bombardment of the Iranian Parliament by Mohammad Ali Shah (1907-1909) in 1908 (Sadr Hashemi, 1985). The first issue was published by the Parsian printing house in Tehran on eight pages of size 22 cm width and 34 cm length. According to Kasravi "This newspaper was published on good paper and showed good calligraphy" (Kasravi, 1997, p.277). On the top of first page of each issue there is a painting of the 'Angel of Freedom', which blows a sur (horn or trumpet), with group of people below, some sleeping and some pointing with their fingers. Above the 'Angel of Freedom' is a Quranic verse "The trumpet will be blown and then they will swarm forth from their tombs to meet their Lord" (Quran, 36:51) and below the painting there is another Quranic verse "Once the Trumpet is blown, no ties of kinship will exist between them on that day, nor may they question one another!" (Quran, 23:101). A banner with the slogan Horreyat (Freedom), Mosavat (Equality) and Okhouat (Brotherhood)' is also found hanging from the horn. Between the angel and the people, in Naskh calligraphy, is written the name of the newspaper. Below the painting all the relevant information regarding the newspaper is written. This information is as follows:

-The price of each issue: Tehran: 4 Shahi, other cities of Iran: 5 Shahis
-The subscription fees: Tehran: 12 Qaran, other cities of Iran: 17 Qaran,
                Foreign countries: 2 Tumans.
-The correspondence address: Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi and Mirza Qasim Khan Tabrizi, Tehran, Nasiri Street, Tarbiyat Bookshop.
-The date of publication: According to three calendars (Higri Qamari, Higri Shamsi, and Christian date respectively)
-The method of publication: Weekly
-The doctrine of the paper: Political, social, and informative newspaper.
-The method of contribution to the paper: All articles that are not in contradiction to our principles and have a signature will be accepted but the

newspaper is free to publish or reject any articles of its choosing. Also, envelopes without stamps will not be accepted.

The newspaper was to run for a total of thirty-five issues. Thirty-two of these were published in Iran, with the rest being published in Switzerland by Mirza Ali Akbar Khan Tabrizi, where he became known as 'Dihkhuda'. The name change was done to honour the martyrdom of the newspaper's founder, Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi. Our study will concentrate on those issues that were published in Iran. The names of the newspaper's founder, along with some of its contributors are listed below:

-From No. 1 to No. 6: The correspondence address: Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi and Mirza Qasem Khan Tabrizi.
-From No. 7 to No. 14: The Editor-in-Chief: *Mirza Qasem Khan Tabrizi.*
-From No. 15 to No. 32: The correspondence address: Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi and Mirza Qasem Khan Tabrizi. Secretary and writer: Mirza Ali Akbar Khan Tabrizi.

Although the name of Mirza Ali Akbar Khan Tabrizi, 'Dihkhuda', only made its first appearance in issue number fifteen, according to Afshar, 'Dihkhuda' was with the founder of this newspaper from the very beginning (Afshar, 1980). This claim is also supported by the satirical column, *Charand Parand* (Charivari), published in the first issue. The article is accredited to '*Dekhuo*', a pseudonym chosen by Dihkhuda for himself. Regarding the finances of this paper, Bamdad stated that Mirza Qasem Khan Tabrizi provided the money for the publication of this newspaper and Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi was its manager and the editor in chief. (Bamdad, 1979, vol. 5. P. 178)

Although the circulation of *Sur-i Israfil* was only "approximately 5000 to 5500, it actually succeeded in reaching a much larger audience than these numbers suggest. Each copy, originally sold for a few *Shahis* (twenty *Shahis* to a *Qaran*), was then quickly sold and resold for several *Qarans* by the same evening" (Afary, 1996, P.117). According to Mustaufi, the circulation of this paper was much higher than Afary estimated and he puts the figure as being closer to 24000 (Mustaufi, 1966, vol.2, p.249). This level of circulation, in comparison to that which existed before the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution, shows a marked difference between these two periods. As discussed in Chapter Five, it was not only the number of newspapers

that increased during the Constitutional Revolution period but also their circulation. According to Rezvani:

> Before the Constitutional Revolution the circulation and the number of newspaper readers was very limited. The highest circulation before this revolution probably belonged to *Sorayya*, *Habl al-Matin*, *Nasiri*, and *Akhtar*, which never reached more than one thousand copies each. During the time of the Constitutional Revolution the circulation of these newspapers increased until it reached two or three thousand copies for each newspaper. (Rezvani, 1997, p.377)

The readership of these newspapers also increased during the Constitutional period. One example will clarify this matter. *Musavat* (equality) was a newspaper that was published in this period by Sayyed Muhammad Reza Shirazi. The editorials and articles appearing in this paper, which criticised and attacked the despotism practised by Mohammad Ali Shah against the press and the Constitutional Law, were welcomed warmly by the people, with many issues being reprinted on the same day (Mowlana, 1979). Not only this newspaper, but also many others such as *Sur-i Israfi*, were also reprinted or copied by the people and distributed around the country.

Indeed there is a strong case for arguing that in the history of Iranian journalism, *Sur-i Israfil* was "one of the best Persian papers, old and new" (Browne, 1914/1983). It was "The most literary, the best written, the best composed, and the most vehement of the newspapers that appears in Iran today" (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1909). In comparison to the other three well known newspapers published during the Constitutional Revolution period (*Habl al-Matin*, *Musavat*, *Iran-i Nou*), "The socialist paper *Sur-i Israfil* was the most radical of the three, the best written, and in the space of a few short week it also became the most popular." (Afary, 1996, p.117).

Sur-i Israfil sought to establish an alternative mode of distribution to that of the governmental newspapers, such as *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, which were mainly sold to government officials by order of the government. Indeed, this newspaper was to prove a pioneer in this respect, forming a distribution network through various shops as well as by mail and by sales by children in the streets. This method of distribution was not used before the triumph of the Revolution in Iran. According to *Ettela'at*, an Iranian monthly magazine, some people believed that the purchase of this newspaper was like a daily prayer, and as such was compulsory for

them (*Ettela'at*, 1948, No.11). Regarding this method of sale, *Sur-i Israfil* itself explains that:

> This humble newspaper (it is common in Iran, that newspapers are sent to the people without their wanting them) shall never be sent to anyone or to anyone's house but shall be sold in the alleyways by children. Whoever would like annual subscription, shall inform the *Tarbiyat* Library (*Nasiri* Street, near *Shams al-Emareh*) (*Sur-i Israfi*, No. 1, p.8)

On the first page of the first issue *Sur-i Israfil* announced its journalistic code of conduct, which was based on truth, respect for people, freedom and the courage to write about the good as well as the bad things in society. It said:

> Without having the efficiency, we have taken up the pen to serve religion, the country, the people and the nation by the will of God and to express our good wishes to the earth which is familiar with the blood of our fathers. In completing the meaning of constitution and the protection of the National Consultative Assembly, and the deputyship of the villagers and the weak and the poor, and the oppressed, we hope to be steadfast until the last drop of our blood. And we will never wash our hands off this good intention as long as we live. And with our loud cry, we shall say that we are not in the least afraid of threats. And we do not pay any attention to a life, which is without freedom. And except for the spirit of God and the divine laws and the heavenly rules, we are not afraid of anyone or anything. And we will not violate this steadfast point. We shall not flatter anyone. We shall not be deceived by bribery. We shall not praise anyone for nothing. And we shall not give in to physical goals. As the last word, we will write good as good and bad as bad. In writing this newspaper, there is not personal benefit and this affair we shall not use as our profession. And we will tell all the Iranians all over the world that if God forbid, there is something amiss on our part concerning our country, they have the right to guide us to the right path. And as long as we wish for their good, let them consider us as one of themselves. (*Sur-i Israfi*, No. 1, pp.1-2)

This same code of conduct was emphasized in issue number 6.

> Despite the fact that the style of our newspaper is based on peace and health, we have no alternative but to defend right against wrong. And retaliation of this will be encouraged to our subscribers. (*Sur-i Israfi*, No. 6, pp.2-3)

This method of writing was uncommon in Iranian journalism before the Constitutional Revolution. The freedom that was obtained by the triumph of the

revolution opened the gate to the Iranian intellectuals to write the truth and to serve the interest of the nation.

Sur-i Israfi's publication was interrupted four times in its life by order of the government. The first time was for a one-month period after the publication of the 6th issue. Therefore issues number 7 and 8 were published together. The second time was after the publication of the 14th issue and this interruption lasted for 50 days. The third time was after the publication of the 19th issue and the fourth time that the paper was halted was following the martyrdom of Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi (Afshar, 1980). The paper also stopped publication on two other occasions, first after the publication of the 19th issue and secondly after the 25th issue, but for different reasons. (Ettehadiyeh, 1982).

Generally speaking the main concerns of *Sur-i Israfil* were constitutional government, the parliamentary system, freedom, and the rights of the people. In the following part the content of this newspaper will be analysed.

Content analysis of Sur-i Israfil

The content analysis of this paper will start with the quantitative method in order to reveal the kind of tendency this newspaper had towards various social and political matters. As previously mentioned, this is important because without knowing the social and political concerns that were important in the foundation of this newspaper, an assessment could not be made regarding its contribution to the process of political development. Content analysis is also important in differentiating this newspaper from the others studied.

Thirty-two issues of *Sur-i Israfil* were published between 1907and 1908. These contain 258 pages and approximately 150750 words in total. As discussed in Chapter Three, the quantitative analysis of social and political symbols allows them to be categorised and classified according to the frequency of their occurrence in the newspaper. Some of these categories consist of various subjects which are, however, all related to one category.

Table 7-4-1: Different social and political words mentioned in *Sur-i Israfil*

No	Social And Political symbols	Frequency	%
1	Parliament	296	28.40
2	Constitution	179	17.18
3	Islam	156	14.97
4	Law	116	11.13
5	Freedom	84	8.1
6	Despotism	76	7.3
7	Progress	63	6.05
8	Justice	52	5.00
9	Unity	49	4.70
10	Security and prosperity	42	4.03
11	People's rights	32	3.07
12	Fundamental Law	32	3.07
13	Equality	15	1.44
14	Reform	14	1.34
15	Freedom of pen (Responsibility of pen)	7	0.7
16	Freedom of Press	4	0.4
17	Censorship	2	0.2
18	Brotherhood	2	0.2
	Total	**1042**	**100**

The focus of the newspaper can be recognised by looking at the data presented in table 7-4-1. This data also shows the issues that most concerned the paper, as well as to people, during the Constitutional Revolution period. It is obvious that the establishment of Parliament and the new constitutional government were the biggest political events to have ever happened in the country. For the first time Iran was practising a new system of government based on the vote of the people. It was also the first time that the legislative body of the country shifted from the individual *Ulama* to a representative body of people under the control of the parliament. A political newspaper such as *Sur-i Israfil* could hardly have been silent about these events. Therefore the highest frequency belongs to these two issues. The word 'parliament' was mentioned 296 times (28.40%) and the word 'constitution' 179 times (17.18%). These figures not only show the importance of these issues, as new and modern political elements, but also highlight the development of a new political trend and discourse among the people with which this newspaper was actively involved.

'Islam' is another issue that was important to *Sur-i Israfi*. This was the third highest mentioned symbol in the paper (14.97%) and highlights the power of religion. Despite the fact that the idea of constitutional government was derived from secularism and Western ideology, the Iranian intellectuals were well aware of the importance of a good relationship with Islam. This was as a result of the position of reverence and high esteem it held amongst the people. On the other hand the great *Ulama* of that time were involved in this Revolution, therefore no one could ignore the "Islamic Feature" (Kasravi, 1997) of the Revolution. Kasravi has raised this issue but also emphasized that this feature gradually changed later on to become a 'National Feature'. He said:

> Constitutional Revolution from the beginning was trying to have an 'Islamic Feature', but gradually this transformed into a 'National Feature'. This form of presentation also affected the newspapers. *Sur-i Israfil* from day one followed the second manner of presentation. Its writers had a very good knowledge of European countries and their history. Due to its new form of presentation the newspaper created many enemies for itself. (Kasravi, 1997, p.278)

However, despite the fact that *Sur-i Israfil* emphasized the 'National Feature', it was not at the expense of ignoring the importance of 'Islam' as the fundamental belief of the people. The analysis of this newspaper shows that the 'Islamic Feature' of the revolution was presented as no less important than the 'National Feature'. In spite of this presentation and their commitment to Islam, the *Ulama* were not totally satisfied with this newspaper. The critical language that was used in this newspaper, especially in the satirical column *'Charand Parand'*, greatly angered the *Ulama*. *'Charand Parand'* has been described as "the best specimen of literary satire in Persian" (Browne, 1914/1983, pp.115-116), and, according to Tarbiyat, on many occasions it was critical of the *Ulama* and the traditional way of life with a "boldness of language" (Browne, 1914/1983, p.25). Indeed the founder of *Sur-i Israfil* tried to strike a balance between praise of Islam and criticism of the *Ulama*. This was done in order to show, on the one hand, their respect for Islam, and on the other, their rejection of certain actions of some *Ulama* who were against the Revolution. *Sur-i Israfil* itself mentioned this by writing in issue No 14 that:

> However, when the writer of *Sur-i Israfil* takes up the pen, he considers the Muslims in general and the Iranian Muslims, in particular and takes the rights of the people in the palm of his hand to defend them. (*Sur-i Israfi*, No. 14, p.9)

The Critical Discourse Analysis of Sur-i Israfil

In the following section, through the use of CDA, the content of *Sur-i Israfil* will be examined.

Semiotic and linguistic analysis

The language and the style of writing of both *Qanun* and *Sur-i Israfil* have many things in common. They both used simple, fluent and less complex compositions of Arabic language in their writing. Both are written as a narration of events, stories, dialogue, and reports but usually without any specific headings. *Sur-i Israfi's* satirical column '*Charand Parand*' was its main difference from *Qanun*. Another difference between these two famous newspapers was the focus of their attention on social and political matters. The main concern of *Qanun* was the establishment of a modern ideology in Iran based on Western concepts. Malkum Khan therefore tried to focus on concepts such as 'law' and 'freedom'. By contrast, the main preoccupation of *Sur-i Israfil* was in the establishment of a means for implementing a modern ideology in Iran. This aim is clear from the language used by this newspaper and the way in which it is critical of the actions of different authorities in the country. Indeed such critical language is used much more in *Sur-i Israfil* than in *Qanun*. As regards its critical language, Sayyed Jamal al-Din Va'ez, a famous speaker of the Constitutional Revolution period, gave the following evaluation after reading this newspaper. It provides an indication of the effectiveness of the language that was used by this newspaper:

> I had the chance to see and read the paper. I found no better name than the name given to your newspaper. Is it *Sur-i Israfil* or inspiration, which gives life to the dead and raises the dead from the earth? However, in some issues, there are some words, which I deemed necessary due to the kind regard I have for you and your newspaper. The importance of the newspaper in furthering the goals of the constitutionalists whose purpose is to spread justice and eliminate tyranny is not hidden to anyone. The matter is so clear that I do not need to proclaim this. Until the tongues of the preachers and the pens of the writers do not speak, and write, how can the great ones cure the incurable pains of the country? However, your pen is so caustic. I presume that the pen of *Sur-i Israfil* is like a fire that burns the wet and the dry together. (*Sur-i Israfi*. Nos. 7-8, pp.10-11)

As previously mentioned, the style of writing and the language used was such that, "Tarbiyat, the co-author with Browne of *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*,

remarked on the paper's 'boldness of language' and praised it for its confrontation with the *Ulama*" (Afary, 1996, P.118). Edward G. Browne called it "one of the best Persian papers, old and new" (Afary, 1996, p.117). Regarding its journalistic professionalism, Martin (1989) stated that "There was no proper press in Iran before the granting of the constitution in 1906. Only a few official papers existed and they contained little in the way of news beyond flattering reports on the activities of the shah and senior officials" (Martin, 1989, p.110). Martin obviously sees *Sur-i Israfil* as an integral part of the proper press founded after the Revolution. Indeed this newspaper was "the most popular [and] the best written"(Afary, 1996, p.117) in Iran during the whole *Qajar* period. The quality of writing of '*Charand Parand*' was evaluated by Keddie as "the brilliant political and anticlerical satire of the young writer *Dekhoda*" (Keddie, 1981, p.74).

To sum up what has been said so far about this newspaper, there are three distinctive features that can be recognised in the style of writing of *Sur-i Israfil*; its 'critical', 'satirical', and 'frank and explicit' use of language. The 'critical language' reflected the style and ethos of the paper whereas the 'satirical language' (especially in the '*Charand Parand*' column) was used as a metaphor for social and political comment. Finally, the 'frank and explicit' language was used throughout the paper to support its method of criticism.

Social and political discourse analysis

The social and political discourse analysis of *Sur-i Israfil* will be dealt with under the following three main headings:

1-The role of political Agents

There are three main personalities central to the formation of *Sur-i Israfil*. The following section will deal in brief with each one of these personalities.

1-Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi (1876-1908)

Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi, along with the help of Mirza Qasem Khan Tabrizi and Ali Akbar Dihkhuda, was the founder of *Sur-i Israfi*. Mirza Jahangir Khan "was a graduate of *Dar al-Fonun* and an *Azali Babi* who had been influenced by Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani. Together with Mirza Qasem Tabrizi, who helped finance the paper, they began publication of *Sur-i Israfil* before asking Ali Akbar Dihkhuda (1879-1956) to join their staff as writer and editor. Both Dihkhuda and Mirza Jahangir

Khan were members of the secret National Revolutionary Committee in Tehran."
(Afary, 1996, p.117)

During the reign of Mohammad Ali Shah, Mirza Jahangir Khan Shirazi and Malek al-Motakalimin (a famous speaker during the Constitutional Revolution period) were both imprisoned for their opposition to the Shah before being eventually tortured and killed. Their graves in Tehran became a place of *Ziyarat* (pilgrimage) and worship for those who took part in and supported the revolution. (Sadr Hashemi, 1985,vol. 2, p.143)

2- Mirza Qasem Khan Tabrizi

The foundation of *Sur-i Israfil* depended to a large extent on the contribution of Mirza Qasem Khan Tabrizi. For it was he who helped finance his two colleagues, Mirza Jahangir Khan and Ali Akbar Dihkhuda, in their publication of this newspaper. According to Sadr Hashemi, "Mirza Qasem Khan Tabrizi, who eventually changed his name to *Sur-i Israfi*, was a socially active and extremely intelligent individual. During different stages of his life he was a minister, governor and a mayor of Tehran. When Mirza Jahangir Khan was martyred he was able to hide in a water tank and save himself." (Sadr Hashemi, 1985, vol. 2, p.143)

Regarding the publication of *Sur-i Israfi*, Mirza Qasem Khan stated his aims and objectives in a letter addressed to Sayyed Mohammad Tabatab'i. He said:

> This servant, Qasem, is the son of Sheikh Mohammad Baqr Mujtahid. I am determined to attempt, as far as I can, to act according to conscience and achieve the goals of the *Hojat al-Islam* including writing the *Sur-i Israfil* Newspaper. I take God as my witness that I have no other intention than the happiness of my people and the satisfaction of God especially at this remove in time, when taking up the pen means killing oneself. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 6, p.2)

3- Ali Akbar Dihkhuda

The great Iranian thinker, writer and intellectual Ali Akbar Dihkhuda "was also a graduate of *Dar al-Fonun,* as well as the Political College in Tehran. He was a member of the Bureau of Foreign Affairs and had travelled to Europe, living in Austria for two years" (Afary, 1996, p.117). He is thought to be the first satirical writer of the Iranian press. It was he who started the '*Charand Parand*' (Chiriviri) column in the first issue of *Sur-i Israfil* in order to criticise the social and political situation that existed in the country at the time.

After the martyrdom of Mirza Jahangir Khan, Dihkhuda left the country to live in Switzerland where he continued to publish *Sur-i Israfi*. However he was not able to publish more than three issues of the newspaper. These issues followed the same mode of writing that was followed in the previous issues. The paper was printed in Paris and due to difficulties that Dihkhuda faced in its publication it was discontinued after only three issues (Ettehadiyeh, 1982).

2-Analysis of the socio-political situation

The period of the Constitutional Revolution (1906–1911) was very different from any other time in the *Qajar* period. The triumph of the revolution changed the face of Iran. The establishment of Parliament and the obtaining of freedom by the people were the biggest fruits of the revolution. In this environment it is to be expected that free and independent newspapers would flourish. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Five, the rise of the independent newspapers was the main feature of this period. According to Browne, from 1905 until 1911 more than two hundred periodicals commenced their publication and several of them became known for their innovative literary expression (Browne, 1914/1983). These newspapers were responsible for introducing many modern social and political concepts into society. Many of these concepts were used as the titles for newspapers published in this period. Title such as: *'Taraqqi'* (Progress), *'Bidari'* (Awakening), *'Adamiyat'* (Humanity), *'Ittehad'* (Unity), *'Azad'* (Free), *'Musavat'* (Equality), and *'Sur-i Israfi'* became commonplace. Such changes became possible for at least two reasons. Firstly, the tremendous work which was undertaken by the Iranian intellectuals in introducing these modern political ideas to the people. Through their efforts, people began to realize the importance and benefits to be had from such concepts operating in society. The second reason concerns the democratic environment that existed after the revolution. Following years of enforced silence the new situation encouraged the Iranian intellectuals to rush "to the printing presses to pour out all their newly acquired political ideas" (Abrahamian, 1982, p.87).

It was in such an environment that *Sur-i Israfil* started its publication in Iran. "The revolution had created a unique moment of self-expression in Iranian history" (Afary, 1996, p.141). Taking advantage of this momentary possibility for freedom of expression, *Sur-i Israfil* started to challenge social, political, economic and cultural institutions, particularly the government system and the clerical institutions. The triumph of the revolution not only prepared the ground for experiencing freedom, but

also allowed the Iranian intellectuals to express their ideas about the institutionalization of freedom and democracy in the country and to suggest various projects for the future development of Iran. According to Afary "The Constitutional Revolution unleashed a flood of new ideas and intellectual discourse not only through the radical *anjumans* but also through the newspapers published in this period" (Afary, 1996, p.116). Therefore, the big difference between this period and the rest of the *Qajar* period lay not only in the acquisition of freedom and constitutional government, but also in the flourishing of ideas and the outpouring of ideological, political and cultural contributions from the people. Before the revolution and especially during the first half of 19th century, the government was the main generator of political, cultural, social and economic life of the country. Little contribution and involvement came from the people. However, this situation was reversed after the revolution with the people assuming a more active and effective role in the decision making process.

The role and contribution of the press to this process of change and development has to be judged in the context of such an environment. This kind of environment did not require an ideological and philosophical interpretation of the modern social and political concepts. Rather, it called for practical suggestions in helping to implement these concepts. Therefore, *Sur-i Israfil* emphasized the national aspect in criticizing the situation of the country and in explaining how it should be run.

3-Discourse analysis of the text

The same method of discourse analysis that was applied to *Qanun* be applied to *Sur-i Israfi*. Hence the main question here is what were the mediated socio-political discourse elements in *Sur-i Israfi*? This is the main focus of the analysis in this section. Through this method, the 'attention' and 'the direction' of this paper will be discerned. These findings will enable an idea of the extent of this newspaper's contribution to the process of the social and political development in the country to be formed.

According to Figure 3-1 which shows a model of analysis for the ideological and political terminology developed as indicators of political modernity, some of this terminology could be used for the analysis of *Sur-i Israfil*. To examine this terminology one subcategory from the three categories of 'freedom and the rights of individuals', 'representation and election' and 'law and order' developed in

Figure 3-1 will be chosen. Accordingly, the sub-categories of 'feminism', 'parliamentary system' and ''constitutionalism' are selected respectively. These subcategories are the most frequent ones that appeared in *Sur-i Israfil* and, therefore, they indicate its involvement in the introduction of modern political issues into Iranian society, as shown in Figure 7-4-1. Although a number of other categories and sub-categories may also be identified, the focus will be on the important modern concepts that are of most significance to the process of development and modernisation in Iran. Through the analysis of this terminology the extent to which these concepts contributed to the process of change by the raising and popularisation of different discourses in society will be shown. To put it another way, the aim is to examine how *Sur-i Israfil* introduced various social and political issues into its discourses and to assess their contribution to the political development of Iran.

The procedure used in this analysis will be the same as that explained in Chapter Two. All sentences related to one 'topic' (category and sub-category), and the 'theme' of these sentences are recognised and highlighted. From those sentences related to one theme, relevant examples are chosen to show the newspaper's process of producing of meaning. As regards the translation of the text, a similar situation exists as that encountered with *Qanun*. No translated texts of these selected newspapers exists in English, so I have carefully translated those sentences which are chosen from these papers.

In the following section those sub-categories that are chosen for study will be analysed. It is important here to note that the concept of these sub-categories are connected to the categories chosen in Figure 3-1 (for more detail regarding some of these concepts see Pool et al., 1952). For instance, concepts such as 'feminism' derive from the Liberalism, 'parliamentary system' from 'representation and election', and 'constitutionalism' from 'law and order'.

Figure: 3-1: Ideological terminology developed as an indicator for political modernity in the analysis of the Iranian newspapers during the *Qajar* period.
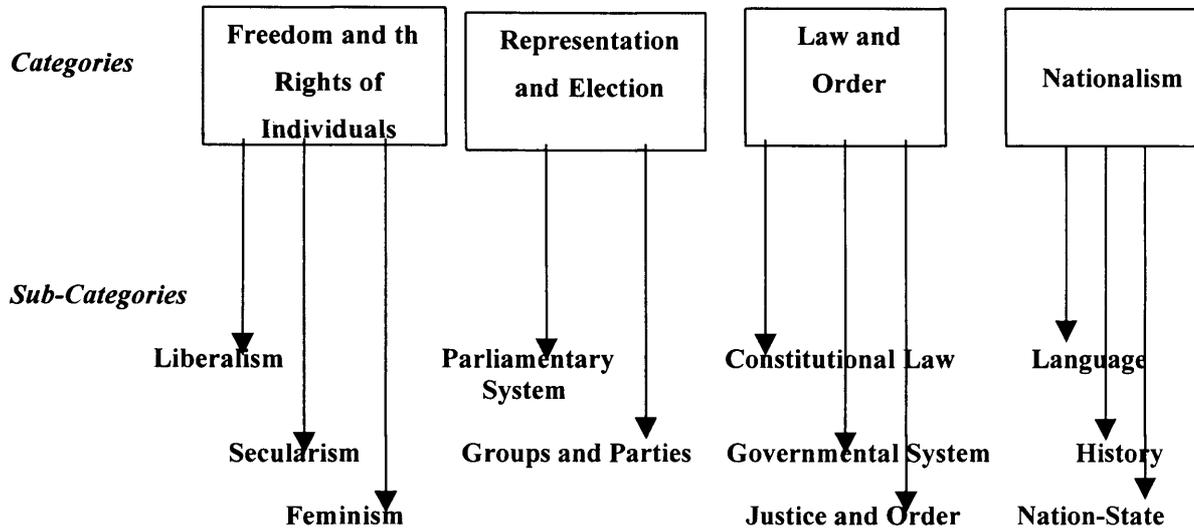
Figure 7-4-1: Sub-Categories used in the analysis of *Sur-i Israfil* newspaper
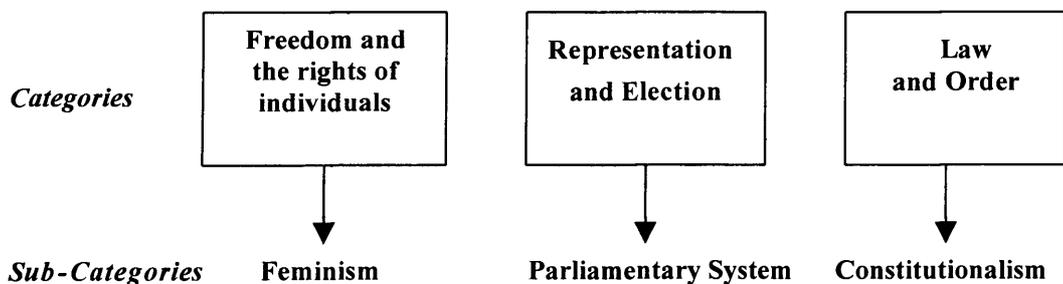
Feminism

The idea of the rights of individuals as well as the rights of a nation was most certainly introduced into Iranian society from the West by various means, including the press. During the Constitutional Revolution period this idea became of the highest concern to the intellectuals. Ideologically and practically, the constitutional government offered its support to the establishment of such a system. Through the use of elections it showed its commitment to supporting the rights of the people. The idea of the rights of women, in its modern definition was not, by any means, the concern of

society before the triumph of this revolution. In fact the concept of these rights did exist in society but with traditional and religious interpretations. I do not propose to evaluate the rights or wrongs of the traditional and the modern interpretations of this concept. In this regard it is certain that religion has its own specific justifications and meanings. What concerns me here is the modern idea of 'the rights of women', a notion based on freedom and democracy and rooted firmly in Western ideology. Such a way of looking at the rights of women was not known in Iran before the mid 19th century.

Moreover, during the Constitutional Revolution the idea of the rights of women was not limited to basic elements but took on a more developed shape which sought to involve women in revolutionary activities. According to Afary "the roots of modern Iranian feminism were firmly planted during that early, turn-of-the-century revolution" (Afary, 1996, P.178). In her study about the origins of the women's movement in Iran, Afary stated that:

> Several progressive male intellectuals, including journalists, poets, and *Majls* delegates, emerged as strong supporters of women's rights in this period. The satirical column of *Dihkhuda* in *Sur-i Israfil* (1907-1908), the poetry of Iraj Mirza, the articles by various writers in *Habl al-Matin* (1907-1909), *Musavat* (1907-1908), and Iran-e Now (1909-1911), expressed solidarity with women's causes. (Afary, 1996, p.178)

Sur-i Israfil was one of the pioneer newspapers dealing with women's issues in Iran. However, it was not the first publication to champion the rights of women in Iran. Newspapers such as *Qanun* had already done a lot in this regard and had introduced the main concepts related to this issue. The difference however, between *Sur-i Israfil* and other newspapers, is that *Sur-i Israfil* tried to use a different style of language in highlighting the issue. Using this new format it criticised the situation of women in Iran, whilst at the same time, endeavouring to show what should be done to change this situation. The idea of feminism had not been dealt with before in such a way. Indeed raising the issue at all was an advanced step in the social movement of the country. Let us look at some of the statements written in *Sur-i Israfil* concerning this issue.

> During recent years, women in Britain have taken serious measures in obtaining political rights, organised great assemblies, drawn global attention to themselves, and written a number of essays and books to prove the truth of their identity. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 26, p.7)

What *Sur-i Israfil* tried to say in the above sentences can be outlined as follows:

1-The social and political struggle of women in Britain finally ended with the triumph of the women in obtaining their political rights.

2-Women's activities shifted from individual and home based activities to social activities that included organising assemblies and practising freedom of expression by writing essays and books.

3-Social and political activities will demonstrate the existing identity of women as in Britain.

It follows from the above analysis that the women of Iran have no choice but to practice their rights of social and political activity in order to prove their identity and to practice their freedom of thought and expression. The following social and political concepts could also be extracted from these statements:

-The best model for women's rights is found in the West.

-Social activities can not be separated from political activities.

-The rights of women are not completed except by the practising of social and political activities.

-Identity is bound to political and social activities.

Having said that, it is necessary also to add that the following symbols and words were new concepts to Iranians living during the *Qajar* period:

-Rights of women

-Political activities

-Individualism

-Freedom of expression

-Socialism

-Identity

All these can be identified from a brief analysis of one sentence written in *Sur-i Israfil* concerning women's issues. The modern concepts used by this newspaper were much more advanced than those being used before the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution. Most of what has been said in regard to this issue can be analysed in the same way and clearly shows that many modern concepts were introduced to society by this paper. After the above quoted sentence, the text continues thus:

The wife of Mullah Mohammad the Dirge singer realised one night in Qazvin that it was two in the morning, the children were crying

and asking for dinner, and she felt sleepy herself. The man who was her husband's guest was fast asleep, not willing to leave. Therefore, one of the children laid the head of his brother on my lap and found a cockroach in his hair. Then, he went on tiptoe to the men's room and dropped it into the guest's shoe. There and then, he jumped up and went away although Mulla Mohammad insisted on his staying and smoking hookah. In two minutes, the woman emptied the casserole. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 26, p.7)

The main issue in the above story is the independent decision that was made, without any fear, by the wife of Mulla Mohammad is solving the family problem. These kinds of stories encouraged women to realize their power of mind and decision. This in turn could be used to establish their individual identity and solve their problems.

Concerning women's education and the establishment of new schools and societies for women, *Sur-i Israfil* also explained its view and condemned the resistance of ministers for not accepting these ideas.

Considering the great insistence of the prophets and the great scholars of the world on women's education, why is it that our women have sent appeals to the court and to the *Majlis* and the cabinet of the ministers several times demanding the establishment of new schools and Women's Society and each time our ministers have not consented to their appeals?
Our ministers and lawyers well know that if the Iranian ladies gather together, start a school, have a society of their own, get education and training, they will gradually realise that good and clean broths are better than those covered with dust and fat. It goes without saying that when this responsibility is learnt from mothers, the sons will grow haughty and like Mr. Taqizadeh, they will insist that when should our ministers and authorities be chosen from among a certain group of people? And if the cabinet changes a thousand times, it will be decorated with Mushir al-Saltaneh's stomach, Nezam al-Saltaneh's sad cry or Asif al-Duleh's robe. And of course you know that as Haji Sadr al-Saltaneh, the notable scholar and the future minister of Higher Education says, "This is a long tale to tell." In other words, when this idea became universalised, it shall be the turn of the lawyers next. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 31, p.8)

Parliamentary system

The main outcome of constitutionalism is the parliamentary system in which the people can play a central role, through the recourse to laws in managing their own lives and destiny. This was also the central aim for which Iranians struggled. They saw the concepts of justice, law and order as a means of preventing tyranny and

despotism. This aim was achieved by the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution. Prior to this event, the main contribution of the Iranian press lay in the introduction and highlighting of the importance of modern ideas in the lives of the people. After the revolution their focus switched to explaining how these ideas should be implemented in society and what the people could expect from having a modern political structure such as a parliament in the country. This process of explanation made a vital contribution to the overall process of social and political development in Iran. Without such explanations people would not have known what they should expect from the new political system of the country. Regarding the parliamentary system, for instance, *Sur-i Israfil* set out to explain the different aspects and possibilities of the new system. This contributed to greater understanding of its workings amongst the people.

Sur-i Israfil defined the main job of parliament as being twofold. Firstly, it was a place for the establishment of laws, and secondly it acted as a body for observing and controlling the acts of the government. This explanation was extremely important in showing the representatives, the government and the rest of the people their various responsibilities in the new system and telling them what to expect from the parliament.

> The parliament of every country is the factory for establishing the laws of that country and the observer of the deeds of the executive power. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 20, p.3)

Elsewhere, *Sur-i Israfil* compared the two new-born parliaments of the Russian Duma and the Iranian Consultative Assembly describing them as grown in the earth of justice and constitution and existing in the air of freedom and equality. It seems that *Sur-i Israfil* wanted to show that the triumph of the revolutions in both countries brought justice, law, freedom and equality. It actively encouraged the people of both countries to respect this situation and for the representatives of the people, to act according to these concepts.

> The Russian Duma and the Iranian National Consultative Assembly are like two new blown branches and two saplings grown out the earth of justice and constitution... the two saplings are fresh and grown in the air of freedom and equality. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 1, p.5)

The triumph of the revolution did not mean that all those who possessed power in the country supported this revolution. Apart from the government

authorities, there were also many clerics who were acting against, or at least not supporting, the revolution. *Sur-i Israfil* was aware of this movement against the revolution. The paper raised the question of the possibility of there being a contradiction between Islam and *Majls* (Parliament). It emphasised the fact that the main concern of the parliament was not in the spiritual life of the people. It then argued that the establishment of parliament is not only not in contradiction to Islam, but is actually for the protection of this religion and for the benefit of Muslims.

> . . . And they made it look as if the establishment of the Consultative Assembly is contrary to the glorious religion of Islam and serving the *Majls* is serving the party that has gone astray. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 5, p.3)

> The intention of the *Majls* is to modify tyranny, and to solve the problems of life, and it does not concern itself with the spiritual life of people. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 11, p.2)

> Question; what do you suggest, O *Hojat al-Islam* concerning the Consultative Assembly? Its' establishment is for the protection of Islam, the spread of justice, the meting out of justice, the enjoyment of freedom of the pen and thought and deeds in general affairs, and the observance of the *Shari'ah*, and the equality between the laws, in relation to all the Muslims from the king to the beggar, the rich and the poor, the wise and the ignorant, and the progress of the country and the unity of the people, and the state and the elimination of civil and foreign aggression and other national and governmental issues, according to the glorious religion of the great Messenger of Allah, the Last of the Prophets. It is in fact necessary to hold such a meeting at this time, as it is not unknown to the great ones. It is incumbent on all Muslims to protect this meeting. [Thus, an answer to the confirmation of the *Majls* is obtained by the *Ulama*]. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 6, p.1)

Further more, *Sur-i Israfil* explained that the main duty of this parliament is to establish or extract laws from the sources of the *Shari'ah* (Islamic Laws) itself.

> The rights and duties of the Consultative Assembly concern the establishment and extrapolation of law, from the sources of the *Shari'ah* And the journalists and scholars have wondered why the executive power does not deal with the affairs concerning itself and why it obliges the *Majlis* to do the executive tasks, and why the lawyers of the people do not demand that the state with all its might act as it should and in some cases, why they concern themselves with their affairs. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 25, p.6)

The paper also mentions the view of Abdullah Mazandarani, one of the *Ulama* of the Constitutional Period, in this regard:

[The view of Abdullah Mazendarani, one of the *Ulama* of the Constitutional Period] The establishment of the National Consultative Assembly is for the amelioration of the farmers' condition, and the order of state affairs and its advantages are to the benefit of the public and due to the necessity of preventing the kings' oppressions which are beyond the endurance of people, the attempt to sustain such a *Majls* is necessary even without the commitment of the *Shari'ah* because it is one of stages of the act of enjoining to goodness and preventing evil. Indeed the foundation of its destruction and opposition is to the extent of one's opposition to the authority of the *Shari'ah*. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 11, p.2)

Moreover, *Sur-i Israfil* explained the power of the people and the importance of the parliament in reflecting this power. It emphasised that 'public opinion' or the view of the public is the standard for the continuity of the parliament. Indeed this idea of public opinion had come from Western sources and its use in the Iranian press showed that Iranian newspapers were aware of the modern theories and concepts of the West. It also highlighted the fact that they realised the importance of these concepts and tried to explain their importance to the people. This was done in relation to institutions such as parliament, by explaining that its continuity is based on the will of the people.

Of course the scholars are well aware that, all the affairs either major or minor, are dependent on the will of the people in free countries. For the state is the representative of the nation and it does not concern itself with anything other than the welfare of the people whom they represent. Thus, they must in all cases protect the vote and view of that group except in carrying out the laws which is of course dependent on the efficiency of the agents. In other words, the responsible ministers have the talents and must adopt in their affairs their own style which is most efficient in each particular case. The state should not allow the breaking of laws in implementing them and tyranny should not be carried out in the name of justice. It is true that in the present states, the will of the people is judged according to the votes secured by the majority and the vote is called law. And the law is pronounced necessary to be obeyed. And the lawyers and the representatives of the people, namely the members of parliament should be free in expressing their views. And they should not be forced by anyone to carry out the orders of anyone. However, there is another thing visible in the welfare of the country and that is the will of the people which is in French (Public opinion) and it can be said that the view of the public is the standard for the continuity of the parliament. In other words, agreeing or disagreeing with the view of the *Majls* becomes the measure for the weakness or strength of the executive power in and out of the country. And if opposition to the parliament is general the head of the state, namely the king obtains the right to cancel the national assembly. In other

words, the cancellation of the national assembly is that, in renewing the choice, in choosing or not choosing the ex-lawyers, the agreement or disagreement of the public is determined by the will of the *Majls*. Thus, the disagreement of the public against the national assembly is not free from effects for it may terminate in its cancellation. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 31, p.6)

Briefly, the important concepts contained in the above statements can be summarised in eleven points. These concepts show how the modern ideologies were introduced and explained to those in Iranian society. This introduction and explanation represents the highest level of contribution to the process of change that was made by the Iranian press during the 19th century. The following concepts are all related to the 'parliament' and 'parliamentary system.

1- Parliament is a place for the establishment of laws.

2-Parliament is a body observing and controlling the acts of the government.

3-Justice, constitution, freedom and equality are the basic element in the establishment of the parliament and its continuity.

4-Parliament does not concern itself with the spiritual life of people nor is it contrary to the glorious religion of Islam.

5-The intention of parliament is to modify tyranny and to solve the problems of life.

6-Parliament protects the freedom of the pen and thought.

7-It is important that the law be administered impartially in relation to all classes of society, from the king to the beggar, the rich to the poor and the wise to the ignorant.

8-Parliament can play a vital role in the progress of the country and the union of people, the development of the state, the elimination of civil and foreign aggression and other national and governmental issues.

9-The right and the duty of the Consultative Assembly is to establish laws.

10-The establishment of the National Consultative Assembly (the parliament) is for the benefit of the public and the prevention of the kings' oppressions, which are beyond the endurance of people.

11-The view of the people, 'public opinion', is the condition for the continuity of the parliament.

Constitutionalism

The establishment of 'Constitutional Government' was the main aim of the Constitutional Revolution. Therefore, it is hardly surprising to find that, *Sur-i Israfil* focuses on the importance of this issue and attempts to show the people the exact meaning of constitutionalism.

> The meaning of constitution is that the wise authorities are chosen to protect the rights of others, administer the rights of the State to the peasants and determine their limits so that their deeds and sayings may be controlled by the wise persons. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 11, p.1)

If the wise people must come together to protect the rights of the others, how should these people be chosen? The answer is, of course, by the election system. *Sur-i Israfi*, by the use of logic, tried, throughout its discourses, to convince the people of the importance of using a modern political system to protect their rights. In another part of this paper the constitution is defined as justice and the elimination of tyranny, and it is emphasised that these things have become understandable thanks to European influenced gentlemen. In other words, this paper revealed that modern political ideals are all rooted in European ideology and were introduced to Iran by gentlemen who had became familiar with the workings of these concepts.

> From the first day I realised that constitution was taken to mean justice. Constitution means the elimination of tyranny. Constitution means the comfort of the farmers. Constitution means the rehabilitation of the country. These things, I had understood. In other words, the European Styled gentlemen had made me understand these things. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 22, p.7)

If any problems regarding the definition and the implementation of the notions underpinning the concept of constitution, then these same educated people, who have studied in the West and are familiar with the modern political system, should be consulted.

> The killing of the people without trial does not agree with the principles of constitution and if our courtiers do not have any information regarding these principles, we entreat them to discuss for one or two hours a day with one of the pupils who have gone to Europe about the limits of their responsibilities. Now that they are obliged to accept the principles, they should learn their rights and duties as well as possible so that they may not make us lose face with the foreigners. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 11, p.3)

In this regard, *Sur-i Israfil* also explained that modern words such as 'parliament' and 'constitution' are not opposed to Islam and do not seek to undermine the religion of the people. It was most important that the people should not be afraid of modern terminology. It wrote as follows concerning this matter:

> Constitutional rule has a separate identity in regard to other personalities, and the principles and the arrangements and the knowledge concerning it are different from those of the tyrannical reign. And although those principles and knowledge are in harmony with the principles of the Holy *Quran*, due to the dimension of time and the oblivion of the Muslims today we are obliged to borrow the terms concerning it from the languages of others. For as we have said, every particular principle demands particular knowledge and the description of any particular information demands particular terms. We cannot call a cartman a camel driver and we cannot call a telegraph a butterfly for if we do we fail to express ourselves. And as we have become confused, we shall remain in this state until doomsday. In other words, if we wish to have a just constitutional State, we are obliged to have terms for it. For instance, in dictionaries concerning the constitutional countries, besides the multitude of words we have, there are two other terms which are written this way: reactionary and conservative and the words are translated as proponents of the old situation in life and politics. And these two words are other than the word domination because the word domination also exists in their dictionary. However, the proponents of the old situation in life and (politics) are not domineering but they want justice and perfection. They have an inclination for the survival of the past situation in place of the present situation. It is almost as if some days we hear at least a hundred times from this or that old man saying, "Were we dead when we did not have a railroad? Did the people not eat bread when there was no *Majlis*? And the like. In order to make this meaning understood in foreign lands, two words are usually used. And the contemporary writers and especially those of Prince *Malkum Khan* translated these two words as archeophiles and it is used in this form in books and newspapers. In this case, what does this mean? How can its meaning be against Islam? And how has this word been used by the Muslims? While the real form exists in European languages, it is translated as defensive. And the word politics is about the affairs of life and has nothing to do with one's religion. And these groups of people, who have the real form of this word in their language, do not at all disagree with any one's religion and have nothing to do with each other's conscience, let alone regarding archeophiles as the masters of old religions. However, this was how it was mistakenly understood by our ignorant friends who raised a ruckus in the city and put our lives in danger. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 14, p.4)

This states that the constitutional system is required because of you, because of your rights, because of justice, so you should not fear to say whatever is wrong, to express whatever you have in your mind. The encouraging language used in *Sur-i Israfil* is highly sophisticated and it touched the hearts of the people. It explains the problem and then logically attempts to explain the remedy.

> Today is the time of constitution and justice. Do not let any fear enter your hearts. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 2, p.3)

> As the constitutional period which can be regarded as the age of justice allows the expression of any sort of treachery so as to eliminate it, two open treacheries, will be reported accordingly. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 32, p.7)

> The age of fear is over. And the time for progress has arrived. The age of misery is over. And the rebirth of Iran has arrived. The language and the pen became free in the welfare of the country. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 1, p.1)

> Because the vying party is mighty and does not run away and is not afraid of those opposing it. It is a divine lamp brightening over the entire country. And no wind blows it out. You had better come off your high horse and walk with us. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 1, p.7)

> The constitution of Iran is necessary because of you. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 1, p.8)

Sur-i Israfil stated that if the meaning of constitution was misinterpreted then the true lawyer of society should be chosen to be the representative of the people and define its meaning accordingly.

> O King! O Crowned Father! Do not listen to the treacherous sayings of those who claim themselves to be your sacrifice and servants and to those who interpret the meaning of constitution according to their silly opinions. And without hesitation, determine that the cabinet of ministers may consider the full meaning of constitution with their utmost effort. And they may complete the truth (constitution). Choose lawyers that are the true members of the society and send them to the National Consultative assembly. Have the contracts signed by His Highness. And all the ministers shall do what is necessary. Officially, let them declare the constitutionalisation of Iran to all countries around the world on behalf of His High Highness. As a last word, let them give the mature nation what they demand so that the country may be secure from the dangers of the foreigners. And the king may go to any part of the country and stay there free from anxiety. And they may have security of life and property. (*Sur-i Israfi*. No. 2, pp.3-4)

The above analysis shows that the main concerns of *Sur-i Israfil* were somewhat different to those of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* and *Qanun*. The main cause of this change in language, style of writing and political views was due to the changing situation of Iran itself. The triumph of the Constitutional Revolution was actually the outcome of a huge change in the political understanding and demands of the people. This new direction called for a new language with which to express these revolutionary changes. Another important issue here is the atmosphere of freedom of expression that prevailed at this time. It was to greatly influence those newspapers published during the first year of the revolution. This situation allowed these newspapers to use their voices as a means of criticising the government and expressing the rights of the people. *Sur-i Israfil* was one of the best newspapers borne of this situation, using the existing freedom for the benefit of the people. The critical language of this newspaper was not only strong, proper and popular, but also a means of struggling for change in both the government system and the traditional attitude of the society. The following table 7-4-2 shows in brief the differences between the three newspapers that were analysed.

Table 7-4-2 Brief comparison between the three selected newspapers.

	Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh	*Qanun*	*Sur-i Israfi*
Language of expression	A language of exaggerated praise especially for the Shah and other authorities	Critical language but less critical to the Shah and more critical to the other authorities. Use of religious phrases and verses to support its argument and discourses.	Strong critical language directly aimed at the Shah. Less use of religious verses to support its discussion. Use of more rational and humanistic concepts to support its social and political discourses. Use of more critical language for change and development of

			society.
Style of writing	Much use of Arabic terminology. Complicated words and sentences. Use of an Arabic style of expression.	A simpler way of writing. Use of slang and ordinary language to express different concepts. More Persian terminology and much less Arabic words. Use of some Arabic expression.	Considerably less Arabic terminology. Simpler and more rational language and style of argumentation. Use of satire and critique to introduce different views.
Modern Political concepts	Very poor.	Very rich. Concentrating on modern concepts such as 'law', 'order', 'justice', 'humanity', etc...	Very rich. Concentrating on modern concepts such as 'parliamentarianism', 'constitutionalism', 'feminism', etc...
Agent for social and political change	Less struggle for change. Emphasising the stability of the existing situation and supporting the social and political system of the country.	Struggle for change and development. Introducing various modern social and political concepts with the aim of bringing about change and development. Introducing the Western political system as the best system for the modernisation of Iran.	Strong struggle for change not only in the body of the government but with the aim of removing the head of government and changing the whole system of government as a necessary step for the development and modernisation of Iran.

In the above table the contribution of the three selected newspapers published during the *Qajar* period is shown. These were chosen as a sample of the various Iranian newspapers published at different times during this period of social and political development in Iran. The last chapter of this thesis, the conclusion, will provide a conclusion to the analyses and findings of this research.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

In the preceding seven chapters I have examined the role and the contribution of the press to the process of social and political change and development in Iran during the *Qajar* rule of the 19th century. Furthermore, I have tried to assess the extent to which this process contributed to the triumph of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution in the early 20th century. Seen in its historical context, this process passed through many different stages of development through which the country was to be changed forever. The significance of the consequences of what took place in the nineteenth century can still be seen in the modern history of Iran. This century saw the consolidation of Western hegemony and the beginning of the classical age of imperialism. Many non-Western countries found themselves coming under the control of one or other of the European powers. At the same time, a great deal of social, political and economic transformation and modernization took place in these countries at the behest of their European colonisers. The affect of this transformation differed from one country to another. While direct contact with the Western powers facilitated the process of change, in many countries, such as Iran, this process occurred through other channels. Indeed, Iran has never been colonised by any Western power. However it was, in many respects, under the influence of Western ideological and political hegemony.

To further the aims of this study I developed a model based on both internal and external factors that were important to the process of social and political development. Such factors as 'literacy' and 'intellectuals' were cited as examples of internal factors, and the introduction of 'new ideas' through different channels, such as 'travellers' and 'printed matters', were cited as prime example of an external factor. Regarding these factors, I emphasised that the absence of any single one of them could slowdown, suspend, or prevent the process of social and political change occurring in society. On the other hand, the combination of both internal and external factors can enhance and speed up this process.

This study continued with a discussion of four significant internal factors that contributed to the process of modernization and development in Iran: the 'psychological factor', the 'educational factor', the 'social factor', and the 'communication factor'. All of these factors, individually and collectively, affected the process of change in the country (see Figure 2-1).

I also discussed the fact that all these external factors work through some kind of contact between different elements both inside and outside the country. The main influential contacts to affect the process of change are those which existed between Iran and the West during the 19th century. This contact had different forms and can be divided into two major kinds: direct and indirect contacts as I have shown in Figure 2-3.

Recognising the importance of both internal and external factors in the process of change, I examined two theories dealing with the role of media in development, Lerner's thesis and the structuralist thesis on 'media imperialism', in order to ascertain what role the press could play in this process.

Based on the above two theses, I put forward my own model for the purposes of this study. This model neither follows these theses completely nor rejects them totally. Rather, it uses elements of both to build up a comprehensive model applicable to this study. Before presenting this model I raised three relevant points. Firstly, that the role of mass communication in developed societies is not necessarily similar to that which it has in developing countries. Secondly, the debate regarding the role of the media, particularly in developing countries, has been elaborated and developed in two different ways. In the first instance we have Lerner's claim that the mass media plays an autonomous role in the introduction of social change and development in society. Although this thesis might not work properly after the 1950s, when Lerner presented this thesis, there is no doubt that this theory is applicable to the Iranian situation during the 19th century, when the modern media in the form of press were founded. In comparison, the structuralists maintain that the mass media and communication system are a dependent variable in the process of social change and as such can lead the country to increased dependence on outside influences rather than to successful internal development. Finally, besides the importance of the role of media in society, much greater significance should be given to the local power structure, traditional values and economic forces which act as variable factors against which the achievements of the media should be assessed.

The above three points form the main framework for the suggested model in this study. Briefly, this model looks at the internal and external factors of change and development and their importance to the process of modernization. In order to answer the question, 'how does the process of change start in a society?' I utilized both diffusion theory and modernization theory. With regard to diffusion theory, I explained how modern ideas could be transferred to other societies and, in the case of the modernization theory, I explained the social challenge that existed between 'traditional' and 'modern' elements in society.

With this theoretical background and using research methods based on quantitative, qualitative and discourse analysis, I analyzed the three selected newspapers, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* (1851), *Qanun* (1890), and *Sur-i Israfil* (1907). This analysis was undertaken by looking at the political and ideological terminology that I developed for this purpose in Figure 3-1. The analysis of the*se* terminology shows the extent to which these newspapers were involved in the process of the political development of the country through introducing modern ideas and developing various relevant discourses.

Before coming to a conclusion as regards the outcome of this analysis it is important to look at the general background to the process of change and development in which Iran was involved in the 19th century so as to provide an holistic view of the whole procedure.

The process of modernization in Iran actually started some time before the foundation of the press. During the 19th century, demographic change in the country altered the social and economic circumstances of Iran. The growth in population from 5 or 6 million at the beginning of the 19th century to 10 million at the end, together with urban expansion changed the social mosaic of the country. The emergence of the urbanization phenomenon led to new demands and requirements being made by society on the state. With the expansion of cities, the number of streets, health centres, bridges, factories, mosques, schools, parks, telegraph houses, etc. also increased. All these new facilities increased the expectations of the people. Consequently the state was forced to pay more attention to these expectations.

The expectations of the people, due to different factors such as contact with the West and the spread of literacy, did not stop at the level of physical demands. These expectations expanded to cover social and political requirements. But the social and political structure that existed in the country at the time, especially the

government structure could not fulfil the demands of the people. The lack of diversity in the political system and the monopoly of the government increased the strength of opposition to the state. The tribal system on the other hand was not able to adjust itself to the new situation in the country. This system could manage, for better or worse, when the country was operating on a traditional pre-urbanised basis with most people living in the desert or in villages. However, under the new demographic circumstances, conflict between state and people was unavoidable. People wanted more participation in government. They demanded their freedom and their rights. They desired justice and the implementation of law in the country. These demands, along with many others, could not be fulfilled by the government of the time due to the restrictions of the tribal system and its traditional structure.

In this situation the necessity of change and development was felt, not only by the religious clergy and the national and secular intellectuals, but also by the government officials themselves. In this regard I have made a distinction between attempts for change and development that came from inside the system of government and those which came from outside of this system, or, as I have described it, internal and external factors of change. This distinction is useful for our study as it draws attention to the differences between governmental and non-governmental attempts to affect the process of modernization in the country. Moreover, it highlights the different methods used by both parties in their attempts to bring about change and the effectiveness of these undertakings. Concerning the process of change in Iranian society we also notice that it was only after the failure of the government attempts at modernization that people from outside the government system began to make their contribution to the process. In another words, the process of political development and modernization in Iran was a bottom-up process and the people played the central role in this process. The external factor, or the non-governmental attempt at modernization, was indeed a stronger, more radical and revolutionary process and it ended with the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution. For clarity and classification of these attempts at modernization I developed a descriptive model that is presented in figure 4-1.

As has been discussed, the governmental attempts towards the modernization of Iran did not result in any major changes in protecting the rights of the people or limiting the *Qajar* despotism. It actually placed the government into conflict with

powerful groups, namely the provincial authorities, *Ulama*, landowners and tribal leaders.

However, it did have at least two important results. Firstly, it convinced the people that this type of attempt could not bring any real development to the country. Secondly, although these attempts failed, they did succeed in opening the eyes and minds of the people in such a way that they became familiar with certain features and possible benefits associated with modernization and development. In this situation people were able to identify and compare those involved in the process of development, with those they saw as obstacles or opponents preventing its successful implementation. This comparison helped the people to realise that the main obstacle blocking the path to modernization was the *Qajar* royal family itself.

With the external factors of change in Iranian society beginning to make a marked impression, the foundation of the press became a necessity and the first newspaper was duly published in the 1837. Although the foundation of a Persian language press had taken place in India at least half a century before its foundation in Iran, there is no evidence to suggest that these newspapers had any real influence on, or connection with, those that were founded in Iran. Rather, as I have discussed, it was the contact between Iran and the West that was the main influence on the formation of a press in Iran.

The Russian pattern of developments especially political development was not approved by Iranians partly because of the psychological nature of the relationship between Iranians living in cities bordering Russia, such as Tabriz, and their attitudes towards the Russian governmental despotism which had dominated them during eleven-years of war (1804-1813 and 1826-1828). Thus the Iranians did not wish to follow a model of political development like the Russians. On the other hand, the expanding interactions between Iran and the West during the nineteenth century or namely the sending of students for purposes of studying, travelling, writing travel accounts which explained the modernisation of the West and translating many books from English and French, made the Iranians more aware of the development of the West. Moreover, the western political model (mainly the British model) for government and society considering the rights of a people within a political system (of government) and the amount of the freedom that was given to the people concerning their individual life had influenced the Iranian intellectuals to demand

similar conditions back home – with respect to social and political life.

During the nineteenth century, the West (Mainly Britain) became known as a modernised entity – for Iranians – there, not only to be followed in order for others to develop but also to be regarded as *the* political system which is a model based on decency and legitamacy. If all these events were not to occur, the whole idea of a parliamentarianism and constitutionalism would not have succeeded during the Constitutional Revolution.

The rise of the modern press in 19th century Iran was an important step towards the process of change in the country. The Iranian newspapers, whether governmental or private, contributed significantly to this process, but at different levels. The first main contribution came from those newspapers that were published in exile outside of Iran and secondly, from those which were published a few years before or during the time of the Constitutional Revolution. Although the control of the press was totally in the hands of the government in the beginning, the foundation of this modern tool of communication was in itself a significant achievement for the overall process of change and development in the country. The governmental press throughout its publication, whether during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah or Muzaffar al-Din Shah, with all its heavy censorship, propagation of governmental news and activities and strong praise of the *Qajar* dynasty, remained in many ways informative. The analysis of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* reveals a strong connection between the establishment of ideas about state and nation in its writing abut the government activities and its role in establishing and maintaining, for instance, security in the country. This role was emphasised throughout this whole period of the government press' existence.

The functioning of the independent and private press during the *Qajar* period, that is to say the workings of the Iranian press in exile, was obviously not restricted by any limitations imposed by the government. Therefore, they were free to practise their various roles as watchdog, representative, and source of public information. The press in Iran during the first year after the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution, (1907), existed under similar circumstances to those enjoyed by the press in exile. The situation for the semi-independent press was different to that of the governmental and the independent press as is shown in the suggested model presented in table 5-2. Indeed a significant contribution was made to the process of social and political

change by all three kinds of newspapers: independent, semi-independent and those that were published in exile.

It is important, here, to note that there is a defining line between the expansion of governmental newspapers and the rise of the independent papers, in exile, during the *Qajar* period. Although *kaghaz-e Akhbar* was the first Iranian paper, published in 1837, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* (1851) was actually the first modern newspaper to resemble their corresponding European counterparts (discussed in chapter five). During the 48 years of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign, 1889 was a turning point in Iranian journalism. The rise of *Qanun* newspaper, in this year, prepared the ground for the ascent of Iranian journalism in exile. Before 1889, Iranian journalism was completely under the control of the government. The distribution of news and information was carried out under the surveillance of the state. *Akhtar* was the only independent newspaper that was published outside the country, in Istanbul (1875). These circumstances altered after the foundation of *Qanun*, in 1898. The 14-year gap between the establishment of *Akhtar* and *Qanun* was enough for the intellectuals to realise that the only proper way to oppose the *Qajar* government and to bring about change in society was to make the most use of this new tool of communication i.e. the press. It is, therefore, not surprising that after 1889 many newspapers such as *Habl al-Matin* (1893), *Sorayya* (1898) and *Parvaresh* (1900), to name but a few, were published in exile. Thus *Qanun* established a new style of writing and had considerable influence over people; moreover, Nasir al-Din Shah's system of despotism had become more sophisticated by the using different methods such as legitimising the press's position and controlling the country's information system. For the Iranian intellectuals there was no option but to leave the country and use similar methods that the government employed to manipulate the people.

The rise of Iranian newspapers in exile after the foundation of *Qanun*, in 1889, was at least a manifest sign for the importance and effectiveness of the role of the press within the process of social and political developments inside the country.

Generally speaking the rise of the press in Iran was the outcome of both contact between Iran and the West and also the formation of an Iranian intelligentsia, especially during the second half of the 19th century. Without the formation of this intelligentsia the process of social and political change in Iran could not have become a reality. Bearing in mind that the rise of the Iranian intellectuals was the outcome of

contact with the West it is clear that the ideas that influenced these intellectuals were rooted in the socio-cultural aspect of their origin. Western philosophical and scientific ideologies had affected the Iranians' thinking as well as their daily life. These ideas were, however, developed during and after the Enlightenment era and the Renaissance period in the West. Therefore they were not only secular in their meaning but also in contradiction to religious ideologies. For this reason the new ideas that were introduced by the intellectuals to Iranian society had their opponents as well as their supporters.

The introduction of these modern ideologies did not happen through a single channel of contact and communications. There are at least four direct, external factors that had affected and transformed the process of change and development inside the country. As mentioned in chapter two, they are : 1-travellers to Europe, 2- students who studied abroad, 3 - intellectuals in exile and 4 - the foreigners in Iran. These factors together with the combination of indirect external factors i.e. the transformation of new ideologies by the press and the translation of various European books into Persian had contributed vastly to the process of political modernisation in Iran. It is not actually possible to pin-point which of these factors had possessed a more significant role in the process of modernisation and development. Some of the travellers to Europe had written an influential travel account and had explained the European way of life - which persuaded some Iranians that they, too, desired a similar life-style. I have mentioned some of these travel accounts in chapter four. The translation of books - mainly from English and French sources - exceeded one hundred and fifty during the nineteenth century; this, too, played a significant role in introducing different modern concepts to Iranians. The students who studied abroad, especially in England and France, also shared a vital role in this process. One in particular, Mirza Saleh Shirazi, had, in fact, founded the first newspaper in Iran, in 1837.

What is important, here, is to (i) identify the important factors contributing to this process of socio-political modernisation and (ii) analyse which factor had been most effective. The press was the most influential factor in the process of modernisation in Iran, during the *Qajar* period. This new means of communication was easy to read. It was written in such a way as to be comprehensible by the masses. The transportation of these papers was easy. The political discourse that was discussed in these papers was in popular demand by the people. The criticisms made

by the papers towards the prevailing despotic government were welcomed by the people. These advantages, amongst others, placed the press in a pivotal position and role with respect to the process of political development and modernisation. This tool of modern communications could easily portray and illustrate the deficiency of the social, political and economic situation of the country by comparing it with corresponding conditions predominating in Europe. The political awareness of the people in some parts of the country, such as Tabriz and Shiraz was consequent upon their relatively greater contact and links with neighbouring countries; this situated the people in a better position with regards to press relations, hence, ultimately directing society to social and political modernisation. That is why these two cities, after Tehran, had the highest circulation newspapers in the country.

The acquaintance with modern ideas by the Iranian intellectuals especially by means of the press, facilitated the process of change in the country, which finally culminated in the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution. During the Constitutional Revolution period, and with the help of these intellectuals, many modern social and political concepts were introduced into the society. Indeed, without the work of these intellectuals these concepts could not have entered Iranian society. Razaqi in his studies regarding the Constitutional Revolution has noted that this revolution was not just the first substantial move from patrimonial forms of power to the democratic situation, but was also instrumental in introducing many modern concepts and terminology into Iranian society. Concepts such as: *'the rights of the people'*, *'freedom of speech'*, *'government of law'*, and *'the rights of individuals'* were injected into the new discourse of the society (Razaqi, 1998).

Generally speaking, it was the Iranian press, before and during the Constitutional Revolution that was responsible for the introduction of these new concepts and terminology. Many secular and religious intellectuals saw the press as the best available tool for the spread of these concepts. As I discussed in Chapter Seven, in the second half of the 19th century, the Iranian newspapers, especially those that were published outside of the country such as *Qanun*, were full of articles explaining and introducing this new terminology. Study of the discourse of that time shows that there is a clear difference between the new language of the emergent intellectuals and the old language which was used by society as a whole. This new interpretation of things based on new combinations of words and concepts was clearly influenced by the Western method and style of interpretation. The new interpretation

of *Hoquq-e Bashar* (Human Rights), *Mas'uliyat-e Dulat* (Responsibility of the Government), and *Azadi-e Bayan* (Freedom of speech), to name but a few, became part of the new language of daily discourse for Iranian intellectuals in 19th century Iran. This language showed marked differences form the old system of meaning and interpretation. The words *Hoquq* (Rights), or *Bashar* (Human), or *Mas'uliyat* (Responsibility), and *Dowlat* (Government) existed separately in Persian as well as in Arabic because of their Arabic origins. But the new combination of *Hoquq-e Bashar* or *Mas'uliyat-e Dulat* showed two main differences from the individual meaning of these words. Firstly, this new combination of words had not been used grammatically before, and secondly the meaning of this new combination was unfamiliar to the majority of people in society. The new concepts contained and introduced specific political meanings, which represented a new modern outlook that had not previously existed in Iranian society.

Moreover, the new political discourse of the Iranian intellectuals was built around the idea of a new language. Conceptually, this language was mainly copied from modern Western ideologies and concepts. Furthermore, this language was responsible for the introduction of new Western political concepts, such as 'Nationalism', 'Socialism', and 'Capitalism', to the society.

Since the 19th century until now, the rise and extension of the new language of discourse in Iran is relative to the level of involvement that Iranian intellectuals have had with the political situation of the country. The movement from the old and traditional ways of thinking to a more modern method for understanding and interpreting ideas through the establishment and use of a new language made these intellectuals different from others. There is no doubt that contact with the West and Western ideological concepts had a tremendous effect on the rise of both the Iranian intellectuals and the modern political language and discourse, which the press was able to mediate into the society.

The analysis of the content of the Iranian press during the *Qajar* period clearly shows their active involvement in the process of political and social modernization in the country. It is not only the content of the newspapers that indicated this involvement but also the development that is shown in the variety of titles chosen as names for these newspapers. Moreover, as you move from the beginning to the end of the 19th century, the newspapers' names show a radical change from an Arabic style, with complicated vocabulary and very traditional meanings, to a Persian style, with

simple words and modern concepts. Indeed, some of these changes were because of the modern Western political and social concepts that were picked up and introduced to the society by these newspapers. Table 7-1-1 clarifies this matter.

The analysis of the three selected newspapers, *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, *Qanun* and *Sur-i Israfil* also shows this same involvement and contribution of press to the process of social and political development in Iran.

The semiotic and linguistic analysis of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, as shown in section 1 of Chapter Seven, gives the following results:

1- Authoritarian language based on exaggerated praises of Kings and other authorities.

2-Although the writing style had shifted from Arabic to Persian terminology, the language used in this paper is still full of Arabic words supported with an Arabic form of grammar.

3-Very little use of modern social and political concepts and terminology.

4- Reflecting everyday issues of military, tribes, etc...

5-Many grammatical mistakes appeared due to Edward Burgess' poor translation from foreign languages into Persian.

From the language used in the governmental newspaper *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* it is difficult to discern any attempt at introducing modern ideas and new concepts to the people. The form and the character of the writing were such that it did not allow for different views and discourses other than those extolling the virtues of the *Qajar* monarchy. Of equal importance was the fact that the production of the paper was totally in the hands of the government. Nobody outside of the governmental system could interfere with the content of this paper. The selection of news and reports was done in such a way that it supported the actions of the *Qajar* dynasty and their related authorities. In this environment it was not possible to use modern social and political concepts, especially those that were in conflict with the existing political system. Therefore, it is not surprising to learn that the number instances in which words such as 'Law' and 'Justice' were used was severely limited. The former appeared twice and the latter only once throughout the whole course of the newspapers existence. These factors highlight the main differences between the governmental and independent Iranian newspapers such as *Qanun* and *Sur-i Israfil* during the *Qajar* period. Such modes of language, and means of distributing news and

information, acted as an obstacle and hindrance to the implementation and progress of the process of change and development.

By analyzing some of the issues raised in this newspaper the social and political direction and attention of *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh* newspaper was made clear. The *Qajar* government actually used this first regular and professional newspaper for propaganda purposes, focussing on issues which could strengthen its power or show the stability and legitimacy of its regime. This agenda helped the government to establish its own information system but did little to improve the social and political conditions of the country. As explained in Chapter Five, people did not buy this newspaper because of the very low rate of literacy and their negative feelings towards government propaganda.

In contrast to *Roznameh Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*, *Qanun* was an independent newspaper which was heavily involved in the process of social and political development. It did this by introducing modern ideologies and dealing with various political discourses, relevant to the society of the time, through the medium of a new established language. This language has been discussed in detail in section 3 of Chapter Seven with a suggested model presented in figure 7-3-2.

In *Qanun*, *Malkum Khan* tried to introduce a wide variety of modern terminology, modern concepts and interpretations which differed greatly from the traditional and ordinary held meanings of society. These concepts were derived from a Western setting and were specifically designed for European societies. To simplify these concepts, *Malkum Khan* tried to use indigenous ideas and symbols in order to make them understandable to the people. One of the most powerful elements in this new language is what I call the 'secularization of religious concepts' or, in other words, 'the re-interpretation of religious concepts in the light of modern Western thought'. In this regard, *Malkum Khan* explained various religious concepts, but with new and modern definitions influenced by a Western background. The Iranian intellectuals before him rarely used such religious, social and cultural concepts interpreted through the prism of modern meanings. With the help of a combination of religious and modern secular language, the Western political structures such as 'parliament' became acceptable to the religious leaders as well as the traditional people of Iran. The triumph of the Constitutional Revolution is the clearest sign of the success of the indigenization or Islamization of secular concepts in a traditional and religious society such as Iran during the 19th century. This process was only made

successful through the work of newspapers such as *Qanun*. Indeed, the Constitutional Revolution as a whole gained a lot from this newspaper. As was argued in section 3 of Chapter Seven, without the information disseminated by the various newspapers about the modern world, modern concepts of law, freedom and democracy and the modern form of political government, the triumph of the Constitutional Revolution could not have happened.

Regarding the *Sur-i Israfil* newspaper and its contribution to the process of change and development in Iran, it is important to note that the social and political environment of this paper differed from that of *Qanun*. For the most part, the Constitutional Revolution period (1906–1911) was very different from any other time in the *Qajar* period. The triumph of the revolution changed the face of Iran forever. The establishment of a parliament and the freedom of the people were the biggest fruits of the revolution. In this environment it is clear that free and independent newspapers would flourish. Indeed, as I have discussed in Chapter Five, the rise of the independent newspapers was the main feature of this period. These new publications introduced many modern social and political concepts into society. Many of these concepts were used as titles for certain newspapers published in this period. This provides a good indication of the changed atmosphere as these concepts could not be spoken about freely before the triumph of the revolution. Newspapers with titles such as: *'Taraqqi'* (Progress), *'Bidari'* (Awakening), *'Adamiyat'* (Humanity), *'Ittehad'* (Unity), *'Azad'* (Free), *'Musavat'* (Equality), and *'Sur-i Israfil'* (Trumpet call of *Israfil*) became common. Such changes became possible for at least two reasons. Firstly, the tremendous work of the Iranian intellectuals in introducing modern political ideas to the country had made these concepts easily understood and generally accepted by the majority of the people. Secondly, a democratic environment was created by the triumph of the revolution itself. After years of enforced silence the new situation encouraged the Iranian intellectuals to rush "to the printing presses to pour out all their newly acquired political ideas" (Abrahamian, 1982, p. 87).

It was in such an environment that *Sur-i Israfil* started its publication in Iran. Taking advantage of the momentary possibility for freedom of expression, *Sur-i Israfil* started to challenge social, political, economic and cultural institutions, especially the government system and the clerical institutions. The triumph of the revolution not only allowed freedom to exist but also opened the way for the Iranian intellectuals to express their ideas about the institutionalization of freedom and

democracy in the country, and to suggest various projects for the future development of Iran. Therefore, the big difference between this period and the rest of the *Qajar* period was evidenced not only in greater freedom and the establishment of constitutional government, but also in the flourishing of ideas and an increase in the ideological, political and cultural contributions of the people. Before the revolution and especially during the first half of the 19th century, the government was the main generator of the political, cultural, social and economic life of the country. There was little, if any, contribution or involvement from the people. However, this situation was reversed after the revolution, with people taking the first line in the decision making process.

The role and contribution of the press to the process of change and development during the Constitutional Revolution period has to be judged in the context of such an environment. This kind of environment did not require an ideological and philosophical interpretation of the modern social and political concepts as was made by newspapers such as *Qanun*. Rather what it needed were practical suggestions and ways of implementing these concepts. Therefore, *Sur-i Israfil* emphasized the 'National' aspect by criticizing the situation in the country and explaining how it should be run. In other words, the main focus of *Sur-i Israfil* was to explain how the Constitutional government and the parliamentary system should work in the country. These kinds of explanations and many more, especially in relation to the rights of women, contributed enormously to the process of political development in this period.

It will now be useful to review the research questions and hypotheses that were stated in Chapter Three. All the points that have been discussed and argued in the thesis support its main aim: to examine the contribution of the Iranian press to the process of political change during the *Qajar* period (1797-1925) with special consideration to the period of the Constitutional Revolution. It has been argued that most modern ideas regarding social and political development and modernization were transferred into Iran through various means, especially the modern press, which was in itself a Western product founded in Iran because of interaction between Iranian and Western culture. The publication of these newspapers was mainly undertaken by a select group of Iranian intellectuals who had lived in the West for a period of time and were familiar with its progress and development. The Iranian independent newspapers that existed before and during the Constitutional Revolution contributed

to the creation of a public sphere that prepared the ground for the rise of social and political discourses in the society. These discourses were enhanced by the expansion of cultural globalization and the world-wide spread of Western liberalism. It was actually the private and non-governmental Iranian newspapers that started the first substantial discourse concerning Western modernization. They were also responsible for introducing the Western model of development with its ideological implications into the society. The introduction of these concepts contributed to the triumph of the Constitution Revolution.

Finally I wish to raise three points that I believe are important to this study and to future research. Firstly, the struggle for freedom and democracy, particularly the implementation of law, is still a matter of great debate in Iranian society even in the 21st century. It seems that the modern political concepts, which were introduced before and during the Constitutional Revolution, have still not been properly implemented. We still await the creation of the civil society promised by the revolutions of 1906 and 1979. The constant struggle between the independent press and the government of Iran, which usually ends with the closure of these newspapers for their involvement in modern political discourses, is a clear testimony to the importance of the role and important contribution of the press to the process of political development and modernization.

The second point is that the models used in this research for the specific analysis of the newspapers published during the 19th century in Iran, could be expanded to cover other developing countries. Concomitantly, they could be used to examine the role and contribution of the press to development processes in these countries. The method of discourse analysis used here could also be useful to similar research in these countries.

Thirdly, this thesis provides a strong foundation for the future study that I wish to undertake in examining the role and contribution of the Iranian press during the *Pahlavi* Dynasty and the Islamic Republic period. I strongly believe that through the analysis of the role of the press during these three periods, *Qajar*, *Pahlavi* and the Islamic Republic, their importance to the social and political development of Iran will be clearly shown. Even in the last days of the 20th century and the early days of the 21st century, mediated modern ideas in Iran have altered the country's process of modernization.

Finally, I wish to discuss the limitations of this study. There are certain areas which, for various reasons, could not be covered here. In the first instance, this study tried to examine the role and the contribution of the press to the process of the modernization in Iran during the 19th century. For such a study to be fully comprehensive it would be necessary to examine the role and the contribution of other elements to this process, such as the role of 'travellers' and the 'translations of books' for instance.

Secondly, although the study of the three selected newspapers was enough to assess the contribution and influence of the Iranian press to the process of political development in the 19th century, further study of other newspapers, especially those that were published after the Constitutional Revolution, would have helped to paint a more detailed picture.

In this study, however, I have made every effort to support and prove all the points raised regarding the role and contribution of the press to the process of modernization in Iran during the 19th century. It is, of course. impossible to include everything over such a long period of time. However, my intentions were to fully support and answer the main question posed, to formulate proper theories and applicable methods with which to support my argument and finally to raise discourses and avenues for further discussion. Towards this end I am hopeful that I have succeeded. Furthermore, beyond fulfilling the aims of this research, I hope that I have also been successful in outlining an academic methodology suitable for future study in similar areas.

Glossary

Adalat: Justice

Adalat Khaneh: Justice House, Court House

Adamiyat: Humanity

Ahura Mazda: The Wise Lord

Akhbari: Those who give priority to the use of Islamic tradition as a role of *Shari'eh* without using reason.

al –Mahdi: The hidden Imam in *Shi'ahism*

Amir-e Nizam: Lord of the Army, Chief of the Army

'atabat: The thresholds refer to the Shrines of *Shi'ah* Imams in Iraq in the holy cities of: *Najaf, Karbala, Samarra,* and *Kazomain*

Azad: Free

Azadi-e Bayan: Freedom of speech

Babism: A religious sect that believes on *Bab* as a Prophet after Mohammad the Prophet of Islam.

Bashar: Human

Charand Parand: Charivari

Dar al-Teba'h: Official Printing House

Dar al-Fonun: A bode of Learning

Din: Religion

Doulat: Government

Ettela'at: Information

Fahm-e Kafi: Sufficient Understanding

Farangi Maab: Western Followers

Farhang: Culture

Farr-e Izadi: Divine Glory

Fatva: Religious decree of a *Mujtahid*

Gharbzadegi: Westoxication

Haq (Plural: Hoquq): Right (Rights)

Hikmat: Wisdom

Horreyat: Freedom

Hoquq-e Bashar: Human Rights

Imam: One of the succession of infallible leaders of the Twelver *Shi'ah* community

Inqelab-e Mashruteyyat: Constitutional Revolution

Isna Ashari Shi'ah Muslim: Twelve Imam *Shi'ah* Muslim

Istebdad: Autocracy and despotism

Istebdad-e Saghir: Lesser Despotism

Ittefaq: Unity

Khoms: Religious tax (One-Fifth)

Majlis: Assembly, Parliament, Gathering

Masjid: Mosque

Mashru'eh: Rule according to the laws of *Shari'ah*; counterpoised to the concept of
    Mashruteh, rule according to the laws of constitution

Mashruteh: Constitutional Government, Constitutionalism

Mas'uliyat-e Dulat: Responsibility of the Government

Mellat: Nation

Merrikh: Name of a Star (Chosen as a newspaper's name)

Minber: Pulpit

Mosavat: Equality

Mubedan: Religious Leaders

Mujtahid: Doctor of Divinity; A high-ranking cleric who has the authority to interpret
    religious laws according to his judgment

Naskh: A form of Persian Calligraphy

Nastaliq: A form of Persian Calligraphy

Nayb al-Saltaneh: Crown Prince

Nimatullahi: One of the *Sufi* sects

Ommat: Muslim Nation

Qanun: Law; Secular law

Rushanfekran: Intellectuals

Rouzeh: Traditional religious ceremonies; Homiletic sermon

Sadr-e A'zam: Chief Minister

Safar: The second month of *Hijri* (Arabic) Calendar

Safarnameh: Travelogue, Travelbook

Siyahatnameh: Travelbook

Shah: King

Shari'ah: The sacred law of Islam

Shrafat: Dignity

Shuray-e Doulati: Government Council

Shuray-e Melli Iran: National Assembly of Iran

Takyeh: An open area used for homiletic preaching

Tali'eh: Prospectus

Taqlid: Imitation (of *Mujtahid* by an ordinary believer)

Taraqqi: Progress

Toman: Iranian Currency equal to 10 *Reyal*

Ulama: Islamic Scholars; Religious leader

Usuli: Religious scholar who follow the religious principles; Essentialist

Vaqay' Nevis: News-writer

Va'ez: A preacher or orator

Vazir-e Azam: Grand Vizier

Vaqf: Religious endowment

Zellollah: Shadow of God, title sometimes assumed by the *Shahs*

Zoroastrianism: The Religion of Zoroaster

Appendix (1)

Qajar political periodicals by name and date of publications

No	Name (F)	Name (E)	Higri	Miladi	Place of Publication	Period
1	Roznameh Doulat-e 'Iyyeh Iran	The Newspaper of the Sublime State of Iran	1277	1860	Tehran	**Nasir al-Din Shah**
2	Iran	Iran	1288	1871	Tehran	Nasir al-Din Shah
3	Merat Al-Shafar va Meshkat al-Hazar	Mirror of Travel and Lamp of Presence	1288	1871	Tehran/ Mazendaran	Nasir al-Din Shah
4	Iran	Iran	1290	1873	Tehran	Nasir al-Din Shah
5	Lapari	Motherland	1293	1876	Tehran	Nasir al-Din Shah
6	Farhang	Culture	1296	1878	Isfahan	Nasir al-Din Shah
7	Sharafat	Dignity	1314	1896	Tehran	**Muzaffar al-Din Shah**
8	al-Hadid	The Power	1315	1897	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
9	Ehteyag	Necessity	1316	1898	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
10	Eqbal	Prosperity	1316	1898	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
11	Jarideh Adap	Newspaper of Politeness	1316	1898	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
12	Adab	Politeness	1318	1900	Mashhad	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
13	Toloa'e Mosavar va Fokahi	Toloa'e Mosavar va Fokahi	1318	1900	Boshehr	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
14	Mozafari	Mozafari	1319	1901	Boshehr	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
15	Novrooz	New Year	1320	1902	Tehran	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
16	Adab	Politeness	1321	1903	Tehran	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
17	Sorayya	The Pleiades	1321	1903	Tehran	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
18	Maktab	School	1322	1904	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
19	Hadid	Power	1323	1905	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
20	Diryelik	Life	1323	1905	-	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
21	Shahanshahi	Imperial	1323	1905	Tehran	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
22	Adalat	Justice	1323	1905	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
23	Maktab	School	1323	1905	Tehran	Muzaffar al-Din Shah

24	Azad	Free	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
25	Eblagh	Notification	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
26	Ettehad	Unity	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
27	Ettehad	Unity	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
28	Okhouat	Brotherhood	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
29	Islamiyyeh	Islamic	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
30	Islamiyyeh	Islamic	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
31	Anjoman	Association	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
32	Anjoman-e Isfahan	Association of Isfahan	1324	1906	Isfahan	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
33	Besharat	Good News	1324	1906	Mashhad	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
34	Jarideh Melli	National Newspaper	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
35	al-Janab	al-Janab	1324	1906	Isfahan	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
36	Majlis	Parliament	1324	1906	Tehran	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
37	Mesbah	Light	1324	1906	Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
38	Neday-e Vatan	Voice of the country	1324	1906	Tehran	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
39	Vatan	Motherland	1324	1906	Tehran	Muzaffar al-Din Shah
40	Adamiyat	Humanity	1325	1907	Tehran	**Mohammad Ali Shah**
41	A'ineh Ghayb Nama	Divine Mirror	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
42	Ettehad	Unity	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
43	Etthadyyeh Sa'adat	Happiness Association	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
44	Isfahan	Isfahan	1325	1907	Isfahan	Mohammad Ali Shah
45	Olfat	Friendship	1325	1907	Hamadan	Mohammad Ali Shah
46	Ensaf	Justice	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
47	Bamdad	Forenoon	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
48	Bidari	Wakefulness	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
49	Bisetoon	Bisetoon (name)	1325	1907	Kermanshah	Mohammad Ali Shah
50	Tadayyon	Piety	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
51	Taraqi	Progress	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
52	Tashviq	Encouragement	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
53	Tanbih	Punishment	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali

					Shah
54	Jam-e Jam	Jam-e Jam	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
55	al-Jamal	The Beauty	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
56	Jahad-e Akbar	The Great Jihad	1325	1907	Isfahan	Mohammad Ali Shah
57	Jahan-e Ara'	Universal Thoughts	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
58	Habl al-Matin	Firm Cord	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
59	Harf-e Haq	Truth Word	1325	1907	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
60	Hoquq	Rights	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
61	Haqiqat	Truth	1325	1907	Isfahan	Mohammad Ali Shah
62	Khorram	Khorram	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
63	Khorshid	Sun	1325	1907	Mashhad	Mohammad Ali Shah
64	Khair al-Kalam	The Best Discourse	1325	1907	Rasht	Mohammad Ali Shah
65	Khair al-Kalam	The Best Discourse	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
66	Ruh al-qodos	Holy Spirit	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
67	Roznameh Shikh Fazl Allah	Newspaper of Shikh Fazl Allah	1325	1907	Ray	Mohammad Ali Shah
68	Rahnama	Guide	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
69	Zaban-e Mellat	Voice of Nation	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
70	Zesht va Ziba	Ugly and Beautiful	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
71	Soroosh	Messenger	1325	1907	Rasht	Mohammad Ali Shah
72	Safineh Nejat	Rescue Boat	1325	1907	Yazd	Mohammad Ali Shah
73	Shuray-e Baladi	Shuray-e Baladi	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
74	Sobh-e Sadiq	True Morning	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
75	Serat al-Mostaqim	The Right Path	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
76	Sur-i Israfil	Trumpet call of Israfil	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
77	'brat	Lesson	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
78	Iraq-e Ajam	Iraq-e Ajam	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
79	'orwat al-Vusqa	True Faith	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
80	Faraq-e Ba'd az Shedde	Relief after Harshness	1325	1907	Isfahan	Mohammad Ali Shah
81	Faryad	Yell	1325	1907	Oromeyyeh	Mohammad Ali Shah
82	Favayed-e Ommeh	Public	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali

			Benefits				Shah
83	Qajareiyeh	Qajareiyeh	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
84	Qasem al-Akhbar	Distributor of News	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
85	Kashef al-Haqaieq	Reveller of Truths	1325	1907	Rasht	Mohammad Ali Shah
86	Kashkool	Kashkool	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
87	Kelid-e Siyasi	Political Key	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
88	Kokab-e Dorri	Bright Star	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
89	Golestan	Golestan	1325	1907	Rasht	Mohammad Ali Shah
90	Golestan-e Sa'adat	Golestan-e Sa'adat	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
91	Gang-e Shayegan	Worthy Treasure	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
92	Gangin-eh Ansar	Supporter Treasure	1325	1907	Isfahan	Mohammad Ali Shah
93	Mojahed	Fighter for Liberty	1325	1907	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
94	Majaleh Estebdad	Despotism Magazine	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
95	Mada	Mada	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
96	Mosavat	Equality	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
97	Mashroteh Bi Qanon	Constitution-alism without Law	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
98	Mashvarat	Consultation	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
99	Mo'yyad	Victorious	1325	1907	Lahijan	Mohammad Ali Shah
100	Neday-e Islam	Voice of Islam	1325	1907	Shiraz	Mohammad Ali Shah
101	Nayyer-e A'zam	Great Light	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
102	Hdayat	Guidance	1325	1907	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
103	Hoda	Salvation	1325	1907	-	Mohammad Ali Shah
104	Azadi cheh chiz ast	What is freedom?	1326	1908	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
105	Anadily	Mother Tongue	1326	1908	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
106	Ay Molla Amoo	Oh Molla Uncle	1326	1908	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
107	Ettehad	Unity	1326	1908	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
108	Ettefaq	Unity	1326	1908	Arak	Mohammad Ali Shah
109	Oqyanoos	Ocean	1326	1908	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
110	Akakho	Star	1326	1908	Oromeyyeh	Mohammad Ali Shah
111	Barg-e Sabz	Green Sheet	1326	1908	Ardabil	Mohammad Ali

						Shah
112	Hasharat al-Arz	Insects of Earth	1326	1908	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
113	Haqiqat	Truth	1326	1908	Rasht	Mohammad Ali Shah
114	Khairandish	Good Thought	1326	1908	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
115	Roh al-Amin	The Angel Gabriel	1326	1908	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
116	Sharafat	Dignity	1326	1908	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
117	Shuray-e Iran	Iran's Council	1326	1908	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
118	Serat al-Mostaqim	The Right Path	1326	1908	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
119	Tehran	Tehran	1326	1908	Tehran	Mohammad Ali Shah
120	Gilan	Gilan	1326	1908	Rasht	Mohammad Ali Shah
121	Mohakemat	Trials	1326	1908	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
122	Naqur	Naqur	1326	1908	Isfahan	Mohammad Ali Shah
123	Naleh Mellat	Whimper of Nation	1326	1908	Tabriz	Mohammad Ali Shah
124	Nahid	Nahid	1326	1908	Shiraz	Mohammad Ali Shah
125	Arawet (Sobh)	Morning	1327	1909	Tabriz	**Ahmad Shah**
126	Azad	Free	1327	1909	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
127	Esteqlal	Independ-ence	1327	1909	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
128	E'tebar	Credibility	1327	1909	Kerman	Ahmad Shah
129	Iran-e Nuv	New Iran	1327	1909	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
130	Polic-e Iran	Police of Iran	1327	1909	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
131	Tamadon	Civilisation	1327	1909	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
132	Sorayya	The Pleiades	1327	1909	Kashan	Ahmad Shah
133	Habl al-Matin	Firm Cord	1327	1909	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
134	Hayat	Life	1327	1909	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
135	Khorasan	Khorasan	1327	1909	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
136	Dar al-Elm	The House of Knowledge	1327	1909	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
137	Zayandeh Rood	Zayandeh Rood	1327	1909	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
138	Sharq	East	1327	1909	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
139	Sohbat	Discourse	1327	1909	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
140	Safheh Ruzegar	Safheh Rozegar	1327	1909	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
141	Toos	Toos	1327	1909	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
142	'orwat al-vusqa	True Faith	1327	1909	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
143	Kermanshah	Kermanshah	1327	1909	Kermanshah	Ahmad Shah
144	Kashkool	Kashkool	1327	1909	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
145	Mosavat	Equality	1327	1909	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
146	Mofatesh-e Iran	Inspector of Iran	1327	1909	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
147	Vatan	Motherland	1327	1909	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
148	Yadegar-e Enqlab	Remembrance of Revolution	1327	1909	Qazvin	Ahmad Shah

149	Yadagar-e Enqlab	Remembrance of Revolution	1327	1909	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
150	Ettefaq-e Kargaran	Labours' Unity	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
151	Ershad	Guidance	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
152	Esteqlal-e Iran	Independence of Iran	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
153	Independence of Iran	Independenc-e of Iran	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
154	Barq	Lightning	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
155	Bahar	Spring	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
156	Prvaneh	Butterfly	1328	1910	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
157	Tabriz	Tabriz	1328	1910	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
158	Tamadon	Civilisation	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
159	Jarchi-e Mellat	Public Crier of the Nation	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
160	Jarchi-e Vatan	Public Crier of the Country	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
161	Jamalyyeh	Jamalyyeh	1328	1910	Hamadan	Ahmad Shah
162	Jonub	South	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
163	Hayat	Life	1328	1910	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
164	Khabar	News	1328	1910	Tabriz/Tehran	Ahmad Shah
165	Dastoor	Order	1328	1910	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
166	Ranjbar	Proletariat	1328	1910	Arak	Ahmad Shah
167	Zang	Bell	1328	1910	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
168	Soroosh	Messenger	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
169	Salsabil	Salsabil	1328	1910	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
170	Salsabil	Salsabil	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
171	Siyasi	Diplomatic	1328	1910	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
172	Shafaq	Aurora	1328	1910	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
173	Asr	Era	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
174	Qazvin	Qazvin	1328	1910	Qazvin	Ahmad Shah
175	Kankash	Search	1328	1910	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
176	Gilan	Gilan	1328	1910	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
177	Nuvbahar	New Spring	1328	1910	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
178	Yadegar-e Jonub	Remembran-ce of South	1328	1910	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
179	A'ineh	Mirror	1329	1911	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
180	Ettefaq	Unity	1329	1911	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
181	Ehya'	Revival	1329	1911	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
182	Eslah	Reform	1329	1911	Khoi	Ahmad Shah
183	Iran-e Nuvin	Modernised Iran	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
184	Bohlul	Bohlul (name)	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
185	Payetakht	Metropolis	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
186	Paykar	Combat	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
187	Tazeh Bahar	New Spring	1329	1911	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
188	Jarchi-e Asrar	Public Crier of Secrets	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
189	Jarid-e Kerman	Newspaper of Kerman	1329	1911	Kerman	Ahmad Shah
190	Jangal-e Mula	Jangal-e Mula	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
191	Chanteh Paberehneh	Chanteh Pabrehneh	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah

192	Dar al-Aman	The House of Peace	1329	1911	Kerman	Ahmad Shah
193	Dastur-e Okhouat	Order of Brotherhood	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
194	Dehqan	Dehqan	1329	1911	Kerman	Ahmad Shah
195	Raheh Kheyal	Imaginative Way	1329	1911	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
196	Ra'd-e Qazvin	Thunder of Ghazween	1329	1911	Ghazween	Ahmad Shah
197	Zaman-e Vesal	Union Time	1329	1911	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
198	Shikh Choghondar	Shikh Choghondar	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
199	Seday-e Rasht	The Voice of Rasht	1329	1911	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
200	Farvardin	Farvardin	1329	1911	Oromeyyeh	Ahmad Shah
201	Faryad	Yell	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
202	Merat-e Jonub	Mirror of South	1329	1911	Kerman	Ahmad Shah
203	Mizan	Scale	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
204	Nejat	Rescue	1329	1911	Khoi	Ahmad Shah
205	Neday-e Jonub	Voice of South	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
206	No'-e Bashar	Human Kind	1329	1911	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
207	Vezarat-e Ma'aref	Ministry of Education	1329	1911	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
208	Aftab	Sun	1330	1912	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
209	Parvardin	Parvardin	1330	1912	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
210	Kheyal	Vision	1330	1912	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
211	Shafaq	Aurora	1330	1912	Khoi	Ahmad Shah
212	Shehab-e Saqeb	Shooting Star	1330	1912	Kerman	Ahmad Shah
213	Fekr	Mind	1330	1912	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
214	Arshalowis (Fajr)	Dawn	1331	1913	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
215	Ayegh	Dawn	1331	1913	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
216	Iran-e Konuni	Modern Iran	1331	1913	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
217	Bitaraf	Neutral	1331	1913	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
218	Toufiq	Success	1331	1913	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
219	Ra'd	Thunder	1331	1913	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
220	Fars	Fars	1331	1913	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
221	Qaradagh	Qaradagh	1331	1913	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
222	Kashef-e Asrar	Revealer of Secrets	1331	1913	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
223	Kashef-e Asrar	Reveller of Secrets	1331	1913	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
224	Kordestan	Kordestan	1331	1913	Oromeyyeh	Ahmad Shah
225	Majaleh al-Islam	Islam Magazine	1331	1913	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
226	Ettela'at	Information	1332	1914	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
227	Iran-e Emruzeh	Iran Nowadays	1332	1914	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
228	Tanbiheh Darakhshan	Excellent Punishment	1332	1914	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
229	Gasus	Spy	1332	1914	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
230	Jarideh Islami	Islamic Newspaper	1332	1914	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
231	Khorshid	Sun	1332	1914	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
232	Khorshid	Sun	1332	1914	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
233	Shura	Assembly	1332	1914	Tehran	Ahmad Shah

234	Asr-e Inqelab	Era of Revolution	1332	1914	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
235	Asr-e Jadid	New Era	1332	1914	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
236	Misaq	Misaq	1332	1914	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
237	Minoo	Minoo	1332	1914	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
238	Aryan	Aryan	1333	1914	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
239	Agahi	Awareness	1333	1914	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
240	Ensaf	Justice	1333	1915	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
241	Bamdad-e Rushan	Shiny Morning	1333	1915	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
242	Tazyaneh Ghirat	Lash of Zeal	1333	1915	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
243	Jameh Jam	Jameh Jam	1333	1915	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
244	Setar-eh Iran	Iran's Star	1333	1915	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
245	Adl	Justice	1333	1915	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
246	Asr-e Inghelab	Era of Revolution	1333	1915	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
247	Qazvin	Qazvin	1333	1915	Qazvin	Ahmad Shah
248	Nasim-e Shomal	Breeze of North	1333	1915	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
249	Nuvbahar	New Spring	1333	1915	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
250	Akhbar	News	1334	1916	Kermanshah	Ahmad Shah
251	Enteqam	Revenge	1334	1916	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
252	Parsi	Farsi	1334	1916	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
253	Hafez-e Isteqlal	Preserver of Independe-nce	1334	1916	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
254	Rah-e Nejat	Way of Rescue	1334	1916	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
255	'ahd-e Jadid	New Era	1334	1916	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
256	Kankash	Search	1334	1916	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
257	Bohlul	Bohlol (name)	1335	1917	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
258	Tajadod	Modernisation	1335	1917	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
259	Jangal	Jangal	1335	1917	Rasht (Foman)	Ahmad Shah
260	Zaban-e Azad	Free Voice	1335	1917	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
261	Seday-e Iran	The Voice of Iran	1335	1917	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
262	Tali'eh Sa'adat	Tali'eh Sa'adat	1335	1917	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
263	Asr-e Sa'adat	Era of Prosperity	1335	1917	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
264	Fars	Fars	1335	1917	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
265	Kelideh Nejat	Rescue Key	1335	1917	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
266	Kuokab-e Iran	Star of Iran	1335	1917	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
267	Golstan	Flower Garden	1335	1917	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
268	Levay-e Islam	Flag of Islam	1335	1917	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
269	Vezarat-e Omur-e Kharejeh	Foreign Affairs Ministry	1335	1917	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
270	Vatan	Motherland	1335	1917	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
271	Estakhr	Pool (Founder's name)	1336	1918	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
272	Qeyam-e Sharq	Revolt of East	1336	1918	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
273	Kashef-e Asrar	Reveller of	1336	1918	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah

		Secrets				
274	Golestan	Golestan	1336	1918	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
275	Baharestan	Baharestan (name)	1337	1919	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
276	Hayat-e Javid	Eternal Life	1337	1919	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
277	Zaban-e Zanan	Voice of Women	1337	1919	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
278	Salamat	Safety	1337	1919	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
279	Sharq-e Iran	East of Iran	1337	1919	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
280	Mihan	Motherland	1337	1919	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
281	Akhtar-e Mas'ud	Mas'ud's Star	1338	1920	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
282	Inqelab-e Sorkh	Red Revolution (Communist Revolution)	1338	1920	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
283	Iran-e Sorkh	Red Iran (Iran Of the Red Army)	1338	1920	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
284	Bobokh	Bogy	1338	1920	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
285	Tazeh Bahar	New Spring	1338	1920	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
286	Tahzib	Refinement	1338	1920	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
287	Hallaj	Hallaj	1338	1920	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
288	Roznameh Divarkub-e Rusta	The village newspaper fixed on the wall	1338	1920	Rasht (Kasma)	Ahmad Shah
289	Rahnama	Guide	1338	1920	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
290	Sa'adat	Prosperity	1338	1920	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
291	Seday-e Tehran	The Voice of Tehran	1338	1920	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
292	Komunist	Communist	1338	1920	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
293	Gilan	Gilan	1338	1920	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
294	Molla Nasr al-Din	Molla Nasr al-Din	1338	1920	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
295	Menarat	Minaret	1338	1920	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
296	Eslah	Reform	1339	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
297	Irani Ashkhadawoor (Kargar-e Irani)	Iranian Labour	1339	1921		Ahmad Shah
298	Takamol	Evolution	1339	1921	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
299	Tehrani Ayeg	Iran's Morning	1339	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
300	Jannat	Heaven	1339	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
301	Ranjbar-e Irani	Iranian Labour	1339	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
302	Sohail	Sohail (Star)	1339	1921	Malayer	Ahmad Shah
303	Sobh-e Omid	Morning Hope	1339	1921	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
304	Asr-e Azadi	Era of Freedom	1339	1921	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
305	Kargar	Labourer	1339	1921	Khoi	Ahmad Shah
306	Gol-e Ateshi	Gol-e Ateshi	1339	1921	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
307	Gol-e Sorkh	Proud Rose	1339	1921	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
308	Mellat	Nation	1339	1921	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
309	Mihan-e Yomyiyeh	Daily Motherland	1339	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
310	Ofoq	Horizon	1339	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah

311	Zaban-e Iran	Voice of Iran	1339	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
312	Ettehad	Unity	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
313	Akhbar-e Amri	News of Order	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
314	Afkar	Ideas	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
315	Eqdam	Action	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
316	Iran-e Azad	Free Iran	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
317	Badr	Full moon	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
318	Baharestan	Baharestan (name)	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
319	Haqiqat	Truth	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
320	Khalq	People	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
321	Dastur-e Okhovat	Order of Brotherhood	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
322	Zanbur	Bee	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
323	Setar-e Sharq	East Star	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
324	Siyasat	Diplomacy	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
325	Shafaq-e Sorkh	Red Aurora	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
326	Shirkoh	Shirkoh	1340	1921	Yazd	Ahmad Shah
327	Sayha Asemani	The Sky's Yell	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
328	Tufan	Storm	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
329	Adalat	Justice	1340	1921	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
330	Asreh Jadid	New Era	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
331	Faryad	Yell	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
332	Qanun	Law	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
333	Qarn-e Bistom	Twentieth Century	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
334	Kord	Kord	1340	1921	Oromeyyeh	Ahmad Shah
335	Kerdar	Manner	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
336	Mah-e Nuv	New Moon	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
337	Mahnameh Artesh	Journal of Armi	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
338	Nehza-e Sharq	Revolt of East	1340	1921	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
339	Hayat	Life	1341	1883	Tehran	
340	Azar	Fire	1341	1922	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
341	Aseyay-e Markazi	Central Asia	1341	1922	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
342	Aseyay-e Vosta	Central Asia	1341	1922	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
343	Ofoq-e Rushan	Bright Horizon	1341	1922	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
344	Iran-e Emrooz	Iran Today	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
345	Bidar	Awake	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
346	Paykar	Combat	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
347	Paykan	Arrow	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
348	Hayat-e Iran	Iran's Life	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
349	Donyay-e Iran	Iran's World	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
350	Sa'adat Jonub	Prosperity of South	1341	1923	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
351	Shams	Sun	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
352	Shehab	Shooting Star	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
353	Seday-e Islam	The Voice of Islam	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
354	Sayha	Yell	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
355	Fekreh Azad	Free Mind	1341	1923	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
356	Falaq	Morning	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
357	Qalam-e Pak	Clean Pen	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah

358	Qeyam	Revolt	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
359	Qeyam-e be Haq	Revolt for truth	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
360	Kar	Action	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
361	Kushesh	Struggle	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
362	Goftar-e Rast	True Discourse	1341	1923	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
363	Mard-e Azad	Free Man	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
364	Mardan-e Kar	Worker Men	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
365	Nejat-e Iran	Rescue of Iran	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
366	Neday-e Asemani	Cry of Sky	1341	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
367	Azar	Fire	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
368	Azadi	Freedom	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
369	Aseman	Sky	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
370	Ahang	Intention	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
371	Aflak	The Firmament (heavens)	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
372	Omid	Hope	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
373	Bahar-e Delkash	Fascinating Spring	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
374	Bidari	Wakefulne-ss	1342	1923	Kerman	Ahmad Shah
375	Prvaresh	Educating	1342	1923	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
376	Payam	Communicati on	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
377	Tamadon	Civilisation	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
378	Jannat-e 'dn	'dn Heaven	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
379	Jonub	South	1342	1923	Qom	Ahmad Shah
380	Khorshid	Sun	1342	1923	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
381	Khorshid-e Iran	Iran's Sun	1342	1923	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
382	Democracy	Democracy	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
383	Rangbar	Proletariat	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
384	Soroosh-e Iran	Messenger of Iran	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
385	Sa'adat-e Iran	Iran's Prosperity	1342	1923	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
386	Siyasat-e Islami	Islamic Policy	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
387	Sho'leh	Flame	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
388	Tolu'	Dawn	1342	1923	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
389	Asr-e Tamadon	Era of Civilisation	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
390	Asr-e Nehzat	Era of Revolution	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
391	'zamat-e Islam	Greatness of Islam	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
392	Qarn-e Chhardahom	Fourteenth Century	1342	1923	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
393	Qalam-e Azad	Free Pen	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
394	Karoon	Karoon	1342	1923	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
395	Leva' Bain al-Nahrain	Flag of Bain al-Nahrain	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
396	Majaleh al-Islam	Islam Magazine	1342	1923	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
397	Mahshar	Doomsday	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
398	Mard-e Kar	Worker Man	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah

399	Nasir al-Melleh	Supporter of Nation	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
400	Nameh Javanan	Yoth's Lette	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
401	Neday-e Gilan	Voice of Gilan	1342	1923	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
402	Haaona	Haaona	1342	1923	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
403	Ateshfeshan	Volcano	1343	1924	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
404	Azar	Fire	1343	1924	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
405	Azarabadegan	Azerbaijan	1343	1924	Tabriz	Ahmad Shah
406	Azad	Free	1343	1924	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
407	Aftab-e Sharq	East Sun	1343	1924	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah
408	Eblagh	Notification	1343	1924	Tehran	
409	Ettehad-e Islam	Islamic Unity	1343	1924	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
410	Esteqamat	Resistance	1343	1924	Kerman	Ahmad Shah
411	Ofoq-e Iran	Horizon of Iran	1343	1924	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
412	Badr-e Monir	Shining Moon	1343	1924	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
413	Bani Hashimi	Bani Hashimi (person's name)	1343	1924	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
414	Bayan-e Haqiqat	Exposing Truth	1343	1924	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
415	Parvaneh	Butterfly	1343	1924	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
416	Jahan Nama	Jahan Nama	1343	1924	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
417	Dast-e Enteqam	The Hand of Revenge	1343	1924	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
418	Salah-e Bashar	Goodness of Human	1343	1924	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
419	Gharbal	Riddle	1343	1924	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
420	Fekr-e Azad	Free Mind	1343	1924	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
421	Fekr-e Javan	Yong Mind	1343	1924	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
422	Nameh Tajadod	Letter of Modernisation	1343	1924	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
423	Ayandeh	Future	1344	1925	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
424	Ettehad-e Islam	Islamic Unity	1344	1925	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
425	Arzhang	Mani's Book	1344	1925	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
426	Aflaak	The Firmament (The heavens)	1344	1925	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
427	Bazpors	Inspector	1344	1925	Qazvin	Ahmad Shah
428	Parsnameh	Pars letter	1344	1925	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah
429	Tamadon	Civilisation	1344	1925	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
430	Haqayeq	Truths	1344	1925	Rasht	Ahmad Shah
431	Khalq	People	1344	1925	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
432	Setareh Sobh	Morning Star	1344	1925	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
433	Shosh	Shosh	1344	1925	Khoramshahr	Ahmad Shah
434	Sehhat	Sehhat	1344	1925	Isfahan	Ahmad Shah
435	Qased-e Tehran	Messenger of Tehran	1344	1925	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
436	Kermanshah	Kermanshah	1344	1925	Kermanshah	Ahmad Shah
437	Golshan-e Azadi	Garden of Freedom	1344	1925	Mashhad	Ahmad Shah

438	Masajeh du Tehran	Message of Tehran	1344	1925	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
439	Mokafat	Retribution	1344	1925	Tehran	Ahmad Shah
440	Neday-e Kerman	Voice of Kerman	1344	1925	Kerman	Ahmad Shah
441	Vaqay'	Events	1344	1925	Shiraz	Ahmad Shah

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