

An Underdeveloped Political Thought



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ABSTRACT: The theoretical basis for this essay is the basic idea of the sociology of knowledge, which I described in my previous work (Rasekh, K., 2000:10-22). It is hypothetical to assume that Iran is an underdeveloped country. On this basis, I try to prove that there is a link between social relations, (here: Iran), on the one hand, and the political thinking of a social group, the Iranian intellectuals, in a certain period, on the other. I have divided the development of political thinking of Iranian intelligentsia into three periods: the period of "reformers" (1811-1906), that of "modernists" (1906-41) and that of "intellectuals" (1941-79). This division corresponds to three periods of Iranian history in the last two centuries: the first period coincide the 19th Century. This period is called "the era of reformers." The era of the "modernists" covers the first half of the 20th Century. Finally, the era of "intellectuals", the period between World War II and 1979. The hypothesis is that the group, which originally was concerned with the national "progress" became an obstacle against the democratization process of the country. This thought will be called the "underdeveloped political thought", henceforth. The political thinking, whose main characteristic was the claim for monopoly of power. This is the dialectic of "underdevelopment".

KEYWORDS: Iran, intellectuals, political thought, underdeveloped, reformists, modernists

THE INTRODUCTION

During the events in the year 1979, which led to the overtaking of the power by clergymen, the vast majority of a group, referred to as "intellectuals in Iran, not only took position in favor of the above-mentioned clergymen but also support them. This one-sided approximation of "intellectuals" towards the clergymen was surprising for those who dealt with the course of Iranian history in the last two hundred years.

The response of the clergymen to the "intellectuals" was not complaisantly. On the contrary, they were the first social group - after religious minorities - which have been accused. They had to induce answer why they or their predecessors were against the tradition of the country, and specially against the traditional social groups such as the clergy. The more aggressively and assertively the clergymen and their followers acted, the more defensive and passive the "intellectuals" and their representatives became. Many fled abroad, many went into the inner emigration in the country, many sought mercy by "confessing" to the "crimes" of their predecessors. Who are "intellectuals"? Have they ever been a social group? Are they for the overtake of the western way of life, for the "modernity" of the country, for the development of the country, for democracy? Are they for human rights in its Western sense? What do they mean by "modernity", "democracy", "development"? Why the clergy fight them so ruthless and uncompromising? Why did they not rise for a democratic system in 1979, while they were able to do so? Why did they behave so helpless towards the Islamists in Iran and in many Islamic countries?

Two hypotheses are worth mentioning here;

First: There is a relationship between socio-economic conditions in Iran and the political thinking and the behavior of this group.

Second: This group differs from those that we call intellectuals in Europe.

The question is how we can explain it and to what extent this group differs from intellectuals in the West? The explanation of this relationship, in turn, depends on another question. What are the characteristics of the political thinking of this group?

CONCEPTS

To study the properties of the Iranian intellectuals, we have used two sources:

First, historical source on the history of European and Iranian intellectuals.

Second, primary sources worked out, mainly in the 19th and the 20th Century in Iran .

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The historical material has proved useless in the investigation of the Iranian "intellectuals". Because the material is on the "intellectuals", saying little about how the "intellectuals" politically thought. But the pre-occupation with history, brought about a useful result. It was noted that the development of the history of the Iranian "renewer" was not linear, but gradual. To elaborate this development and to bring them to term, we divided the genesis of renewer, into three periods: the period of the "reformists" (1811-1906), the "modernists" (1906-41) and the "intellectuals" (1941-79)

By the term "renewer"(nowawaran) is meant a group of people that appeared on the social scene to change the society according to western patterns, during the last two hundred years, in Iran as in many other non-European countries. As was mentioned before, the renewer was divided into three groups: the "reformists", the "modernists" and the "intellectuals". This division corresponds to three periods of Iranian history in the last two centuries.

The first period covers the 19th Century. This period is called "the era of the reformists".

The era of the "modernists" included the first half of the 20th Century.

Finally, the era of "intellectuals" is a period between the Second World War and 1979.

This classification is made according to the events that have influenced the emergence of this group:

1. In the beginning of the 19th Century, Iran came in contact with Europe, via Russia and England. In 1811 Iranian government sent two students to England. This was the first practical step to acquaintance with the Western society.
2. In 1906, the so-called "constitutional revolution" took place: It was the first social revolution in Iran, where Iranians influenced by the European were involved.
3. During the Second World War, Reza Shah was disempowered and Mohammed Reza Shah, the Crown Prince, gained the power as a king. He was toppled in 1979 by the "Islamic Revolution".

The epoch of the "reformists", i.e. the 19th Century, was the time when the Iranian regarded the European societies and institutions enthusiastically. It was a period of imitation, and yet suspicion and disappointment towards Europe. The era of the "intellectuals" was the time of the alternative tests and the aversion to the West.

This categorization does not mean that the "intellectuals" were not influenced by "reformists" or "Modernists". On the contrary, the political thinking of the "intellectuals" could not be understood without a thorough investigation into the political thinking of the "reformists" and the "modernists".

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The only source that discussed the position of intellectuals before the revolution, in Persian, is a book by Jalal Alahmad, entitled "On Merits and Betrayals of Intellectuals". This book was written in relation with the rebellion of the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini in June 1963 (Alahmad: 1978:16). Throughout the book, he preaches intellectuals to converge the clergy. This book became quickly the manifesto of Iranian intellectuals. There are a plethora of books and essays especially after the Revolution, which deals with "modernity" and development. They are often just shallow, and rarely detailed, on the dispute between the clergy and "intellectuals". The magazine "New Order" (nazm-e nowin) dedicated its seventh edition (1985), to intellectuals, naming it the issue of "intellectuals". Aramesh Dustdar wrote an essay entitled "The Iranian Intellectuals and the Art of Not-thinking," (1987) the revised version of which was published in 1991 as a book (Dustdar: 1991). The Islamists, too, have recently dealt with the "intellectuals" and their relationship to the clergy. Discussing these works in detail is not within the scope of the present study. The question is which sources are appropriate for the study of these three periods. To investigate into the theoretical roots of Iranian "intellectuals" issue throughout its development, I scrutinized the writings of ten Iranians traveling to Europe, and two Iranian social critics of the 19th Century. In dealing with these works, the following six questions proved important:

1. What kept them from the social and political system of the host country?
2. How did they evaluate the peoples of these countries compared with their fellow countrymen?
3. How did they assess the social and political conditions in Iran regarding the situation in host countries?
4. How did they evaluate Iranians in relation to Europeans?
5. What path do they propose for the "progress" of the country.
6. How did they describe themselves?

The first book is a travelogue of Mirza Abu Taleb Isfahani; The second one written by Mirza Abu-I-Hasan Khan Ilchi. The next travelogue describes the journey of the aforementioned Mirza Abu-I-Hasan to Russia in 1813. Mirza Saleh Shirazi went to England in 1815 to study. He described his experiences during his stay in England in a travel book. A still other travel book was written Reza Quli Mirza. The author of another one is Mirza Hoseyn Sarabi (1856). The Prime Minister Mirza Ali Asghar Khan Atabak traveled to Mecca, via Europe, The US, and some Asian countries to Mecca, after his being dismissed from office. His

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companion Mahdi Quli Khan Hedayat wrote a book about this Odyssey. There are travelogues that were written by Hajj Sayyah and two Qajar Shahs, Nasir od-din Shah and Mozafar od-din Shah.

Here we discuss the life and writings of two of the most famous Iranian social critics in the 19th Century: Mirza Malkum Khan and Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani. The writings of Mirza Malkum Khan can be divided in terms of his relationship to rule-makers in three periods.

- The first period 1851-1862 covers a period in which he had good relations with the Shah and had good prospects. From this time there are three notable works by him, which were written between 1859-1860: "The magic book and order book" (ketabcheh ghybi va Daftar Tanzimat); "Comrade and Minister" (rafig va vazir), "The Rules of Army and Board of rules" (entezam lashgar va majles Tanzimat).
- From the second period 1862-1872, when he was banned in the Ottoman Empire, are four writings of him important: "The policy of the state" (politikhayeh dawlati), "The Sheikh and the Minister" (sheikh va vazir); system of government "(dastgaheh divan), "The Code" (Daftar qanun).
- For the third and last period 1873-1908 in addition to the magazine "Qanun" (The Law), the treatises "odd speech" (harp Gharib), "The principle of civilization" (osul tamaddon), "The call for justice" (neday Adalat).

The writings of Mirza Aqa Khan could not still be published in Iran, because they had content against the monarchy and the clergy. Besides his contributions in the journals "Qanun" and "Akhtar", the following scriptures are to mention: "Education and explanation" (takvin va tashrih), "The letters from exile" (nahmehaye tab id`); "Three Treatises" (seh maktub), Alexander Spiegel (ayeneh sekandri); Eight Paradises (hasht Behesht), hundreds of speeches (sad khetabe)seventtwo nations (haftad va do Melaten). Besides his contributions in "Qanun" and "Akhtar" and three books, which are published abroad (three treatises;seventy two nations, the letters from exile). I had to limit me on secondary literature, especially in Adamiyyat.

THE THEORETICAL BASICS

The preoccupation with intellectual theories and approaches of the intellectuals in the West were useful in two ways: one in respect of these approaches can be seen that the developmental history of these two groups is different. These differences into two main features can be summarized: 1 The Iranian Renewer or "intellectuals" have the will to power. 2. The political thinking of the Iranian Renewer or "intellectuals" is the response to the development in the west - it is a reactive thinking. On the basis of these differences can be formulated an approach in terms of Mannheim and Lepsius. Mannheim in his work "the conservative thinking" (Mannheim: 1984) called the intellectuals as the "floating" group. Lepsius in his intellectual, S theory discussed the "competence" and "incompetence" of intellectuals. The Renewer in its early development stage - the "reformists" - were not linked to special social class. They were socially "free floating". They saw themselves as corrected the country to manage, because they haven't competence. No social class is entitled to recognize this competence. This uncertainty reflects the social situation of this group, which is hypothetically line:

1. Politicizing: the politicizing means to reduce social problems to political issues and political problems on the question of power. The restriction of the political issue on the question of power makes the struggle against the rulers possible put it on the agenda. To struggle against the ruler justify, need to describe situation worse conditions as they actually are. The goal of politicization in this sense is the system is not to reform but to topple. This position finds such an assumption in the seventies of the 20th Century that any criticism, not to overthrow the ruler intended as a subversive activity. Any deviation from aim understood by opponents as a betrayal of the common cause. The Monarchist took the same position in another way. They saw any criticism of the system, as an attempt to topple the system.

2. Antagonism: When the Overthrowing is on the agenda, each opposites, such as class differences, group conflicts, ethnic differences, religious differences and racial differences exaggerated and emphasized. The exaggeration of the formal and informal differences give the impression that the solution to all problems depends on resolving the political question. Since there is no national consensus on the basis of national interest as a rallying point for political activity, these differences can be instrumentalized in political struggles.

3. The contempt of the law: One of the main features of the politics in Iran is the role of a strong man who stands above all. This political fact comes with the Shiite government believes and forms the basis for the contempt of the rule of law. The rule of law requires the separation of powers, which is based on the recognition of political, social and economic rights of citizens. As the conditions for the effective exercise of these rights might be absent, saw the "intellectuals" forced this situation with the help of ideologies such as "Marxism" and "Leninism", the "Fundamentalism" etc. to transfigure.

4. The glorification of violence: the violence was and is in Iran, the magnitude of power. The leader is powerful to the extent that he can violence against his opponents. The enemy is to the extent seriously, as he is in a position, the only ruler to challenge. Thus, the use of violence is a sign of political strength. The glorification of violence socially and historically justified. Alternatives

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to tyranny be equated with the collapse of political order. Many refer to this "fact" and call for "reform-dictatorship". The dictatorship can be the King, the President, the Secretary of the Communist Party and so on.

5. The attitude to foreigners: the attitude towards foreigners has two extremes: Xenophilie and xenophobia. The justification takes place in the exaggerated emphasis on the role of foreign countries for the fate of the country. This phenomenon is fairly new and ties close with the genesis of the Renewer. The xenophobia has a function that can hardly be avoided. It reinforces the solidarity between the subjects the person of the leader.

6. The affection for the monarchy: monarchy is also a political system like democracy, the affect on the particular social situation. The lack of resources makes the existence of a "fair" distribution required. The "reasonable" distribution can a bloodthirsty despot. The This economic situation be reproduced by patriarchal structure of families in society. This relationship is closely linked with societal values, norms, and religious dogmas. The task of the leader is to preserve this system. Based on this background, tend the "Intellectuals" to a "fair" leader.

7. The tendency to Justice: The desire for justice is another feature of the political thought of the "intellectuals". The desire for justice can be summarized as follows: 1 The lack of resources, an equitable distribution is necessary. 2. the demand for "equitable" distribution is to participate in other people's property (the uncertainty of ownership) 3. The religious Shiite Islam justifies this fact.because to justice is one of the most important basis of the Shiite faith, 4 The desire for justice can instrumentalize as a means of mobilizing the masses, 5 equality before the law can mean equality between Muslims and non - Muslims. Based on these facts, the more "intellectual" tend to a "fair" leader.

This mindset of the Iranian "Intellectual" has its roots in the reformist ideas of the 19th Century, and their confrontation with the clergy. So the story of the "intellectuals" in the context of its relationship to spirituality and traditions must be observed. The history of this debate goes in the first half of the 19th Century, when some Erneuer drafted the idea of "progress" under the influence of the West. A project that the traditional groups, at the forefront of the clergy, meet. The history of this controversy is the history of the compromises of renewal to the clergy. It is the story of the emergence of political Islam, the history of the development of the "reformers" and "intellectuals". In short, it is the story of the confrontation between the "traditional society" and "modernism".

In the struggle between the clergy and the Renewer, the clergy hint at a decisive difference.The ideals of the renewer are ultimately the west and the followers of the clergy islamic. Islam is not only the subject of cultural conflict, but it would be instrumentalised for political debate.

One wonders why the renewer made compromises by the clergy. The renewal had no roots in Iranian society and were - with the words Mannheims - free float. They assumed that with the help of the priests during their genesis incurred claim to power the opportunity to practice there, as they are in the administrative field competent.

This describes an aspect of the question, the other point is on another level. If we overlook political differences and pay attention in the field of culture and thought, we can determine that the attitudes, ideas and philosophies of the two groups to resemble, to the extent of the various social affiliation allows it. The underdevelopment of social stratification, the lack of class consciousness, orientation, and traditional practices in the Iranian society of the 19th Century,left few starting points for the renewal. This is an important reason for their approach to the clergy. That the cultural standard in a traditional society shifted the social difference is evident.They could not critic the cultur, without criticizing itself. That was the Achilles heel of the renewer. Among them there were social critics, political fighters, etc, but hardly a cultural critic. On the contrary, it was often their affection to their own values emphasized.

REFORMISTS

With the "reformists" are the people meant, in the 19th Century of the changes occurred on the western model. They came from different social strata with different motives. They were on the farm, among the writers writing, the officials of the diplomatic missions or the students who through travel, reading or listening with the Western world were familiar with or did so as if they knew of these relationships. Their motives were different. They were the courtiers who wanted to eliminate their rivals or correspondence clerk, which is characterized by the desire for reforms promised professional positions or those who played know-and ultimately the people who actually build a better future for their country wished. Mission of most of them was England and its social and political system. Those "reformists" who had studied how Malkum were under the influence of the liberalist literature in England in the 19th Century. They stood before the question of how historical and socially gradually incurred in other societies and institutions such as notions of individualism, social contract, tolerance, freedom, democracy, property rights, etc. in the sense of a liberal society could be understood, yet it lived and thought like thousand years ago.

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The Iranians encounter the West and its scientific achievements with judgments and prejudices. They were suspicious against everything that had a sign of the West. Important, however, was their idea of the events, which change the life of people in Europa since the 16th Century. This had nothing to do with their world in which the Iranians lived.

Their world was the single religious world. Their belief was the uniform, similar, homogeneous and religious. The man was a being delivered to power of nature, the will of God and fate. His task was to accept this fate and bearable. The rule was a divine grace available to someone (the king) for a certain period of time. All social action and behavior has been defined and fixed by religious values. The 19th Century began with the increase of the influence of the clergy. The idea of the world was qualitatively. The irrationality was important in the deliberations of the people. The people were tied at hidden and supernatural powers. The truth lay outside of human understanding, and could only be sought and found in the divine nature. There have been no approaches to science. The science was understood as a lesson. These consisted of the rules of formal logic in its traditional form. Agriculture was at the subsistence-oriented. The social structure had been unchanged since the conquest of Iran by Muslims. A state in the European sense was absent. The politics was not as a science for the management of the country, but as a mixture of cunning and violence.

Under these circumstances, had the "reformists" two challenges: to criticize the existing system and to describe the unknown foreign categories. Indeed they transfigure the European categories into Islamic-Iranian terms. Many "reformists" understood their function, describing and interpreting of the circumstances and categories that unknown in Iran. For two reasons, the interpretation and description led to Transfiguration:

First, the situation in Europe was so far from those of Iran different that they could hardly be understood without transfiguring the categories and concept.

Second, to underpin their claim to power, social forces had to converge, with which they were able to take over the power: courtiers and clergy.

How the situation in Europe could be defined in sense of these two groups. This was the first task of the "reformists". But they discovered soon that even the Transfiguration of European categories without criticism of the existing system was not possible. This criticism has led to tensions between the "reformists" and the traditional forces. The criticism was soon the second task of the "reformists". The reaction of the traditional forces was huge. Specially the Court - once the only supporter of the "reformists". Just they know that the Court in its willingness to renew is inconsistent. Under such circumstances it was not easy to criticize:

1. Socially they were weak and depend on the other social Groups.
2. The power structure in Iran was absolutist. Any radical critique swift the "reformists" not only from the political scene in the country, but can lead to their physical elimination.
3. The interpretation of the world and of being has traditionally been the task of the clergy. For non-spiritual people, it was very difficult, to follow in this bastion
4. The radical critique could decline their influence, because such position could be shared by a little people.

The question was at what level this criticism should be exercised? The examination of the writings of Iranian travelers in the 19th Century shows that they were particularly interested in two phenomena: the political system and the process of industrialization. In the political system they gave attention to two elements: first the rule of law and second the limitation of the power of king. The rule of law would be discussed in almost all the travel descriptions: from Mirza Abu Taleb Isfahani, a Persian speaking Indians till Mirza Abu-I-Hasan Khan Ilchi, by Mirza Saleh Shirazi up Hoseyn Sarabi. Specially the critical writings of Mirza Malkum Khan and many other describe how the laws in Europe drafted and implemented and how the power of King is restricted by law. But most of them do not pay attention under which circumstances these laws were emerged in Europa.

The reduction of social problems on the political level, helped the "reformists", however, to specify their goals. The call for laws was their main concern. The possibilities and limitations of the institution of a political system under which the laws could work, were not clear. The gap between the realities of Iranian society and a desired circumstance under which a parliamentary constitutional system works, leads to the ideologizing the "desire for laws". "The desire for law" has been exploited. From here on combined the demand for legislation again with the circumstances that prevailed in Iran. The demand for legislation has been used to justify the struggle against the rulers. The more the demand for law in the struggle against the rulers changed, the more close to the Shiite concept of "opposition against an unjust ruler", which traditionally Shiite faith is anchored (Richard: 1983). This development occurred in the last decades of the 19th Century in a crucial phase. The call for laws adopted more and more an ideological character. The "reformists" exceeded their actual liberalist principles and formed a coalition with some of the clergy. From now we call them "modernists" (Mutajaddedin) respectively. "Modernist" in the sense that on the basis of idea they want to change the situation, not necessarily to improve the social and political life. Indeed the call for reform was instrumentalised.

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MODERNISTS

In the last decades of the 19th Century an event (tobacco uprising 1890/91) accelerated the process that has existed since the seventies of this century: The Transformation of the "reformists" in the "modernists". The in Caucasian seat and in the social groups engaged "Iranians" have a defined role in this development. They were under influence of the Russian situation. In fact, the political thinking of the "modernists" is the transition from political thinking of reformist to political thought of the "intellectuals". The transformation in the mindset of the "reformists" was accelerated by the events that took place during this period:

1. in London in the Sedentary disappointed Malkum and its journal "Qanun" (the Law) supported the tobacco revolt, which was controlled by clergies. This event removed the last obstacles in the path of cooperation between clergies and Renew (Adamiyyat: 1981b). How Malkum wrote in his journal, he came to the insight: 1 In Iran, nothing happens without clergies 2nd The Western conditions can not readily be transferred to Iran. In fact, had Malkum with the publish of "Qanuns" prefix the first step the transition from "reformists" and "modernists".

2. Part of the Court came to the realization that the transfigured reforms within the meaning of the "modernists" is not necessarily a threat to the interests of the weakest Monarchy. The result was a coalition between the "modernists", a part of the clergy and the Court during the "constitutional monarchy" (1906/1907) .

these social events at the best be reflectet in the debates and negotiations during the meetings of the Legislative Assembly. the events in the years 1906 and 1907 have been documented and detailed by Kasravi and Bahar. Particularly noteworthy are here fighting between two factions in the "parliament" and an "extra-parliamentary" group: the "moderates", the "radicals" and the group led by Sheikh Fazle ol-lah Nuri, as the opposition outside of the House of Representatives . The "moderates" were the moderate clerics such as Tabatabayi or Behbahani or educated people such as Sani-od-dawl or Sa `d-od-dawl. the last mentioned two people were with the works of young Malkum familiar and knew to some extent, the situation in Europe there were the young energetic radicals like Taqizadeh and others in Azarbayedjan posted Members of secret society in Tebriz (Markaz ghaybi. They were in contact with the Committee of the Social democratic Party of Russia (Kasravi: 1975/291). If Malkum, his life and his writings that embody what we call the reformist political thought , may be said the same on Taqizadeh in connection with the "modernist thinking" . The life and work Taqizadehs should be investigated in connection with another work that deals with the political thinking of the "modernists" . The group led by Sheikh Fazle ol-lah Nuri, here the "traditionalists" referred to the imitation of European relations as blasphemy and demanded that the laws should be examined and adopted by a group of mullahs on their conformity with Islamic dogmas and regulations. First, the moderates and the radicals combate together the "traditionalists". But soon drove the radicals the "moderates" slowly but surely from the political scene in Iran. If the radicals and the "traditionalists" fought politically, they converge with respect to their values and norms. They influenced each other and away from the reformist thinking.

We can outline the differences between the political mindset of the modernist and reformist as below:

1. While the "reformists" actually demanded a "constitutional system", saw the "modernists" in the law more a means in commission of progress and to influence the power.
2. Although the "reformists" such as the "modernists" were understood law more administrative law . But law has a value in itself for the reformists. But for the "modernists", it was mere a means to enforce their interests. The "rule of law" was good means for the eliminating of political opponents . The laws, such as the "modernists" wished,would not necessarily stand in contradiction to Islamic law, such as the "traditionalists" demanded.
3. The patriotism was for modernists as a political tool to mobilize the masses in the fight against foreign and domestic enemies and for Traditionalisten against God's enemies.
4. While the main elements of the reformist way of thinking, such as freedom, limiting the power of the monarch, security for private property were the same, the "modernists" demanded, but they do not have the same value as reformers had. For the "traditionalists" Freedom is simply the "freedom" for the disbelievers. Freedom means that non-Muslims have the same security as the Muslims. Equality before law is a blasphemy, which treat the Muslims and non-Muslims the same. Freedom means the freedom to deny God (Nuri: 1983).
5. While the "reformists" were the zealous advocate of the "parliamentary" or what is meant, were some "modernists" skeptical of parliamentarianism detectable.
6. the Reformists understood and treated Islam as a religion, with Mondernist are the first signs of political Islam visible. For the traditionalists, there is no Islam without politics or politics without Islam, as has often been emphasized.
7. The Reformists were looking for the "common ground" with Europe and Europeans, with Modernists was the first signs of the oriental consciousness visible.

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The ideas of reform and modernity and their makers had no roots in Iranian society. They were the result of those operations took place in other parts of the world and to pull on the Iranian society. The attempts by people like Mirza Malkum Khan and Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani within the meaning of liberal humanism was doomed before Mirza Khan was convicted in Tebriz. It was not just a symbol for the cruelty of Iran's rulers. The liberal doctrine on the basis of individualism was hardly defensible in society that no person in this sense knew. The reformists were forced to follow their interests on the basis of the perception of reality. They remove the liberal elements of the reform ideas that doesnot represente the values and norms of Iranian society.

The instrumentalization of the institutions of the democratic system, such as parliament, elections, laws, etc., together with the transfiguration of categories such as freedom, equality, property, created a favorable background for the transition of the "modernists" to "intellectuals". In fact, they "iranize" the willingness to reform.

SUMMARY

The intellectual term in the Persian is positive. The composition of the Persian word for "intellectually" - "rowshanfekr" - indicates this setting out. The concept consists of two words, "rowshan" and "fekr". "Rowshan" means "enlightened" and "fekr" means "the idea". So the "intellectual" is someone whose idea is enlightened by the light of knowledge. This term was made in thirties and forties of the 20th Century under the influence of two common trends.

1. the process of transfer of foreign words used in Persian at the time of Reza Shah (1925-1941).

2. The process that the group of Renewer undergo between the "constitutional revolution" and that time (1907-1941).

The period between 1907 to 1925 was a phase of disillusionment. With the reformist political thought and political acting distances "modernists" have managed to remove the traditional forces and in the tradition of the "reformers" committed individuals. it manages them with the help rabble (modjahedin)that during the Revolution were active, the power to usurp. Their happiness was short-lived. They had noted that important conditions for creating a "democratic system" were missing. The clubs (andjoman) have been promoted during the Revolution as "representatives", more and more showed their true character: they acted as a murder-command in the districts (luti) and, increasingly, against the "modernists". The call for order and a strong man has been getting louder. Man looking for a man who "code" in one hand, the other a cudgel, like Mehdi Hedayat Quli it had formulated. As in 1925 Reza Shah came to power, and produced the desired order, it was also for the "modernists" a relief. The radical proponents of the law were the "servants" of the order. The architects of the "modernists" like Taqizadeh and Quli Mehdi Hedayat were ministers.

Reza Shah met the demands of the most renewer: Iran was a "constitutional government" and received a "parliament", But everything in the service of the king. During this time many new schools were opened, their graduates represent a new generation of renewer. They were no longer "homeless Westerners," but they were the "People's sons" in the service of the people. They represent not only the elite. most of them came from modest circumstances. They were no longer under the influence of literature from Europe. They were under the influence of literature from the revolutionary Soviet Union. They were no longer the "homeless companion," but "selfless" people come through for the cause of the people.

When Reza Shah 1941 due to his affection for Germany was disempowered by the English, occur within a short time a lot of literature, which announces the emergence of a new generation of renewer: The "intellectuals".

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